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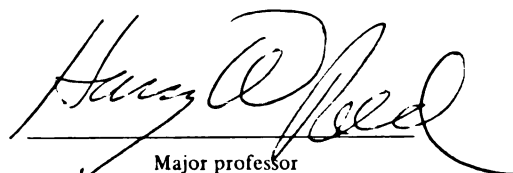
CLEAN THE CEILING BEFORE CLEANING  
THE FLOOR: EXPLORING EIGHTY  
YEARS OF SCHOLARSHIP AND HISTORIOGRAPHY  
ON BOOKER T. WASHINGTON

presented by

Pero Gaglo Dagbovie

has been accepted towards fulfillment  
of the requirements for

M.A. degree in History

  
Major professor

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***CLEAN THE CEILING BEFORE CLEANING THE FLOOR: EXPLORING EIGHTY YEARS OF  
SCHOLARSHIP AND HISTORIOGRAPHY ON BOOKER T. WASHINGTON***

**By**

**Pero Gaglo Dagbovie**

**A THESIS**

**Submitted to  
Michigan State University  
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## ABSTRACT

### ***CLEAN THE CEILING BEFORE CLEANING THE FLOOR: EXPLORING EIGHTY YEARS OF SCHOLARSHIP AND HISTORIOGRAPHY ON BOOKER T. WASHINGTON***

By

Pero Gaglo Dagbovie

Following the Civil War, the "emancipation" of enslaved Blacks, and the era of reconstruction, the climate of race relations in America entered a new stage in which the Black masses were no longer defined as "chattel," but were still politically, socially, and economically oppressed. During this period Booker T. Washington began his principalship at Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute, Alabama. In 1895 he delivered his famous Atlanta oration and replaced Frederick Douglass as Black America's *new*, sanctioned leader. Six years later, the Tuskegeean's publication of Up From Slavery gave him world-wide recognition. At the surface level, it appears that the vast majority of Washingtonian scholars and historians have tended to stress his so-called "accommodating" stance towards American race relations. Through a thorough survey of Washingtonian historiography since 1915, this exploratory essay seeks to explore why and how a diverse group of scholars has interpreted Washington's program as such and how they have influenced the historiography of Black America. Unpacking the various portrayals of Washington is fascinating and comprehending this process helps lay the foundation for writing a new biography of Booker T. Washington.

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1995

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This work is written in memory of three Bookerites, Ruth Formosa (1903-1986), Albert Yao Dagbovie (1928-1993), and Willie Belle McQueen (1921-1995). Their lessons in character-building have helped lay the foundation for a new generation who needs the old school values more than ever.

There are four important stages in the origins of this study. In 1989 while enrolled in a senior high school seminar in African-American our instructor, C.B. Martin, required that we review an outside source. I selected Up From Slavery. Then as an undergraduate, Dr. Karen Rhodes steered me into studying Washington under the topic "The End of the Century: The 1880s and 1890s." By this time, having scanned through Harlan's studies and other sources, I became increasingly defensive of Washington. The most influential stage of my appreciation of Washington occurred during the summer of 1992 when I worked on a summer research project under the guidance of Dr. Harry A. Reed. He allowed me to read a rough draft introduction in which he briefly discussed the monumental debate between Washington and Du Bois. His intriguing treatment of Washington sparked my interest in his cultural program and identity beyond economics.

The last stage of this development was a trip to Tuskegee. In early January of 1994, my co-navigator TShaka and I trotted on the Wizard's turf, felt the coarse brick walls, dug through the archives, listened to elders' stories, and paid homage to a legend. Though the specific topic of this text was not yet formulated, I learned immensely about research procedure and gathered some vital sources at Tuskegee. Since then, having recently been to the Library of Congress and other archival centers, the seriousness of

this research continues to bloom. I hope that my interpretation of Washington's philosophy will help restore his legacy.

Many people are a part of this effort. My parents taught us a concrete set of values which run parallel to many of Washington's ideas. They have always supported my endeavors, as long as they were morally grounded and backed with serious ambition and discipline. My sister Sika continues to inspire me as she breezes through undergraduate school, devouring a range of disciplines. Dr. Sharon Minor-King stepped into my life and changed my frame of reference by operationalizing Afrocentrism. Dr. Karen Rhodes taught me the basic skills of writing a well-structured critical essay, while also encouraging a controlled creativity. Various Michigan State University history professors and other scholars can see parts of themselves in the text. Dr. David Barry Gaspar, a meticulous editor of student's papers, truly influenced my writing style. Dr. Richard Thomas challenged me to assess my role as a historian/intellectual by constantly demanding that we make history relevant to the present and future. Dr. Maureen N. Eke revealed that outreach is the most significant form of education. Fellow Bookerite Dr. Saleef Kafajouffe became another role model as he constantly strives to "weld theory and practice" and a learn by doing approach.

To the three committee members I am thankful. Dr. David Bailey--whose seminar on the historical profession triggered me to change my topic and interest to historiography--always forced me to think. Based upon her own high standards of hard work, Dr. Wilma King has challenged me to do just that, work and be productive. Ever since I enrolled in the first of his classes--of which I have taken about a dozen--, Dr. Reed has embodied my idea of what a historian should be. He carefully mulls over his interpretations of historical phenomenon, and expects his students to do the same. He never hesitates to humble me when my statements are "full of plenty of holes." Accurately, he calls himself a "good friend, gentle critic and strong supporter."

Archivists Dr. Daniel T. Williams and Cynthia Johnson of Tuskegee University, the staff at Howard University's Moorland-Spingarn Research Center, the special collections staff at MSU, and Dr. Keith Hargrove, who made our trip to Tuskegee a reality, thank you all for your patience, help, and support.

To my co-pilot, TShaka, I thank her for supporting me even when "enough was enough." She was often the first person to hear and question my thoughts about Washington. When I was tired, she wanted to go to the library or archives, and vice versa. To other friends and extended family, thank you for provoking thought.

And to Booker T. Washington, respect and one love for teaching me that there are no excuses left.

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## INTRODUCTION

*Clean the ceiling before cleaning the floor* is an Ewe proverb which teaches us that one must lay the proper foundation before proceeding in any endeavor. While my father never really sat down with me and attempted to school me on his culture, our frequent--once every two years--summer family reunions in Togo, West Africa exposed my mother, sister, and I to the essentials of a Togolese culture. On foreign soil, my father has passed much of his way of life down to us through maxims such as this. Proverbs are told in certain situations, in hopes of getting a morally enriched message across to the recipient. This particular precept has been chosen as a sub-title because it embodies the approach of this thesis from its origins to its maturity.

Being a student, defender, and striving apostle of Booker T. Washington's philosophy, I have noticed that many mid/late twentieth-century scholars, historians, and other commentators of Black America's past have all too often inaccurately portrayed his life and work. My initial ambition was to counter these misconceptions by writing a biography. Moving beyond my scholarly naïveté, and rhetorical ambition, I soon realized that there was a larger body of unexplored Washingtonian scholarship dating back to 1915. This included the writings of Black and Euro-American historians, social scientists, and the Tuskegeean's contemporaries. Tracking down commentaries on Washington became one of my positive fixations. This passion of wanting to defend Washington more scientifically lead me to deal with the historiography and other related scholarship on the Tuskegeean. While surveying these sources, it dawned upon me that this body of scholarship is, in itself, fascinating, problematic, thought-provoking, and worthy of further investigation.

This call for a historiographical study on Washington is nothing new. Hugh Hawkins's Booker T. Washington and His Critics: The Problem of Negro Leadership (1962) and Emma Lou Thornbrough's Booker T. Washington (1969) represent the first of these studies. Twenty-four years following the latter's study, a chapter in Virginia Lantz Denton's Booker T. Washington and the Adult Education Movement (1993) revisited hallmarks in Washingtonian scholarship.<sup>1</sup> This essay hopes to surpass these introductory works by probing more deeply into not only who wrote about Washington, but the motives behind many of these observations, and when and why they emerged. The following set of questions can serve as valuable guide posts. What motivated these writers to deal with Washington? How did the historical settings in which the writers

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<sup>1</sup>See Hugh Hawkins, ed., Booker T. Washington and His Critics: The Problem of Negro Leadership (Boston: D.C. Heath and Company, 1962). Hawkins study, part of George Rogers Taylor's *Problems in American Civilization* series, is very concise yet it exposes us to the insights of several critical thinkers, such as Kelly Miller, Du Bois, Horace Mann Bond, and Rayford Logan. Also see, Emma Lou Thornbrough, ed., Booker T. Washington (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1969). Thornbrough's work, a volume in Prentice-Hall's "Great Lives Observed" series, is very thorough. In particular, she constructs Washington's philosophy, life, and work from a variety of his books, such as Up From Slavery (1901), Working With the Hands (1904), Tuskegee and Its People (1905), The Story of the Negro. 2 Volumes (1909), My Larger Education (1911), and selected articles and speeches, of which the famous Atlanta speech appears in its entirety. This section, "Booker T. Washington Looks at the World," Part One, is significant because it allows readers to interpret Washington based upon what he actually said. The second part of her study, "Booker T. Washington Viewed By His Contemporaries," addresses how Blacks and Euro-Americans perceived him. While most Euro-Americans, besides southern, segregationist racists who could not accept that Washington dined with President Roosevelt in 1901, seemed to praise Washington, his Black counterparts, whether they were anti or pro "Bookerites," tended to examine his program more critically. Among those who Thornbrough cites are: T. Thomas Fortune, Charles W. Chesnutt, William Monroe Trotter, Ida B. Wells, and W.E.B. Du Bois. These perceptions add dimensions of "race" and class to the pro/anti-Washington discourse. Lastly, beginning with excerpts from Carter G. Woodson's The Negro in Our History (1922) and ending with Louis R. Harlan's "Booker T. Washington and the White Man Burden" (1966), Thornbrough briefly surveys the historiography (mainly in the forms of articles) of Washington. Her study remains to be an excellent introduction for beginners dealing with Washington, for it goes beyond 1895 and Up From Slavery. Also see, Virginia Lantz Denton, Booker T. Washington and the Adult Education Movement (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1993). In "Dixie Land I'll Take My Stand: Private Politics, Public Perceptions, and Pioneer Precedents," Denton provides a brief sketch of Washingtonian scholarship, focusing upon Myrdal's An American Dilemma and Harlan's biographies. Later in this thesis, I will return to Denton.



existed affect their perceptions? How do notions of "race," class, region, and gender impact the historiography of Washington? What types of new ideas are introduced by disciplines other than history? What set of characteristics have remained stagnant in how the general public and academy views Washington?

In a nut shell, the work to follow seeks to assess and survey the status of post-1915 historical/scholarly investigations of Booker Taliaferro Washington, his life, work, and philosophy for Black uplift. By critically investigating the *significant*<sup>2</sup> historiography and scholarly analyses of Washington since 1915, I will unpack the philosophies, social, cultural, and political ideologies of various Washingtonian scholars and attempt to explain how and why these various personalities and approaches emerged. In many ways this is a creative, analytical annotated bibliography as well as a succinct history of Washingtonian historians and scholars.

I have sub-divided the historiography of the Tuskegeean into two general time periods: late 1915 until 1944, and 1945 until the present. This has been done for several reasons. On November 15 of 1915, Washington died and immediately a diverse body of scholars began writing about his life and work. 1944 has been chosen as the ending of this first stage because by this time the Library of Congress officially acquired the Booker T. Washington Papers. This acquisition marked a change in how Washington was perceived and studied. He left behind an estimated 300,000 to one million pieces of documentation providing insights into his program and general trends in Black leadership. Since the late 1940s, scholarship on Washington has incorporated these Papers, in turn revealing a Washington once unknown to the greater readership.

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<sup>2</sup>In the text to follow, I will, one, critically deal with those works which I perceive as being important to the developing of scholarly opinions and, two, explore those overlooked studies which warrant further investigation. The lesser significant works will be discussed briefly in explanatory footnotes at various points throughout the text.

Chapter I outlines the four fundamental, widely unchallenged generalizations--most prevalent from the 1960s until the present--about Washington which partially fueled this study. While dealing with these oversimplifications, I also touch upon several thematic approaches to studying Washington. For instance, the observations of Du Bois's chief biographers, as well as scholars of the Washington-Du Bois debate, are unpacked. Second, it is posited that most edited history books emerging during and after the Black Studies Movement tend to only represent Washington with excerpts from either the 1895 oration in Atlanta or Up From Slavery. I have also included a discussion of literary critics who attempt to analyze Washington's famous autobiography in abstract manners.

In Chapter II, surveying works from 1915 until 1944, several biographies, articles, and tributes to Washington are explored. It is interesting to note how one's ethnic background affects how these studies are contrived. For instance, many of the Black authors during this time period tend to critically look at Washington, instead of simply celebrating his program, as most of the Euro-American authors of this era do. Exceptions to this observation are Gunnar Myrdal and Merle Curti who examine Washington very critically, analyzing him from different angles. Without the benefit of the Washington Papers, this era produces some very provocative studies.

Chapter III highlights that following 1944 an avalanche of studies on Washington emerge. Sociologists, historians, and literary critics began to look more at the Tuskegeean. Since roughly 1948, scholars have utilized the Papers very critically. Some of the pioneering examples are Basil Mathews's Booker T. Washington: Educator and Inter-racial Interpreter (1949), Emma Lou Thornbrough's articles of the 1950s and 1960s, August Meier's articles and books particularly from the 1950s and 1960s, and a body of articles addressing the Tuskegeean's relationship with Africa. This era is, moreover, marked by the reign of Louis R. Harlan, his various articles, his biographies in two volumes, and his fourteen-volume Booker T. Washington Papers (for which he

was the editor in chief). In sum, since 1944 Washington was featured in: seven biographies; a diverse body of popular historical and sociological journals (the Journal of Negro History being a constant contributor from roughly 1915 until the 1980s); and general history texts authored by leading historians.

Lastly, in the Conclusion, I briefly comment on the significance of this thesis in Washingtonian historiography and also make some suggestions as to how scholars can more comprehensively portray Washington's world view.

Keeping these general themes and goals in mind, let me make several comments about the general format, focus, and contents of the thesis to follow. Foremost, in the regular text and footnotes I have included those studies which I perceive as being especially important in comprehending how Washington has been viewed by the academy and the general readership. Of course, several studies have been omitted or simply overlooked. Two types of studies that I know of are theses or dissertations and children's literature. Beginning most seriously in the 1970s, graduate students of history and education began to research Washington. Several of these insights are significant and/or cited in the text to follow, such as Velma L. Blackwell's "A Black Institution Pioneering Adult Education: Tuskegee Institute Past and Present (1881-1973)" and Joseph Citro's "Booker T. Washington's Tuskegee Institute: Black School-Community, 1900-1915." Dissertations are not, however, analyzed in terms of a distinct body of Washingtonian scholarship.

In addition, nearly all children's books portray Washington as a flawless hero. Within this body of juvenile literature, however, one work stands out. This being Emma E. Akin's A Booker T. Washington School published in 1938. Akin, once a Supervisor of Elementary Grades in Drumright, Oklahoma, wrote this text book in hopes of passing on Washington's message to Negro Boys and Girls. She enlightens her young readers:

Boys and girls, this book was made to help you learn more about your own people. You will enjoy seeing the real pictures of Negro children and Negro leaders.

You will be proud of the Negro race and of the many fine things your people are doing. You will want your school to be as much like the Booker T. Washington School as you can make it.

Try to remember some of the things Mr. Washington told his people.

This book will tell you something about what it means to be a good American citizen.

You will like the stories of friendship between black and white people. You will learn that even a small child can do much for his home and his race.<sup>3</sup>

Akin proceeds to weave Washington's philosophy of hard work, respect for elders, courtesy, cleanliness, and earning citizenship, throughout more than two hundred pages of text. Children's books about Washington are not, however, significant to the essay to follow.

Second, I hope that the reader will bear with me as I tend to quote extensively from Washingtonian scholars and Washington himself, particularly in constructing Washington's philosophy in the conclusions. Certain quotations have been cited because of their importance. It seems that most people have really not read many of Washington's more interesting think pieces, or those about him for that matter. I have, thus, taken the liberty to quote where I thought it would be helpful.

Third, the reader will also notice that I deal with the pre-1944 scholarship in greater depth. This is intentional. The early analyses of Washington tend to be more thought-provoking, considering the available sources with which the authors had to deal. After Washington's Papers became part of the public domain, it seems that historians portrayed the Tuskegeean as revealed by the "facts." Many historians seem to have become increasingly less creative when approaching Washington.

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<sup>3</sup>Emma E. Akin, A Booker T. Washington School (Oklahoma City: Harlow Publishing Corporation, 1938), "WHY THIS BOOK WAS MADE." Akin's text raises a host of questions and deserves more research. It is fascinating to find a textbook this early in American education which uses Washington as a case study. Akin addresses most of Washington's moral values upon which her readers can model their lives. Perhaps in another essay, I will give Akin the attention that she deserves.

Lastly, I present this exploratory essay humbly to the broader scholarship on Washington. It possesses some oversights which, of course, are not intended. I have been engaged in researching Washington for roughly four years, one and a half of which I would consider serious. I hope to make people think more objectively and analytically about Washington. In part, as a result of the student mobilized Black Studies movements of the late 1960s and 1970s, more progressive book publishers like Negro Universities Press, Schocken Books, Atheneum, Books For Libraries Press, Arno Press and The New York Times, Mnemosyne Publishing Company, and more recently Black Classic Press and A & B Book Publishers have reprinted important primary sources of the Black past. With the exception of DeVore and Sons' 1992 *Limited Edition* of The Negro in Business (originally published by The John A. Hertel Company in 1907), Washington's more revealing essays have remained far out of hands of the general readership. Even when some of Washington's books were reprinted, they were hard covers and for the most part un-noticed. A reprinting of Washington's books in a series is long overdue.

Today, Washington still remains such a controversial figure because of the manner in which he has been historically defined and presented. As we near the centennial of Washington's famous Atlanta speech of September, 1895--according to many, the turning point of his career as a Black leader--, we are in need of a scholarly assessment of his life and work and the scholarship defining him.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>4</sup>The topic of the 80th Annual Meeting of the Association for the Study of Afro-American Life And History has the following theme: "Reflections on 1895: Douglass, Du Bois, Washington." It should be interesting, and I am sure that many of the myths of Washington will be re-invoked therein.

## CHAPTER I

### UNPACKING THE GENERALIZATIONS OF HISTORIANS AND LAY PERSONS

I have pin-pointed four major inter-related manners in which we have been trained to view Washington, portrayals which often give birth to and maintain many myths. These different tendencies, moreover, took root and developed at different stages within the historiography and will be addressed as such throughout the text to follow. First, Washington's philosophy has all too often been defined with one oversimplified, unclear term, "accommodationism." Second, W.E.B. Du Bois has often become the yard stick for measuring Washington's program. Third, ignoring his intellectual capacity and background as a "moral philosopher," many scholars describe Washington as "a man of action." And fourth, most readers formulate opinions of Washington's ideology based solely upon his famous 1895 oration in Atlanta and Up From Slavery published in 1901.

Washington has been deemed an "accommodationist" in two arenas, by the leading scholars in the intellectual community and by lay persons since the 1960s. A survey of leading historians' seminal publications on "Negro thought" reveals that Washington's philosophy, policy, and/or world view has been defined most consistently as "accommodation," whereas his opposition, mainly Du Bois, is deemed "radical." Black leadership, with very few exceptions, has been characterized and analyzed in terms of this dichotomy between ideologies of accommodation and protest. This theoretical approach seeks to better understand trends on Black leadership using generalizations. It often results in oversimplifications. In the second half of the twentieth-century, this paradigm was molded by August Meier and his camp. Meier based many of his findings upon Ralph Bunche's assessments of the 1940s.

Before Bunche, many Black spokespersons made similar observations about Black leadership. In several chapters of The Souls of Black Folk, Du Bois dichotomizes Black leadership tactics based upon region, class, education, and race pride.<sup>1</sup> Du Bois asserted that there were three streams of human thought which debated the "Negro Problem." These being the cultural pluralist who seeks "world wide co-operation," the Southern segregationist, and an ambiguous "darker thought,--the thought of the things themselves, the confused, half-conscious matter of men who are black and whitened crying, 'Liberty, Freedom, Opportunity--vouchsafe to us, O boastful World, the chance of Living men!'"<sup>2</sup> Du Bois's two streams of Black thought are, therefore, one of cultural pluralism and one of confusion, total acculturation or perhaps *accommodation*. Rhetorically, Du Bois would place the Tuskegeean in the latter stream.

In years to follow, most Black intellectuals of the Harlem Renaissance and beyond accepted some off-shoot of Du Bois's paradigm. Almost four decades after Du Bois's initial characterizations of Black leadership, Bunche expanded greatly upon this rough dichotomy. Along with Doxey A. Wilkerson, Sterling Brown, Charles S. Johnson, Alain L. Locke, E. Franklin Frazier, and others in the late 1930s and early 1940s, Bunche was one of Gunnar Myrdal's research assistants or Black "collaborators" for An American Dilemma.<sup>3</sup> Bunche did more than any other Afro- and Euro-American scholar for Myrdal's analysis of Black leadership. David W. Southern suggests:

Whatever his ideology, Bunche turned out more useful work for Myrdal than anyone else. He completed four memoranda dealing with black politics, leadership, ideologies, and betterment organizations. One, called "The Political Status of the Negro," ran 1,660 pages. (No wonder rumors persisted in the black community that Bunche wrote the Dilemma). Although Myrdal rejected

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<sup>1</sup>W.E.B. Du Bois, The Souls of Black Folk (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1993), 43-44.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., 74.

<sup>3</sup>David W. Southern, Gunnar Myrdal and Black-White Relations: The Use and Abuse of An American Dilemma, 1944-1969 (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1987), 20.

Bunche's leftist approach, he respected the Howard professor's work and liked him immensely.<sup>4</sup>

In dealing with Black leadership, Bunche's most significant contribution is an essay entitled "Memorandum on Conceptions and Ideologies of the Negro Problem."

Essential to Bunche's analysis is class. "Articulate Negroes" are, Bunche asserts, "this elite group which alone indulges in vicious theorizing on the 'problem.'"<sup>5</sup> Bunche, furthermore, unites Black approaches through their common victimization. At the same time, he dichotomizes Black leadership. "Roughly speaking all Negro ideologies on the Negro question fall into one of the other of two rather broad categories: 'accommodation,' and release or escape."<sup>6</sup> Bunche breaks each of these groups down further. Accommodation falls into two categories: one, assimilation and, two, conciliation and gradualism. Making several references to Washington Bunche's *accommodationist* approach is dependent upon the acceptance of Negro inferiority. Education, self-help, inter-racial co-operation, "middle-class values," and "catching up with the white man" are characteristics of this expression.<sup>7</sup> At the other pole, Bunche breaks down the "radical" ideology into three groups, all of which result in escapism.<sup>8</sup> Pan-Africanism, such as Garveyism, a reliance on race-consciousness, and expressions of nationalism are among the various escapist approaches. Bunche is critical of both *accommodation* and escape/radical approaches since they both ignore class unity among the working class.

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<sup>4</sup>Ibid., 21.

<sup>5</sup>Ralph J. Bunche, "Conceptions and Ideologies of the Negro Problem," Contributions in Black Studies: A Journal of African and Afro-American Studies (1990-1992): 86.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., 89.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., 96-97. Here, Bunche defines conciliation and accommodation in reference to Washington.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., 103.



Bunche's theory, moreover, became the foundation for Myrdal's chapters on "Leadership and Concerted Action." "We have our typology of Negro leadership upon the two extreme policies of behavior on behalf of the Negro as a subordinated caste: *accommodation* and *protest*." Myrdal continues, "The first attitude is mainly static; the second is mainly dynamic."<sup>9</sup> His assessments of Black leadership are very confusing and inconsistent, because he relies upon Bunche's observations while at the same time he polemically scrutinizes Black leadership tactics. For example, without quoting Bunche, Myrdal suggests that *accommodating* Black leaders follow in the American tradition of exploiting mass passivity. They are also intermediaries between the Black upper class and Euro-Americans, or "liaison agents."

On the other hand, "there has always been another type of Negro leader than the 'pussy-footing Uncle Tom,'" Myrdal asserts. "Pure protest leaders" according to the Swede are those who could not accept the *accommodationist* outlook and had to fight back. This dichotomy can, moreover, be symbolized by two types of leaders. "Booker T. Washington and W.E.B. Du Bois became national symbols for these two main streams of Negro thought. Two groups of followers assembled behind them."<sup>10</sup> In order to really understand Myrdal's vision of Black leadership, chapters thirty-three through thirty-nine should be read together. Following his introductory generalizations, he (relying upon Bunche's testimony) formulates many key observations about the interdependence and necessity of the two main streams of thought.

Nevertheless, the key points here are, one, that Myrdal dichotomizes Black leadership into two general courses. And two, though *accommodation* was once necessary, by 1944 it is dying out and no longer sought by leadership. It is associated with policy making, Booker T. Washington. compromise, "pussy-footing," and Uncle Tom. Du Bois,

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<sup>9</sup>Gunnar Myrdal, An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy (New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1944), 720.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., 743.

Bunche, and Myrdal established the paradigm which Meier popularized in the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s. In his first major scholarly contribution, Meier sought to examine ideologies in Negro Nationalism. According to him, there are five basic yet not mutually exclusive trends in Negro thought: humanitarianism, cultural nationalism, economic nationalism, political nationalism, and extremism.<sup>11</sup> Meier dichotomizes Black leadership further in simpler terms. He asserts:

Negro social thought in the United States has been characterized by a great range of ideologies. At one extreme are those, like Frederick Douglass, with a consistent philosophy of total assimilation; at the other are those who have advocated complete withdrawal from the United States. In between have been a great variety of dualistic philosophies. . . . This dualism--this dual identification with both America and the Negro group--characteristic of so much Negro thought, is, of course, the result of the disparity between American ideal and practice, of the contradiction between American democratic philosophy on the one hand, and the discriminatory treatment accorded Negroes on the other. Paradoxically, it is this very contradiction that has led to ethnocentric tendencies among American Negroes, and yet has discouraged the emergence of a full-fledged, deeply rooted, extreme nationalism.<sup>12</sup>

Meier admits that his ideas are not original. Bunche's "Conceptions and Ideologies of the Negro Problem" is his chief frame of reference.<sup>13</sup>

Meier greatly expanded upon this framework in his classic Negro Thought in America, 1880-1915. Again, broadly speaking Meier dichotomizes Black leadership into accommodation and protest, or ethnocentrism and assimilation. His chapter on Washington views the Tuskegeean solely in his role as a statesman or public facilitator of race relations. According to Meier, Washington grew increasingly accommodating and deprecated protest and agitation as times became worse. For Meier, examining

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<sup>11</sup>August Meier and Elliott Rudwick, Along the Color Line: Explorations in the Black Experience (Urbana: University of Chicago Press, 1976), 190.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid., 190-191.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid., 215.

Washington in his role as a public spokesperson for Negroes is of utmost importance. "All in all, in viewing Washington's philosophy, one is most impressed by his accommodating approach."<sup>14</sup> Until the 1970s, Meier and company cultivated and popularized this dichotomy of accommodation and protest in publications such as Negro Protest Thought in the Twentieth Century, From Plantation to Ghetto, Black Nationalism in America, and Along the Color Line.<sup>15</sup> A survey of Black thought historiography, moreover, indicates the popularity of this outlook. In 1978, Wilson Jeremiah Moses became one of the first historians to challenge this limiting approach.

The accommodation label attached to Washington's political public personality may be partly accurate and helpful in locating him on the vast spectrum of Black leadership. However, it has remained the focus of Washingtonian historians. His public accommodating stance can not be viewed isolated from his program with the Tuskegee school community, individual students, his family, and ordinary folk.

Accepting these leading scholars paradigms, the lay person or the casual observer of Black history--those who discuss Black leadership in the informal sense and students, both undergraduate and graduate--is also often misguided by "presentism," that is observing Washington through the eyes of late twentieth-century armchair onlookers who have the advantage of seeing and hearing what Washington could not. It is from this limiting approach that the label "Uncle Tom" became attached to Washington's name. This designation is based upon the premise that Washington was not outspoken in

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<sup>14</sup>August Meier, Negro Thought in America. 1880-1915: Racial Ideologies in the Age of Booker T. Washington (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1963), 110.

<sup>15</sup>See, Francis L. Broderick and August Meier, eds., Negro Protest Thought in the Twentieth Century (New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1965), xv-xxvii; August Meier and Elliott Rudwick, From Plantation to Ghetto: An Interpretive History of American Negroes (New York: Hill and Wang, 1966), 156-188; and John H. Bracey, August Meier, and Elliott Rudwick, eds., Black Nationalism in America (New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1970), xxv-lxvii.

opposition to Black disenfranchisement, lynchings, and other forms of oppression.

Those who adhere to this point of view have probably not read beyond his 1895 speech in Atlanta or Up From Slavery published six years later. Many, moreover, do not really know how to read between the lines of these documents. For the most part his mid-late twentieth-century skeptics fail to adequately deal with the socio-historical context in which he operated. We must remember that Washington was born into the institution of slavery in Hale's Ford, Virginia on April 5, 1856 and died on November 14, 1915. Between this time period what was life like for Black America, enslaved and "free?" How did they challenge, and survive within, the institution of slavery? What effect did the Civil War and reconstruction have on Black America? By reading up on this period in American history, one should try to imagine how Washington, or any Black person for that manner, might have responded. Surely, one will find that there was no one tactic by which Blacks combated racial injustice.<sup>16</sup> Familiarizing oneself with slavery and reconstruction will help the reader better comprehend the early pre-Tuskegee (1856-1881) "Young Booker," as Arna Bontemps deemed him.<sup>17</sup>

The state of race relations in America during Washington's life as a leading Black educator beginning in 1895<sup>18</sup> is especially important. The late 1880s and early

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<sup>16</sup>This is something that historians of the Black past need to acknowledge more. That is, there were/are a host of diverse approaches to hopefully addressing a common dilemma. Black liberation movements complement each other. In assessing their respective roles, we must pay attention to features as such as geography (the region in which Black activists operated), gender, class, age, personal histories and culture, just to name a few.

<sup>17</sup>Washington's "early" life includes growing up on a small yeoman farmer's farm in Virginia; migrating to Malden, West Va. following the Civil War; working in the Kanawha salt mines and under the guidance of Mrs. Viola Ruffner; attending Hampton Institute; teaching at Malden following his graduation in 1875; attending Wayland Seminary in Washington D.C., and returning to Hampton to teach and supervise some seventy-five Native American students.

<sup>18</sup>There are many biographical sketches which outline Washington's early life. The most well-documented, thorough of them all is, hands down, Louis R. Harlan, Booker T. Washington: The Making of a Black Leader, 1856-1901 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972), 3-100. Here, using a wide range of primary and secondary

1900s represent an era of heightened racism, discrimination, and oppression of Blacks along many fronts. Black America's African culture was assaulted in the intellectual, legal/constitutional, and physical/biological spheres--all of which sustained each other. As Thomas F. Gossett's Race: The History of an Idea in America (1965), Winthrop D. Jordan's White Over Black: American Attitudes Toward the Negro, 1550-1812 (1968), George M. Frederickson's The Black Image in the White Mind (1971), and The White Man's Burden: Historical Origins of Racism in the United States (1974) indicate, the origins of this ideological, linked with constitutional and violent, oppression is deeply rooted in the American past.<sup>19</sup>

According to I.A. Newby, examining "anti-Negro thought" beginning in the 1890s until the 1920s is significant because it represents a distinct era in the re-establishment of racial oppression along many fronts. Newby asserts:

Eighteen-ninety saw no sharp change in the development of anti-Negro ideas; but it is, however, a convenient date to mark the beginning of a new era in race relations in the South and the nation as a whole. The Mississippi Convention of that year commenced the long, dreary process by which southern states disfranchised their Negro citizens, relegated them to a segregated, second-class status, and constructed a legal, constitutional defense for those new policies. The defeat of Senator Cabot Lodge's Force bill in the same year marked the last concerted effort in Congress to challenge disfranchisement and

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sources, Harlan--playing detective at times--pieces together the fragmented life of Booker. T. Washington. Supplementing Harlan with Washington's autobiographies, Up From Slavery and The Story of My Life and Work, is also useful since Washington stresses the role of Jane, his mother, in his life.

<sup>19</sup>These are some of the more celebrated studies dealing with aspects of race relations in America. In addition to these works and those cited in the text to follow, there are many other books that are useful. Such as, Michael J. Cassity, Chains of Fear: American Race Relations Since Reconstruction (Wesport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1984) which contains many primary sources; William Cohen, At Freedom's Edge: Black Mobility and the Southern White Quest for Racial Control, 1861-1915 (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University, 1991) which, as the title suggests, stresses that following emancipation, Blacks were not as free as we may be lead to think; and John L. Hodge, Donald K. Struckmann and Lynn Dorland Trost, Cultural Bases of Racism and Group Oppression: An Examination of Traditional "Western" Concepts, Values and Institutional Structures Which Support Racism, Sexism and Elitism (Berkeley, CA: Two Riders Press, 1975).

segregation. Booker T. Washington's Atlanta Exposition Address of 1895 was taken by whites to mean that Negroes accepted segregation. The *Plessy v. Ferguson* decision of 1896 in effect wrote racial segregation into the constitutional law of the land. The new era in race relations was accompanied by changes in the racial attitudes of white Americans, and the result was the flood of literature explaining and defending the new racial policies. The racial views expounded in that literature constitute the core of segregationist thought in the 20th century.<sup>20</sup>

"Segregationist thought" was, thus, devised in order to justify the social segregation, political subordination, and economic exploitation of Blacks in America.<sup>21</sup>

This mode of thinking was not something limited to Europeans in America. 1880 until 1910 was a very critical time period in African history: it represents the colonial conquest of Africa.<sup>22</sup> Beginning in the late 1870s and becoming more solidified with the Berlin Conference from 15 November 1884 until 31 January 1885 and the Berlin Act (which was ratified on 26 February 1885 in order to justify colonization), the

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<sup>20</sup>I.A. Newby, Editor, The Development of Segregationist Thought (Homewood, Illinois: Dorsey Press, 1968), 3.

<sup>21</sup>What makes Newby's work important are not these seemingly ordinary insights. Instead, his work is important because it, one, highlights how various fields of study and theories, such as social Darwinism, biological and social sciences, history, and Biblical interpretations worked hand-in-hand for the same end--justifying the oppression of Blacks by forcefully "proving" their so-called inferiority. Two, Newby presents us with the original works of segregationist thinkers during Washington's era and beyond. While reading these, one should attempt to imagine him/her self as a Black thinker during this era. How would you confront these devices of oppression? Which factors would affect your responses? Third, unlike many scholars Newby acknowledges that this body of literature must be dealt with because it is an essential preface in understanding the course of race relations in 1968, and beyond I am sure he would agree. Another work more recent than Newby's is John David Smith, ed., Anti-Black Thought, 1863-1925: An Eleven Volume Anthology of Racist Writings (New York: Garland, 1993). Besides the eighty-six total texts in the eleven volume body of literature, Smith's "Further Readings" located in each volume provides us with various studies dealing with "anti-Black thought" as it manifested itself in politics, social segregation, violence, and overall inequality and in justice for Black America.

<sup>22</sup>For a comprehensive discussion of the "scramble for Africa," see A. Adu Boahen, African Perspectives on Colonialism (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987).

European imperial powers of the world--Britain, France, Germany, Belgium, Portugal, Spain, Italy, among others--published racist literature proclaiming the inferiority of Africans. Terms such as "barbarism," "savages," "Hottentot," "beast-like," "primitive," "child-like," "cruel," and others graced the pages of these myths. Africans' cultures represented something exotic to those Europeans who began defining it, transporting it, and displaying it. Museums, "freak shows," and World's fairs allowed all classes of Europeans and Americans to become first-hand witnesses of Africans' savagery.<sup>23</sup> Books from travelers, missionaries, and colonial officials demonstrate the manners in which continental Africans were declared inferior to Caucasians.

Another manner in which certain Euro-Americans attempted to demonstrate their superiority and control over African descendants was through the legal system and violence. The role that the government, the constitution, and the militia played in maintaining Black oppression is indisputably presented by lawyer and historian Mary Frances Berry. In Black Resistance/White Law she traces the historical evolution of "constitutionally sanctioned" oppression of Black America. Her insights into the 1880s through roughly the first two decades of the twentieth century are revealing. The Supreme Court declaring the Civil Rights Act of 1875 as being unconstitutional in 1883, the repealing of the reconstruction laws protecting Blacks rights to suffrage, migration patterns, the effects of the Spanish American War beginning in 1898, and various riots throughout the nation are among some of the causal factors at work here.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>23</sup>For an interesting discussion of museums in the process of British imperialism, colonialism, and racist justifications, see Annie E. Coombes, Reinventing Africa: Museums, Material Culture and Popular Imagination (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994).

<sup>24</sup>For an in-depth discussion of how the constitution is directly linked to the oppression of Blacks during the time period at hand, and before and after, see Mary Frances Berry, Black Resistance/White Law: A History of Constitutional Racism in America (New York: Penguin Books, 1994), 81-122.

Violence against Blacks became common, normal practices in many American states, both North and South. For example, during Washington's reign as a Black leader lynchings escalated drastically. Ida B. Wells, Rayford Logan, and others cite that in 1892 alone no less than 235 Blacks were lynched. In January of 1910, Du Bois began to edit Crisis, the official organ of the NAACP, in which they kept track of lynchings in under the heading "The Burden," over which there was often a portrait of the grim reaper. Complementing Washington's less overtly "protest" oriented program, the northern based NAACP's journal consistently reported lynchings providing its readership with shocking pictures and actual first-hand reports of mob injustice.

The preceding descriptions have been included with the intention of better equipping the reader of Washington's life with a more comprehensive frame of reference. This does not mean, of course, that Washington's strategy was the only, or most appropriate, approach. Countless other Black activists challenged this tripartite Euro-American cultural assault. The American Negro Academy, founded by Alexander Crummell (1819-1898) in May of 1897, made one of its five goals "to aid, by publications, the vindication of the race from vicious assaults, in all lines of learning and truth."<sup>25</sup> At the same time the NAACP (whose initial plan of action was discussed in late May of 1909), Ida B. Wells (the foremost anti-lynching champion of Washington's times), W.E.B. Du Bois (the second president of the American Negro Academy as well), Monroe Trotter (one of Washington's more devout enemies), and the National Urban League (founded in 1911) adopted other more overtly "radical" lines of attack.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>25</sup>Alfred A. Moss, Jr., The American Negro Academy: Voice of the Talented Tenth (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University, 1981), 24. Moss's study highlights the role of the American Negro Academy by, primarily, focusing upon their so-called failures. His study is well-documented and deserves many careful readings. One very beneficial characteristic is how Moss looks at the publications of the ANA. The first ANA Occasional Paper reveals the organization's devotion to vindicating the race. It is Kelly Miller's A Review of Hoffman's Race Traits and Tendencies of the American Negro, published in 1897.



As objective historians of the late twentieth-century we must attempt to comprehend Washington in terms of what he was dealing with and in coalition with the greater trends of Black leadership. Most, however, continue to oversimplify Washington by simply describing him as an "accommodationist." Allowing one term to define Washington's life, many have upheld the empty myth of Washington as the "compromiser." In order to transcend this limiting paradigm we need to challenge ourselves by once again asking, one, does the term "accommodation" accurately describe Washington's entire program for Black uplift? Was "accommodation" a strategy or a culture? For the lay persons and casual observers of American history, why would Washington act in a manner which, at the surface level and often in the late twentieth-century terms, appears to be "accommodating?"

Mid/late twentieth-century scholars also tend to portray Washington as being the opposite of W.E.B. Du Bois. In this scenario, Washington is the "accommodationist"/"conservative" whereas Du Bois is the "agitator"/"radical." Of course, the dichotomy is not this simple. Indeed, it is true that these two Black leaders had their share of conflicts (i.e., the Committee of Twelve, Du Bois's "Niagara Movement," The Souls of Black Folk, and the "Talented Tenth, as well as Washington's sharp indictments of "The Intellectuals"). But, we need to ask ourselves why did they have different programs and what did they entail.

Borrowing from the methodology of Louis Lomax's pioneering To Kill a Black Man and James Cone's recent study on Martin Luther King, Jr. and Malcolm X, Washington's and Du Bois's ideologies are products of distinctly different experiences which do not necessarily oppose each other. On the other hand, they were complementary.<sup>27</sup> Nearly

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<sup>26</sup>Here the point is simple. There were, and still are of course, many approaches to solving the "Negro Problem," today known as Blacks struggle for humanity and justice.

<sup>27</sup>See Louis E. Lomax, To Kill A Black Man (Los Angeles: Hallway House Publishing Company, 1968) and James Cone, Martin and Malcolm and America: A Dream or a Nightmare (New York: Orbis Books, 1992). First, Lomax asserts that

ninety years before Cone's study was conceived, Kelly Miller essentially said the same thing. "Radical and conservatives agree as the end in view, but differ as to the most effective means of attaining it. The difference is not essentially one of principle or purpose, but point of view,"<sup>28</sup> Miller concluded.

This thesis features two sections dealing with the historically oversimplified relationship between Washington and Du Bois. Here, in the first section, I hope to, one, briefly touch upon how Du Bois's chief biographers have defined the Du Bois-Washington relationship and Washington's program. Two, William Toll's and Thomas E. Harris's more specific investigations of the "Washington-Du Bois Controversy" will be analyzed focusing on their interpretations of Washington's program. Then I will simply outline the fundamental differences between them, using 1915 as an ending date.

Even though the 1960s, the 1970s, and the 1980s witnessed an upsurge of writings on Du Bois edited by John H. Clarke, Esther Jackson, Ernest Kaiser, and J.H. O'Dell, Rayford W. Logan, Julius Lester, and Herbert Aptheker, here I will survey how five Du Bois biographers have contributed to how the academy characterizes Washington's outlook.

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Malcolm X and Martin Luther King, Jr. were very similar, yet at the same time their different backgrounds contributed to their ideological differences. Lomax looks at the following elements for comparing and contrasting these two monumental Black leaders: integration, racial separatism, economics, education, "the pulpit," the social historical contexts in which they existed, the media, views of violence, the Black Power era, culture, and the nature of their deaths. Echoing many of Lomax's ideas, Cone's study--coming at a critical time during the reinvention of Malcolm X--stresses that before their respective transformations, Malcolm X and Martin Luther King Jr. complemented each other, filling voids in each other's programs and ideologies for Black liberation. In addition, he maintains that their "early" careers represent the chief ideological differences between the integrationist and nationalist traditions of Black protest. Cone even suggests that the Americanness and Africaness of Du Bois's theory of Black America's "double-consciousness" is represented by M.L.K., Jr. and Malcolm X, respectively. These studies provide a nice framework for analyzing King-Malcolm X type relationships in Black the history of Black leadership. Washington and Du Bois, of course, are precursors to their late twentieth-century counterparts. The former two, it can be said, opened up the discourse of Black leadership after slavery.

<sup>28</sup>Kelly Miller, Radicals and Conservatives: And Other Essays on the American Negro in America (New York: Schocken Books, 1968), 25-26.

The first comprehensive biography of Du Bois was Francis L. Broderick's W.E.B. Du Bois, Negro Leader in a Time of Crisis, published about four years before Du Bois died in Ghana. This work, which sought to understand Du Bois "in the context of his times," devotes a dozen pages to Washington under the heading "The Fight Against Booker T. Washington." Broderick analyses Washington as he thinks Du Bois may have. He cites mainly from Du Bois's personal writings only referring to one work dealing with Washington, E.D. Washington's Selected Speeches of Booker T. Washington (1932). Broderick challenges the general interpretations of the Washington-Du Bois debate. "The notoriety of the Washington-Du Bois controversy has obscured the similarity of their views for at least six or seven years after the Atlanta speech," he asserts.<sup>29</sup> Broderick continues by probing into how Du Bois's views of Washington's educational and economic ideals shifted by 1903. Objectively, he attempts to explain why the differences emerged. "Behind the conflict in ideas were two discordant personalities," Broderick adds, "Both possessed titanic ambition."<sup>30</sup>

He too, however, dichotomizes and oversimplifies the expressions of Black leadership. "Where Washington accommodated, Du Bois was fretful and aggressive,"<sup>31</sup> he claims. Beyond this unclear definition of Washington's program, Broderick analyzes this dynamic relationship in Conesian terms. In particular, he stresses that Washington's program "gave Du Bois an anvil on which to hammer out his ideas."<sup>32</sup> In other words, Du Bois's ideology of the "Talented Tenth" was partially a response to Washington's working with the masses.

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<sup>29</sup>Francis L. Broderick, W.E.B. Du Bois, Negro Leader in A Time of Crisis (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1959), 64.

<sup>30</sup>Ibid., 69.

<sup>31</sup>Ibid., 70.

<sup>32</sup>Ibid., 73.

A year following Broderick's study, Elliott Rudwick published the second major biography on Du Bois. He contributes three chapters to the "Du Bois-Washington Controversy." Rudwick's focus is on the various events contributing to their differences. He portrays Washington as being power hungry. One of the most blatant examples is his attempt to psycho analyze Washington's motives for opposing the "Radicals" beliefs.<sup>33</sup> According to this account, it seems that Washington's most important time was spent attempting to silence Du Bois's camp. Rudwick's analysis basically overviews the relationship between Washington and Du Bois from roughly 1895 until 1915, with a focus on the period from 1903-1910. With the exception of Lewis's 735 page study published more than thirty years later, Rudwick's biography cites Washington more than any other Du Bois biography. He cites various letters from the Library of Congress's collection, selected speeches, The Future of the American Negro, Up From Slavery, My Larger Education, various magazine and newspaper articles, as well as leading articles and biographies on Washington from Scott's and Stowe's biography to Aptheker's and Meier's "path breaking" articles.

Among those works published on Du Bois during the 1970s, one stands out as being quite exceptional. This being Arnold Rampersad's The Art and Imagination of W.E.B. Du Bois. Rampersad distinguishes himself from other chroniclers of Du Bois's life in that he seeks to write an "intellectual biography" of Du Bois, tracing his intellectual origins, development, and maturity. Du Bois had a host of intellectual donors stretching beyond ethnicity, race, disciplines, region, and age.

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<sup>33</sup>Elliott M. Rudwick, W.E.B. Du Bois: Propagandist of the Negro Protest (New York: Atheneum, 1986), 75. Here, Rudwick speculates that perhaps Washington's problems with his "intellectual" counterparts can be traced back to his childhood. According to Rudwick, Washington may have been jealous of his opponents intellectual prowess. Such accusations lead us to think that Washington entered the struggle for Black freedom for himself. It is true that Washington may have had some serious methodological problems with other Black leaders, but this was because he sought to uplift the masses as efficiently and practically as possible during the late 1800s and early twentieth-century.

In Chapter Four, "The Souls of Black Folk," Rampersad discusses the relationship between Washington and Du Bois and portrays the former as deserving the criticisms boldly asserted in "Of Mr. Washington and Others." According to Rampersad, Washington and Du Bois "had a great deal in common among their beliefs. . . They shared a basic revulsion at the quality of black life among the masses of the people."<sup>34</sup> In one instance, citing from H.T. Kealing of the African Methodist Church, Rampersad claims that "Washington's position was even more censorious of the black masses, although it was characteristic that he seldom advertised his views except by implication."<sup>35</sup> These unclear comparisons ignore the key difference in their perception of the masses which makes similarities unwarranted. In broad terms, Du Bois's "Talented Tenth" ideology deemed the masses objects of liberation. Whereas, Washington's pragmatic, more accessible program sought to empower the Black masses.

Rampersad also follows in Harlan's footsteps by asserting that Washington's ideology was based upon the continuous quest for power.<sup>36</sup> Reading Rampersad's initial representations of Washington may lead one to think that he conforms to the general myth making process. However, he distances himself from this tendency at the conclusion of Chapter Four. Consider the following insightful statements:

Washington's name has become infamous in some quarters as being synonymous with spineless accommodationism. Du Bois has been considered a cultural nationalist, insisting on the virtues of his people and their separate destiny. These are justifiable reputations. It might be argued, though, that Du Bois was a more profound accommodationist than Washington when he wrote *The Souls of Black Folk*. If Washington was denying the power of black art and spirituality, Du Bois appeared to be adding culture to the hallucinations dancing before the eyes of men peering through the veil.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>34</sup>Arnold Rampersad, The Art and Imagination of W.E.B. Du Bois (New York: Schocken, 1990), 81.

<sup>35</sup>ibid.

<sup>36</sup>ibid., 83.

Foreshadowing Wilson Jeremiah Moses's characterizations of "The Golden Age of Black Nationalism," Rampersad's critical look at Du Bois challenges his readership to re-think our conceptual framework for defining patterns in Black leadership approaches.

Rampersad's biography is among the first to call for a more critical, deeper, and even compartmentalized examination of Du Bois's multi-dimensional life. A decade later, Manning Marable continued this tradition of revisionism. One of Black America's most well read political theorists posits that Du Bois's life was not such a paradox if we examine his identity as a "radical democrat."<sup>38</sup> In describing Du Bois's personality as such, Marable pays some attention to his relationship with Washington throughout three key chapters. "To appreciate Du Bois's role in Afro-American history," Marable continues, "it is necessary to review briefly Washington's rise to power."<sup>39</sup> Deeming Washington the opposite of Frederick Douglass, Paul Robeson, Malcolm X, and Martin Luther King, Jr., Marable also accepts Harlan's theory that the Tuskegeean "was not an intellectual, but a man of action. Ideas he cared little for," he proceeds to cite Harlan, "Power was his game, and he used ideas simply as instruments to gain power."<sup>40</sup> As a result, in describing the evolving relationship between Washington and Du Bois, Marable portrays the latter as being the innocent victim to the former's ruthless quest

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<sup>37</sup>Ibid., 87.

<sup>38</sup>Manning Marable, W.E.B. Du Bois: Black Radical Democrat (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1986), ix. Marable asserts that throughout his life as a developing Black thinker and leader, Du Bois remained a "radical democrat."

<sup>39</sup>Ibid., 41.

<sup>40</sup>Ibid. Earlier, I commented that it was ironic that Marable portrayed Washington as promoting different programs than a set of Black leaders. In particular, I found this strange in reference to Martin Luther King, Jr. King's life as a Black leader during the Civil Rights era is strikingly similar to Washington's life as a Black leader following reconstruction. For instance, they were both deemed "safe" leaders by much of Euro-America; they both spoke to several audiences simultaneously; they both had deep religious faith (particularly an adherence to Jesus's unselfish redemptive suffering); and they both shared some notion of an ideal "beloved community."

for power. Several examples illustrate how Marable's general conceptualization of Washington is oversimplified.

In defining and defending Du Bois's idea of the "Talented Tenth," Marable claims that "despite Washington's homilies about rural life and the poor, the real elitist was the Tuskegeean," he continues, "The Tuskegee Machine was composed of entrepreneurs, editors, small bankers, ministers, and politicians who acted in their material self-interest. . ."<sup>41</sup> Part of this assessment may be accurate. However, Washington's program involved the non-elite at various levels. Marable ignores the Tuskegeean's extensive extension/outreach programming.<sup>42</sup>

Quoting a 1951 article by Oliver C. Cox, an anti-Bookerite in sheep's clothing, Marable again attempts to support his claim that Washington was really not a leader of the masses. In this case, Marable correctly reiterates that Washington was empowered by "white elites" by making a clear distinction between his Euro-American and Black support networks, deeming the former "effective power." Does this mean, however, that Blacks did not empower Washington or themselves through his program? Could the gears of the "Tuskegee Machine" have been set in motion and sustained without Euro-American support? Of course, the material advantages and resources would have dwindled Tuskegee's success and power base substantially. But the philanthropists did not determine how the money was used.

The most well-acclaimed and exhaustive Du Bois biography of this century is David L. Lewis's W.E.B. Du Bois: Biography of a Race, 1868-1919. Engaging in what Waldo E. Martin Jr. perhaps pioneered in the early/mid nineteen-eighties, Lewis at times also

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<sup>41</sup>Ibid., 51.

<sup>42</sup>Many other authors, such as Virginia Lantz Denton, have recently reminded us of these activities' significance in the history of Black leadership, education, and social philosophies. According to Marable, we are to assume that Washington simply spent the bulk of his efforts in acquiring personal political power. In the concluding section of this thesis issues such as these will be explored further.

puts thoughts into Du Bois's mind.<sup>43</sup> Exploring a rich body of cited primary and secondary sources, Lewis does not view his hero as an isolated personality. Instead, he analyses him in light of the social historical contexts which molded him, his educational, intellectual, and professional experiences, his shift from a scholar to a acknowledged leader of his race, and his relationships with various Black leaders.<sup>44</sup> Among these leaders is, of course, Washington.

What Lewis tells us about Washington is derived mainly from their dynamic relationship during the late 1890s and early 1900s. He echoes Aptheker's 1949 article which traced how Washington and Du Bois became ideological adversaries. Being a self-proclaimed advocate of Du Bois, Lewis predictably accepts the findings of "Washington's masterful biographer."<sup>45</sup> He really never defines what Washington's program entails, other than being a movement aimed at "humiliatingly" stopping its Afro-American opposition. The following passage is perhaps Lewis's most clear look at Washington:

The South was Washington's specialty, the region whose fabulous creation was from earliest formation as Mrs.

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<sup>43</sup>For an intriguing psychological analysis of one of Black America's pioneering agitators, see Waldo E. Martin, Jr., The Mind of Frederick Douglass (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1984). Martin is among the first biographers to psychoanalyze such a prominent Black leader in a scientific, well-researched manner. Simply put, Martin bases most of his psychological conclusions on research and well-known facts about Douglass. At times he goes too far, but his approach helps us move beyond the dull, uncreative, standards for writing biographies.

<sup>44</sup>Here, I do not mean to oversimplify Lewis's exhaustive study. A more serious, rigorous investigation of Lewis's work would, no doubt, reveal many more significant themes. Upon surveying his biography, these are some of the elements which jumped out at me. I should also add that I read Lewis's work looking primarily for references to Washington.

<sup>45</sup>David Levering Lewis, W.E.B. Du Bois: Biography of A Race (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1993), 238. Lewis also accepts that Harlan is Washington's only biographer. In describing the "Great Accommodator," Lewis primarily accepts Harlan's premise of 1972 and 1983. He supports the hyperbole of Washington the power-hungry tyrant. Unlike Rampersad, Lewis does not challenge Du Bois's and the "Radicals" opposition to Washington. Instead, he praises The Souls of Black Folk as representing "a revolutionary conception."



Viola Ruffner's Malden, West Virginia houseboy to General Armstrong's "no ordinary darky" student at Hampton. If Du Bois's considerable and growing knowledge of the black South was, nevertheless, akin to a professional explorer's knowledge of Africa or the Amazon, Washington was the black South--the peasant South arrayed with honorary degrees. Half white himself (ignorant of his father's identity and of his own birth date, he liked to say that his existence at least was certain), he was a veritable tangle of the South's taboos, paradoxes, and feudal intimacies. Therefore, Washington was a southern black man who understood southern white men to the marrow. His views of Du Bois's much-discussed concept of African-American "two-ness" do not survive, but Washington could well have claimed to possess something like "three-ness"--the consciousness of being an American, a Negro, and, more perilously, an American Negro in the South. . .<sup>46</sup>

Lewis's 1994 Pulitzer Prize/Francis Parkman Prize/Bancroft Prize winning biography cynically discusses Washington's ideology, stressing that his program was overtly opposed to that of Du Bois. Du Bois is the hero of Lewis's tale, Washington is the villain.

While the general body of scholarship of Black leadership during the "Golden Age of Black Nationalism" pays some attention to the Washington-Du Bois Controversy, two studies stand out as being devoted to unpacking this phenomenon. In 1979, William Toll published one of the most thorough examinations of reconstruction and turn of the century Black intellectual thought. In particular, he examines the historical development of the two ideologies. These being "social rehabilitation," advocated by T. Thomas Fortune, Frederick Douglass, and Booker T. Washington and "cultural revitalization," supported by Alexander Crummell, George Washington Williams, and Du Bois. Toll's revisionist study also analyzes the Black intellectual struggle as being a tense, inter-generational, inter-connected, cultural struggle and transformation in which Black elite leadership remained anything but static. "A combination of social and intellectual changes enabled cliques of leaders with distinct ideologies and interests to succeed one another," Toll continues, "the methods of one generation, like the application

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<sup>46</sup>Ibid., 256-257.

of formal social theory to economic problems, were reinterpreted and put to more radical purposes by their successors."<sup>47</sup> For Toll, approaches to the "Negro Problem" are all inter-connected.

"As I began to analyze Du Bois's debate with Booker T. Washington, I came to believe that it had been seriously misinterpreted and had been in fact a major event in American cultural history," Toll cautions.<sup>48</sup> Even though he is openly a Du Bois advocate, his brief accounts of Washington's philosophy are fair and fresh. In "Booker T. Washington and A Pedagogy for the Oppressed," Toll defines Washington's program as being revolutionary in many ways. One, Washington gained attention from the masses with a "sophisticated pedagogy for their rehabilitation." Two, he combined integrationist and nationalist tendencies. Three, he challenged the Black politicians, like John M. Langston, John R. Lynch, P.B.S. Pinchback, and Richard Greener who had basically ignored the Black masses. And four, he sought to "liberalize" nineteenth-century American classroom educational methodology.

Most noteworthy in Toll's interpretation of Washington is that he makes connections between him and some of the "Third World's" most outspoken revolutionaries. Consider his assertions:

Like Freire and Fanon, his experiences in rural districts convinced him that the peasantry must first be taught to scrutinize itself so it might develop the confidence to build economic power. All three men condemned urban intellectuals who ignored the psychology of the oppressed who, from afar, incited rural people to secular rehabilitation.<sup>49</sup>

Merely placing Washington in the company of such freedom fighters is a statement inciting revision.

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<sup>47</sup>William Toll, The Resurgence of Race: Black Social Theory from Reconstruction to the Pan-African Conferences (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1979), 5-6.

<sup>48</sup>Ibid., viii.

<sup>49</sup>Ibid., 51.

Toll's book is very useful here because it objectively deals with the Tuskegee principal's opposition, with a focus on Du Bois's role therein. He rejects the commonly held notion that Washington's lack of outspokenness for Black political and civil rights formed the nucleus of *the great debate*. Instead, he suggests that the ideology of Washington's opposition "was shaped by a wider search for an independent Black politics and a distinct Black voice in an era of third-party movements and of ethnic diversity in the American cities."<sup>50</sup> The growing Black consciousness of the late 1890s and early 1900s, of which Du Bois was perhaps the foremost pioneer, sought to, in turn, transcend Washington's out-of-date approach. Thus, Washington's program was a catalyst for Du Bois and other Black thinkers who would go on to greatly influence the generation of Black thinkers emerging during the Harlem Renaissance.

"By demonstrating the psychological and aesthetic differences between Black and white Americans and by questioning the spiritual rewards of commercial civilization," Toll points out, "Du Bois became the first recognized Black scholar explicitly to challenge Washington's cultural premises."<sup>51</sup> While Toll asserts that Du Bois's Crisis helped lay the foundation for the cultural revitalization after roughly 1910, he acknowledges that Washington was also affected by this new consciousness. Not only did the Tuskegeean assume a more outspoken position on race relations, but he also, between 1910 and 1915, began to change his perceptions of the Black masses, primarily because of his trip to Europe with sociologist Robert E. Park. Toll suggests that without Park's influence Washington appreciated the Danish Socialists' use of folk history and class consciousness.<sup>52</sup> During the last decade of his life--no doubt influenced by Du Bois,

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<sup>50</sup>Ibid., 89.

<sup>51</sup>Ibid., 119.

<sup>52</sup>Ibid., 179.

Carter G. Woodson, Monroe Work, and others--he also began to increasingly champion that the Black peasantry had a historically rooted culture worthy of recognition.

Toll's concluding commentary explaining the key differences between Du Bois and Washington is cautiously worth citing. The reader should pay attention to the pro-Du Bois overtone, his limiting definition of *culture*, and the fact that by Du Bois's ascendancy as a major Black cultural revitalizer during the 1900s, Washington needed to change his cultural program as well. Toll highlights:

In seeking to cast off the inner dread implanted in Blacks by American racism, Washington never fully realized the power of cultural tradition. Although he gradually developed an appreciation of Black aesthetic qualities, for him culture remained an adjunct of rather than a means for shaping economic and social modernization. In a moving yet terse epitaph in the *Crisis*, DuBois carefully weighed Washington's failure to promote a distinctive sense of Black personality. Washington, he noted had provided a program to inoculate habits upon which individual self-esteem might rest, and he had made southern whites accept Black as potential partners in modernizing the region. But, DuBois concluded, Washington had never acknowledged how whites around the worked utilized the Tuskegee program to reinforce Black subordination.<sup>53</sup>

Several years after Toll's The Resurgence of Race, Thomas E. Harris first worked out an analysis of Du Bois and Washington in dissertation form. "While both leaders raise fundamental and significant issues, no work currently exists that places the debate participants side by side to examine their positions," Harris claims in 1981 as a Ph.D. candidate.<sup>54</sup> Harris's work, however, is very problematic. Foremost, his arguments are extremely simple, ignoring the complexity of Black thought. It is particularly surprising that such a surface level study would be reprinted in 1993 with few changes. After reading this essay, I had to question the significance of editor Graham

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<sup>53</sup>Ibid., 182.

<sup>54</sup>Thomas E. Harris, Analysis of the Clash Over the Issues Between Booker T. Washington and W.E.B. Du Bois (New York: Garland, 1993), 5.

Hodges's "Studies in African American History and Culture." Without being too nit-picky, I will briefly point out some of the fundamental oversights in Harris's study.

In his introduction under the heading "Sources Utilized in Study" Harris claims to have drawn information from Foner's collection on Du Bois, Harlan's volumes and other writings, the Schomburg collection, the Jesse E. Moorland Collection of Negro Life and History at Howard University, the Columbian University Oral History Collection, as well as the Booker T. Washington Papers at the Library of Congress. With such a well of information it would appear that Harris's analysis could have been much more thorough. Instead, he hap-hazardly compares the backgrounds of Du Bois and Washington.<sup>55</sup> "In both cases, their lives greatly affected their stated positions. Du Bois was an ideologue. Except for the basic appeal to humanitarian tradition, Washington was not to any decisive degree motivated by ideological considerations," Harris claims in acceptance of Harlan's "a man of action" theory.<sup>56</sup> He investigates Du Bois's and Washington's programs using politics, social theories, economics, racial solidarity, and their notions of time as key elements for comparison. According to Harris, Washington represents the Black leader who did not protest, while Du Bois devoted his life to it. Harris attempts to compare these two Black leaders' tactics without highlighting that their audiences and roles varied. In the end, he attempts to discover who won the great debate, as if Black leadership can be measured in such a manner.<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>55</sup>In essence, Harris does not really treat Washington's upbringing seriously. He does not even state when Washington was born, or how his childhood experiences influenced his later life as a Black leader. This is surprising considering that Harlan's 1972 biography spends a great deal of time analyzing this.

<sup>56</sup>Harris, Analysis of the Clash, 25.

<sup>57</sup> Harris's essay raises some questions about the politics of publishing. For example, why and how was it that this dissertation was selected to be reprinted by Garland Publishing in Graham Hodges's "Studies in African-American History and Culture" series in the first place? Are there not a host of other investigations which analyze this debate in much greater depth and in more accurate terms? Are we to perhaps assume that Hodges included this study to be criticized by beginning readers?

Of the numerous articles, chapters, or short commentaries on this relationship, four articles appearing in Crisis are worth unpacking. In February of 1992, Crisis featured a Black history special entitled "Booker vs. W.E.B., The Great Debate: Has Time Provided the Answer?" Predictably the general overtone of this edition is in support of the Crisis founder. From the start, in the "Publisher's Foreword," Benjamin L. Hooks asserts that Du Bois, who wanted "full manhood rights" for Blacks "opposed the gradualist and accommodationist approach subscribed by Booker T. Washington, who, without question, was white America's leading man of color."<sup>58</sup> With this foreword looming, the articles begin with Charles Henry's "Who Won the Great Debate--Booker T. Washington or W.E.B. Du Bois," the longest article of the issue.

Henry defines Washington's program based upon his 1895 oration and his relationship with Du Bois as constituting a struggle of values and ideals. He carelessly assumes that Washington's strategy of "accommodation" permeated his cultural program. "Booker T. Washington fully accepted the ethos of the dominant society. Shaping this ethos were the values of optimism, materialism and individualism as defined by the captains of industry." Henry continues, "For Washington, black culture represented an obstacle to advancement, and his separation was only a temporary strategy leading to assimilation."<sup>59</sup> According to Henry, Du Bois somehow represents the vanguard of Black culture.<sup>60</sup>

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By the looks of it, I doubt it. It appears to simply be another case of careless scholarship on one of Black America's most controversial leaders.

<sup>58</sup>Benjamin L. Hooks, "Publisher's Foreword," Crisis 99 (February 1992): 4.

<sup>59</sup>Charles P. Henry, "Who Won the Great Debate--Booker T. Washington or W.E.B. Du Bois," Crisis 99 (February 1992): 15. Even the title of this article is misleading. Assuming that there was a "winner," Henry re-invokes the traditional myth that the Black struggle for liberation somehow has some one right answer. This is impossible! Both Washington and Du Bois were right!

<sup>60</sup>Henry seems to be confused as to what culture means. Is it the way one lives one's life, or is it the manner in which one observes how others live their lives and then call for people to emulate those outer trappings of culture? Or is it both? See Charles P.

Henry also makes a connection between Washington's and Du Bois's discourse and 1992. His analogy is very disturbing. In closing he re invokes the myth of Washington as the boot-licking, "Uncle Tom." Listen to Henry's accusations:

As we look forward to the 21st century, the question before us remains the one raised by Du Bois a hundred years ago. Are we fully satisfied with the values guiding our country's political and economic policy? *For Clarence Thomas and others the answer appears to be yes. Like Booker T. Washington, they have attached their souls to those of the dominant power brokers.* For those who challenge our nation's direction, they must turn to Du Bois. They must fashion a response rooted in the best alternative values to be found in black culture.<sup>61</sup>

This statement supports the thesis that some so-called authorities on African American studies continue to adhere to the myths about Washington, without seriously researching what Washington's philosophy entailed.

Following Henry's lead, Herb Boyd, a freelance writer from New York, only mentions Washington in his commentary on Du Bois and his economic perceptions. "Washington's program was outmoded even at its inception. When he was pushing his students to make their own bricks, technology was rapidly advancing to make them and their process obsolete," Boyd affirms Du Bois's insights. Du Bois's ability to foresee the effects of capitalism, racism, militarism, and technology--as it is most eloquently collected five years after Washington's death in Darkwater: Voices from Within the Veil--remains accurate and ahead of his times. However, to assume that Washington did not see this to some degree at least is a grave under estimation of his "wizardry." While Washington did not solve the economic crises faced by the Black "peasantry," he did attempt to salvage and create a community-building value system while simultaneously working within the capitalistic vices of southern industrialists. As it will be elaborated on later, this could

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Henry, Culture and African American Politics (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990).

<sup>61</sup>Henry, "Who Won the Great Debate," 17. Again, here Henry assumes that Du Bois practiced some type of distinct Black value system during Washington's life time. If he did, what was it?

only make Washington's program multi-dimensional and at times seemingly contradictory.

The two remaining articles side with Washington. Jerry M. Guess's impartial "Booker T. Washington: The Message the Legacy the Challenge" is worth mentioning.<sup>62</sup> "History has proven both Washington and Du Bois to have had valid points of view," he asserts.<sup>63</sup> He outlines how certain expressions of "accommodation" have been necessary in all eras and arenas of Black leadership and forces all of Washington's critics to rethink their assertions. "As was the case in 1895 when Washington delivered his Atlanta address, the plight of African-Americans does not lend itself to simplistic answers. There is no *one* right way to attack the remaining problem that we face." Guess continues his sermon, "We need to stop labeling people Uncle Toms or sell-outs . . . None of us have a lock on knowledge. God did not give any of us infinite wisdom or omniscience."<sup>64</sup>

Hopefully this exercise of examining the Washington-Du Bois relationship through the eyes of various scholars has demonstrated the tendency of scholars to side with Du Bois while oversimplifying Washington's philosophy. With this foundation, the analysis of this relationship shifts to exploring how and why Black America's post-reconstruction paradigm setting leaders challenged each other and how we should view their relationship.

First, it should be remembered that Washington was born in Hales Ford, Virginia where he spent the first nine years of his life in bondage.<sup>65</sup> On the other hand, Du Bois

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<sup>62</sup>The other article is Randall E. Brock, "Cast Down Your Buckets Where You Are," Crisis 99 (February 1992): 22-23.

<sup>63</sup>Jerry M. Guess, "Booker T. Washington: The Message the Legacy the Challenge," Crisis 99 (February 1992): 25.

<sup>64</sup>*Ibid.*, 28.

<sup>65</sup>Of course, Washington, as he points out in his autobiographical writings, was too young to endure many of the harsh realities of slavery. Nevertheless, he was



was born a free Black in Great Barrington, Massachusetts in February of 1868. Washington knew nothing about his family roots, beyond his mother Jane, whose ancestors "suffered in the middle passage of the slave ship while being conveyed from Africa to America."<sup>66</sup> Du Bois, as he was proud to recount in "The Shadows of Years" in Darkwater (1920), Dusk of Dawn (1940), and The Autobiography of W.E.B. Du Bois (1968) knew a lot about his own heritage. And perhaps most importantly, Washington was born and raised in the South, while Du Bois remained in the East and North, thus exposing them to different forms of racism and Euro-American cultures.

Washington was educated by the institution of slavery, William Davis in Malden following the Civil War, Mrs. Viola Ruffner's informal lessons in New England etiquette, Hampton Institute's industrial education program, Wayland Seminary of Washington, D.C., and through contact with others. Washington's idea of industrial education and "moral philosophy" did not equip him to scientifically address the so-called "Negro Problem," as W.E.B. Du Bois knowingly spent his life doing. As early as his secondary school years, Du Bois was considered "intellectually superior." At one level, he used this gift as a means of proving to his white counterparts that Blacks were, contrary to pseudo-scientific evidence, capable of thinking. Du Bois consistently attended public schools in Massachusetts and between 1885 and 1894, he attended Fisk University, Harvard College, and the University of Berlin.<sup>67</sup> Du Bois continued to develop his scientifically-inquiring mind by working, teaching, and/or conducting research at Wilberforce University, the University of Pennsylvania, and Atlanta University. Furthermore, since the publication of The Suppression of the African Slave-Trade to the  
enslaved as a child. In Booker T. Washington: The Making of a Black Leader, 1856-  
1901, Harlan attempts to construct what slave life may have been for Washington.

<sup>66</sup>Booker T. Washington, Up From Slavery: An Autobiography (New York: Carol Publishing Group, 1989), 2.

<sup>67</sup>Herbert Aptheker, ed., 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, 1968), 155.

United States of America, 1638-1870 in 1896, he consistently analyzed, diagnosed, and attempted to solve the so-called "Negro Problem." As a scientific researcher, he engaged in discovering the significance of cultivating a culture and spirituality for Black folk. Du Bois was a brilliant scholar dealing across disciplines: being skilled in writing novels and prose, sociology, history, religion, and Latin and Greek. He still stands out as being among the most productive scholars of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

These experiences, of course, had an influence on the lifestyles which each of these Black leaders lived in and cultivated.<sup>68</sup> Here, I will explore how Du Bois and Washington viewed themselves in relationship to the masses and their culture. Washington's cultural program for Black uplift was maintained at Tuskegee and preached to other mainly southern, rural, Black masses during his extensive speaking tours. Washington basically sought to create a Black people who were self-sufficient, thrifty, respectful to elders, humble, one with nature, organized, and in touch with *redemptive suffering* and living for others if one is privileged to render such a service. His Tuskegee students, "would be teachers," were to live exemplar lives which may, at the surface level, resemble so-called American middle-class aspirations.

Whereas the southern Black proletariat--those who attended the annual Tuskegee Negro Conferences beginning in 1892, those who profited from visits from the "Jesup Agricultural Wagon" and "the moveable schools," and those who attended his planned and spontaneous speeches along the Black Belt and elsewhere--were to first master the fundamental, practical aspects of Washington's character-building process. In this culture, Washington urged the masses to: stay in the South, acquire land if possible,

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<sup>68</sup>Here, I do not wish to analyze how the childhood cultures of Washington and Du Bois may have affected their later years as Black leaders. Many other biographers seem to be quite preoccupied with this. Harlan does this with Washington. And for a psycho-analysis of Du Bois, linking his past to his adulthood, see Lewis, W.E.B. Du Bois: Biography of A Race.

avoid conflicts with whites, adhere to cleanliness and maintain a healthy body, keep their so-called leaders and community representatives in check, grow one's own crops, save one's earnings, and encourage Christian moral codes of behavior. He championed that Blacks never had the right to complain because they could always make work in the South by being creative. Washington's disciples, moreover, were to be well-schooled in both the doctrines so that they could always relate to the masses. For instance, in one of his famous Sunday Evening addresses entitled "The Virtue of Simplicity," Washington stressed the need for Tuskegee graduates to use the simple language of the masses who they were going to educate and uplift themselves.<sup>69</sup> He also made sure that his disciples remained one with the soil. Tilling the land served as a vital common denominator uniting Tuskegee graduates and the Black farmers and workers of Macon County and elsewhere.<sup>70</sup>

Du Bois's cultural outlook was strikingly different, even though they shared the same ideal of uplifting Blacks to higher degrees of what they termed "civilization." As Du Bois confesses in The Souls of Black Folk and in his last autobiography, before he ventured to Fisk University in Nashville, Tennessee, his exposure to Black southern culture was almost non-existent. Fisk was an eye opening transition for Du Bois. He was particularly fascinated by the folk culture of those Blacks whom he educated for two summers in Alexandria, Tennessee.<sup>71</sup> In his late teens, this Black spirituality had a profound impact on him. Du Bois was in a sense an outsider to this culture. One brief example will highlight this. In 1900, in New World, Du Bois wrote an article entitled

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<sup>69</sup>Booker T. Washington, Character Building: Being Addresses Delivered on Sunday Evenings to the Students of Tuskegee Institute (New York: Doubleday, Page and Company, 1902), 33-42.

<sup>70</sup>In many of his autobiographical essays, Washington recounts how in the early summer months of 1881 he lived among the masses of Tuskegee in order to assess the situation. He ate with them, slept on their floors, and observed their strengths and weaknesses on a day-to-day basis.

<sup>71</sup>Apthecker, ed., The Autobiography of W.E.B. Du Bois, 119.

"The Religion of the American Negro" (also appearing as Chapter Ten of The Souls of Black Folk) in which he expresses his fascination with this Black, southern culture. He observes:

A sort of suppressed terror hung in the air and seemed to seize us--Pythian madness, a demoniac possession, that lent terrible reality to song and words. The black and massive form of a preacher swayed and quivered as the words crowded to his lips and flew at us in singular eloquence. The people moaned and fluttered, and then the gauze-cheeked brown woman beside me suddenly leapt straight into the air and shrieked like a lost soul, while round about came wail and groan and outcry, and a scene of human passion such as I had never seen before.

Those who have not witnessed the frenzy of a Negro revival in the untouched backwoods of the South can but dimly realize the religious feeling of the slave; as described, such scenes appear grotesque and funny, but as seen they are awful.<sup>72</sup>

Du Bois, first, scientifically studied these "frenzies" which he traced back to Africa as his Euro-American contemporary Franz Boas did. Where the two differed was in their spiritual affiliation with their subjects, the former being emotionally, spiritually, and culturally linked to his data. Despite this connection, Du Bois did not use his experiences with this culture to help him better communicate with the masses. Instead, echoing general trends in Black leadership he championed that the educated, "civilized" Black upper/middle-class like himself were to be the primary bearers of "civilization," that is making contributions to America so that Blacks, as a whole, would hopefully be recognized. This is where Washington's and Du Bois's programs overlapped at times, they thought they could eventually *prove* their humanity, citizenship, contributions to "civilization," and cultural validity by acting in manners which ran totally against Euro-America's racial stereotyped prototypes.<sup>73</sup>

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<sup>72</sup>Meyer Weinberg, ed., W.E.B. Du Bois: A Reader (New York: Harper and Row, 1970), 203.

<sup>73</sup>For further discussion on what Moses deems the "assimilationist" tendencies of the "Golden Age" of Black Nationalism, see Wilson Jeremiah Moses, The Golden Age of Black Nationalism, 1859-1925 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978).

Washington and Du Bois both used propaganda extensively. On the pulpit before Euro-America, Washington told Blacks not to deal with civil rights, politics, or overt protest, because of his reliance upon Euro-America's funding of Tuskegee. Whereas Du Bois--not necessarily having the destiny of thousands of Blacks resting on his back--pressed for civil rights, suffrage, equality, and humanity.<sup>74</sup> These are some of the straight-forward ways in which Washington's and Du Bois's different lifestyles and perceptions of the masses affected their programs. Oversimplifications, however, emerge when one makes value judgments about Washington's philosophy based upon the oversight that it is the opposite of Du Bois's "militant" approach. This is often the case especially during the last three decades since the emergence of Black Power's cry. All things considered, both Washington and Du Bois were "militant" and "radical."

We need to view Washington and Du Bois as a system of checks and balances. Upon many instances, perhaps most blatantly in "Of Mr. Booker T Washington and Others" and in the principles of the "Niagara Movement," Du Bois made it clear to Washington that he was not going to stand for having Blacks' civil rights and humanity ignored at the political public level. He challenged Washington to deal with the so-called "triple paradox" of his outlook concerning the right to vote, civic equality, and "higher" education, while demanding freedom as well as the abolition of discrimination in America.<sup>75</sup> Washington could not ignore these indictments and they must have affected his outlook. He knew that Du Bois was, in part, correct. But he could not surrender his school and community work to, as Washington often belittled it, "whine" and "complain."

Washington himself often spoke of the need to engage in the work of Du Bois. Pay attention to the following passage:

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<sup>74</sup>Manning Marable, W.E.B. Du Bois: Black Radical Democrat (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1986), ix.

<sup>75</sup>W.E.B Du Bois, The Souls of Black Folk (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1993), 46-47 and W.E.B. Du Bois, Dusk of Dawn: An Essay Toward An Autobiography of a Race Concept (New York: Schocken Books, 1968), 90-91.

Mr. Douglass's great life-work had been in the political agitation that led to the destruction of slavery. He had been the great defender of the race, and in the struggle to win from Congress and from the country at large the recognition of the Negro's rights as a man and a citizen he had played an important part. But the long and bitter political struggle in which he had engaged against slavery had not prepared Mr. Douglass to take up the equally difficult task of fitting the Negro for the opportunities and responsibilities of freedom. The same was true to a large extent of other Negro leaders.<sup>76</sup>

Washington makes it clear that what Du Bois and others sought was a valid part of the Black struggle. Washington, however, naively and perhaps more accurately over-optimistically saw it as an approach which should be updated.<sup>77</sup>

Similarly, Washington kept Du Bois and "The Intellectuals" in check. If one were to read through Washington's writings beginning in 1899, it would be hard not to come across commentary challenging the program of those Black intellectuals not affiliated with Tuskegee by merely reducing their ideas and activities to the learning of Greek and Latin or the reciting of Shakespeare. The following passage represents one of Washington's harshest accusations. He charges "The Intellectuals" with *pimping* Black oppression:

There is another class of coloured people who make a business of keeping the troubles, the wrongs, and the hardships of the Negro race before the public. Having learned that they are able to make a living out of their troubles, they have grown into the settled habit of advertising their wrongs--partly because they want sympathy and partly because it pays. Some of these people do not want the Negro to lose his grievances, because they do not want to lose their jobs.<sup>78</sup>

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<sup>76</sup>Booker T. Washington, My Larger Education: Being Chapters from My Experience (New York: Doubleday, Page and Company, 1911), 105-106.

<sup>77</sup>By saying this, Washington is taking the easy way out. For, this position assumes that the agitators of Douglass's times were able to fulfill their goals.

<sup>78</sup>Washington, My Larger Education, 118. For an interesting discussion of a late twentieth-century "blackness pimp," see George Napper, Blacker Than Thou: The Struggle for Campus Unity (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1973), 47-51. Napper talks about three general types of Black college

Washington's spontaneous characterizations of his opponents were certainly oversimplifications and propaganda.

Washington's most centered in-depth analysis of "The Intellectuals" appears in Chapter V of My Larger Education, "The Intellectuals and the Boston Mob."<sup>79</sup> Here a more mature Washington discusses the conflict between himself and "The Intellectuals" by challenging them to: deal with the actual political, social, educational, and economic "present-day" conditions of the South; weld theory and practice; abandon their so-called "abstract principles of protest;" and to not waste their time and energy in opposing his program.<sup>80</sup> His critical observations must have forced "The Intellectuals" to re-evaluate their ambiguous relationship with the southern and northern, Black masses, if nothing else. This cultural classism, as Harold Cruse stressed in 1967, seems to still be a major obstacle complicating how Black leaders address the role of the masses themselves in their own liberation.<sup>81</sup> What a strange phenomenon: the people whose cultural dynamism make up the nexus of these movements are at the same time marginalized from the process of their own liberation.

This exercise has attempted to demonstrate that viewing Washington as being *what Du Bois isn't* is a grave oversight. Washington's program needs to be challenged and questioned using Du Bois as a critical onlooker (and vice versa). Both of their ideologies were flawed. They were two major leaders of the Black struggle during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (in the case of Du Bois even later) who drew

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student activists and one of them he deems the "blackness pimp," who could be the mid/late twentieth-century version of what Washington describes. However, "pimping" Blackness was a lot more prevalent, and easy to do, in the 1960s than it was in the late 1890s and early 1900s.

<sup>79</sup>Du Bois and Monroe Trotter are not directly mentioned by name here, however it appears that they are Washington's main targets.

<sup>80</sup>Ibid., 102-127.

<sup>81</sup>See Harold Cruse, The Crisis of the Negro Intellectual: An Historical Analysis of the Failure of Black Leadership (New York: Quill, 1984).

from different, yet similar, traditions seeking to deal with *the problem of the color-line*. Their movements helped sustain each other and the fight for Black freedom in America. The prose of Dudley Randall, hailing from Detroit in 1952, most eloquently portrays the Washington-Du Bois relationship:

"It seems to me," said Booker T.,  
 "It shows a mighty lot of cheek  
 To study chemistry and Greek  
 When Mister Charlie needs a hand  
 To hoe the cotton on his land,  
 And when Miss Ann looks for a cook,  
 Why stick your nose inside a book?"

"I don't agree," said W.E.B.  
 "If I should have to drive to seek  
 Knowledge of chemistry and Greek,  
 I'll do it. Charles and Miss can look  
 Another place for hand or cook.  
 Some men rejoice in skill of hand,  
 And some in cultivating land,  
 But there are others who maintain  
 The right to cultivate the brain."

"It seems to me," said Booker T.,  
 "That all you folks have missed the boat  
 Who shout about the right to vote,  
 And spend vain days and sleepless nights  
 In uproar over civil rights.  
 Just keep your mouths shut, do not grouse,  
 But work, and save, and buy a house."

"I don't agree," said W.E.B.  
 "For what can property avail  
 If dignity and justice fail?  
 Unless you help make the laws,  
 They'll steal your house with trumped-up clause.  
 A rope's as tight, a fire as hot,  
 No matter how much cash you've got.  
 Speak soft, and try your little plan,  
 But as for me, I'll be a man."

"It seems to me," said Booker T.--

"I don't agree,"  
 Said W.E.B.<sup>82</sup>

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<sup>82</sup>Margaret Danner and Dudley Randall, Poem Counterpoem (Detroit: Broadside Press, 1966), 8.



Scholars do Washington and his philosophy a grave dis-service in viewing him primarily as "a man of action." In the "Preface" of his first pioneering biography on Washington published in 1972, Louis R. Harlan asserts:

Those who try to understand Washington in ideological terms, as the realistic black philosopher of the age of Jim Crow, or as the intellectual opposite of W.E.B. Du Bois, miss the essential character of the man. *He was not an intellectual, but a man of action.* . .<sup>83</sup>[italics mine]

Rendering his intellectual capacity insignificant, Harlan classifies Washington--who was trained in "moral philosophy" at Hampton--as being strictly "a man of action." This is problematic. Washington was both an intellectual and "a man of action." A close reading of Washington's pillars of industrial education reveals that one must simultaneously work with the head, heart, and the hands. Clarifying his educational program from the indictments of his opponents, Washington asserts:

In what I say here I would not by any means have it understood that I would limit or circumscribe the mental development of the Negro student. No race can be lifted until its mind is awakened and strengthened. By the side of industrial training should always go mental and moral training, but the pushing of mere abstract knowledge into the head means little. We want more than the mere performance of mental gymnastics. Our knowledge must be harnessed to the things of real life. I would encourage the Negro to secure all the mental strength, all the mental culture--whether gleaned from science, mathematics, history, language or literature that his circumstances will allow, but I believe most earnestly that 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 every-day 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. And just the same with the professional class which the race needs and must have, I would say give the men and women of that class, too, the training which will best fit them to perform in the most successful manner the service which the race demands.<sup>84</sup>

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<sup>83</sup>Louis R. Harlan, Booker T. Washington: The Making of a Black Leader, 1856-1901 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972), 2.

Deeming Washington as only "a man of action" limits our analysis of him to his life as a "statesman" or politician. Very few scholars deal with Washington's thoughtful and famous "Sunday Evening Talks" or think pieces such as Sowing and Reaping (1900), The Story of the Negro: The Rise of the Race from Slavery. Volume I (1909), and Putting the Most Into Life (1906). In these think-pieces Washington elaborates on issues such as religion, African cultural retentions in America, health, nature as God's kingdom, and community building. This essay, therefore, stresses that Washington is an intellectual: an applied, practical Black intellectual.

The sources employed by Washingtonian historians and scholars are very problematic and contribute to the concentration of all the oversights listed above. Even following the publication of Harlan's biographies and his revealing fourteen volume The Booker T. Washington Papers, published from 1972 until 1989, scholars and historians still tend to celebrate two sources: the 1895 speech that Washington delivered at the Cotton States and International Exposition in Atlanta, Georgia as the representative of the Negro, and Up From Slavery (1901), Washington's second and most popular autobiography. Many scholars draw their interpretations of Washington based upon these two documents. They are indeed important sources in comprehending Washington, however they must be viewed from a very critical stand point.

To the general readership of Black America's past, the 1895 speech in Atlanta has become synonymous with Washington's outlook. In part because of the Black Power movement and the subsequent demand for Black studies programs at universities throughout the country, the field of Black history was flooded with edited history books containing primary sources. These compilations tend to reinforce that Booker T. Washington was basically an "accommodationist."<sup>85</sup> For example, Harvey Wish's The

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<sup>84</sup>Booker T. Washington, W.E. Burghart Du Bois, Paul Laurence Dunbar, Charles W. Chesnutt, and others, The Negro Problem: A Series of Articles By Representative American Negroes of To-day (New York: James Pott and Company, 1903), 16-17.

Negro Since Emancipation (1964), Broderick's and Meier's Negro Protest Thought in the Twentieth Century (1965), Joanne Grant's Black Protest (1968), Herbert J. Storing's What Country Have I? (1970), Mary W. Burger's and Arthur C. Littleton's Black Viewpoints (1971), Arthur P. Davis's and Saunders Redding's Cavalcade (1971), and perhaps the more well-known Afro-American History: Primary Sources (1971) edited by Thomas R. Frazier use the 1895 speech to portray Washington's entire philosophy. Howard Brotz's Negro Social and Political Thought, 1850-1920 (1966) which, including the Atlanta Exposition oration, looks at seventeen sources authored by Washington, and Charles V. Hamilton's The Black Experience in American Politics (1973) which places Washington not in the tradition of "accommodation" but in that of "constitutionalism,"<sup>86</sup> are among those edited works which do not fall into this trap.

What the other editors fail to stress is that in analyzing Washington's famous "Atlanta Compromise," we must recognize first that Washington was speaking to possibly four different audiences simultaneously: northern and southern Euro-Americans and northern and southern Blacks. The famous phrase, "Cast down your buckets where you are," could thus be interpreted differently. In delivering this speech Washington had a very specific purpose. Simply stated, it was a means to an end. Surely, Washington viewed this platform as a chance for him to intoxicate Southern and particularly Northern philanthropists with the "Tuskegee Spirit," or at least what he wanted them to think of it. A careful reading of Washington reveals that for him "mental gymnastics" was not an end in and of itself. The Washington orator standing before Euro-America

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<sup>85</sup>This constitutes a section of post-1945 Washingtonian historiography in itself. Because of the discussion at hand, this trend will be dealt with here as opposed to in the section addressing post-1945 trends. Moreover, there are many books assuming the format of those to be mentioned. I have only touched upon roughly half a dozen.

<sup>86</sup>See Howard Brotz, ed., Negro Social and Political Thought, 1850-1920: Representative Texts (New York: Basic Books, 1966) and Charles V. Hamilton, The Black Experience in American Politics (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1973).

acted different than the Washington in the Tuskegee chapel on Sunday evenings or the Washington chatting with Macon County farmers.

After 1895, Washington commented on this speech several times in Up From Slavery and The Story of My Life and Work. By 1911, Washington's description of his speech had changed little. He still maintained that he was unaware of the effect that it would have had on the question of late nineteenth and early twentieth century Black leadership. Washington, like Martin Luther King, Jr. in his 1963 widely-celebrated "I Have a Dream" oration, knew that this speech could potentially benefit his plan for Black uplift and American race relations. This becomes more clear by examining Washington's fund-raising programs from 1881 until 1895. Moreover, listen to what Washington says about his Atlanta oration sixteen years later and compare it with the speech itself:

Frederick Douglass died in February, 1895. In September of the same year I delivered an address in Atlanta at the Cotton States Exposition.

I spoke in Atlanta to an audience composed of leading Southern white people, Northern white people, and people of my own race. This seemed to me to be the time and the place, without condemning what had been done, to emphasize what ought to be done. I felt that we needed a policy, not of destruction, but of construction; not of defense, but of aggression; a policy, not of hostility or surrender, but of friendship and advance. I stated, as vigorously as I was able, that usefulness in the community where we resided was our surest and most potent protection.

One other point which I made plain in this speech was that, in my opinion, *the Negro should seek constantly in every manly, straightforward manner to make friends of the white man by whose side he lived, rather than to content himself with seeking the good-will of some man a thousand miles away.*<sup>87</sup> [italics mine]

Comparing these comments to the original text, it seems that Washington is adding to what he said, explaining it further.

More than any other single text, Up From Slavery has been the most over exhausted source in the entire Washingtonian historiography. Before, and even in some cases

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<sup>87</sup>Washington, My Larger Education, 106-107.

following, the paradigm shift in 1944, many of his biographers simply reiterated this story. This does Washington's character and philosophy a real dis-service. Up From Slavery served as a means to an end, a piece of political propaganda. As Harlan points out, Up From Slavery was significant because it was his key to international, world-wide recognition. Up From Slavery first appeared in Lyman Abbott's Outlook for roughly four months, thus exposing the Tuskegeean's "sugar-coated" life and work to upper/middle-class Euro-America. The result was good for Washington. "Up From Slavery was a *succes d'estime*. Washington had presented himself to the world in a most pleasing image."<sup>88</sup> Most Euro-American literary critics and philanthropists of the time hailed the book a success and in some cases it influenced certain guilt-stricken Euro-Americans to send checks made payable to Tuskegee Institute.

Washington's autobiography was so popular that it became the subject of many articles and/or chapters in books by literary theorists beginning primarily in the late 1970s. Among this body of thinkers are James M. Cox, Robert B. Stepto, William E. Cain, James H. Evans, Jr., and Donald B. Gibson.<sup>89</sup> For the most part, these writers'

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<sup>88</sup>Booker T. Washington, Up From Slavery (New York: Penguin Books, 1986), xxix. Though Harlan documents many interesting circumstances stemming from this publication, his fundamental interpretation of its role in Washington's program is perhaps too simple. "As an elaborate exposition of Washington's racial philosophy, Up From Slavery completed the work of his Atlanta Compromise speech, clothing his message of accommodation and self-help in the classic success story," Harlan summarizes. I think that we need to carefully examine Up From Slavery and, like Malcolm X's autobiography, focus upon its broader political and social implications. Harlan seems to suggest that Up From Slavery was the only source with which people could become acquainted with him. If this were the case, yes perhaps Washington would fit easily into the mold of "accommodationist" thinking. However, as we know, this was not the case. Washington had many other platforms with which he conveyed his philosophy, a way of life which did not emulate the "Atlanta Compromise" or Up From Slavery. A new study which explores the autobiographies of Black intellectuals as serving as ideological and political platforms is V.P. Franklin, Living Our Stories, Telling Our Truths: Autobiography and the Making of the African-American Intellectual Tradition (New York: Scribner, 1995). Why Franklin ignores Washington is unclear. Perhaps he accepts the myth that he was not an intellectual.

<sup>89</sup>There are no doubt many other literary works dealing with Washington and many which do not fall into the characterizations I have painted. The following authors

works are flawed for three principle reasons. One, they tend to view Washington independent of the social historical environment in which he existed. Specifically, their flowery discussions often fail to highlight Washington's role as a propagandist. Two, many of these authors also give Washington too much credit as a master of the written word. They overlook that most of his autobiographical reminiscences were written in collaboration with ghost writers. And three, these authors tend to read too far into the symbolism of Washington's words. Two literary scholars, however, transcend their contemporaries.

Houston Baker, Jr., whose father "served for seventy-five years as a dedicated disciple of the teachings of Booker T. Washington," helps us view Up From Slavery in an important light.<sup>90</sup> Baker highlights how Washington was able to manipulate stereotypical images of Blacks, language, and *forms*:

His working of minstrelsy's nonsensical stereotypes begins, most outrageously, when he recalls his mother: "One of my earliest recollections is that of my mother cooking a chicken late night, and awakening her children for the purpose of feeding them. How or where she got it I do not know. I presume, however, it was procured from our owner's farm." *Up From Slavery* is barely begun. We are two pages into the narrative when we are confronted by a "chicken-stealing darky"--as mother. How soothing and reassuring such a formidably familiar image of "Negro behavior" must have been to Washington's white readers!<sup>91</sup>

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are those whose works I read. James M. Cox, "Autobiography and Washington," The Swanee Review 85 (Spring 1977): 235-261; Robert B. Stepto, From Behind the Veil: A Study of Afro-American Narrative (Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1979), 32-51; William E. Cain, "Forms of Self-Representation in Booker T. Washington's *Up From Slavery*," Prospects: An Annual of American Cultural Studies 12 (1987): 200-222; James H. Evans, Spiritual Empowerment in Afro-American Literature: Frederick Douglass, Rebecca Jackson, Booker T. Washington, Richard Wright, Toni Morrison (Lewiston, New York: Edwin Mellen Press, 1987); and Donald B. Gibson, "Strategies and Revisions of Self-Representation in Booker T. Washington's Autobiographies," American Quarterly 45 (September 1993): 370-393.

<sup>90</sup>Houston A. Baker, Jr., Modernism and the Harlem Renaissance (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), xv. I thank Dr. H. Reed for bringing this study to my attention.

<sup>91</sup>*Ibid.*, 27.

Washington also told "darker" jokes in the same manner: in order to make his white, southern audience feel comfortable, thus avoiding conflict. Translated into his Tuskegee student code of living, this basically meant staying out of public political discussions and, more importantly, acting in a Christ-like manner which gave whites no reason, however invalid, to overtly interfere with their lives.

What Baker deems a "mastery of form," I simply call encoded language. In Up From Slavery, Washington wove many messages into this multi-layered tapestry. One example will suffice. Consider the following passage from his opening chapter, "A Slave Among Slaves:"

Ever since I have been old enough to think for myself, I have entertained the idea that, notwithstanding the cruel wrongs inflicted upon us, the black man got nearly as much out of slavery as the white man did. The hurtful influences of the institution were not by any means confined to the Negro. This was fully illustrated by the life upon our own plantation. The whole machinery of slavery was so constructed as to cause labour, as a rule, to be looked upon as a badge of degradation, of inferiority. Hence labour was something that both races on the slave plantation sought to escape. *The slave system on our place, in a large measure, took the spirit of self-reliance and self-help out of the white people. My old master had many boys and girls, but not one, as far as I know, ever mastered a single trade or special line of productive industry. The girls were not taught to cook, sew, or to take care of the house.*<sup>92</sup> [italics mine]

While it may appear that Washington is condoning the institution of slavery, underneath the *mask* he tells his Black readership that they can accomplish what they will and even surpass their Euro-American, southern counterparts in terms of sustaining and creating systems of living. There was one white southerner who did claim to unveil the "hidden" motives of Washington's program. This was Thomas Dixon, one of the well-known authors of "segregationist thought."<sup>93</sup> Among his other "anti-Black" novels are

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<sup>92</sup>Washington, Up From Slavery, 17-18. Examples such as this are not rare throughout the rest of the story.

<sup>93</sup>I am grateful to one of my mentors Saleef Shuaib Kafajouffe, the Director of The Harris--Booker T. Gallery Academe, for pointing out Dixon's perceptions of

The Leopard's Spots. A Romance of the White Man's Burden (1902) and The Clansman (1905), the former of which Kelly Miller debunked in "As to the Leopard's Spots: An Open Letter to Thomas Dixon, Jr." in September of 1905.

In an article entitled "Booker T. Washington and the Negro" appearing in the Saturday Evening Post, August 19, 1905, Dixon warns his fellow, racist Euro-Americans of Washington's scheme to take over their world. Under the heading "The Danger of a Nation within a Nation," he claims:

The trouble with Mr. Washington's work is he is silently preparing us for the future heaven of Amalgamation--*or he is doing something equally dangerous*, namely, he is attempting to build a nation inside a nation of two hostile races. In this event he is storing dynamite beneath the pathway of our children--the end can only be in bloodshed.

Mr. Washington is not training Negroes to take their place in any industrial system of the South in which the white man can direct or control him. He is not training his students to be servants and come at the beck and call of any man. He is training them *all* to be masters of men, to be independent, to his own and operate their own industries, plant their own fields, buy and sell their own goods, and in every shape and form destroy the last vestige of dependence on the white man for anything.

I do not say this is not laudable--I do not say that is not noble. I only ask what will be its end for the Negro when the work is perfect? Every pupil who passes through Mr. Washington's hands ceases forever to work under a white man. Not only so, but he goes forth as an evangelist to preach the doctrine of separation and independence. . .<sup>94</sup>

Dixon's commentary raises many questions. In particular, how did Washington react to this?<sup>95</sup> My assumption is that he was obviously aware of the article and probably hoped that it would be overlooked and/or ignored.

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Washington to me. This article featured on the wall of his gallery in order to show people that not all Euro-Americans viewed Washington as a so-called "safe" Negro. Upon first reading this, I was once again forced to re-think my interpretations of Washington.

<sup>94</sup>Dwight W. Hoover and C. Warren Vander Hill, eds., American Society in the Twentieth Century: Selected Readings (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1972), 124.

<sup>95</sup>Here, I am referring to Harlan's The Booker T. Washington Papers, and not to the collection at the Library of Congress.



Another literary critic who, like Baker, recognizes the purpose of Up From Slavery is Charlotte D. Fitzgerald.<sup>96</sup> Using Louis R. Harlan's findings as a spring-board, she asserts that Washington published two separate autobiographies for two different audiences. According to Fitzgerald, the "first autobiography, The Story of My Life and Work, was written primarily for blacks, and was published with the understanding that it would be restricted to the South and the subscription audience."<sup>97</sup> She compares the contents of the two autobiographies, and concludes that The Story deals with issues to which the masses could relate, such as the Tuskegee Negro Conferences and the specific community oriented work being done at Tuskegee.

To repeat, Washington's speech of 1895 in Atlanta and Up From Slavery must be read critically recognizing that Washington lived fourteen years after the latter was published and that they both were forms of propaganda targeted at several different audiences. The biggest oversight of focusing on these two works is that it ignores Washington's other publications. Not only do Washington's Papers at the Library of Congress, the Tuskegee University Archives, Harlan's fourteen volume work, and letters elsewhere provide us with other sides of Washington, but his more than a dozen books from 1899 until 1915 are invaluable, forcing us to re-think Washington's intellectual capacity. These are simply some of the fundamental tendencies which characterize the post World War II commentary on Washington.<sup>98</sup> The remainder of this

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<sup>96</sup>During one of my routine rap sessions with Dr. Wilma King in December of 1994, Fitzgerald's name came up. Dr. King then called Dr. Fitzgerald at Randolph-Macon College in Ashland, Virginia and I was able to briefly talk to her about her views on Washington. In addition, Dr. King pulled from her files Fitzgerald's original article on Washington presented on July 22, 1987. This version is longer than that in The Black Scholar. It further examines how Washington's three audiences influenced what he said in his autobiographies.

<sup>97</sup>Charlotte D. Fitzgerald, "The Story of My Life and Work: Booker T. Washington's Other Autobiography," The Black Scholar 21 (1992): 35. The publisher of this edition was J.L. Nichols who, according to Fitzgerald, published many books dealing with issues of "race pride."

exploratory essay examines the roots and evolution of these oversimplifications and other observations as they are manifested in roughly eighty years of scholarship, each era giving rise to new, and reinforcing old, beliefs.

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<sup>98</sup>These tendencies really do not emerge strongly before scholars begin using Washington's Papers in the late 1940s. As the following chapter indicates, race and author's academic status affected their interpretations. However, one can assert that most studies of this era tended to iconize the Tuskegeean.

## CHAPTER II

### TRENDS IN THE EARLY WASHINGTONIAN HISTORIOGRAPHY, 1915-1944

During the first major phase of historiography on Booker T. Washington, there were roughly seven biographies devoted to the Tuskegeean. During the 1920s, 1930s, and early 1940s, he was one of the only Black Americans featured in Euro-American authored books about "great American" reformers, educators, and leaders. He was also the topic of various articles pertaining to education, Black leadership and social philosophy, and American history. These early pre-1944 works will be sub-divided into several groups.

First, full-length biographies will be examined in two groups: pre-1920 and post-1920. Second, I will look at Washington as celebrated in a host of unanalytical pieces written by Euro-American scholars of popular culture. Before the bulk of Washington's Papers were acquired by the Library of Congress in 1943, most Euro-American scholars did not deal seriously with Washington. There were two exceptions to these Euro-American portrayals of Washington. Gunnar Myrdal's and Merle Curti's analyses deserve to be viewed separately from those of his contemporaries. Third, Washington will be examined through the eyes of certain Black American scholars, some of whom lived when he did. I will also pay particular attention to how two non-southern based Black-run magazines, Crisis (founded in 1910) and Opportunity: A Journal of Negro Life (founded by the National Urban League in 1923), featured many articles addressing Washington's program for Black uplift.

Frederick E. Drinker's Booker T. Washington: The Master Mind of a Child of Slavery published in 1915 is the first biography of Washington following his death. This book is one of the most fascinating and thought-provoking studies in the entire historiography of Washington for a variety of reasons. First, his study is very well-documented especially considering the publication date. Second, Drinker's book examines Washington in a very critical manner. He depicts Washington's philosophy broadly and analytically. And third, Drinker, considering his identity, seems to be very sympathetic towards Black people.

*Who is Frederick E. Drinker?*<sup>1</sup> So far, I have found only a few leads. In the New York Times for April 7, 1944, in the obituary section, it reads:

FREDERICK E. DRINKER  
Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.  
PHILADELPHIA, April 6--

Frederick E. Drinker, former city editor of The Philadelphia Record and an advertising agent, died yesterday at his home in suburban Media. His age was 73.

He leaves a widow, Mrs. Georgia Drinker, former woman's editor of The Record, and two children by a previous marriage, Mrs. Meredith F. Porter of Rose Valley and Sgt. David Drinker.<sup>2</sup>

Another reference to Drinker's identity appears in the "Preface" of one of his other books. Here he is patriotically described as being "an American of the purest stock, a keen student of Americanism and a well known writer" who "has published widely on American phases of the war . . . and possesses a wide outlook on the future of the United States."<sup>3</sup> At the Library of Congress, I also located five other studies written or co-authored by Drinker.

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<sup>1</sup>The Library of Congress and the University of Michigan's library, among other places, has copies of Drinker's The Philadelphia Record. In a more extended version of this study, I would examine this paper's contents during Drinker's editorship. No doubt, it would reveal Drinker's personal politics, perhaps shedding more light on why he wrote a biography on Washington and Our War For Human Rights.

<sup>2</sup>New York Times, Friday 7 April, 1944.

In 1913, he published Horrors of Tornado Flood and Fire containing eye-witness accounts of "natural disasters" which swept across America beginning in March of 1913. Horrors is well-researched, easy and captivating to read, and has a religious/divine interventionist overtone. Drinker briefly alludes to Blacks in this text. Under the heading "Many Negroes Killed," he mentions a "freak" story about how a tornado killed "many negroes."<sup>4</sup> Patterns of this work also re-appear in Booker T. Washington.

Two years after his biography on Washington, his most perplexing book was published, Our War for Human Rights: Being An Intensely Human and Brilliant Account of the World War and Why and For What Purpose America and the Allies Are Fighting. This study deals with many dimensions of World War I, with a focus on its origins, America's role therein, the world politics involved, and the different techniques of warfare. The most perplexing aspect of this book is that, without acknowledging it in the table of contents, twelve pages at the beginning of the book include photographs and commentary on Blacks' involvement in World War I. Of particular interest is a two page article included entitled "The Negro and the War," from The Philadelphia North America dated June 1, 1918, and a tribute to Major James E. Walker (1874-1918). This is strange not only because the book was supposedly entered into the Library of Congress in 1917, a year before the release of the two previously mentioned articles, but because the same book, with added sections entitled "The Negro in the World War" and "The Disgrace of Democracy," appears under the authorship of Kelly Miller in 1919. Miller's version is entitled Kelly Miller's History of the World War for Human Rights: Being An Intensely and Brilliant Account of the World War and Why and For What

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<sup>3</sup>Frederick E. Drinker and Francis Rolt-Wheeler, Ph.D., eds., The World War for Liberty: A Comprehensive and Authentic History of the War by Land, Sea and Air (Philadelphia: National Publishing Company, 1919), iii.

<sup>4</sup>Frederick E. Drinker, Horrors of Tornado Flood and Fire (Philadelphia: National Publishing, 1913), 55. Further into the text Drinker also mentions how Blacks were forced to pump water off the streets in Ohio.

**Purpose America and the Allies Are Fighting and the Important Part taken by the Negro.**

Both books, moreover, have the same printing on the outside spine of the book. It reads, on both, *Negro Solider in Our War*. Both books are also published by the same company, Austin Jenkins of Washington, D.C.

Austin Jenkins Company Subscription Book Publishers was established in 1831. As an advertisement in "The Crisis Advertiser" of 1923 indicates, Austin Jenkins's "principal publications are special books for Colored people."<sup>5</sup> It seems from an advertisement that Austin Jenkins is either a Euro-American company very sympathetic to Blacks or possibly Black owned. Please read:

Dear Friend;--

Are you energetic and enterprising, interested in the development of the Colored people, their progress in business and education, are you interested in seeing members of the race buy and read good books and become self-educated and enterprising citizens? . . .

Have you given the "Race Problem" any thought? Are you "a thinker"? This letter to you is for the purpose of MAKING YOU THINK. All over this great country of ours, here and there on every corner, Colored people are establishing themselves in business. In many towns and countries we have perminent representatives;--men and women who have in many cases begun in a small way by selling a few books at odd times, and gradually increasing their business. They have built up a business giving them an income of several thousand dollars per year.<sup>6</sup>

Several other books dealing with Blacks were published by Austin Jenkins as well, such as Silas X. Floyd's National Capital Code of Etiquette Combined With Short Stories For Colored People, The Life and Works of Paul Laurence Dunbar, an edition of Du Bois's Darkwater, Miller's Progress and Achievements of the Colored People, and Emmett J. Scott's The American Negro in the World War (which was also distributed by The Negro Historical Publishing Company of Washington, D.C.).<sup>7</sup> For the year of 1919, I located

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<sup>5</sup>"The Crisis Advertiser," The Crisis 24 (May 1923): 43.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid.

<sup>7</sup>At the Moorland-Spingarn Research Center, they have a collection of Kelly Miller's papers, including a copy of his unfinished autobiography. It is "Restricted,"

two books for which Drinker was a co-editor, The World War for Liberty and Theodore Roosevelt: His Life and Work. These works do not address Blacks.<sup>8</sup> In 1922, Drinker, with James G. Lewis, published Radio: Miracle of the Twentieth Century which also pays no attention to Black America. Evidently, Drinker wrote about a host of issues.

Keeping these scattered findings in mind, Drinker's Booker T. Washington becomes even more interesting.<sup>9</sup> I have found three different copies of this study, each of them varying in minor degrees, mainly in terms of photographic arrangements and the concluding sentiments. Drinker's purpose is "to present a faithful picture of Booker T. Washington, as viewed through the eyes of those "outside" who watched his rise and studied his work and progress, and to provide an unprejudiced and unbiased work of some economic as well as historic value."<sup>10</sup> He is very scientific in his usage of sources.

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therefore I was unable to review it for any references to Drinker. Beginning in January of 1916, "The Crisis Advertiser" includes several different advertisements for Booker T. Washington: The Master Mind of a Child of Slavery none of which mention the author's name. Howard Chandler and Company of Chicago provides a detailed description of the book. James W. Caldwell Company of Philadelphia asks for agents interested in selling the "Memorial Edition." And lastly, by 1916 Austin Jenkins featured an advertisement in Crisis which praised a new book on the "complete life" of Washington "from the cradle to the grave." The only other book that this advertisement could be referring to is Riley's The Life and Times of Booker T. Washington (1916) which, in Crisis, is specifically advertised by Revells' Books of New York and Chicago. What does all of this amount to? It leads me to ask, taking into consideration the books on World War I by Drinker and Miller, whether or not they collaborated on Our War or on the study of Washington. Miller could have very easily supplied Drinker with much of the thought provoking descriptions of the Tuskegeean. Moreover, it seems fairly evident that Drinker's Our War for Human Rights laid the foundations for Miller's study. These questions remain to be answered.

<sup>8</sup>The only time that Drinker refers to Black people in the latter is in addressing the Africans with whom Roosevelt came into contact during his hunting expeditions. It is interesting to note, moreover, that Drinker's perceptions about Africa are much different from those appearing in Booker T. Washington.

<sup>9</sup>What would influence "an American of purest stock" to write about Blacks (in Booker T. Washington) in such a manner, during one of the peaks of "segregationist thought" no less? Did a relationship exist between Drinker and Miller?

<sup>10</sup>Frederick E. Drinker, Booker T. Washington: The Master Mind of a Child of Slavery (Chicago: Howard Chandler and Company, 1915), INTRODUCTION.

He quotes extensively from a host of invaluable primary sources,<sup>11</sup> drawing from many of his lesser known commentaries such as his "Sunday Evening Talks," the 1915 catalogue of Tuskegee, Sowing and Reaping, Character Building, Working With the Hands, Tuskegee and Its People, The Story of the Negro, and other selected speeches. He also includes a rich collection of authentic photos. In Chapter XII, "A Black Man's Epitaph Writ in Words of Gold," he quotes a wide range of northern and southern, Afro- and Euro-American, communities who remembered Washington in various newspaper editorials.<sup>12</sup> The fact that Drinker gathered and analyzed all of these sources by the end of 1915, no more than about a month after Washington died, is worthy of recognition. A fifth of the way into Booker T. Washington he separates himself from the typical, pre-1944 Euro-American authorship who celebrate Washington's quest "up from slavery." From Chapter III, "A New Field of Endeavor: Building a School from Nothing," until the end of the book, he carefully unpacks different components of Washington's life.

Foremost, he deals with Washington's philosophy of industrial education, the basis for many of "The Intellectuals'" objection to Washington.<sup>13</sup> Drinker asks us to look at his educational philosophy in less narrow, extreme terms:

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<sup>11</sup>Like most writers of the time who were not trained as historians, Drinker does not use footnotes. Instead he introduces the quote, or ends it, with the source. All citations do appear in quotations.

<sup>12</sup>This section, in a sense, precedes Hawkins's and Thornbrough's studies in the actual historiography of Washington. Among some of those papers cited are the: Philadelphia Public Ledger, Philadelphia Tribune, Chicago Tribune, Chicago Daily News, Louisville Courier-Journal, Mobile Register, Montgomery Advertiser, Chattanooga News, Evening Bulletin, Nashville Banner, Christian Review, Philadelphia Enquirer, Chicago Record-Herald, Philadelphia Courant, Christian Recorder (organ of the AME Church), Chicago Defender, New York Sun, Columbia Magazine, Philadelphia Record (for which Drinker was the editor), and the Tuskegee News.

<sup>13</sup>Alexander Crummell, born almost four decades before Washington, was on the forefront of those who opposed Washington's vocational education program. Crummell called for college-bred Blacks like himself to make contributions to "civilization" on behalf of all Negroes. For good discussions on Crummell's views on the "Negro Problem" and his perceptions of Washington see Wilson Jeremiah Moses, Alexander Crummell: A



He advocated industrial training for the negro, not with the idea that education in other lines was entirely unsuited to them, but because they undeveloped fields of the South in agriculture and industry offered great opportunities for such fundamental development of the colored people as would lead them into better citizenship. His idea from the beginning was that correct education begins at the bottom and expands naturally as the people who receive it expand. Briefly, Tuskegee may be described as a character-building institution. This was the real foundation on which the institution was built. That foundation was the real, big gift of Dr. Washington--a big idea, a broad vision, a knowledge of conditions and how to meet them.<sup>14</sup>

According to Drinker, Washington's educational outlook was "a radical idea" and a pioneering educational experiment, despite the fact that industrial/vocational education existed long before Washington came into the picture. The popular Philadelphian writer also elaborates on essential ingredients to Washington's moral code of living and his outreach activities. To Drinker, some of the most under acknowledged aspects of Washington's educational endeavors, such as the "Extension Department," the Model Schools, Farmer's Local Conferences, night school, rural supervision work, the Teacher's Institute, and even rural school libraries, are important.

Another interesting aspect of this work is Drinker's general portrayal of Black history. In Chapter XVII, "A Lesson in History," he indicts European culture while celebrating African heritage. Drinker proclaims:

Now and then in the discussion of the negro some student stands forth, and his efforts to open the minds of the members of the black race to the possibilities which lie before them, points to the fact that they are descendants of a race as worthy of honor among the peoples of the world as any other. But few know anything about the origin of the black man in the United States, from which Dr. Washington came forth an uncrowned king.

It seems to be a fact that while the Anglo-Saxons, Celts, Scandinavians, Germans and others wore skin coats, devoured their raw food, lived in caverns, and were busily engaged in cutting one another's throats over dry bones, the ancestors of the colored people of the united States were

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Study of Civilization and Discontent (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989) and Alfred A. Moss, The American Negro Academy.

<sup>14</sup>Drinker, Booker T. Washington, 69-70.

enjoying the highest arts of civilization, lived in palaces, and erected magnificent specimens of wonderful architecture, and behaved generally like civilized people.<sup>15</sup>

He asserts, moreover, that the Egyptians and the Ethiopians were Black and created many great empires and civilizations.<sup>16</sup> This forces us to again wrestle with Drinker's identity and motives for writing this book. What would influence "an American of purest stock" to make such statements during an age of "anti-Negro" thought? Was he affiliated with Black intellectuals who could have provided him with this information? These observations, in short, make Drinker's pioneering study of 1915, completed no more than a month and a half following Washington's death, among the most interesting studies in Washingtonian historiography.

The Life and Times of Booker T. Washington, by Benjamin Franklin Riley, was published in 1916 and represents the second published biography on Washington. It is far surpassed by Drinker's study and for this thesis not important. In a "Review of Books" in The Journal of Negro History, Carter G. Woodson had the following to say about Riley's effort:

Primarily interested in the bearing of the educator's career on the conditions now obtaining in this country, the author has little to say about his private life, choosing rather to present him as a man of the world . . . He carefully notes, too, the great educator's chief characteristics, his sane and balanced views, his belief in the cooperation of the two races, and his power to interpret one race to the other. It is mainly this portion of the book that makes this biography worth of incalculable value in the study of the Negro during the last quarter of century.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>15</sup>Ibid., 229.

<sup>16</sup>This is very significant, because history demonstrates how certain Europeans have attempted to claim that Egypt was not in Africa, in order to support their myth of "Negro inferiority." For example, during the first three decades of the nineteenth-century, the French, following the lead of Napoleon, attempted to claim Egypt's intellectual heritage as not being part of Africa's. For further discussion into this issue, see Molefi Kete Asante, Kemet, Afrocentricity and Knowledge (New Jersey: Africa World Press, 1992), 120-131.

In "The Crisis Advertiser" on January of 1917, Booker T. Washington: A Builder of a Civilization by Emmett J. Scott and Lyman Beecher Stowe was hailed as being the "authorized biography of Booker T. Washington."<sup>18</sup> Scott came to Tuskegee in 1897 at the age of twenty and "became the closest private adviser of the man he called 'The Wizard,'"<sup>19</sup> while Stowe (1880-1963), a grandson of Harriet Beecher Stowe, author, and editor, befriended Washington some time later. Woodson praised their study. "Each chapter is complete in itself, setting forth a distinct achievement or the manifestation of some special ability." Woodson continues, "Here we get an excellent account of the making of Tuskegee, the leadership of its founder, his attitude on the rights of the Negro, how he met race prejudice, the way in which he taught Negroes to cooperate, how he encouraged the Negro in business, what he did for the Negro farmer, his method of raising large sums of money, his skill in managing a large institution, and finally an appropriate estimate of the man."<sup>20</sup>

Scott's and Stowe's book does not address Washington's "early," pre-1881 life. Instead, they tell us to read Up From Slavery and draw our own conclusions. The authors take pride in the fact that their work is "authorized." Scott and Stowe congratulate themselves:

We take no small satisfaction in the fact that we were personally selected by Booker Washington himself for this task. He considered us qualified to produce what he wanted: namely, a record of his struggles and achievements at once accurate and readable, put in permanent form for the information of the public. He believed that such a record could best be furnished by his confidential associate, working in collaboration with a trained experienced

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<sup>17</sup>Carter G. Woodson, "Review of Books," The Journal of Negro History 2 (January 1917): 96. See, B. F. Riley, The Life and Times of Booker T. Washington (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1916).

<sup>18</sup>Crisis, 13 (January 1917): 151.

<sup>19</sup>Harlan, Booker T. Washington: Making of a Black Leader, 260.

<sup>20</sup>Carter G. Woodson, "Reviews of Books," Journal of Negro History 2 (January 1917): 97.

writer, sympathetically interested in the welfare of the Negro race. This, then, is what we have tried to do and the way we have tried to do it.

We completed the first four chapters before Mr. Washington's death, but her never read them. In fact, it was our wish, to which he agreed, that he should not read what we had written until its publication in book form.<sup>21</sup>

If this is not enough, the "Preface" was written on August 28, 1916 by Theodore Roosevelt.<sup>22</sup> These superficial sanctions, however, are not what makes this study significant. If anything, these praise songs should make us more skeptical and critical in our reading. Unlike most commentators, Scott and Stowe do not focus on Washington as a "statesman" and/or a public figure. Instead they deal with Washington at Tuskegee and amongst his people throughout the South. In particular, Scott and Stowe attempt to reconstruct the value system by quoting extensively from Washington's lesser known works, including some unpublished Sunday Evening Talks and some of the "huge and varied mail" that he received on a daily basis.<sup>23</sup>

I will explore this study with four central themes in mind. One, Scott and Stowe defend Washington from his opposition by defining his social program in clear terms. Two, Washington's interaction with Tuskegee students is dealt with thoroughly. Three, various outreach programs with the Macon County community, and elsewhere, are described. And lastly, throughout the text, the authors scatter tidbits of information helping us more fully grasp what Washington's life entailed.

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<sup>21</sup>Emmett J. Scott and Lyman Beecher Stowe, Booker T. Washington: Builder of a Civilization (New York: Doubleday, Page and Company, 1916), vii-viii.

<sup>22</sup>Here, Roosevelt basically: praises Washington as being an honest American who taught his people to uphold the law; criticizes Washington's opposition; and discusses Washington's brand of politics.

<sup>23</sup>This component in itself is interesting. Washington was able to keep track of all the mail that was coming into Tuskegee and leaving. It has been estimated that on a daily basis about 500-1,000 pieces of mail left Tuskegee and one hundred and twenty-five to one hundred and fifty entered the institution.

Woven throughout the text is Scott's and Stowe's attempt to clear Washington's name from "The Intellectuals" allegations. Their first defense is a blatant attack on his opposition. The authors believe that this "unimportant, numerically small" group of agitators "are largely city dwellers who have had more or less of what they term 'higher education'--Latin, Greek, Theology, and the like." They persist, "A number of these persons make all or a part of their living by publicly bewailing the wrongs and injustices of their race and demanding their redress by immediate means."<sup>24</sup> These indictments do this study a dis-service, because the authors do indeed provide clear evidence demonstrating that many of "The Intellectuals" overlooked, or purposely ignored, Washington's non-passive acceptance of institutionalized racism. According to Scott and Stowe, Washington did not quietly "accommodate" to the plight of rioting, lynching, segregation, and other expressions of racism. Scott recounts on many occasions how Washington made it his business to often go visit those places where these injustices had occurred.<sup>25</sup>

Scott and Stowe also cite several sources that reveal Washington's anger with "Jim Crowism" four decades before August Meier's path-breaking article, "Toward A Reinterpretation of Booker T. Washington." They cite, for example, Washington's last published article in the New Republic, December 4, 1915, entitled "My View of Segregation Laws."<sup>26</sup> In another case, the authors mention an article from Century Magazine of 1912 in which Washington deals directly with the problem of lynching. These Bookerites also stress how the Tuskegeean courageously stood face-to-face with

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<sup>24</sup>Scott and Stowe, Booker T. Washington, 24.

<sup>25</sup>*Ibid.*, 25-26. According to Scott, Washington often intervened in areas where Blacks had just been lynched. Of course, he put his life on the line during these instances, while at the same time he exemplified why people deemed him an "inter-racial interpreter" in the tradition of his forefather Frederick Douglass (1817-1895).

<sup>26</sup>*Ibid.*, 40-41.

those responsible for such injustices and literally put his life on the line in order to communicate with the Black masses.<sup>27</sup> To underline this fact, the authors point out that an assassin was hired in Louisiana to kill Washington.

How the authors elaborate on Washington among his students warrants some discussion. Of foremost importance is their use of unpublished Sunday Evening Talks at the Tuskegee Chapel such as "For the Old and New Student," "Honor Thy Father and Thy Mother," "The Importance of Simplicity," "Being Polite," "Being Economical," "The Use of Time," "The Power of Persistence," and "Standing Still," just to mention a hand-full. In addition, Washington "would occasionally call a mass-meeting where he would call upon them one by one to get up and tell him of anything that was wrong, of anything that was keeping them from being as happy as they wanted them to be."<sup>28</sup>

Scott and Stowe also look at what some of his model students had to say about him. Isaac Fisher, who presented one of the eulogies for Washington, Jailous Perdue, William Sidney Pittman, William H. Holtzclaw--the principal of The Utica Normal and Industrial Institute for the Training of Colored Young Men and Young Women in Mississippi and the author of The Black Man's Burden (1915)--, Washington A. Tate, and others had only positive praises for Washington. Of course, this does not mean that Washington had no opposition from his students. James D. Anderson provides some valuable insights into how students at industrial/vocational institutions may have rebelled against the establishment. "The Hampton model of industrial education was viewed with suspicion

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<sup>27</sup>Ibid., 94-95. Here the authors discuss certain instances like Jacksonville, Florida. It should be noted that Washington was not always as "safe" with southern whites as we are led to believe.

<sup>28</sup>Ibid., 239. While these "mass-meetings" may not have been as democratic as they are presented here, it is nonetheless important to supplement compare these observations with those of Harlan in "Tuskegee's People" from Booker T. Washington: The Wizard. In this chapter, Harlan deems Washington's school the "Tuskegee plantation." Though there is no denying that Washington liked to be in control, it seems that we forget why he acted in such a manner. Was it, as Harlan seems to suggest, because he was power hungry for himself, or was it because he wanted so badly to help the impoverished Blacks around him?

and resentment by significant segments of the black community." Anderson adds, "The black students who experienced the Hampton routine delivered an important critique. Historians have failed to analyze the industrial education programs from this perspective."<sup>29</sup>

Scott and Stowe describe a Washington who was very familiar with Black southern folk. "Mr. Washington was the kind of leader who kept very close to the plain people," Scott and Stowe insist, "He knew their everyday lives, their weaknesses, their temptations . . . he knew exactly what they 'were up against' whether they lived in the country or city."<sup>30</sup> Like his counterparts of the American Negro Academy, Washington also kept himself abreast to Blacks' day-to-day living.<sup>31</sup>

According to Scott and Stowe, before the United States Department of Agriculture initiated extension programs Tuskegee Institute stretched forth its hands unto the masses. The Teacher's Institute (1884), the Annual Tuskegee Negro Conferences (1891/1892), the Minister's Night School (1893), the Town Mother's Meetings (founded by Margaret Murray Washington in 1894), the Building and Loan Association (1895), the Town Night School (1896), County Fairs (1898), Green wood Village Improvement Association (1902), Rural School Improvement Association (1904), the twelve day Farmer's Short Course (1904), the Jesup Agricultural Wagon or "the agricultural school on wheels" (1906), the Farmer's Cooperative Demonstration Work

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<sup>29</sup>James D. Anderson, The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988), 58-59. Anderson cites specific examples of how Hampton students objected to: the hours of "drudgery" in the fields, low wages, the complacent stance towards "Jim Crow" practices, and the lack of vocational training actually received by students. There were most likely many students who felt the same way towards Tuskegee. Harlan also discusses how some of his students were opposed to Washington's tactics of running Tuskegee.

<sup>30</sup>Scott and Stowe, Booker T. Washington, 26.

<sup>31</sup>Monroe Work, the editor of Tuskegee's the Negro Year Book and the Director of Research and Records beginning in 1908, kept Washington abreast to the state of Black America during his times.

(1907), the Rural Improvement Speaking Tours (1910), the Baldwin Schools (1914), and the Tuskegee Summer School for Teachers are among some of the ways that Washington reached out beyond the "ivory tower" of Tuskegee Institute's campus.<sup>32</sup> Scott also inserts a host of lesser known facts which help us better piece together what Washington's life may have been like. The significance of this biography was perhaps best summed up by Woodson's review of 1917. In the words of the father of Black History, "The book is well written and well illustrated."<sup>33</sup>

The last major biographical sketch of Washington within five years of his death is the first annual The Founder's Day Address delivered at Tuskegee Institute on April 5, 1917 by William G. Willcox, Chairman Board Trustees of Tuskegee Institute as well as the president of the Board of Educators in New York City.<sup>34</sup>

Within five years of the Tuskegeean's death, two significant, of a total of four, biographical sketches attempt to set the tone for how America and the world should view the man who rose "up from slavery." It seems, moreover, that late twentieth-century historians have not acknowledged these biographies. How much of an impact these

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<sup>32</sup>Ibid., 72-79, 158-163. Here, Scott and Stowe go into some detail as to what these different outreach programs entailed.

<sup>33</sup>Woodson, "Reviews of Books," 97.

<sup>34</sup>This twenty-seven page tribute to Washington basically reiterates Washington's Up From Slavery narrative; describes Washington's leadership; hails "The Famous Atlanta Address" (quoting it in its entirety) as representing the key change in Washington's life and work; paints an accurate picture of Washington's Christian, unselfish character; and, most importantly, reminds the students of the rich legacy that Washington left behind. Taken seriously, beyond the rhetorical stage, these sentiments are significant. Among other insights, it can lead us to think about how post-1915 Tuskegee students felt about Washington and his ideology. After 1915, was Washington's ideal upheld by the faculty, students, and community? If so, in what manners? If not, what were those factors that changed the acceptance of Washington's ideal? To what degree did the socio-historical climate influence, or not influence, how Washington was perceived at Tuskegee under the principalship of Robert Russa Moton (1916-1935), Frederick D. Patterson (1935-1953), Luther H. Foster (1953-1981), and Benjamin Franklin Payton (1981- )?



biographies had on their contemporary societies can not be measured here. But, surely anyone who read them carefully must have been encouraged to view a Washington.

The four other biographies published before Frazier's inventory of Washington's Papers at the Library of Congress were published from 1922 until 1939. These include W.C. Jackson's The Boy's Life of Booker T. Washington (1922), Arthur Huff Fauset's Booker T. Washington (1924), Anson Phelps Stokes's A Brief Biography of Booker Washington (1936), and Theodore S. Boone's The Philosophy of Booker T. Washington: The Apostle of Progress, the Pioneer of the New Deal (1939). The latter two so-called revisionist texts are worthy of further discussion.<sup>35</sup>

It appears that after Stowe's and Scott's biography, two decades passed before another scientific biography on Washington was written. In 1936, in open acknowledgment of the eightieth anniversary of Washington's birth, Anson Phelps Stokes, the nephew of Olivia Phelps Stokes who continued his aunt's philanthropy by becoming a trustee of Tuskegee Institute and working with Washington's successor

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<sup>35</sup>See, S.C. Jackson, A Boy's Life of Booker T. Washington (New York: Macmillan Company, 1922) and Arthur Fauset, Booker T. Washington (Philadelphia: Ethiopian Publishing Company, 1924). Jackson, the Vice President of, and a History Professor at the North Carolina College for Women, Greensboro, was the first to write a biography on Washington during the 1920s. Jackson's book seeks to inform Black youth about Washington in hopes that he can serve as some source of inspiration. "The single aim in telling the story that follows is to interest boys in the life of Booker T. Washington," Jackson asserts. Up From Slavery, My Larger Education, and Scott's and Stowe's work serve as the chief sources consulted. Jackson's book is basically Up From Slavery interpreted by one of Washington's advocates. He also spends some time unpacking the role of his extension work. Another usually ignored aspect of Washington's life that Jackson addresses is his relationship with nature. In constructing a way of life for his students, he emphasizes the fact that Washington spent some time in his garden early in the morning. It has some excellent, almost all of which do not appear in other publications, photographs. Two years after Jackson's textbook, Arthur Huff Fauset, under the Ethiopian Classic Series, published Booker T. Washington. Fauset presents us with an unscientific, romantic sixty-three page account of his life which combines both citations from Up From Slavery (sometimes at great length) as well as insight from Major Robert Russa Moton. Most of his interpretations are therefore surface level affirmations of Washington as a Black leader. Fauset also highlights the proverbial story teller dimension to Washington.

Robert R. Moton in establishing an industrial school in Liberia in Washington's name,<sup>36</sup> wrote A Brief Biography of Booker Washington at Hampton Institute.

Stokes's forty-two page study is perhaps the first pre-1944 study which directly comments on the state of Washingtonian historiography. In a "Prefatory Note," Stokes confidently claims:

It seems strange that no definitive biography of Booker Washington has ever been published, in spite of the useful volume written shortly after his death by his Secretary, Mr. Emmett J. Scott, and Mr. Lyman Beecher Stowe. It was too early then, as it is perhaps still too early for an adequate appraisal. A scholarly and adequate 'life' still represents an important gap in the history of not only the American Negro but of education and race relations in the United States. I hope that it may some day be undertaken by a competent biographer who has the time to give to the task. In the meanwhile, owing to the importance of having Booker Washington's career and ideals better known, and the demand for such a work as expressed by leaders in education and in a better understanding between the white and colored groups, I have prepared this sketch.<sup>37</sup>

Apparently, Stokes is perhaps not intimately familiar with the larger body of scholarship on Washington, before 1936 that is. Neither his chapter references nor his "Biographical Note" make any mention to Kelly Miller, Horace Mann Bond, Merle Curti, Charles S. Johnson, and others who wrote about Washington prior to 1936. From the outset, the careful reader should examine Stokes's essay asking whether or not it really constitutes a *new* type of biography.

The first two chapters of A Brief Biography of Booker T. Washington, "Early Years" and "Hampton," basically reiterate the Washington who rose "up from slavery." In "Tuskegee," Chapter III, Stokes stresses how Washington established a working

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<sup>36</sup>For some more information on Anson Phelps Stokes's relationship with a post-1915 Tuskegee see Sylvia M. Jacobs, Black Americans and the Missionary Movement in Africa (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1982), 80-87 and Donald Spivey's The Politics of Miseducation: The Booker Washington Institute of Liberia, 1929-1984 (Kentucky: University of Kentucky Press, 1986).

<sup>37</sup>Anson Phelps Stokes, A Brief Biography of Booker Washington (Hampton, Virginia: Hampton Institute Press, 1936), v-vi.

relationship with the rural, Southern masses; educated Blacks to remain on the farm in the South; and how he presented his program.<sup>38</sup> In the following chapter, "Tuskegee Achievements," Stokes mentions the "extension" activities of Tuskegee--the "Good Will Tours," "the Jesup Agricultural Wagon," the National Negro Health Week, and the Rosenwald School movement.<sup>39</sup> He places great emphasis on Washington's famous 1895 speech, which he mis-dates 1893, and glosses over the debates between Washington and "The Intellectuals," not even Du Bois is mentioned.

In his "Biographical Note" Stokes lists the following works: "correspondence on file at Tuskegee Institute," Scott's and Stowe's Booker T. Washington; most of Washington's books (something rarely found in biographies); E. Davidson Washington's Selected Speeches of Booker T. Washington; selections from The Tuskegee Student and The Southern Workman; Benjamin Brawley's A Social History of the American Negro; and Carter G. Woodson's The Negro in Our History.

Three years following Stokes's call, Theodore S. Boone's The Philosophy of Booker T. Washington: The Apostle of Progress. The Pioneer of the New Deal attempted to stand up to the challenge. Boone, a minister in the Mt. Gilead Baptist Church of Fort Worth Texas as well as a "sometime professor of History and Lecturer," claims that his path-breaking study is the "first attempt which has been made to clearly give the philosophy of the great champion of industrial education to the world."<sup>40</sup> Boone's lesser known study champions that Washington was an intellectual. According to Boone, Washington "touches every field of thought and action. His philosophy has pursued manna for the

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<sup>38</sup>Ibid., 11-12. By 1915, the Rosenwald Fund financially supported 79 Macon County Model Schools. On the one hand, while these schools educated the masses, they also allowed Tuskegee graduates to test what they had learned in the classroom in the field, "welding theory and practice," as Washington put it.

<sup>39</sup>Ibid., 18.

<sup>40</sup>Theodore S. Boone, The Philosophy of Booker T. Washington: The Apostle of Progress. The Pioneer of the New Deal (Fort Worth, Texas, 1939), xv.

intellectually hungry and strength to the impotent doer."<sup>41</sup> Boone's lack of scientific analyses, however, often reduces his grandiose claims to polemics.<sup>42</sup> At the same time, in terms of overall source usage Boone's study is very thorough. In his bibliography, there are about ninety different sources, of which roughly forty are either authored by Washington or feature him as the main subject of discussion.<sup>43</sup> Before the studies of the 1970s, Boone's text incorporates the widest range of sources.

Boone's text is sub-divided into thirty chapters, thirteen of which are significant because they attempt to probe into discussions of Washington's life beyond politics. "Will a knowledge of grammar or of Greek convert our coal, our iron and our timber into wealth, or make our fields bountiful with the harvest?," Boone, adopting Washington's rhetoric, asks.<sup>44</sup> He also attempts to interpret what womanhood, justice, society, religion, thrift, self-respect, and home life may have meant to the Tuskegee principal. While this may sound like a great task, Boone deals with it by first quoting Washington and then he draws many, often far reaching conclusions. Simply put, many of Boone's unique chapter titles and claims supposedly breaking new ground represent mere opinion more than substantiated, well-thought-out assertions. For the purpose of this study, however, his work is significant because it is among the first to declare that Washington had a multi-dimensional philosophy of life. According to my current

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<sup>41</sup>Ibid., xv.

<sup>42</sup>One, he writes in a very romantic, redundant manner. His book could have probably been as equally effective if it had been limited to two-hundred pages. Two, he hap hazardly quotes extensively, without the use of scientific footnotes, primarily from Up From Slavery, The Story of My Life and Work, and Working With the Hands. Three, Boone's text is sub-divided into thirty chapters, each one addressing a different facet of Washington's philosophy. Boone romanticizes Washington's early life. For instance, he spends several pages imagining the cabin, an "obvious expression of crudity," in which Washington grew up during slavery. Boone also tends to describe the same subject over and over again.

<sup>43</sup>Boone even cites Drinker's work of 1915.

<sup>44</sup>Boone, The Philosophy of Booker T. Washington, 65.

findings, Boone's study of 1939 is the last full length book/biography of Washington before the paradigm shift beginning in the late 1940s.

It is safe to say, then, that from 1915 until 1939, there were eight major biographical studies of Washington running from twenty-seven to three hundred and thirty pages. Four of these are worthy of further investigation. Judging from the citations in the general body of work on Washington before and after the paradigm shift, Emmett J. Scott's and Stowe's Booker T. Washington appears to be the most widely read and acknowledged. On the other hand, Drinker's Booker T. Washington: The Master Mind of a Child of Slavery published a year earlier is the most comprehensive, thorough biography until the late 1940s.

These studies, however, do not represent all of the biographical inquiries into Washington's life. From the early 1920s until the mid-late 1940s, there exists a body of literature authored by Euro-America which basically celebrates Washington as the representative Black leader. These authors cite heavily from Washington's 1895 Atlanta oration and Up From Slavery. They also integrate Washington into the study of other famous American reformers, educators, and great leaders. I am sure that there are dozens of works like these. Briefly looking at four examples will help characterize this school of Washingtonian writers.

"Greater educators there may have been; but it would not be easy to find in the history of any race the story of a more Christ-like in its patient devotion to an unselfish cause than was his," Lyman Abbott (1836-1922)<sup>45</sup> testifies in Silhouettes of My Contemporaries which chronicled the lives of his "fellowmen."<sup>46</sup> Among the twenty

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<sup>45</sup>For an in-depth biographical sketch of Abbott, see Ira V. Brown, Lyman Abbott, Christian Evolutionist: A Study in Religious Liberalism (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1953). Brown deals with Washington and Abbott only in passing, pointing out that Abbott believed in "gradualism" and therefore stood behind Washington rather than Du Bois. Among other elements, Brown discusses the significance of the Outlook--first called the Christian Union--which was in Abbott's control from 1876 until 1922.

people in the table of contents, Washington is the only person of African descent. The twenty-four page section entitled "Booker T. Washington, Statesman," thus, represents Black America's achievements.

Abbott characterizes Washington's life as a statesman as being six fold. One, he claims that Washington spoke the truth whether in the South or the North. Two, Washington served as an "inter-racial interpreter." Three, he did not deal with issues not relevant to Blacks' immediate conditions. Four, Blacks needed to earn self-respect. Five, political responsibility could only be attained by proving oneself worthy to Euro-America. And last, along with S.C. Armstrong and Hollis Frissell, Washington was an apostle of an organized system of industrial education. This is Booker T. Washington through the eyes of Lyman Abbott.

"Of the many terms that have been used to define him, 'a Christian philosopher' conveys the vital element of the truth about him," M.A. DeWolfe Howe asserts.<sup>47</sup> Four years following Abbott's tribute, Washington is featured Howe's Causes and Their Champions which presents "a series of causes . . . directly affecting contemporary life in America; and to present each one of them in special relation to the life and work of the man or woman . . . most clearly identified with its furtherance."<sup>48</sup> Among those with whom Washington is featured are Clara Barton, Philips Brooks, Frances E. Willard, the Rockefellers, Samuel Gompher Leading, Susan B. Anthony, and Woodrow Wilson. The seventh chapter devoted to Washington is entitled "The Road Up From Slavery: For Booker T. Washington and His People." Howe views Washington's life with the stereotypes of Black America at the forefront. Consider the following passage:

In Booker Washington such a pathfinder was at hand. With the merry heart that goes all the day, the traditionally

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<sup>46</sup>Lyman Abbott, Silhouettes of My Contemporaries (New York: Doubleday, Page, and Company, 1922), 280.

<sup>47</sup>M.A. DeWolfe Howe, Causes and Their Champions (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1926), 264.

<sup>48</sup>*Ibid.*, "Preface."

happy temperament of his race, yet with the moral and essentially religious fervor that breed a strong sense of responsibility, with the nature, moreover, that led him often to say, 'No man, wither white or black, from North or from South, shall drag me down so low as to make me hate him,' he displayed from the first qualities which would have distinguished him in any race. But his beginnings, the obstacles to be overcome on his way, the achievements to which he attained, were those peculiarly of the Negro. Beyond the obstacles at which we have already looked there are many more.<sup>49</sup>

During and following the late 1930s and early 1940s, there were surely numerous other contemplations like this featuring Washington as a representative for the so-called Negro race. Several examples will suffice. In 1938 Joseph Cottler published Champions of Democracy in which Washington is addressed in Chapter 10, "Up From Slavery." It is evident that he read at least Up From Slavery and/or The Story of My Life and Work. Cottler's essay simply reiterates Washington's biography with the clear intention of presenting him as the exceptional Black man who performed "miracles."

Six years after Cottler's study, M.S. Fenner, assistant editor of the National Education Association, and Eleanor C. Fishburn of the American Red Cross first published Pioneer American Educators. Their study included eighteen pioneering educators of whom Washington is the only African-American. Fenner and Fishburn outline the "Tuskegee Plan":

The student pays part of his expenses in work; he learns how to work; he is taught the dignity of labor. Negro youth are trained to be teachers, nurses, mechanics, dietitians, aviators, and to serve in many other practical fields. The founder's philosophy was also simple: The newly-freed Negro, eager to take his place in an indifferent, often hostile world, Washington counseled to start-where-you-are and-use-what-you-have.<sup>50</sup>

According to Meier's and Rudwick's exhaustive study, during the late 1930s and early 1940s there was an increased interest in Afro-American history amongst "a small

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<sup>49</sup>Ibid., 214-242.

<sup>50</sup>Mildred Sandison Fenner and Eleanor C. Fishburn, Pioneer American Educators (New York: Kennikat Press, Inc., 1968), 126.

though growing number of whites"<sup>51</sup> who represented radical and liberal lines of thinking. However, these historians such as Harvey Wish, Herbert Aptheker, Philip Foner, and C. Vann Woodward produced case studies rather limited in foci. Washington was, therefore, not dealt with in-depth.<sup>52</sup> With the exception of Gunnar Myrdal's An American Dilemma (1944), of all the works produced by Euro-America pertaining to Booker T. Washington before 1944, "The Black Man's Place: Booker T. Washington," in Merle Curti's The Social Ideas of American Educators (1935) stands out as being exceptional. "Curti represented the vanguard of the slowly growing number of white scholars who would give attention to the Afro-American experience during the coming decades."<sup>53</sup> Born in 1897 when a critical generation of Black intellectuals were born, he also affiliated himself with Carter G. Woodson.<sup>54</sup> As Meier and Rudwick highlight, "Curti's pioneering effort to integrate Black history into the mainstream of American history has been forgotten, be his recognition of the field's importance and the universalistic framework he employed were indication of trends that would become prominent in the postwar era."<sup>55</sup>

There are many observations that make Curti's work stand out. First, he engaged in a substantial amount of research. Among those books that he dealt with were Washington's Working With the Hands, My Larger Education, Character Building, Up From Slavery, The Education and Industrial Emancipation of the Negro, The Negro in

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<sup>51</sup>August Meier and Elliott Rudwick, Black History and the Historical Profession (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1986), 100.

<sup>52</sup>Ibid., 100-136.

<sup>53</sup>Meier and Rudwick, Black History and the Historical Profession, 1915-1980, 105.

<sup>54</sup>For a brief discussion of Curti's role amongst American historians, see Harvey Wish, The American Historian: A Social-Intellectual History of the Writing of the American Past (New York: Oxford University Press, 1960), 313-315.

<sup>55</sup>Ibid., 106.



Business, and The Man Furthest Down, not to mention a whole range of authentic secondary sources, such as Charles S. Johnson's "The Social Philosophy of Booker T. Washington." Armed with this platform of information, Curti expands upon the educational and social philosophy of Washington.

He defines Washington's educational program in simple terms, while simultaneously placing Washington within a comparative context with other leading American educators. He champions:

To provide the means for building and maintaining the school, and to break down this prejudice, Washington was virtually compelled to fuse practical and intellectual training, thus anticipating the project method which Dewey popularized many years later . . . Dewey had not yet popularized his doctrine of educational value of learning by doing useful and co-operative tasks, but Washington appeased his pupils by talking to them at length in very much the way that Dewey might have done.<sup>56</sup>

Curti seeks to critically comprehend why Washington did what he did and said what he said. He pays close attention to the socio-historical context in which Washington operated. Thus, "the founder of Tuskegee faced the facts and acted according to his light."<sup>57</sup> Curti adds that "Washington's position is better understood when it is remembered that he began his work when race hatred was at its height and when emotions were strained and tense."<sup>58</sup> Curti is also critical of Washington's program primarily because he "failed to see the problem of democracy in industry; he failed to seek an alliance with the labor movement, or with any group that sought to render the existing order along more equitable and more stable lines."<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>56</sup>Curti, The Social Ideas, 292-293.

<sup>57</sup>*Ibid.*, 294.

<sup>58</sup>*Ibid.*, 306.

<sup>59</sup>*Ibid.*, 308.

Curti's study is almost frustrating for a critical Washingtonian historian, because he was so on track. There are nonetheless a few oversights in "The Black Man's Place." Specifically, the manner in which he constructs culture and its role in Washington's life and work needs to be unpacked and refined. Curti correctly perceives Washington as essentially being influenced by many "American" cultural values. But, he misinforms his readers with the following overview of Washington and his relationship to African culture:

Washington's social philosophy was, in fine, more typical of middle-class white Americans, whom he wanted his people to be like, than it was of the Negro as such. It is true that in appealing to former slaves and their offspring to eschew militancy and conflict with the whites in the effort to improve the status of the race, he capitalized the black man's way of getting along by laughing, dancing, and singing. But little was said about the qualities of gayety, humor, and wistful whimsicality, virtues and gifts which some thought might enrich and soften the driving, efficient, and machinelike ways of the American whites. On the contrary, Washington made simplicity, earnestness, frugality, and industry the great desiderata. *One searches his writings in vain for any appreciation of the aesthetic and cultural values of the African background, of the "spirituals," or of the generally pleasant, easy-going ways of the black man.*<sup>60</sup> [italics mine]

These assumptions raise many issues. For, who are "his people?" Can this group be defined homogeneously? How did Washington adjust his world view according to his various audiences? Moreover, Washington did theorize about the role of African culture in Black America. Curti must have skipped over The Story of the Negro. Volume I (1909) in which Washington deals not only with spirituals, but with the notion of African survivals as well.

All in all, Curti is to be applauded and recognized for probing Washington's philosophy. From 1922 until 1944, with the exception of Myrdal's and Curti's insights, Euro-America tended to applaud Washington's work on behalf of the Black race.

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<sup>60</sup>Curti, The Social Ideas, 303.

During this same time period Black scholars and historians were writing books and publishing articles in hopes of solving the so-called "Negro Problem."

This section attempts to highlight how certain leading Black scholars perceived Washington's ideology in articles and chapters appearing in history books. Generally speaking, Black intellectuals were much more comfortable and insightful in critically unpacking Washington's philosophy than their Euro-American counterparts during this era. The stakes were different. Black intellectuals were confronted with the necessity to help uplift their less fortunate brothers and sisters on a daily basis.

Two types of Black thinkers who commented on Washington, those who knew him and outlived him and those scholars and leaders who followed him as the next generation of "Negro problem" solvers. The former will be dealt with first. Du Bois critiqued Washington's program both during and following the Tuskegeean's life. The disagreements between Washington and Du Bois have been exaggerated and misinterpreted. The origins of the debate between Washington and Du Bois emerged primarily following the "Atlanta Compromise" speech which Du Bois initially praised. Du Bois and others objected to how Washington was deemed the spokesperson for all Black people. In the dawning of the twentieth-century the relationship between Washington and Du Bois underwent some drastic changes, resulting in Du Bois's open challenges to Washington's reign.

Along with intellectuals such as Alexander Crummell, Henry M. Turner, and Monroe Trotter, he began to raise some alternative programs for Black uplift. Washington, with his many eyes and ears, knew that Du Bois was the chief leader of this opposition. He attempted to "neutralize" Du Bois upon several occasions. "In 1902 Dr. Du Bois received several invitations to leave Atlanta and teach at Tuskegee with a substantial increase in his salary."<sup>61</sup> Du Bois continued to challenge the Tuskegeean. The following

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<sup>61</sup>Herbert Aptheker, "The Washington--Du Bois Conference of 1904," Science and Society (Fall, 1949): 97.

years gave birth to a turning point. Washington arranged for a conference in January of 1904, in New York, which would address solving the "Negro Problem." Because Washington sought to control the Committee of Twelve, Du Bois began to formally criticize Washington's leadership. By 1903, Du Bois began to outline his program for an *"anti-Washington"* contingent including Kelly Miller, Clement G. Morgan, E.H. Harris, Frederick L. McGhee, and Archibald Grimke.<sup>62</sup>

Du Bois's perceptions of Washington's approach culminated in The Souls of Black Folk and later in the principles of the "Niagara Movement." Du Bois's assessments in "Of Mr. Booker T. Washington and Others" did not swerve from this foundation for the rest of his long life. Du Bois begins his analysis by praising Washington. The Crisis editor had no problems with the fundamental values of his program, such as "Thrift, Patience, and Industrial Training for the masses." But, he did not concur with his failure to make overt protest a nucleus of his ideology. On the other hand, Du Bois sought to shatter the myth that most Blacks during the Progressive era agreed with Washington's program of industrial education and political conciliation.

Like modern scholars such as Sterling Stuckey, Du Bois analyzes Washington's approach in terms of the two historically-rooted general trends in Black leadership. These being the more ideological approaches of the North and the southern based action oriented struggle. Du Bois characterized Washington as falling somewhere in between these two traditions. His main criticisms of the Tuskegeean stemmed from his close analysis of Black America. According to Du Bois, reconstruction was a vital time in determining Afro-America's status. "Mr. Washington represents in Negro thought the old attitude of adjustment and submission; but adjustment at such a peculiar time as to make his programme unique," he observed.<sup>63</sup> The Niagara Movement founder saw

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<sup>62</sup>ibid., 99.

<sup>63</sup>W.E.B. Du Bois, The Souls of Black Folk (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1993), 44.

industrial education as being out-dated and he wanted newly freed Blacks to abandon wearing the *mask*.

More specifically, Du Bois defined Washington's program as relinquishing political power, civil rights, and "higher" educational training while at the same time wrestling with a triple-paradox: the want of property ownership without suffrage; thrift and self-respect without civil rights; and an industrial education program which denounced college trained Negroes while simultaneously Tuskegee Institute's faculty was comprised of many of these intellectuals. "Thinking classes of American Negroes," such as Kelly Miller, the Grimkes and others, needed to lead the campaign against Washington, Du Bois asserted.<sup>64</sup> While Du Bois's perceptions of Washington remained constant throughout the former's life as a writer, a careful reading of Crisis (mainly from 1910 until Washington's death) reveals the respect that Du Bois's camp had for their brother of the deep South. Several examples will suffice.

Many of Washington's books are featured in "What to Read," a section of the magazine featuring recommended reading. Important events that took place at Tuskegee were frequently noted, such as the Annual Tuskegee Negro Conferences. Persons affiliated with Tuskegee, such as Isaac Fisher and Mrs. Margaret Murray Washington, were featured in "Men of the Month."<sup>65</sup> Fisher, who delivered a eulogy at Washington's funeral, is praised for his work as a Black educator. Born in Louisiana in 1877 to former enslaved Blacks, Fisher lived and worked his way out of poverty and graduated

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<sup>64</sup>It is interesting to see Miller's name amongst those who Du Bois deems Negro thinkers in opposition to Washington, since Miller was among the only Blacks in "higher" education who advocated Washington's program as definitely being part of the solution. Perhaps Du Bois includes Miller's name here because in before 1903, Miller may have appeared to have been more in Du Bois's camp. But, during this time, Miller spoke of how Trotter and Du Bois were getting carried away in their reactions to Washington.

<sup>65</sup>The "Men of the Month" was not limited to men. Many women appeared in these tributes to Black leaders. Among the Black women featured were names such as Mrs. Mary Church Terrell, Mrs. S.E. Tanner, Mrs. E.D. Shaw, Mrs. Rebecca Aldridge, Josephine Silone-Yates, and women of the National Association of Colored Women.

from Tuskegee in 1893 and taught in South Carolina, Alabama, and at Branch Normal College of Pine Bluff, Arkansas, where he was president for nine years.<sup>66</sup> Similarly, in 1912 under the heading "Suffrage Workers," Crisis pays homage to Mrs. Washington, who was then the president of the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs, the Director of Industry for Girls at Tuskegee as well as a bold advocate of women's suffrage.

Washington was also often addressed in "Opinions," a portion of Crisis in which writers discussed "the Negro Problem." In July 1911, Crisis reprinted an article from The New York Tribune which addressed Washington's claim that the Black masses of the South enjoyed better lives than their counterparts throughout Europe. The article is critical of Washington's "unscientific" approach in The Man Furthest Down and his failure to mention how race complicates the seemingly facile comparison between southern Blacks and European peasants. Another opinion of 1913 is less critical and praises Washington's case examples of "Negro capitalists."<sup>67</sup> A host of other articles appear in Crisis challenging Washington. In 1914 of November, another "Opinion" directly cites how "Mr. Booker Washington's endeavor to induce colored people to stop fighting segregation ordinances has brought bitter retorts from colored papers."<sup>68</sup> Roughly four months before Washington's death, V.P. Thomas's "Mr. B.T. Washington in Louisiana" challenged his readership re-examine the effects of the Tuskegee principal's public speeches to Euro-America. The article asserts that Washington accommodated to white Louisiana at the expense of Black pride. "He did not once, in the slightest way,

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<sup>66</sup>"An Essayist," The Crisis Volume 9, No. 2 (December 1914): 65.

<sup>67</sup>"The Man Furthest Down," The Crisis Volume 6, No. 1 (May 1913): 21-22. Here, they agree with Washington that examples of financially successful Blacks, such as Mr. Watt Terry of Massachusetts, should be highlighted. This demonstrates Du Bois's and Washington's common optimism in the myth of upward mobility for the Black masses. However, I would add that the latter devised a program that enabled the Black masses with various stages of uplift, whereas the former, before 1915 and perhaps later, thought that the "trickle down" theory would work.

<sup>68</sup>"Opinion: B.T. Washington's Advice," The Crisis 9 (November 1914): 17.

suggest the need of preparation of Negroes for the business of banking, the profession of law, medicine, pharmacy, teaching or the ministry," Thompson continues, "And the characters he held up as deserving the confidence and admiration of the white people were always such as Uncle Tom, Aunt Chloe, old Aunt Mary, or Uncle Joe."<sup>69</sup> Thompson, along with others in Du Bois's camp, wanted Washington to challenge the South on its horrific account of race relations.

Following Washington's death Du Bois reiterated his politicized views of Washington in the December 1915 issue of Crisis, under the heading "The Late Booker T. Washington."<sup>70</sup> While he deems Washington "the greatest leader since Frederick Douglass" and celebrates his program of land acquisition, he indicts Washington for the perpetuation of Black's oppression in America. "In stern justice, we must lay on the soul of this man, a heavy responsibility for the consummation of Negro disenfranchisement," Du Bois continues, "the decline of the Negro college and public school and the firmer establishment of color caste in this land."<sup>71</sup> The article concludes by reiterating the factors making up the "triple paradox" and challenging Major Robert Russa Moton's leadership. Of particular interest are two articles from the first two volumes of 1916, both located in "Opinions."<sup>72</sup> In January of 1916, Crisis reprinted a diverse collection of newspaper passages about Washington.

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<sup>69</sup>V.P. Thomas, "Mr. B.T. Washington in Louisiana," The Crisis 10 (July 1915): 145.

<sup>70</sup>This is an unsigned article, however, as Herbert Aptheker's works suggest, the author is most likely Du Bois.

<sup>71</sup>"The Late Booker T. Washington," The Crisis 11 (December 1915): 82. [unsigned editorial.]

<sup>72</sup>It seems that until 1920 one can find references to Washington in The Crisis. However, after 1920, until much later--after Du Bois was no longer the editor--, Washington ceases to be a topic of discussion. This can be in part explained by the fact that life for Black America underwent many significant changes following Washington's death. The "Great Migration," World War I, and "The Great Depression" were among some phenomena requiring Blacks like Du Bois to shift their foci.

In February of the same month, Crisis pointed out that Washington did oppose segregation openly as well as behind the scenes. The anonymous authors quote his article published after his death in the New Republic which denounced segregation. The first advertisement of Tuskegee Institute to appear in Crisis was featured three years after Washington's death.<sup>73</sup>

In the dawning of the new decade, Harry H. Jones--a graduate of Oberlin College in 1914, teacher at Lincoln high School in Wheeling, West Virginia, and the President of the Wheeling NAACP Branch--, critically assessed the effects of Washington's leadership. According to Jones Black leadership has three chief expressions: Conservatives or Industrialists, the Liberal Wing, and Kelly Miller's followers who drew upon the ideas of the two former groups. He revitalizes the rhetoric of Washington's opposition by claiming that the Tuskegeean's doctrine of "non-resistance" did not seek political and civil rights of Blacks.<sup>74</sup> With the changing climates of a post World War I America, Jones believes that Washington's public policies are no longer useful. Jones's "Left Wing" or "Radical group" provides the true solutions to the masses' plight.

Beyond The Souls of Black Folk, the principles of the "Niagara Movement," and various articles in Crisis, one searches Du Bois's writings for more insights into Washington without great success. A later assessment of Washington by Du Bois appears in his second autobiography published twenty-five years after Washington's death. In Chapter IV, "Science and Empire," he revisits Washington's role in Black leadership's development. "The years from 1899 to 1905 marked the culmination of the career of

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<sup>73</sup>"The Crisis Advertiser," The Crisis 17 (December 1918): 91. This means simply that for the first time, Du Bois advertised Washington's school. Prior to this date, The Crisis featured many other industrial and normal schools in "The Crisis Advertiser."

<sup>74</sup>Harry H. Jones, "The Crisis in Negro Leadership," The Crisis 19 (March 1920): 257-258.



Booker T. Washington," Du Bois recounts.<sup>75</sup> It was during this time period that Washington acquired the chief power source for his "Tuskegee Machine." Du Bois laments on the power that Washington obtained: "After a time about no Negro institution could collect funds without the recommendation or acquiescence of Mr. Washington."<sup>76</sup>

"Tuskegee became the capital of the Negro nation."<sup>77</sup> Du Bois also recounts how he responded to the "Tuskegee Machine." Of everything that Du Bois ever said about Washington, one passage stands out, demonstrating Du Bois's clear vision as a historian, a mature scholar, and an humble leader. He admits:

One may consider these personal equation and this clash of ideologies as biographical or sociological; as a matter of the actions and thoughts of certain men, or as a development of larger social forces beyond personal control. I suppose the latter is the truer. My thoughts, the thoughts of Washington, Trotter and others, were the expression of social forces more than of our own minds. These forces or ideologies embraced more than our reasoned acts. They included physical, biological and psychological forces, habits, conventions and enactments. Opposed to these came natural reaction: the physical recoil of the victims, the unconscious and irrational urges, as well as reasoned complaints and acts. The total result was the history of our day. That history may be epitomized in one word--Empire; the domination of white Europe over black Africa and yellow Asia, through political power built on economic control of labor, income and ideas. The echo of this industrial imperialism in America was the expulsion of black men from American democracy, their subjugation to caste control and wage slavery. This ideology was triumphant in 1910.<sup>78</sup>

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<sup>75</sup>W.E.B. Du Bois, Dusk of Dawn: An Essay Toward An Autobiography of A Race Concept (New York: Schocken Books, 1968), 71.

<sup>76</sup>Ibid., 73. It seems that this is one of the main factors that made Du Bois so angry with Washington's program. Tuskegee's success, in part, resulted in a decreased amount of support given to non-Tuskegee like institutions. Du Bois proceeds to cite examples of Blacks, like Will Benson, who--because they could not get the support of Washington--failed in their endeavors.

<sup>77</sup>Ibid., 76.

<sup>78</sup>Ibid., 96.

Too often hailed as Washington's opposite, Du Bois's criticisms help us better comprehend who Washington was.

Assuming a much different approach than Du Bois was Washington's successor Robert Russa Moton. While reading Moton's autobiography one is reminded of Washington's Up From Slavery. Like Washington, Moton pronounces that his autobiography was in part written because of the "repeated and urgent solicitation" of his friends. His story, however, is much different than his elder's.<sup>79</sup> Moton was born on August 26, 1867 in Amelia County, Virginia, where he worked on the Vaughn plantation which employed 300-400 workers.<sup>80</sup> Before attending school, his mother "made me devote an hour at night to my blue-backed Homles's Primer," he recounted.<sup>81</sup> Though Moton is not clear on the origins of his more "formal" education, the Freedman's Bureau and/or the American Missionary Society offered Blacks in Prince Edward County some rudiments of education. "Because of my education at home I was in the highest class in the school. And I had a special pride in the fact," Moton continues to remember, "I think that I was reading the third reader. But reading at all by a coloured boy in those days was rather unusual; and a coloured free school, with fifty or sixty children on the opening day, and meeting in the daytime as well, was a real marvel."<sup>82</sup>

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<sup>79</sup>See Robert Russa Moton, Finding A Way Out (College Park, Maryland: McGrath Publishing Company, 1969), 3-16. Here, Moton tells the story behind his elaborate African heritage. How much of it is accurate is questionable. But, it is clear that Moton uses this African connection to foster some type of race pride. As it was in the case of Up From Slavery, Moton's autobiography should be examined as a piece of propaganda.

<sup>80</sup>Ibid., 16-22.

<sup>81</sup>Ibid., 20. Moton is very unclear as to the specific dates when these educational opportunities came to him. He mentions months, but not the specific years. Here I simply wish to draw the readers attention to the manners in which Moton was educated, before his more documented experiences at Hampton Institute.

<sup>82</sup>Ibid., 26-27.

The most important stage in Moton's education was attending Hampton Institute on October 13, 1885. He failed his entrance exam, but he acquired a job log piling and attending night school. Of his experiences at Hampton, one stands out among them. Sometime in December of 1885, Moton met Armstrong's most celebrated disciple. He remembers Washington's address:

He started off by telling a story which I do not recall at this time, but I know it was something about eating partridges. He spoke of what he was trying to do at Tuskegee Institute and said, modestly, that he was trying to carry out, as any graduate should do, the ideas of General Armstrong and Hampton. He spoke clearly of the importance and value of trade education and pointed out the fact that the men so had learned their trades in slavery were passing and that white men were taking their places. He emphasized the importance of rural life, buying farms, good homes, and the degradation of one-room-cabin life, and while he did not in any way belittle college education, he did emphasize the fundamental need of trade education, the buying of land, the building of homes, bank accounts, etc. These, he declared, were essential to the highest development of any people.<sup>83</sup>

While at Hampton, Moton participated in the YMCA, the Hampton Quartette, the Debating Society, the Glee Club, teaching the Indian students, the Senior Class and Temperance Society, and he became a student teacher for one year. Following his graduation from Hampton, where he remained for some time as a member of the faculty and staff, he dabbled in Law, attended Harvard Summer School; went to trip Europe (in 1901) where he searched for "the man furthest down;" became a key fund raiser for Armstrong's missionary factory, and increased Hampton's extension work. One of his most valuable contributions to Black uplift before going to Tuskegee was his participation in The National Organization Society of Virginia, a movement concerned with the health, morals, and character of the Black masses. It was during this time that Washington and Moton solidified their relationship. On May 25, 1916, Moton was officially inaugurated as Tuskegee's new principal. In his inauguration address,

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<sup>83</sup>Ibid., 65-66.

"Cooperation and Conservation," he primarily discusses the history of Tuskegee in light of Armstrong and Mr. Campbell's role therein and the significance of "racial cooperation." He ends by quoting Washington's final Sunday Evening talk, "Team Work."<sup>84</sup> Naturally, he portrays a flawless Founder and seeks to "carry out the aims and purpose of Booker T. Washington."<sup>85</sup>

Ida B. Wells, the anti-lynching crusader who authored several books on the subject and Black woman's movement champion who outlived Washington by about sixteen years<sup>86</sup>, challenged Washington's and his successor's policies. As a journalist during the 1880s and 1890s she openly opposed Washington's failure to openly denounce lynching and Black civil rights. In her autobiography conceived in 1928 Wells only briefly voices her opposition of Washington in a historical context. For example, in discussing "Club Life and Politics," she indicates how she resented Washington's program:

About this time there appeared W.E.B. Du Bois's book *The Souls of Black Folk*. Mrs. Wooley had a gathering of the literati at her home near the university to discuss it. Again there were only six colored people present whom she knew. Most of it centered around that chapter which arraigns Mr. Booker T. Washington's methods. Most of those present, including four of the six colored persons, united in condemning Mr. Du Bois's views. The Barnetts stood almost alone in approving them and proceeded to show why. We saw, as perhaps never before, that Mr. Washington's views on industrial education had become an obsession with the white people of this country. We thought it was up to us to show them the sophistry of the

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<sup>84</sup>Ibid., 210-220. It is also interesting to note that Moton would continue to publish Washington's Sunday Evening talks in the Tuskegee Student as well as delivering them himself. For further discussions of Moton's leadership at Tuskegee, see William Hardin Hughes and Frederick D. Patterson, eds., Robert Russa Moton of Hampton and Tuskegee (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1956), 55-238.

<sup>85</sup>Ibid., 215.

<sup>86</sup>For these works in their entirety and a further discussion into Wells-Barnett's life, see Trudier Harris, Selected Works of Ida B. Wells-Barnett (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991).

reasoning that any one system of education could fit the needs of an entire race. . .<sup>87</sup>

T. Thomas Fortune, "the most brilliant Negro journalist of his age," according to Emma Lou Thornbrough, had a very interesting relationship with Washington, and outlived the Tuskegeean by thirteen years. In some senses their backgrounds were similar. Fortune was born in Marianna, Florida on October 3rd of the same year as Washington's birth.<sup>88</sup> Fortune's father was an Irishman, with whom Fortune really never established any significant relationship. As a child, he performed some farm work. He was educated early by the Freedman's Bureau, at Oberlin College, and at Howard University. Later he became a journalist and Senate page. Unlike Washington, Fortune did not like teaching in the South. As a leading Afro-American agitator, his stomping grounds were the North, while making brief trips throughout the South. It was on these trips that he established his interesting relationship with Washington.

In her biography I. Thomas Fortune, Thornbrough contributes more than half of her study to this relationship.<sup>89</sup> Fortune, an agitator for Black self-defense, a liberated Africa, and Afro-American political empowerment, defended Washington from his Black critics in the press. Washington's agenda of controlling the press, however, soon lead to a disintegration of their coalition. Following Washington's death, Fortune published several articles on the Tuskegeean. In a signed article in the New York Sun Fortune describes Washington as being: unsociable, able to respond to questions under pressure; able to maintain beneficial relationships with wealthy Euro-Americans who aided Tuskegee; and willing to deal with the poorest farmer with genuine interest and success

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<sup>87</sup>Alfreda M. Duster, ed., Crusade for Justice: The Autobiography of Ida B. Wells (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970), 280-281.

<sup>88</sup>Emma Lou Thornbrough, I. Thomas Fortune: Militant Journalist (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972), 3.

<sup>89</sup>*Ibid.*, 137-321.

based on a common culture.<sup>90</sup> On the other hand, in April of 1916, Fortune wrote "The Quick and the Dead" (appearing in A.M.E. Church Review) which was discreetly critical of Washington's leadership.

Blending these ranging characterizations of Washington are Kelly Miller's observations of Washington. Few biographical sketches of Miller exist, and the longest one published in the Journal of Negro History in 1960 is very problematic.<sup>91</sup> Before he died in 1939, he was working on an autobiography which is still restricted and undergoing changes for eventual publication.<sup>92</sup> Miller was born on July 18, 1863 in Winnsboro, South Carolina when his father was a confederate soldier and his mother was enslaved. In 1878, he enrolled in Winnsboro's Fairfield Institute. In 1880, he was awarded a scholarship to attend Howard University, chartered because of General O.O. Howard's influence on Congress in March of 1867. During four of his six year academic career at Howard, he acquired a job as a clerk in the U.S. Pension Office. From

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<sup>90</sup>For this article, see Drinker, Booker T. Washington: The Master Mind of a Child of Slavery, 236-248. Drinker cites the entire article, but he does not indicate when it was written. From Drinker's research, we can assess that the article appeared in the New York Sun closely after November of 1915.

<sup>91</sup>See, Bernard Eisenberg, "Kelly Miller: The Negro Leader As A Marginal Man," Journal of Negro History 60 (July 1960): 182-197. Eisenberg assumes that Miller did not have a "definite philosophy," and therefore had some type of dysfunctional personality for Black leadership. He claims that Miller was a "marginal man" because he "had ties with both racial groups," and was caught in between a Black and a Euro-American cultural identity. By now, we hopefully know that all American Blacks are caught between these two worlds to some degree. Given the history of Afro-America, this is normal.

<sup>92</sup>I visited the Manuscript Division of the Moorland-Spangarn Research Center at Howard University and they indicated that Miller's roughly thirty chapter autobiography was restricted. Someone is currently working on editing it to eventually be published. This is very interesting, because following Miller's death, the family received some letters inquiring about the autobiography. See, the Kelly Miller Papers, Collection 71-1, Moorland-Spangarn Research Center, Howard University. One came from Chas H. Thompson, the Dean of the College of Liberal Arts, dated 9 January 1940. Thompson suggested to Mrs. Annie Mae Miller and Family that "this work should be completed and published," because of the valuable contribution their loved one made to the higher education of Blacks. Another similar inquiry, dated 24 January 1940, came from D.O.W. Holmes, the President of Morgan State College at the time.

1887-1889, he became the first Black admitted to Johns Hopkins University where he studied mathematics, physics, and astronomy. From 1889-1890, he taught at M Street School in Washington, D.C. where Anna Julia Cooper established a notable, yet controversial, career.<sup>93</sup> By 1890, he began his career at Howard University which lasted until his retirement in 1934.

While at Howard, he accomplished many things. In July of 1894, he married Annie Mae Butler, with whom he would raise five children. In 1895, he introduced sociology to Howard because he sought to make mathematics applicable to the "Negro Problem." As the Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences from 1907 until 1919, he became one of Howard's chief propagandists. From 1915 until 1925, he was the head of the Department of Sociology and established himself as a leading spokesperson and activist on behalf of the Black intellectual community as well as the Black masses, North and South.<sup>94</sup>

Miller has been deemed a "marginal man" for not grafting solely to either "accommodationism" or "protest." Instead, he declared that in Washington's times no Black leader could be called "conservative." In the early 1900s, Miller championed:

According to a strict use of terms, a "conservative" is one who is satisfied with existing conditions and advocates their continuance; while a "radical" clamors for amelioration of conditions through change. No thoughtful Negro is satisfied with the present status of his race, whether viewed in its political, its civil or general aspect. He labors under an unfriendly public opinion, one which is

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<sup>93</sup>For more information about the M Street School and "The M Street School Controversy," see Louise Daniel Hutchinson, Anna Julia Cooper: A Voice from the South (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1981), 45-102.

<sup>94</sup>The biographical information here comes from various biographical sketches of Miller. See, Thomas C. Battle, Glenn I.O. Philips, and Michael Winston, Catalog of the Inaugural Exhibition of the Howard University Museum (Washington, D.C.: Moorland-Spingarn Research Center, Howard University, 1979); D.O.W. Holmes, "Phylon Profile IV: Kelly Miller," Phylon 6 (Second Quarter 1945): 121-125; Rayford Logan, editor, Dictionary of American Negro Biography (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1982), 435-439; and Carter G. Woodson, "Personal: Kelly Miller," Journal of Negro History 25 (January 1940): 137-138.

being rapidly crystallized into a rigid caste system and enacted into unrighteous law. How can he be expected to contemplate such oppressive conditions with satisfaction and composure?<sup>95</sup>

Miller also blended the lifestyles of Du Bois and Washington. From the late 1800s and early 1900s until the late 1930s, Miller published a plethora of commentaries concerning Black America's status. He was an intellectual at heart who defended "The Practical Value of Higher Education."<sup>96</sup> Miller also advocated Washington's emphasis on agriculture. Like Washington, Miller advocated that all Blacks cultivate gardens for practical and spiritual dimensions.

After Washington died, he published one major reflection on the Tuskegeean's contribution to the "river of Black resistance." In Booker T. Washington: Five Years Later, he looks back at Washington and asks that he be judged fairly according to the times in which he existed. Quoting extensively from the Bible, Miller asserts that Washington truly internalized Jesus's law of loving one's enemies. Naturalness, simplicity, composure, moderation, genuineness, and peace are some of the terms Miller uses to define his contemporary. He is also very critical of his opposition in the new vanguard of the Harlem Renaissance. He closes by championing that any course of Black leadership must pay homage to the Tuskegeean:

Booker T. Washington's pacifitory doctrine of racial and good will, his sound sober appraisalment of the importance of practical education, his urgent insistence upon economic development instead of too confident reliance on political action, his common sense gospel of industry, thrift and economy, his philosophy of accomplishing the possible rather than attempting the unattainable, must be at the basis of any future scheme of race reclamation and relationship.<sup>97</sup>

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<sup>95</sup>Kelly Miller, Radicals and Conservatives, 25.

<sup>96</sup>See Kelly Miller, "The Practical Value of Higher Education," Opportunity 1 (March 1923): 4-5.

<sup>97</sup>Kelly Miller, Booker T. Washington: Five Years Later. (Washington, D.C.: Howard University Press, 1921), 16.



Younger Black scholars born and raised during Washington's rise to fame tended to deal with the Tuskegee principal in less personal, yet still insightful, manners. Several pioneering Black historians addressed Washington in their Black history books. While Benjamin Brawley (1882-1939) has been criticized by many historians, and unacknowledged by others,<sup>98</sup> his A Social History of the Negro of 1921, represents the first comprehensive history of Black America, spanning from African origins until the contemporary times, of the twentieth-century. "The genius of Brawley's work lies in his efforts to see 'the Problem' from an independent perspective at a time when independent thinking about Blackamericans was not in vogue," C. Eric Lincoln comments.<sup>99</sup> Beginning from the shores of Africa, Brawley attempts to trace the development of Black America's "racial consciousness." His study is very much a documentary of Black America's leadership. Washington assumes a significant position in this development.

"What was needed . . . was for someone to take the Hampton idea down to the cotton belt, interpret the lesson for the men and women digging in the ground, and gradually to put the race in line with the country's industrial development." Brawley continues, "This was what Booker T. Washington undertook to do."<sup>100</sup> While Brawley's phraseology here as well as throughout the general text may suggest his naïveté, his closing assessments reveal otherwise.<sup>101</sup>

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<sup>98</sup>Among others, Woodson, Earl E. Thorpe, and C. Eric Lincoln challenged Brawley's credentials as a historian. Whereas others like Meier and Rudwick ignore him altogether. Both claims are challenged by reading The Social History of the Negro within its proper historical context, paying close attention to his source usage and comprehensive approach.

<sup>99</sup>Benjamin Brawley, A Social History of the American Negro: Being A History of the Negro Problem in the United States Including A History and Study of the Republic of Liberia (London: Collin Books, 1970), xix-xx.

<sup>100</sup>Ibid., 305.

A year following Brawley's work, Carter G. Woodson (1875-1950)--who was born in Virginia and educated by the public school system of West Virginia, Berea College of Kentucky, the University of Chicago, the Sorbonne of Paris, and Harvard--, published the first comprehensive textbook on Black history, The Negro in Our History.<sup>102</sup> Like Brawley, Woodson only spends several pages on Washington's leadership. However, his perceptions of the Tuskegeean are much more insightful and ahead of their time. In the first volume of his Journal of Negro History Woodson paid homage to "the Wizard." "In the death of Booker T. Washington the field of history lost one of its great figures. He will be remembered mainly as a educational reformer, a man of vision, who had the will power to make his dreams come true," Woodson recounts.<sup>103</sup>

After explaining why Washington advocated economic self-help and industrial education as well as the ineffectiveness of his opposition, Woodson defends Washington from those who look at him superficially. The following citation substantiates Woodson's title as the "Father of Black History":

Washington's long silence as to the rights of the Negro, however, did not necessarily mean that he was in favor of the oppression of the race. He was aware of the fact that the mere agitation for political rights at that time could not be of much benefit to the race, and that their economic improvement, a thing fundamental in real progress, could be promoted easily without incurring the disapproval of the discordant elements of the South . . . As an educator, however, he stands out as the greatest of all Americans, the only man in the Western Hemisphere who has succeeded in

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<sup>101</sup>*Ibid.*, 377-386. In his closing chapter entitled "The Negro Problem," Brawley, influenced by his religious faith, indicts the United States for its acceptance of racism, false interpretations of Christianity, and capitalism. Brawley, born a generation before the movers and shakers of the Harlem Renaissance, welcomes the new Black consciousness of the early 1920s.

<sup>102</sup>For in-depth discussions of Woodson's life and career as a historian, see Meier and Rudwick, Black History and the Historical Profession, 1915-1980, 1-72, Earl E. Thorpe, Black Historians: A Critique (New York: William Morrow and Company, 1970), 108-140, and especially Jacqueline Goggin, A Life in Black History: Carter G. Woodson (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1993).

<sup>103</sup>Carter G. Woodson, "Notes," Journal of Negro History 1 (January 1916): 98.

affecting a revolution in education . . . Washington's advocacy of industrial education, moreover, in spite of all that has been said, was not a death blow to higher education for the Negro. That movement has lived in spite of opposition. Washington himself frequently stated that industrial education, as he emphasized it, was for the masses of the people who had to toil.<sup>104</sup>

Moreover, in his most acclaimed publication, The Miseducation of the Negro, Woodson also adopts a Washington stance against intellectualism and Black elite leadership.<sup>105</sup>

Brawley's and Woodson's histories appeared during an important time in Black intellectual history, the "Harlem Renaissance." This movement, solidifying following the mass migration of Blacks from the South to the northern urban centers, gave birth to another important cadre of African American intellectual activists. Among the many literary publications contributing to this new aesthetic outburst of Blacks' consciousness was Opportunity: A Journal of Negro Life founded by the National Urban League in 1923. Charles S. Johnson (1893-1956), one of Black America's most well published sociologists spending most of his career at Fisk University where he was often deemed the master of the Fisk plantation, became the Director of Research and Investigations for the National Urban League stationed in New York in 1921. Opportunity was molded under his leadership.<sup>106</sup> In a more deliberate way than Du Bois and Crisis, Johnson specifically organized this magazine to represent both scientific and aesthetic interpretations. Opportunity also ideologically revitalized elements in Washington's philosophy.

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<sup>104</sup>Carter G. Woodson, The Negro in Our History (Washington, D.C.: The Associated Publishers, 1922), 444-445.

<sup>105</sup>Carter G. Woodson, The Miseducation of the Negro (New Jersey: Africa World Press, 1990).

<sup>106</sup>Cary D. Wintz, Black Culture and the Harlem Renaissance (Houston, Texas: Rice University Press, 1988), 122-126.

Since its inception, themes such as education, both industrial and "classical," health, Black rural life, inter-racial cooperation, demographics, religion, urban life, social programs, and "The Back to the Farm Movement" surface. For example, in April of 1923, the magazine featured Robert R. Moton's "Tuskegee Institute After Forty-two Years" which discusses the growth of Tuskegee in industries, academics, and extension work, praising the foundation laid by its founder.<sup>107</sup> Two years later in July, Margaret Murray Washington was mourned. "With justice and loving service for all, her example, her labors, her influence, her spirit still live."<sup>108</sup> Other editions, moreover, include essays on George W. Carver and "Editorials" mentioning Tuskegee Institute.

Two articles feature Washington. In 1928, Charles S. Johnson, who was no longer the editor at the time, called for a reinterpretation of one of the two schools of Negro thought. *"He [Washington] advocated conciliatory rather than aggressive tactics in race relations.* The principle has been confused both by his critics and his imitators of less vision and courage," Johnson continues, "It is not for us to determine whether he was less manly, or wanted less than those who insisted on their full rights."<sup>109</sup> The Tuskegeean was especially important "because he embodied the survival elements of the Negro race in an environment hostile to its ultimate objectives."<sup>110</sup> Johnson adds that

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<sup>107</sup>Robert Russa Moton, "Tuskegee Institute After Forty-two Years," Opportunity: A Journal for Negro Life 1 (April 1923): 17-18.

<sup>108</sup>Elizabeth Ross Haynes, "Margaret Murray Washington," Opportunity 3 (July 1925): 209.

<sup>109</sup>Charles S. Johnson, "The Social Philosophy of Booker T. Washington," Opportunity 6 (April 1928): 104. Johnson, it should be noted, follows other scholars in his belief that the 1895 oration in Atlanta embodied the major part of his philosophy. But, he does paint an adequate picture of the social-historical context in which this occurred. In another instance, Johnson, perhaps in a misprint, cites Washington's The Man Furthest Down as being "The Man Lowest Down."

<sup>110</sup>Ibid., 102.

Washington's social philosophy became increasingly popular at least a decade following his death. He defines Washington's foundation for a culture and civilization with six tactics:

1. Security in the possession of land
2. Security in the possession of wealth
3. Security in the possession of skill
4. Security in the possession of health
5. Security in the possession of a sound education
6. Sensitiveness to beauty and order.<sup>111</sup>

According to Johnson, by changing the type-casted roles of Blacks in the South, Washington's program was the Harlem Renaissance of the South. He even claims that Washington's ideas permeated in the cultural consciousness of the 1920s: "The most effective interest of the present is art, and even of this it may be said that it is but an elaboration of Washington's principles of stressing work rather than the rewards of work."<sup>112</sup>

About six years later, Thomas Jesse Jones critically called upon Black leadership in "the professorial chairs or academic halls" to look towards the Tuskegee elder for a "way out" of the world's problems and "group progress" for Black America. He asserts that there are two "vital objectives" within Washington's program, "the self-realization of colored Americans" and "the cultivation of cooperation with the material world, cooperation with humanity, cooperation with Divinity."<sup>113</sup> Jones's plea seeks to reintroduce Washington's pragmatic approach into the discourse of Black leadership. One, he points out that "Washington's devotion to the self-realization of the Negroes was no cheap emotion of words and phrases. He was a man of action, *whose words took form in deeds*," Jones asserts.<sup>114</sup> Two, Washington is praised as having faith in the masses

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<sup>111</sup>Ibid., 103.

<sup>112</sup>Ibid., 115.

<sup>113</sup>Thomas Jesse Jones, "Booker Washington, Apostle of Self-Determination and Cooperation," Opportunity 12 (May 1934): 136-139.

as being agents of their own regeneration. And three, Jones suggests that Washington possessed a profound "open-mindedness" making him "tolerant" of other peoples. One of Jones's and Johnson's contemporaries, Horace Mann Bond, surpasses their contemporaries.

Bond's insights into Washington's program are few yet very significant. He will, therefore, be analyzed in greater depth than the other authors in this section. In 1972, Roger M. Williams, once a writer for both Sport's Illustrated and Time, published The Bonds which chronicles the lives of "Aunt" Jane, James Bond, Horace Mann Bond, and Julian Bond. To date, Williams's family biography is the most exhaustive study dealing with Horace Mann Bond. According to Williams, Bond's intellectual roots run deep. In 1828 "Aunt" Jane, Horace M. Bond's grandmother, was born enslaved in Kentucky. She was described as being African and Cherokee. Her first owner was named Ambrose Arthur whose daughter, Belinda, married Preston Bond, a self-ordained, fairly uneducated, Methodist preacher, in 1848. Mr. Arthur presented the new family with Jane as a gift. Preston Bond had already owned many servants and Jane was incorporated as a house servant. She was impregnated by Preston Bond and gave birth twice, the first child, James Bond (Horace Mann's father), was born in 1863. In about 1869, she left Preston Bond's residence, returning to the Arthur's home where she was reunited with some family members and also received much better treatment from Ambrose's son who inherited the estate. Here, she provided her children, James and his brother Henry, with an education dreamed of by most Blacks of this post-Civil War era.<sup>115</sup>

Horace's father proved to be especially bright. After completing lessons from his "blueback speller," he attended Berea College beginning in October of 1879. By 1855

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<sup>114</sup>Ibid., 136. Emphasis added. Jones also adds that Washington really did not have time to "denounce the evils of others," but instead spent that time working on behalf of his people.

<sup>115</sup>Roger M. Williams, The Bonds: An American Family (New York: Atheneum, 1972), 3-24. All of this biographical information comes from William's study. I have simply paraphrased many of his findings.

this college, located in the mountains of Kentucky started by John G. Fee and John A.R. Rogers, adopted an interesting inter-racial component, instigating both conflict and positive inter-racial relations. Berea provided its Black and Euro-American students with "a sort of academic version of the Protestant work ethic."<sup>116</sup> In 1892, James graduated from Berea and then he ventured to Oberlin to be schooled in the ministry. There he met Horace's mother, Jane Alice Brown, whose mother was Euro-American, Indian, and Black and whose father was a Euro-American. They were married several months after Washington's famous Atlanta oration, and in 1896 they ventured to Birmingham, Alabama where James Bond became a pastor at a Congregationalist church.<sup>117</sup> A year later, he and his wife, with one child and five more on the way, the last being born in 1909, moved to Nashville, Tennessee where he became a pastor of Howard Congregational Church as well as a leading spokesperson for the Black community. The Bond children were raised in a rather secluded, intellectually and culturally stimulating environment. While father Bond had become increasingly busy as a fund-raiser for Berea's attempts at founding a Black offshoot, the mother, remembered as "a Bethune type of woman," ran the household in an orderly fashion.<sup>118</sup>

James Bond's activities with Berea perhaps shed some light on how Horace would come to view Washington's leadership. In about 1907 Berea sought to create a separate school for Blacks. James Bond was hired as the chief fund-raiser, the Financial Secretary. He traveled all around the country, primarily in the South, seeking support from both Black and Euro-Americans, the haves and the have-nots. In many ways James was like Washington. He knew how to speak to people and respect them on their own terms. James Bond also met with the Tuskegeean sharing his ideas about the new

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<sup>116</sup>Ibid., 17.

<sup>117</sup>Ibid., 30.

<sup>118</sup>Ibid., 56.

school. Washington seems to have supported Bond's efforts by opening the doors to northern philanthropy.<sup>119</sup> As a result of Bond's extensive campaigning, Berea's Black offshoot solidified as Lincoln Institute of Kentucky in January of 1910.<sup>120</sup>

After four years at Lincoln, Bond moved to Alabama and became a pastor and teacher at Talladega College. He then, in 1917, went to Atlanta to pastor at Rush Memorial Congregational Church. Much of his energies were focused towards developing the social, outreach programs of the church. James Bond's last major change in vocation occurred when he joined the army during World War I, serving at Camp Taylor back in Kentucky where he educated illiterate Black soldiers and became an elder advisor to many others. In January of 1929 at the age of 65 James Bond died.

His life raises many issues helping us better comprehend Horace's intellectual ideology and stance towards Washington. One, Horace was seriously educated in the home. Two, because of his mobile father he was exposed to many different environments, both South and North. Three, both his parents served as essential role models promoting the gospel of unselfishness for the rehabilitation of the Black masses. Against this backdrop, Horace Mann Bond was born in Nashville, Tennessee on November 8, 1904. Horace Bond's education began early, it is said that he was reading at age three!<sup>121</sup> Du Bois molded his early intellectual consciousness. Bond remembers that he acquired an early love of Du Bois, reading The Quest of Silver Fleece and articles from Crisis.

"Most of Horace's elementary and secondary education was acquired in private schools: Lincoln Institute and schools attached to the Negro Colleges in Talladega and

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<sup>119</sup>Among the chief contributors to the founding of Berea's school for Blacks was Carnegie who donated \$200,000! Given what we know about Washington's relationship with this self-made steel broker, Washington no doubt put in some words of support for Bond's efforts. As Harlan loves to stress, Washington had the ability to make or break programs seeking Black uplift.

<sup>120</sup>Williams, The Bonds, 62-63.

<sup>121</sup>Williams, The Bonds, 78.



Atlanta. He thrived in the private school setting.<sup>122</sup> His biggest intellectual leap was enrolling in Lincoln University of Pennsylvania at age 14 in 1919. After graduating *cum laude* four years later, he enrolled in the University of Chicago's graduate school in the Department of Education. Between 1923 and when he obtained a Ph.D. degree thirteen years later, Bond's life was characterized by a host of experiences, as a student, scholar, teacher, administrator, husband, and an activist.

In 1924 he became the Director of the School of Education at Langston University in Oklahoma. In 1927-1928 he became the director of the extension program at Alabama Agricultural and Mechanical College. He obtained an Assistant Professor and Research position in the Social Sciences Department at Fisk University in 1928 and by October of 1930 he married Julia Agnes Washington from Nashville. In 1934 he published his monumental The Education of the Negro in the American Social Order. And in 1935 he became a dean and professor at Dillard University of New Orleans. After being at Dillard for several years, in fall of 1939 he became the president of Fort Valley State College in Georgia. This experience, which came after his major publications featuring commentary on Washington, no doubt changed how Bond perceived Washington. At Fort Valley he learned to appreciate the role of industrial education, maintaining healthy symbiotic relationships with southern whites, and community building. In this instance, Bond acted much like Washington. In the fall of 1945, Bond became the first Black president of his *alma mater*, Lincoln University. After eleven years of faithful service ending in a controversial dismissal, he became the dean of Atlanta University's School of Education until he retired in 1971. Until his death in 1972, he continued to challenge Black thinkers. His last major intellectual contribution assessing the development of the Black scholar was completed in 1972.<sup>123</sup>

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<sup>122</sup>Ibid., 80.

<sup>123</sup>Horace Mann Bond, Black American Scholars: A Study of Their Beginnings (Detroit: Balamp Publishing, 1972).

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With this chronological skeleton in mind, we can examine and unpack his perceptions of Washington which surface in three studies. While he was the Director of the School of Education at Langston University, a twenty-one-year-old Bond wrote an insightful article for The South Atlantic Quarterly in which he summarizes the effectiveness of both Washington's and Du Bois's leadership. According to Bond, Du Bois did not gain success during Washington's reign because "he had no means of reaching the Negro masses . . . and it is probable that, even had this means have been granted to him, there was no sufficient development of the race conscious attitude which was a necessary prerequisite for a sympathetic reception of his beliefs."<sup>124</sup> At the same time, however, he stresses that we need to assess the role of these two leaders' effectiveness following Washington's death. He asserts that Washington left no successors--his seeds "seem to have fallen upon fallow and unproductive ground"<sup>125</sup>--, whereas Du Bois gave birth to the new Black consciousness for the 1920s Black intelligentsia.

Some of Bond's assertions are more polemical rather than scientific inquiry. In one case, he assumes that after 1915 no major Black thinkers adhered to Washington's ideologies. Bond ignores the National Urban League's Opportunity which advocated Washington's program, the various "Back to the Farm" advocates, and various Tuskegee offspring, such as William Holtzclaw, Fisher, Laurence Jones, and William James Edwards.<sup>126</sup> Nevertheless, his main argument makes sense: shortly before and after

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<sup>124</sup>Horace Mann Bond, "Negro Leadership Since Washington," The South Atlantic Quarterly 24 (April 1925): 118.

<sup>125</sup>*Ibid.*, 122. In particular, Bond is very critical of Moton. He proclaims that Moton is the greatest upset to Black leadership of the first two decades of the twentieth-century. Moton's philosophy of maintaining positive race relations was becoming increasingly hard to accept by the Black intellectual community.

<sup>126</sup>See, William H. Holtzclaw, The Black Man's Burden (New York: Neale Publishing Company, 1915), Laurence C. Jones, Piney Woods and Its Story (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1922), and Donald P. Stone, Fallen Prince: William James Edwards. Black Education and the Quest for Afro American Nationality (Snow Hill, Alabama: Snow Hill Press, 1990).

1915, the Black press began to more openly and perhaps freely espouse ideologies of Black liberation which varied from Washington's.

About ten years later, a thirty-year-old Bond earned nationwide recognition with The Education of the Negro in the American Social Order. His fundamental premise is that the state of American education must be analyzed as a product of a historically rooted, yet unstatic, "social complex." The school must, moreover, be transformed into "a single institution which has a wide reach, and which may help transform the life of a people over a long sweep of time."<sup>127</sup> Bond's historical analysis of Euro-American controlled Black education from "old" to "new" discusses how: its primary function began during and following slavery as a form of social control; politics and legislation affected Black education; the reconstruction era failed to develop legislation protecting Black education through state taxation; and the post-reconstruction period focused on industrial education.

In "The Role of Booker T. Washington," Bond begins with a brief biography of Washington in which he indicates that at Hampton he, contrary to popular opinions, did not focus on vocational education but instead was a student of "moral philosophy" under the guidance of a Mark Hopkins.<sup>128</sup> According to Bond, the objectives of Washington's program were threefold: one, the development of attitudes of character building; two, the acquisition of specific skill in basic occupations; and three, the preparation of teachers for public and private schools. Echoing his thoughts of 1924, he recognizes Washington for his ability to relate to the masses and simultaneously assume his role as a careful statesman. "The formula which Booker T. Washington carried to his people was as simple as their own lives and understanding," he continues, "the theory of Booker T. Washington eschewed issues which were debatable. It was couched in such an eloquent,

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<sup>127</sup>Horace Mann Bond, The Education of the Negro in the American Social Order (New York: Octagon Books, 1970), 13.

<sup>128</sup>Ibid., 119.

persuasive, and far-reaching vein that his sentiments could mean all things to all men."<sup>129</sup>

In the remainder of his analysis, he basically perceives Washington's philosophy as being concerned with developing a survivalist, pragmatic character for Blacks. "It is unfortunate that the great services of these schools in this direction have been subordinated to a popular criticism that their distinction rests on other bases," Bond challenges Washington's critics to transcend their limited knowledge of Washington's extension philosophy.<sup>130</sup> At the same time, however, he is not full of praises for Tuskegee either. Echoing Du Bois, he points out that the "New Age" of southern industrialization endangered the small Black farmer's security.

Bond's last major assessment of Washington--appearing in Negro Education in Alabama which, in dissertation form, earned him the Susan Colver Rosenberger Essay from the University of Chicago in 1937, a year after earning his Ph.D.--is his most in-depth study combining many different disciplines, such as educational theory, sociology, statistics, and history. Washington is featured as the most influential "personality on the public education of Negroes in Alabama." Bond assesses:

Appraisals of Booker T. Washington may easily fall into the common error of attributing momentous social and economic changes to the impress of a great personality whose life was contemporary with these changes. Such great men, because they are identified in time with social change, come to be regarded as essential causative factors when more correctly their lives merely illumine, through their numerous contacts, the slow and sub-surface movements of human events.

There is another error as fundamental; and it is to decry the positive contributions of great personalities because we have in adequate statistical measure of their effect upon human history . . . It is so with Booker T. Washington. Another generation may evolve more delicate instruments for such appraisal; until that time, the historians of educational events may find the life of the builder of Tuskegee Institute perhaps the most illuminating point of

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<sup>129</sup>Ibid., 121.

<sup>130</sup>Ibid., 123.

departure from which to evaluate the times and the social and economic forces in which he was involved.<sup>131</sup>

In a meticulous chapter with more than two hundred footnotes, he re-assesses Washington's role as an inter-racial facilitator, a propagandist, an educator, and a man of the common folk. Foremost, he stresses that Washington maintained sound relationships with "a certain class of whites"<sup>132</sup> in order to financially and politically advance the Tuskegee Idea. Bond unpacks how and why Washington was able to capitalize on this sentiment of *noblesse oblige* or the "white man's burden." This reliance on white philanthropy was directly linked with the mission of Tuskegee. "Since the school was an instrument of social policy, it is difficult to tell where it was primarily an educational institution, and where a social device."<sup>133</sup>

In Negro Education in Alabama Bond is sensitive to the variety approaches to uplifting Blacks. With "careful, tedious, skillful indirection," Washington gained the economic and political support of the white "oligarchy," while also maintaining a relationship with the ordinary Black folk. "In his speeches before mixed audiences, Washington employed the oratorical device of addressing the white and Negro division of his audience alternately," Bond insightfully points out.<sup>134</sup> Defending Washington from his contemporary opposition, he also provides a "modern" analysis of his encoded rhetoric.

As an educator, he elaborates on Washington's ties to individuals such as J.L.M. Curry who would only support education for Blacks which fit nicely into the category of industrial education. According to Bond and later James D. Anderson, Washington was

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<sup>131</sup>Horace Mann Bond, Negro Education in Alabama: A Study in Cotton and Steel (New York: Atheneum, 1969), 224-225.

<sup>132</sup>*Ibid.*, 212-214.

<sup>133</sup>*Ibid.*, 206.

<sup>134</sup>*Ibid.*, 208.

not schooled in industrial education.<sup>135</sup> On the other hand, Washington added industries to Tuskegee in order to become more self-sufficient and to build character. "Stripped of phrases, the early program at Tuskegee Institute was derived from a glorified common sense amounting in the instances to genius. The elaboration of 'Industrial Education' came later." Bond adds, *"The motives of Washington in appealing for money for the support of industrial education may not always have been the same as those of the men who gave him the money."*<sup>136</sup> Clearly, Bond anticipates Meier's findings of the 1950s. Without the Papers, the former recognized that Washington was "a ceaseless educational propagandist" who, because of America's social and racial attitudes, assumed many roles. While he may have stroked the egos of "a certain class of whites," he "was, indisputably, a man of the folk."<sup>137</sup>

Provocatively, Bond discusses the effects of Washington's program nearly two decades following his death. Using statistics and selections from Charles S. Johnson's Shadow of the Plantation (1934), Bond rejects Washington's optimistic claims of how Tuskegee improved Blacks' conditions in Macon County.<sup>138</sup> Instead he suggests that "the influence of Tuskegee upon the school, and, through schools, upon the life of Negroes of Macon County, are hardly justified by the facts pertinent to their present status. The effect may have been a negative one."<sup>139</sup> At the same time, however, he adds that to

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<sup>135</sup>Ibid., 215. Also, see James D. Anderson, The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935 (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1988), 33-109. Anderson asserts that contrary to popular beliefs, Blacks attending schools such as Hampton or Tuskegee did not school their students to become independent industrial workers. On the other hand, he suggests that students attending normal and industrial schools were trained to become non-thinking peons within the industrial system.

<sup>136</sup>Ibid., 216.

<sup>137</sup>Ibid., 219.

<sup>138</sup>See Charles S. Johnson, Shadow of the Plantation (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1934).

<sup>139</sup>Bond, Negro Education in Alabama, 233.

quantitatively assess the value of Washington's efforts are impossible. One thing, nevertheless, remains clear. In Bond's mind Tuskegee stands as a reminder of Washington's devotion to the Black struggle. His lessons in character-building are more relevant to Bond's generation than perhaps any other. "And who shall deny the importance of legends, as social forces, in affecting the course of human history?"<sup>140</sup>

Taken together, Horace Mann Bond's three works designate him as perhaps providing the most scientific and sensitive assessments of Washington before the emergence of the Papers. Why did not those historians and social scientists of the late 1940s, the 1950s, and later acknowledge this? Too often, in our excitement of setting forth "new" paradigms, we ignore those who laid the foundation.

Before 1944, most Black intellectuals perceived Washington with critical eyes. Following 1944, a new generation of scholars, Afro- and Euro-American, were provided an additional window into Washington's life and work, the Booker T. Washington Papers. Images of Washington as a multi-dimensional character, a "radical" behind the scenes, a fearless ruler, and the most powerful Black man in America begin to take root.

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<sup>140</sup>*Ibid.*, 225.



## CHAPTER III

### UNPACKING THE AVALANCHE OF WASHINGTONIAN SCHOLARSHIP

During the early/mid 1940s a set of circumstances greatly influenced how scholars began to view Washington's life and thought. The papers of Booker T. Washington, "one of the largest collections of manuscript memorabilia," were "presented to the Library of Congress by the unanimous vote of the trustees of Tuskegee Institute" by June 27, 1943.<sup>1</sup> One of Black America's leading intellectual agitators was in charge of this monumental acquisition. This being E. Franklin Frazier who, on September 1, 1942, "began his service as Resident Fellow of the Library of Congress in American Negro Studies."<sup>2</sup>

Frazier was born on September 24, 1894, roughly a year before Washington's famous Atlanta oration. From 1912 until 1916, he received a scholarship to attend

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<sup>1</sup>U.S. Library of Congress, Annual Report of the Librarian of Congress: For the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1943 (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1944), 119. In the spring of 1935, Frederick D. Patterson became the President of Tuskegee Institute, a position which he held until 1953. Under his leadership, Tuskegee's academic program progressed. Commercial Dietetics, Commercial Aviation, a School of Veterinary Medicine, graduate programs in agriculture, home economics, education, engineering, and veterinary medicine were among the new fields of study. For an in-depth look into his life, see Martia Graham Goodson, ed., Chronicles of Faith: The Autobiography of Frederick D. Patterson (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1990). Patterson makes many passing comments about Washington, but unfortunately he does not discuss the Papers being transferred to the Library of Congress. Surely, this information was recorded by the Department of Research and Records at Tuskegee.

<sup>2</sup>U.S. Library of Congress, Annual Report of the Librarian of Congress: For the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1942 (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1943), 24.

Howard University, the hotbed of Black intellectual thought.<sup>3</sup> His studies at Howard and his early teaching experiences in the South molded his interpretation of Washington's philosophy. Even though his passionate biographer Anthony M. Platt does not mention Franklin's life as a Resident Fellow at the Library of Congress, he does suggest what thoughts a middle-aged Franklin may have had about Washington lurking in his mind.

For example, while at Howard Platt suggests that Franklin, who was a member of the "radical" Intercollegiate Socialist Society, the Social Science Club, and the NAACP, avoided studying sociology "because it was taught by Miller, whose politics were cautiously reformist and who was closely identified with Booker T. Washington's 'Black Cabinet' in Washington, D.C."<sup>4</sup> As a young intellectual in Washington, D.C. removed from the overt racist practices of the "Deep South," Frazier seems to have viewed Washington's strategy following in the footsteps of Du Bois. After graduating from Howard in 1916 until teaching at Morehouse in 1922, Frazier held many teaching posts in situations echoing Washington's ideology of industrial education.<sup>5</sup> He also began teaching at Tuskegee Institute a year after Washington's death. Frazier did not agree with the conciliatory approach that Moton inherited from his predecessor and championed that with Washington's death the "age of accommodation" died as well.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>3</sup>Anthony M. Platt, E. Franklin Frazier Reconsidered (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1991), 12-15. Platt indicates that the details of Frazier's early life are scarce. What he is able to reconstruct helps us better comprehend Frazier's development as an intellectual freedom fighter during especially trying times for Black scholars.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., 28. Platt seems to wholeheartedly accept Harlan's perceptions of Washington. In doing so, Platt seeks, I would argue, to draw distinctions between his hero and the latter. In the example at hand, Platt reads Miller at the surface-level.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., 31-40. In this discussion of Frazier at Tuskegee Institute, Platt buys into the "power-hungry" Washington myth.

<sup>6</sup>Frazier's criticisms of Washington directly are really not outspoken. In the second part of his lengthy history The Negro in the United States (1957) entitled "Racial Conflict and New Forms of Accommodation," Frazier discusses Washington's 1895 Atlanta speech as accommodating to white supremacy and racism. But, he is not overtly

Perhaps his most open challenge to Washingtonian leadership appears in a 1924 article entitled "A Note on Negro Education," a critical indictment of all Black educators and leaders. Frazier proclaims that Blacks need to understand their "culture complex," the distinctness of being Black and an American. For Frazier, the problem faced by Blacks was essentially cultural. "Today Negro education faces a crisis. This crisis is not due so much to the passing of missionary and philanthropic support." He continues, "It is a spiritual rather than an economic crisis. The old ideals are inadequate."<sup>7</sup> Throughout this succinct article, he makes several silent indictments about Washington's educational program. Consider the following thoughts:

Negro education of the past, to characterize it briefly, has been too much inspiration and too little information. This charge applies equally to all kinds of Negro education. *Even that type of education that has claimed to concern itself with the realities of life has wasted much time in giving inspiration.*<sup>8</sup>

In another similar instance he challenges Washington's strategy of race relations. "Some cowardly preachers and leaders have pretended to emulate Jesus' humility and reliance upon moral forces," Frazier continues, "by lying to the white man and bartering away for favors the moral sanctions of justice in the face of an opponent depending upon physical force."<sup>9</sup> He does not once, however, refer to Washington by name. At twenty-eight years of age and well educated, perhaps he recognized that Washington did indeed assume an important role in Black uplift. It was simply time for a change.

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critical of Washington as he is with Moton. Perhaps a more mature Frazier recognized that Washington's program was more than "accommodationism." Admitting this, however, would place himself in the same boat as Kelly Miller--in between the two camps, that is. Frazier, as his activism, but not scholarship, indicates preferred to make his stance well known.

<sup>7</sup>E. Franklin Frazier, "A Note on Negro Education," Opportunity: A Journal of Negro Life 2 (March 1924): 76.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., 75-76. Emphasis added.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid., 77.

Frazier and his elder by almost four decades also shared many characteristics. One, they both held that thrift was essential to solving some of the more practical aspects of Blacks' economic plights.<sup>10</sup> Two, both were critical of intellectuals' non-pragmatic approaches. The key difference here is that Frazier's indictments were more of a self critique. Three, both were prolific writers and speakers. Four, Washington and Franklin were indicted for their cultural outlooks and both sought to work Black America's "cultural complex" out on paper and in prose. Five, in 1910 Washington ventured to Europe with Chicago University sociologist Robert E. Park in search of "the man furthest down." Similarly, in 1921/1922 Frazier traveled to Denmark where he became fascinated with their "folk high schools," culminating in several articles featured in Washington's alma mater's Southern Workman. Their trips to Europe helped them clarify their, perhaps class biased, perceptions of Afro-American culture. Six, both leaders possessed a stubbornness which caused them to remain relatively consistent to ideologies which were not only formulated while they were still young, but which were also under attack. And seven, they share the disposition of being frequently misinterpreted by late twentieth-century onlookers.

With these surface-level observations in mind, let us examine how Frazier was instrumental in a paradigm shift in Washingtonian scholarship. Platt is not alone in ignoring Frazier's role as a Resident Fellow at the Library of Congress. While searching through several boxes of the E. Franklin Frazier Papers at the Moorland-Spingarn Research Center, I did not come across any significant items directly pertaining to these two years of Frazier's life.<sup>11</sup> But, various articles and reports from the Library of Congress shed some light on Frazier's role in Washingtonian scholarship.

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<sup>10</sup>Platt, E. Franklin Frazier Reconsidered, 17-18.

<sup>11</sup>The Moorland-Spingarn Research Center is home to more than one hundred and forty boxes of Frazier's papers. I am by no means claiming to have gone through them all. I searched through several boxes dealing with Frazier's life from 1942 until

While he was the head of the department of sociology at Howard University in the fall of 1942 Frazier started to work as a Resident Fellow at the Library of Congress. His role was clearly defined by the Annual Report of the Librarian of Congress: For the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1942. "As a Resident Fellow of the Library of Congress, Dr. Frazier will prepare qualitative bibliographies in the field of American Negro Studies," the report continues, "will analyze the Library's collections in this field and make recommendations for purchases, and will aid in the handling of difficult reference problems concerning the American Negro."<sup>12</sup> The Library of Congress only had praises for Frazier's contributions particularly pertaining to the Washington Papers.

In a description of the Fellows in Residence, the following is said of Frazier:

Dr. Frazier has accomplished much-needed work of the collections in his field of interest. His achievement is best expressed by his success in securing for the Library the great collection of Booker T. Washington Papers at the Tuskegee Institute. We are indebted to Dr. Frazier and President Patterson and the Board of Trustees of Tuskegee Institute for their art in arranging the transfer of this magnificent scholarly resource to the safest possible custody at a place where scholars may have easy access to it. Dr. Frazier also handled an extensive program of reference and bibliographical work in his field of concentration.<sup>13</sup>

In an eight page "Memorandum" to a Mr. Mearns dated August 7, 1943, Frazier summarizes his "work as a Resident Fellow on one-half time basis for the year September 1, 1942 - August 31, 1943."<sup>14</sup> His job entailed many different researching activities, from checking publications for their treatment of Blacks to

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1944 . Within these select boxes I found no mention of his life as a Research Fellow at the Library of Congress.

<sup>12</sup>U.S. Library of Congress, Annual Report of the Librarian of Congress: For the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1942, 24.

<sup>13</sup>U.S. Library of Congress, Annual Report of the Librarian of Congress: For the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1943, 85.

<sup>14</sup>E. Franklin Frazier, "MEMORANDUM to Mr. Means RE: Annual Report," 7 August 1943, 1.

responding to inquiries about sources to making "trips in search of materials on the Negro." His work was more than a part-time occupation. In little less than a year's time, he traveled to Tuskegee Institute, Alabama; the New York City Library; Harvard's Library in Cambridge, Massachusetts; Yale University's Library in New Haven Connecticut; and Virginia State College in Petersburg, Virginia.<sup>15</sup>

It appears that Frazier visited Tuskegee sometime in July to "inspect the packing and shipment" of Washington's Papers. As he indicates in the "Memorandum" at hand under the heading "Acquisitions already secured," Washington's Papers probably reached the Library of Congress either during or after Frazier's Fellowship expired in August of 1943. In the conclusion of his report, Frazier makes the "following recommendations concerning materials on the Negro":

a. That the Murray Collection be catalogued and made accessible to readers, but at the same time these books be identified as part of the Murray Collection. I see no reason for maintaining a collection of colored authors.

b. *That present arrangements for securing the Booker T. Washington Papers and the Frederick Douglass Papers be carried through under some special arrangement with the present incumbent of the Fellowship.* Such an arrangement could include plans for securing materials on Free Negroes in Charleston, South Carolina, Petersburg, Va., and New Orleans.

c. That arrangements be made as soon as possible for the transfer of materials on the Negro in the war agencies to the Library of Congress.

d. *That because of the size and importance of the Negro minority which constitutes one-tenth of the total population a Fellow or Consultant be placed on the Library staff.*<sup>16</sup>

A year following the termination of his fellowship, Frazier produced another more analytical article about Washington's Papers in The Library of Congress Quarterly Journal of Current Acquisitions. In his characteristically objective manner, Frazier

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<sup>15</sup>Ibid., 4.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid., 8. Emphasis added.

suggests that Washington's agenda "had envisioned the Negro as becoming a part of the industrial proletariat through industrial education."<sup>17</sup>

He then categorizes them based upon his own first-hand examinations of the papers.

He asserts:

For the sake of classification the materials of this collection may be grouped roughly under seven heads: (1) Correspondence with members of Washington's family; (2) correspondence and materials relating to Tuskegee Institute; (3) Washington's addresses and articles; (4) correspondence with various philanthropic funds and foundations and private donors; (5) correspondence with leaders in American life; (6) correspondence with Negro leaders; (7) correspondence and materials of the National Negro Business League. It should be emphasized that much of the material in the collection could be grouped under several of these classifications. the classification used here is designed mainly to show the importance of the materials in the many aspects of Booker T. Washington's role in the educational, political and business life of the Negro and in race relations of the period.<sup>18</sup>

Frazier then briefly unpacks the significance of each body of sources. Despite the vastness of the collection, he, disappointed, concludes that many of the "valuable" papers were taken from the collection before being sent to the Library of Congress. This raises many questions as to the "unanimous" decision to send Washington's Papers to Washington, D.C. For instance, did his relatives have anything to say in the destiny of his memoirs? Did Washington give any instructions to Emmett J. Scott about what should be done with his revealing letters? These questions could be properly addressed in a more comprehensive study.

The Library of Congress Manuscript Division completed processing Washington's Papers on 16 August 1957. The Papers "were presented to the Library of Congress in

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<sup>17</sup>E. Franklin Frazier, "The Booker T. Washington Papers," The Library of Congress Quarterly Journal of Current Acquisitions 2 (October November December 1944): 24. Frazier does not say much about Washington's program before dealing with the papers. What he does say, however, is a direct commentary on Washington's social policy, what he carefully and strategically lays out as being "accommodating" to southern racism.

<sup>18</sup>Ibid., 25.

1943 by the Trustees of Tuskegee Institute. A small group of additional papers, Ac. 7851, was received by the Library of Congress in 1945."<sup>19</sup> According to this document there are approximately 300,000 items in the papers, 120,000 more than Frazier's estimate. Moreover, certain unpublished writings of Washington "in the custody of the Library of Congress, have not been dedicated to the public."<sup>20</sup> When Washington's Papers were actually made accessible to the public is hard to tell. Nevertheless, it is clear that this new well of information was significant in how Washington has been portrayed in academia. Among those to use this resource seriously are Basil Mathews, August Meier, Emma Lou Thornbrough, Louis Harlan, and Joseph Citro. This train of event deserves much more attention.

Following 1945, an upsurge of studies explored the Washington Papers.<sup>21</sup> This past fifty years of dense scholarship on Washington will be dealt with chronologically and thematically. One, from the mid-late 1940s until the early 1950s, several articles and histories of Blacks were published. While they do not exclusively or significantly use Washington's Papers, they add interesting insights into how the Tuskegeean's policies were viewed following the "Great Depression" and World War II. Two, seven biographies were published from 1948 until 1983. One immediate observation is that Harlan's works dominate the academic discourse. It would be irresponsible and foolish for any historian to claim that Harlan's biographies are not thoroughly done. But, his widely accepted and celebrated observations have influenced scholars to forget some of the less-widely known biographies of the 1970s. Three, since the late 1940s several

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<sup>19</sup>Library of Congress Manuscript Division, "Booker T. Washington Papers," 16 August 1957: I.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid.

<sup>21</sup>See, Meier and Rudwick, Black History and the Historical Profession, 1915-1980, 136-159. Here, the authors discuss how and why more Euro-American historians began "to undertake serious studies of race relations and the black experience."



historians, primarily Euro-Americans, began publishing articles exposing us to Washington's secret life. And four, from the late 1960s until the 1990s, a school of scholars have explored Washington's relationship with Africa.

In the 1940s several scholarly and polemical short articles and chapters in books about Washington's leadership surfaced. In 1947, articles from the Negro Digest and the Reader's Digest brought Washington back into post-World War II middle-class, American households. In "Was Booker T. Wrong?," George S. Schuyler (1895- ?)--a Black journalist and editor who published several books and worked with The Messenger, the Pittsburgh Courier, National News, Crisis, and the New York Post--calls for a synthesis between Washington's and Du Bois's educational outlooks. "Looked at realistically, academic and vocational training are not mutually exclusive. No illiterate can become a competent artisan, service employee, business man or farmer," Schuyler suggests.<sup>22</sup> In the end, he calls for Black leadership to transcend petty arguments about

methodology. Consider the following insightful assertions:

An intelligent leadership will not quibble about whether education should be academic or vocational, but how best the individual and the group may use his and its potentialities and opportunities to survive and progress. It will try to strengthen the position of its people by preparing them to function effectively in the trades, lead in the organization of consumers cooperatives and credit unions, establish wide-awake business combines so that a greater proportion of the money spent by Negroes for the everyday need may remain in their hands. In this way thousands of jobs can be created for Negroes of skill.<sup>23</sup>

In the same month as Schuyler's article, O.K. Armstrong published a less critical article entitled "Booker T. Washington--Apostle of Good Will" in which he basically reiterates Washington's autobiographies and points out that the Tuskegeean was honored by the

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<sup>22</sup>George S. Schuyler, "Was Booker T. Wrong?," Negro Digest 5 (February 1947): 89.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid., 90.

National Education Association, the National Park Service, and the American Hall of Fame at New York University."<sup>24</sup>

In this same year, the most celebrated history of Black America was published. This being From Slavery to Freedom by John Hope Franklin, the second father of Black history. As an objective historian, he "was interested less in developing race pride than in the more general task of placing the history of blacks within the larger context of American history."<sup>25</sup> Loyal to this approach, Franklin--who coined the phrase "the Age of Booker T. Washington"--examines Washington's program through the eyes of Washington, his opposition, and Euro-America, both North and South.

One of the most important less scientific reflections of Washington to appear in a well known scholarly journal belongs to Albon L. Holsey, the Director of Public Relations at Tuskegee Institute in 1948 and the former Executive Secretary of Washington's National Negro Business League. He examines how Washington gradually established:

1. Campus public relations.
2. Community public relations.
3. General outside public relations.
4. A Support publicity program.<sup>26</sup>

Holsey consistently quotes from various "Sunday Evening talks" and points out that Washington made it one of his priorities to keep in regular close contact with his students and teachers. Holsey adds that one must also pay attention to the role of Washington's relationship with the greater Euro-American public. "'Tuskegee hospitality' became one of the Institute's most precious traditions and was one of the

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<sup>24</sup>Hugh Hawkins, ed., Booker T. Washington and His Critics, 5.

<sup>25</sup>Meier and Rudwick, Black History and the Historical Profession, 1915-1980, 120.

<sup>26</sup>Albon L. Hosley, "Public Relations Institutions of Booker T. Washington," Public Opinion Quarterly (Summer 1948): 228.

very effective 'word-of-mouth' advertising slogans from the school, extending beyond the borders of this country into many countries abroad."<sup>27</sup>

Another article addressing Washington without using Frazier's cataloging is Oliver Cox's "The Leadership of Booker T. Washington" first read in May of 1950 before the annual meeting of the Association of Social Science Teachers. A native Trinidadian, Oliver Cromwell Cox (1901-1974) was, like Frazier, one of the pioneering Black sociologists. Obtaining degrees from both Northwestern University and the University of Chicago, he went on to teach at Wiley College, Lincoln University, as well as at Tuskegee Institute.<sup>28</sup> In this article, after criticizing Guy B. Johnson's and Gunnar Myrdal's conceptualizations of Washington's leadership and Black leadership roles in general, Cox stresses that in order to comprehend Washington, he must be analyzed in light of his times. "The term 'Uncle Tom' or 'compromise leader' does not seem to describe the role of the leadership of Washington," Cox contends.<sup>29</sup> Cox perceives that "Washington seems to always have been conscious of the intriguing nature of his role."<sup>30</sup>

Cox's defense of Washington is, however, more a reflection of his race pride. In the end, he defines Washington as a "collaborator" who did not lead Black people, but "rather sought to divert them."<sup>31</sup> He contends that another Washington type of leader could never re-emerge in America, because the masses would never empower him as they once did. Cox limits his analysis to Washington in his role as a public statesman and concludes that Washington was not a leader who helped the Black masses in the "Garvian"

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<sup>27</sup>Ibid., 233.

<sup>28</sup>W. Augustus Low and Virgil A. Cliff, eds., Encyclopedia of Black America (New York: McGraw-Hill, Inc., 1981), 291.

<sup>29</sup>Oliver C. Cox, "The Leadership of Booker T. Washington," Social Forces 30 (October 1951-May 1952): 93.

<sup>30</sup>Ibid., 94.

<sup>31</sup>Ibid., 96.

sense. Instead Cox asked his readers to believe that "his function was rather that of controlling the masses. He deflated and abandoned their common cause. He demanded less for the Negro people than that which the ruling class had already conceded."<sup>32</sup>

The first major post-World War II Washington biography was Basil Mathews's Booker T. Washington: Educator and Inter-Racial Interpreter. In 1949, Mathews asserts that there has been no authoritative biography on the Tuskegeean. His goal is simple: "to estimate as justly as may be his specific function as an educator and interracial interpreter in the larger landscape of the present and the future."<sup>33</sup> His study is broken down into more than twenty sections. Several features make this study stand out. One, Mathews draws from a variety of primary sources. Among those interviewed were: the staff at Tuskegee Institute Archives, Robert Russa Moton, Frederick D. Patterson, Monroe N. Work, George Washington Carver, Anson Phelps-Stokes, Du Bois, Alain L. Locke, members of Washington's family, Emmett J. Scott, as well as Tuskegee faculty member and students such as J.H. Palmer, Jailous Purdue, Robert Taylor, Charles O. Driver, Mrs. Martin, Portia Pitman, Mrs. Gaillard, and Thomas Monroe Campbell.<sup>34</sup> These first hand accounts authenticate Mathews's assertions.

Two, Mathews recognizes Washington's multi-dimensional character. For instance, he examines Washington's life as a continuous progression.<sup>35</sup> He also explores how

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<sup>32</sup>Ibid., 95.

<sup>33</sup>Basil Mathews, Booker T. Washington: Educator and Inter-Racial Interpreter (London: SCM Press, 1949), x.

<sup>34</sup>For a discussion of the latter's perceptions of Tuskegee and Washington, see Thomas Monroe Campbell, The Movable School Goes to the Negro Farmer (Tuskegee, Alabama: Tuskegee Institute Press, 1936). In this essay, Campbell gives a biography of himself and explores the significance of the Movable School at Tuskegee.

<sup>35</sup>Mathews, Booker T. Washington, 96-105. Here, Mathews points out that before his ascendancy to power in 1895, Washington's life was comprised of five stages.

Washington ran Tuskegee, instigated community involvement, and established a relationship with Roosevelt. And most importantly, he is the first scholar to acknowledge that Washington was not a provincial man of the South. Mathews probes into Washington's activities in Liberia and Europe. Taken as a package, Mathews's study is the most comprehensive Washington biography before Harlan's studies. Perhaps the only setback of this study is that Mathews tends to wonder as a writer. While understanding the social historical context is important, his historical commentaries and discussions of Robert M. MacIver, Toynbee, and Plato draw us away from his focus. Mathews work is a transitional biography moving us to the second level of Washingtonian historiography.

The second major biography of Washington after the Library of Congress's acquisition of Washington's Papers was Samuel R. Spencer, Jr.'s Booker T. Washington and the Negro's Place in American Life. His work is one of the nineteen biographies in Oscar Handlin's "The Library of American Biography." As predicted, Washington is the only Black American of the group. Upon picking up Spencer's footnote-free narrative paperback, one would never expect to find such a rich, informative discussion. While most historical narratives tend to be verbose, romantic, and often historically inaccurate, Spencer's is just the opposite.

He opens the following issues of old up for discussion: one, "the Indian Experiment" at Hampton and how this affected both Washington and the culture of Armstrong's campus; two, the relationship between Hampton and Tuskegee; three, Washington's pragmatic approach to religion as well as his indictments of Black preachers' vocations; four, Washington's "Sunday Evening talks" and how they influenced Tuskegee student life; five, Tuskegee Institute's diverse extension work ranging from the Tuskegee Negro Conferences to the Farmer's Short Course to Margaret Murray Washington's Weekly

Women's Meetings; six, Washington's relationship with the National Urban League; and seven, he cites from many letters in the Papers.<sup>36</sup>

He is among the few historians to use the term "accommodation" in its proper context. The only instance in which he uses the term to define Washington's actions in dealing with the Atlanta oration.<sup>37</sup> He recognized a Black leader who "accommodated himself and his program with such remarkable success to the conditions of time and place,"<sup>38</sup> while focusing more on economic and moral advancement. Spencer also elaborates on his philosophy of race relations without using ambiguous terminology. He understood that Washington sought to avoid offending Euro-American southerners. "While in the South he conformed to Southern practices and submitted to segregation whenever this did not interfere with his work; outside the South he refused to be bound by Southern customs," Spencer continues, "His contacts with white people were primarily matters of business, wither in the interest of Tuskegee or in the interest of the Negro race."<sup>39</sup> Perhaps in response to some of the pioneering works unveiling Washington's role in American politics and his use of the press, he stresses that "Washington's activities as a national leader, important as they were, never diverted him from his principle task. His heart was always at Tuskegee."<sup>40</sup>

In terms of source usage, he seems familiar with most of Washington's own books as well as the collection at the Library of Congress. He comments on the latter sources: "This collection, crammed into some two thousand file boxes in a semiorganized fashion, awaits systematic examination and cataloguing before it can be used effectively. Even so,

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<sup>36</sup>For example, in attempting to characterize Washington's marriages, Spencer cites several letters between Washington and Olivia Davidson and Margaret Murray.

<sup>37</sup>*Ibid.*, 93.

<sup>38</sup>*Ibid.*, 108.

<sup>39</sup>*Ibid.*, 131.

<sup>40</sup>*Ibid.*, 178.

the Papers are rewarding."<sup>41</sup> In addition, Spencer comments on Washington's few biographers. Ignoring many significant works, he hap hazardly describes the pre-1944 biographies as being of "little value." He adds that the best biography to date belongs to Basil Mathews.

Spencer's two hundred page narrative of Washington's life and work surpasses most for its easy to read, thorough, to-the-point, and sophisticated approach. The Journal of Southern History was accurate in its assessment: "This brief and readable biography of Booker T. Washington provides an authoritative account that can be recommended to the undergraduate and general reader." It is no surprise, moreover, that Shirley Graham's brief biography of Washington is ignored by most Washingtonian scholars.<sup>42</sup>

After Spencer's and Graham's biographies silently acknowledging the fortieth anniversary of Washington's death, it would be seventeen years until some serious biographies were written. 1972 alone witnessed three significant contributions in this field belonging to Arna Bontemps, Barry Mackintosh, and, most importantly, Louis R.

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<sup>41</sup> Ibid., 204-205.

<sup>42</sup> Shirley Graham, Booker T. Washington: Educator of Hand, Head, and Heart (New York: Julian Messner, 1955). Shirley Lola Graham Du Bois (1906-1977)--well educated in musical training, theater, French, and writing--became the wife of W.E.B. Du Bois in 1951, the founding editor of Freedomways in 1964, and during the 1940s and 1950s she published a variety of books on famous Black Americans for a non-scientific audience. Such is her work on Washington. Its narrative style predates Bontemps' Young Booker. She transcends her contemporary by quoting frequently Washington and paying closer attention to the historical setting in which he operated. Among other sources, her bibliography includes Mrs. M.F. Armstrong's Hampton and Its Students (1874), Bond's Negro Education in Alabama, Moton's Finding a Way Out, Riley's The Life and Times of Booker T. Washington, Scott's and Stowe's biography, Washington's The Future of the American Negro, My Larger Education, Up From Slavery, and Working with the Hands, E.D. Washington's Selected Speeches of Booker T. Washington, and Du Bois's and Washington's The American Negro (1909). Part III, "Behold the Land!," devotes roughly fifty pages to Washington's life as the principal of Tuskegee and an emerging Black leader. She focuses on his major accomplishments, such as "making bricks from straw," the Negro Conferences, receiving an honorary degree from Harvard, the publication of an autobiography, his trip to Europe, the founding of the National Negro Business League, and his relationship with President Roosevelt.

Harlan. Between this time, however, many scholars produced enlightening articles citing the Papers at the Library of Congress. Despite these observations, why was not Washington a subject for a serious biography between 1955 and 1972?<sup>43</sup> There are several potential reasons for this. One, perhaps the Papers were too overwhelming for scholars to deal with so soon and since Washington had written several autobiographical sketches, what was the need for another take on his rise "up from slavery?" Two, with the rise of the Black Power era, Washington was not a very popular hero for Black biographers.<sup>44</sup> And three, perhaps Hawkins's and Thornbrough's compilations marked the end of an era of scholarship on Washington. What stimulated the biographies of 1972 to emerge will never be certain.

What is certain is that during the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s, a host of historians explored varied dimensions of Washington's life in articles and texts. August Meier, born in 1923 and raised in Newark, New Jersey, remains a household name amongst historians of the Afro-American past, and deservedly so. As his 1949 M.A. thesis and 1957 doctoral dissertation reveal, Black nationalism and Black intellectual history became his specific fields of interest.<sup>45</sup> While still pursuing a Ph.D., he wrote a number of articles on Washington. In 1953, he published "Booker T. Washington and the Negro Press." He used the Washington Papers to examine "his far-reaching

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<sup>43</sup>I may be incorrect in this statement. At the Library of Congress I did not locate any serious biographies written about Washington during this span of seventeen years.

<sup>44</sup>As a matter of fact, a host of Black authors during the Black Power era chastised Washington. For example, Lerone Bennett, one of the most popular Black historians of this time period whose work--as the senior editor--was featured in Ebony, was very critical of Washington. Also see, James G. Steele, "The Harmful Legacy of Booker T. Washington," People's World Magazine (April 1973): M-11; and Gaye Todd Adegbalola, "Interviews: A Created Conversation Using Excerpts and Quotes From Their Actual Speeches and Writings by Garvey, Du Bois, and Booker T.," Black Books Bulletin 3 (Spring 1974):37-47.

<sup>45</sup>Meier and Rudwick, Black History and the Historical Profession. 1915-1980, 144-145.



influence among Negro editors and publishers,"<sup>46</sup> and how he financially supported and/or partially owned newspapers and magazines in New York, Boston, and Washington.

Meier does acknowledge that Washington's use of the Black press served many purposes and that his program was multidimensional. But, he concludes that his "peculiar militancy" and personal and public identities were overshadowed by his philosophy of "accommodation." He suggests:

Nevertheless, his disarming flattery of the southern whites, his emphasis upon economic development and moral uplift rather than on oppression and injustices, his soft-pedaling of civil and political rights and higher education, and his placing the chief responsibility for the Negroes' difficulties and the burden of their advancement upon Negroes themselves, make his thought characteristically accommodating in tone. His ultimate goals were mentioned relatively seldom, and when they were, they were carefully and tactfully--and often vaguely--expressed. In short, his felicitous manner of expression decidedly masked the protest content of his thought and effectively bridged the contradiction in his philosophy.<sup>47</sup>

Meier's claim that Washington's social philosophy was composed of contradictions<sup>48</sup> demonstrates an inability to understand the deeper meaning of Du Bois's "Of Our Spiritual Strivings." Black ideologies cannot be constructed in terms of absolutes (i.e., "accommodation," "conservatism," or "integration" verses "agitation," "radicalism," or "separatism"). Given Blacks' history in America, "contradictions" are inherent in Black intellectual ideologies.

In the following year, Meier published two articles which also relied heavily upon the Washington Papers. In "Booker T. Washington and the Town of Mound Bayou," he briefly assesses the so-called failure of one of Tuskegee's offspring in Mississippi. "The

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<sup>46</sup>August Meier and Elliott Rudwick, Along the Color Line: Exploration in the Black Experience (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1976), 56.

<sup>47</sup>Ibid., 63.

<sup>48</sup>Ibid., 70. Here, Meier concludes by mentioning that Washington's manipulation of the Black press contradicted his program.

evidence in the Papers is especially significant because it documents so clearly the gulf between ideology and practice at Mound Bayou," Meier continues, "Self-help and racial solidarity were not, as even Banks and Montgomery realized, a sufficient base upon which to erect a successful economy and community."<sup>49</sup> His second article of 1954 elaborates on the Tuskegeean's unsuccessful attempts at squashing Du Bois's Niagara Movement and the NAACP. Meier's thorough narrative "was prepared under a grant from the American Council of Learned Societies and is based mostly on materials at the Booker T. Washington Papers at the Library of Congress."<sup>50</sup> His conclusion is quite simple: "Nothing Washington could have done would have prevented the rise of the NAACP."<sup>51</sup>

Besides his published dissertation of 1963, Meier's most frequently cited and celebrated commentary on Washington is "Toward A Reinterpretation of Booker T. Washington" first appearing in The Journal of Southern History in 1957. Here, he fundamentally points out that Washington's "accommodating tone" can be misleading in assessing his view towards social equality for Blacks. Meier cites how a turn-of-the-century Washington began secretly attacking southern segregation and Black disenfranchisement through financial, political, and legal means. He proposes that "examples of Washington's influence could be multiplied indefinitely, for a number of post collectorships and of internal revenue, receiverships of public monies in the land office, and several diplomatic posts, as well as the position of auditor for the Navy, register of the Treasury, and recorder of deeds at his disposal."<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>49</sup>Ibid., 222.

<sup>50</sup>Ibid., 93.

<sup>51</sup>Ibid.

<sup>52</sup>August Meier and Elliott Rudwick, eds., The Making of Black America. Volume II: The Black Community in Modern America (New York: Atheneum, 1971), 128.

In writing this brief yet informative article, Meier challenged those post-1915 intellectuals who, following in Du Bois's footsteps, deemed Washington the "Great Compromiser." At the same time, he was also updating his own oversimplifications. Nearly every study on Washington following 1957 makes some references to Meier's "path-breaking" discoveries. It appears that these findings, and off-shoots of them, have become Washington's only saving grace or evidence of redemption. That is to say that late twentieth-century scholars, with few exceptions, continue to view Washington as a statesman who accommodated in public, while privately challenging Euro-American domination. This approach is faulty because it ignores Washington as he operated in the Macon County community and pondered upon less consequential, non-political issues. A question to those scholars of Meier's school is: Are there not a host of other examples, outside the Papers, which clearly challenge us to reinterpret Washington's "complex role?"

Until 1972 Meier's various journeys into Washington's personal correspondences sparked many other interesting articles, a bulk of which were featured in The Journal of Negro History. In 1955, Mercer Cook--an educator and government official who became ambassador to Niger, Senegal, and Gambia after more than three decades of teaching at Howard University, among other places--published "Booker T. Washington and the French." Citing various French writers and reviewers of the late 1890s and early 1900s found in the Papers, Cook highlights that there was "practically unanimous" praise for Up From Slavery abroad. "Unfortunately, I have been unable to examine all of the 1200 boxes of Washington's manuscripts for this article. That will perhaps be a task for some enterprising graduate student." He continues, "Nevertheless, a perusal of some of the material reveals here and there other communications from Frenchmen residing in the U.S. or in France."<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>53</sup>Mercer Cook, "Booker T. Washington and the French," The Journal of Negro History 40 (October 1955): 325.

A Year following Meier's call for a "reinterpretation" of Washington, Emma Lou Thornbrough, who would later publish several other articles pertaining to Washington as well as edit a vital Booker T. Washington reader, unpacked the Tuskegeean's business relationship with T. Thomas Fortune's New York Age.<sup>54</sup> "Based on the extensive correspondence between Washington and Fortune in the Booker T. Washington Papers in the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress,"<sup>55</sup> Thornbrough's narrative discusses how Washington sought to secretly control the New York Age as a vehicle of propaganda for the "Tuskegee Machine." She indicates that his contemporaries knew of his efforts, but this did not scar his world wide reputation. In response to Thornbrough's findings, one should deeply ponder why Washington sought to control the New York Age and other media organs of the Black community. Were these actions motivated by his own personal quest for power? Or were they means to ends seeking to help uplift the Black masses of the South?

During the 1960s Woodson's journal also featured several less scholarly think pieces. The journal's first article of the new decade on Washington belongs to Daniel Walden of City College, New York. Defining Washington's philosophy as a program aimed at eventually attaining constitutional rights for Blacks through economic and moral advancement, Walden basically overviews Black opposition to Washington. In "Booker T. Washington: Another Look" (1964), Donald J. Calista calls for a reconsideration of Washington in terms of the political, economic, and social changes which he faced. "If he is not considered in this full perspective, a narrow image emerges--and, as argued here, without really understanding the nature of his success and the man himself,"

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<sup>54</sup>Emma Lou Thornbrough, "More Light on Booker T. Washington and the New York Age," The Journal of Negro History 43 (January 1958): 35.

<sup>55</sup>*Ibid.*, 36.

Calista summarizes.<sup>56</sup> In removing the haze clouding Washington's image, however, Calista is also careless.<sup>57</sup>

Emma Lou Thornbrough re-entered Washingtonian historiography with a paper first delivered at the 52nd Annual Meeting of the ASNLH. Without any real theoretical insights, she cites the opinions of various southern and northern Euro-American towards Washington's program. Most of Euro-America bought tickets to and sat through Washington's ideological minstrel shows simply because "he said what most white people wanted to hear."<sup>58</sup> He played upon the guilty conscience of philanthropists. Thornbrough also helps dispel the myth that all Euro-Americans supported his program by citing how many white supremacists were terrified by the inter-racial component of Washington's doctrine.

A year following Thornbrough's last article of Washington to appear in The Journal of Negro History, John P. Flynn, who was a doctoral candidate at the University of Colorado, published a think piece which surveyed roughly fifteen years of Washingtonian scholarship in the form of articles. Flynn was pre-occupied with discussing whether Washington was an "Uncle Tom" or a "wooden horse." "The two outstanding means which Booker T. Washington chose to accomplish his major task of advancement of a people

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<sup>56</sup>Donald J. Calista, "Booker T. Washington: Another Look," The Journal of Negro History 49 (October 1964): 251.

<sup>57</sup>One, he claims that following 1915, Washington became "an open target" for criticism by quoting only one scholar's work of 1954. In order to make his argument smooth, he makes the assumption that Arthur P. Davis--a reviewer of the "new edition" of The Souls of Black Folk--represents the "current opinion" of Washington. Two, in attempting to redeem Washington, Calista bashes his opposition, in this case Du Bois. According to him, Du Bois was "tactless" and "aloof." The way to celebrate and reconsider Washington is to actually re invoke his own writings as well as the scholarship molding the academy's ideologies. In this sense, "another look" at Calista's "another look" indicates that his essay, as I am sure it was, should be taken very lightly in its scholarly value.

<sup>58</sup>Emma Lou Thornbrough, "Booker T. Washington As Seen By His White Contemporaries," The Journal of Negro History 53 (April 1968): 181.

were primarily those of vocational education and political accommodation," Flynn suggests.<sup>59</sup> He claims that his work adds "a few new insights" into Washington's leadership. Rather than deeming Washington an "Uncle Tom," Flynn re-invokes Meier's decade old reinterpretation and clarifies Washington as a cultural assimilator into a romantic American culture of Progressivism. In the end, he calls for a more sensitive approach to Washington. "While we cannot assess accurately the motivations of Booker T. Washington, one can begin to see the possibility of his conciliation and accommodation as being necessary and effective for other than uncle tom objectives," Flynn continues, "The strategic necessity must at least be considered, particularly in light of the historical time, the locus of activities in the post Reconstruction South, and the manner in which, with hat in hand, Washington may necessarily have had to approach the cornucopian North and Northeast."<sup>60</sup>

The last article appearing in Journal of Negro History before 1972 belongs to Willard B. Gatewood. Citing various newspapers for "public opinions" and Washington's Papers, Gatewood thoroughly investigates the ramifications of the assault on Washington by Henry Albert Ulrich in New York. According to Gatewood, early in the morning on March 19, 1911, the Tuskegeean went in search of a friend's residence and was violently assaulted by Ulrich, a German American. The aftermath of this event was multi-dimensional. One, it demonstrated that racism during the Progressive Era was not simply a southern problem. Two, Ulrich's "innocence" told Afro-America that all Blacks, even Black America's most widely acknowledged leader, could be victims of the most violent expressions of Euro-American racism. Three, this incident served as a wake up call to feuding Black activists. For a brief period in the spring of 1911, leading African American spokespersons, even Monroe Trotter, sympathized with

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<sup>59</sup>John P. Flynn, "Booker T. Washington: Uncle Tom or Wooden Horse," The Journal of Negro History 54 (July 1969): 268.

<sup>60</sup>Ibid., 271.

Washington. Four, it was similarly interesting to note Euro-America's diversified reactions to "the Ulrich Affair." While President Taft expressed his sincere sympathy to, and faith in, Washington, certain Euro-Americans, beginning in Greenville, Alabama, raised monies for Ulrich's legal expenses.<sup>61</sup> And five, we can only speculate as to the emotional and physical effects that this had on Washington himself.

Another group of articles, emerging as a distinct body in the late 1960s, exploring a specific theme in Washington's program are those dealing with his relationship with Africa.<sup>62</sup> "Those who have thought of Booker T. Washington as a provincial southern American Negro, intellectually as well as geographically isolated from the rest of the world, will be surprised to find that he was substantially involved in African Affairs," Harlan asserts in 1966.<sup>63</sup> This thorough article addresses Tuskegee's cotton growing experiment in Togo beginning in early 1900; how colonial officials of the South African government sought Washington's advice on race relations in the early 1900s; Washington's opposition to King Leopold's Congo Free State as he demonstrated by joining the Congo Reform Association and writing "Cruelty in the Congo Country" in 1904 (appearing in the Outlook); Park's influence on Washington; Washington and his role in the Liberian Commission during the summer of 1908; his influence on African intellectuals such as John L. Dube ("The Booker T. Washington of South Africa"),

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<sup>61</sup>Willard Gatewood, "Booker T. Washington and the Ulrich Affair," The Journal of Negro History 55 (January 1970): 35.

<sup>62</sup>In 1949, Basil Mathews opened the discussion of Washington and Africa in Chapter XVI, "The Appeal for Africa," of his biography. Mathews limits his discussion to Washington's role in Liberia from 1907 until 1910. He narrates how he became the personal guide of the Liberian Commission in May of 1908, an effort to help Liberia's leadership in crisis. Mathews also quotes what Washington thought about the Liberian situation in nationalist terms. Until Harlan's second biography of 1983, his was the only biography to pay some attention to Washington's program in Africa.

<sup>63</sup>Louis R. Harlan, "Booker T. Washington and the White Man's Burden," The American Historical Review LXXI (January 1966): 441.

Davidson D.T. Jabavu, Pixley ka Isaka Seme and others; and the role of Tuskegee's International Conference of 1912.

However, at the same time this scholarly research is undermined by polemics. Harlan continues, "This involvement, however, did not require any fundamental readjustment of Washington's outlook." Harlan contends that Washington's "conservatism" and civilizationist chauvinism prevailed in his activities in Africa. For example, referring to a speech of 1897, he highlights that Washington "endorsed the white stereotype of the naked African savage"<sup>64</sup> and that the Tuskegeean's activities throughout Africa and his interactions with "African teachers, missionaries and nationalist intellectuals shaped a view of Africa resembling that of the more enlightened European colonialists."<sup>65</sup>

"Washington's parting advice to the young men bound for Sudan was amusingly similar to what one would expect from a Victorian parent, a warning against 'going native,'" Harlan jokes.<sup>66</sup> In another instance, Harlan states that "Washington also urged that the Africans be taught English in order to give them a common language and to absorb them more fully into Western culture."<sup>67</sup> Like all Black leaders of his times, Washington bought into the myth of an uncivilized Africa. In response to such statements we need to ask why Washington believed such things.

Years later, in a chapter in Booker T. Washington: The Wizard of Tuskegee, 1901-1915, Harlan remains steadfast in his oversimplified assessments of Washington and Africa. A few adjustments are made. By 1983, Harlan claims that Washington possessed

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<sup>64</sup>Ibid., 442.

<sup>65</sup>Ibid.

<sup>66</sup>Ibid., 447.

<sup>67</sup>Ibid., 449.



a European centered point of reference. "His outlook was distinctly American and, beyond that, Europe-centered," he claims.<sup>68</sup>

Five years after Harlan's pioneering article, J. Congress Mbata published a comparison between the Tuskegeean and John Tengo Jabavu, a Black South African educator born in January of 1859. Mbata draws similarities between the two leaders based upon: their rises from poverty; their dealings with their adversaries; the times in which they existed and to which they adapted themselves successfully; political accommodation; behind-the-scenes political activism; and their oratory skills.<sup>69</sup>

Expanding greatly upon Mbata's example, Manning W. Marable, in "Booker T. Washington and African Nationalism," discusses how a variety of African leaders were influenced by Washington's philosophy of self-help and self-determination. While he accepts that Washington was a cultural assimilator, he challenges Harlan's approach. "It would be a mistake to consider Washington's influence on the modern African mind by simply reviewing his direct association with colonial administrators or his friendship with capitalist enterprisers." Marable continues, "An astonishing amount of correspondence of Washington, his secretary Emmett Scott, and his advisor, sociologist Professor Robert Park, with black nationalists implies Tuskegee's guarded support for black militant endeavors."<sup>70</sup> Among those who he cites as being inspired by Tuskegee's "independent advancement" were Pixley ka Isaka Seme, John L. Dube, the ANC leadership, Sol J. Plaatje, Duse Muhammed, Caseley Hayford, K. Soga, Edward Blyden, and John Chilembwe (who, in 1915, lead a violent resistance struggle against the British in the Nyasland frontier).<sup>71</sup> According to Marable, these African leaders

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<sup>68</sup>Ibid., 279.

<sup>69</sup>J. Congress Mbata, "Booker T. Washington and John Tengo Jabavu: A Comparison," Afro-American Studies 2 (1971): 186.

<sup>70</sup>Manning W. Marable, "Booker T. Washington and African Nationalism," Phylon 35 (1974): 400.

perceived Tuskegee as an institution which did not adhere to European racism. "Washington's philosophy in both continents helped to create a nationalistic, proud and dynamic elite of black people," he concludes.<sup>72</sup>

In the early 1980s, Sylvia M. Jacobs's produced two studies on Black Americans' late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries relationships to Africa. One of these studies, The African Nexus, examined how a small literate and articulate group of Blacks reacted to the European exploitation of Africa from 1880 until 1920. Washington is among those personalities discussed. "Washington's conservatism was reflected in his attitudes toward Africa, and his encouragement of American investment on the continent helped to bolster the argument justifying colonialism." She adds that "Washington helped shape a black middle-class view of Africa similar to that of European colonists."<sup>73</sup> In another instance she acknowledges his role in the American Congo Reform. In the same decade as The African Nexus, Donald Spivey published a thought provoking study which denounced Washington's educational program as contributing to Blacks' and Africans' oppression.<sup>74</sup> His study is flawed not in its analysis of Liberia's Booker Washington Institute, but in how he assumes that it upheld Washington's values.

The popularity of Washington's influence in Africa has surfaced in the 1990s as well. In 1992, Michael West deemed Washington a Pan-Africanist.<sup>75</sup> He calls for a new

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<sup>71</sup>Ibid., 405.

<sup>72</sup>Ibid., 406.

<sup>73</sup>Sylvia M. Jacobs, The African Nexus: Black American Perspectives on the European Partitioning of Africa, 1880-1920 (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1981), 49.

<sup>74</sup>Donald Spivey, The Politics of Miseducation: The Booker Washington Institute of Liberia, 1929-1984 (Kentucky: University of Kentucky Press, 1986), 1-14.

<sup>75</sup>Michael O. West, "The Tuskegee Model of Development in Africa: Another Dimension of the African/African-American Connection," Diplomatic History: The Journal of the Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations 16 (Summer 1992): 372.

definition of Pan-Africanism which would include the Tuskegeean. "As far as the historiography of pan-Africanism is concerned, a major reason for the lack of attention accorded to the Tuskegee model is that it simply does not conform to the standard conception of pan-African movements." He continues, " Pan-Africanism is generally regarded as an inherently emancipatory force, in deed, as the necessary culmination of the historic struggle of Africans and their descendants in the Americas against enslavement, colonialism, exploitation, and oppression."<sup>76</sup> Two years later, Mildred C. Fierce includes Washington in The Pan-African Idea in the United States, 1900-1910. Washington is an ideal case study for her study: "Irrespective of their ideological character," his programs in Togo, West Africa in particular "clearly demonstrate that Washington was very much conscious of African and possibly is the Black American individual with the most substantial record of active involvement, during this period, with Africa and Africans,"<sup>77</sup> Fierce concludes.

Thus, from roughly 1953 until the resurgence of biographies on Washington in 1972, a collection of articles in The Journal of Negro History, Emma Lou Thornbrough's and August Meier's studies as well as a school of scholars to whom Africa is significant expose us to many of the more well researched, scientifically supported examinations into Washington's provincial and international life and program. Let us now shift to examining the remaining biographical essays emerging in the early 1970s.

In 1972, Arna Wendell Bontemps (1902-1973)--a leading mover and shaker of the Harlem Renaissance, literary critic, novelist, and novice historian--published a

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<sup>76</sup>Ibid., 386-387.

<sup>77</sup>Mildred C. Fierce, The Pan-African Idea in the United States, 1900-1910: African-American Interest in Africa and Interactions with West Africa (New York: Garland Publishing, 1993), 176. Fierce's "Booker T. Washington, Tuskegee Institute, and the Togo Experiment" is significant for its in-depth description of Tuskegee's cotton growing adventures in a Togo under Germany's colonial rule. It raises many questions into Washington's motives. It should be viewed, however, in coalition with Tuskegee's other programs throughout Africa.

novel-like biography which focused on Washington's "early days" entitled Young Booker: Booker T. Washington's Early Years. In three chapters--"Journey," "Song of the Sun," and "A Hampton Man"--, Bontemps characterizes Washington's pre-Tuskegee years. Several inter-related factors authenticate this work. Bontemps' writes in a descriptive, novel-like style.<sup>78</sup> This non-scientific writing style can be confusing for the reader unfamiliar with Washington's autobiographies or other biographical sketches. For instance, the opening chapter, "Journey," describes Washington's so-called five hundred mile quest to Hampton, Virginia beginning in October of 1872. Then, the following chapter, "Song of the Sun," like a flashback scene in a novel or a movie, unexpectedly returns to the late 1850s and 1860s when Washington was a "slave" in Hale's Ford, Virginia and a "freed" wage-earner in Malden, West Virginia.<sup>79</sup>

In this same year, Barry Mackintosh, a former park historian at Booker T. Washington Monument, published a concise, comprehensive, genuinely unbiased assessment of Washington's life. According to Mackintosh, Washington's "fundamental thesis was that economic progress help the key to Negro advancement in all other areas. With material betterment," he adds, "the race would rise naturally, without 'artificial forcing,' in the political and social sphere."<sup>80</sup> This is as far as Mackintosh's sketch gets. His assessments of Washington are generic and "safe."

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<sup>78</sup>Arna Bontemps, Young Booker: Booker T. Washington's Early Days (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1972), 11. Here is an example of Bontemps' romantic prose.

<sup>79</sup> The four last chapters of Bontemps's study address Washington's leadership until his international rise to fame in 1895. He reflects upon: how Washington established a Tuskegee community life by quoting several citations from the Southern Workman and interpreting his and Olivia's early fundraising efforts in and outside of Macon County; his "softening the attitudes" of influential Euro-Americans; his "early" speaking engagements; and the lives of his three wives. All in all, the various valuable conceptual themes proposed by Bontemps may represent little to those without any clear historical framework into which to place them.

<sup>80</sup>Barry Mackintosh, Booker T. Washington: An Appreciation of the Man and His Times (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 1972), 50.

Two years after Mackintosh's study, William DeLaney published Learn By Doing: A Projected Educational Philosophy in the Thought of Booker T. Washington. Upon finding this text at the Library of Congress I thought that I had discovered an overlooked analysis of Washington's program. This assessment was very premature. DeLaney's study seeks to, one, provide a biographical sketch of Washington and, two, deal with the Tuskegeean's approach to education, by comparing it to those of certain European and Euro-American educators. DeLaney's biographical sketch is weak. Strangely, he does not cite from Harlan's 1972 biography. Why would he ignore the most comprehensive biography to date? The remainder of DeLaney's study is aimed at defining Washington's educational program. His methodologies are, however, very problematic.

One, he explores "Tuskegee's Organization and Plan of Instruction General" by citing nine major areas from a Bulletin of Tuskegee published in October of 1966.<sup>81</sup> He therefore hap hazardly assumes that Tuskegee's policy remained consistent nearly half a century following Washington's death. Two, it seems as if he is attempting to validate Washington's philosophy by likening it to theories of Europeans and Euro-Americans such as Herbart, Pestalozzi, Froebel, Hopkins, Wayland, Harris, Emerson, Locke, and most importantly Dewey. DeLaney asserts that the latter and Washington held a lot in common, but Washington anticipated his contemporary by decades. And three, his definitions of Washington's philosophy are scarce and unclear. DeLaney's most straightforward statement on Washington's approach emerges in "Evaluation and Application of Washington's Projected Philosophy." He asserts:

The projected philosophy of Booker T. Washington may be described as advocacy of industrial education to meet the needs of the newly freed emancipated Negro, and conciliation in regard to race relations. He believed that satisfactory social relations would evolve not by artificial force by when the Negro could produce something that his

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<sup>81</sup>William H. DeLaney, Learn By Doing: A Projected Educational Philosophy in the Thought of Booker T. Washington (New York: Vantage Press, 1974), 81-94. He devotes these pages to examining Tuskegee's more contemporary policies as if they are equal to Washington's.

counterpart desired. In the matter of civil and political rights, he wanted his race to have them, but stressed the fact that it was vastly more important that they be prepared to exercise their rights.<sup>82</sup>

Throughout the text, moreover, DeLaney attempts to explore various factors, such as his Sunday Evening Talks, his opposition with Du Bois, and educational theories and philosophies. In sum, the study is very fragmented and in turn very difficult to read through.

A year before DeLaney's essay, Joseph F. Citro--who was born in 1941 and attended the University of Rochester as a post secondary school scholar--published an exhaustive study on Washington which can be grouped with Harlan's studies in terms of its depth. This being a dissertation entitled "Booker T. Washington's Tuskegee Institute: Black School-Community, 1900-1915." August Meier, moreover, was the committee chairperson. Through a thorough examination of Washington's Papers, Citro examines the day-to-day dealings of Tuskegee Institute during the last half of Washington's principalship. Citro asserts:

It might be argued that there is no need for such a study in that so much has already been written about Washington the man and Washington the educator. While there is a measure of truth to this statement, the present writer would argue that not enough has been written about the functioning of Washington's school as it was under his leadership.<sup>83</sup>

Citro carefully combed through the Papers in order to highlight that "the founder of Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute was more than a laudatory figure as portrayed by many of his biographers and more than a sinister figure as many of his critics past

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<sup>82</sup>Ibid., 170. This is the most comprehensive definition that DeLaney presents. In another chapter, he mentions the "methods and techniques" of the Tuskegeean's program. Among those elements mentioned are development of character, simplicity, cultivation of values, satisfaction, economic prosperity, thrift, industry, and middle-class standards.

<sup>83</sup>Joseph F. Citro, "Booker T. Washington's Tuskegee Institute: Black School Community, 1900-1915" (Ph.D. diss., 1973), 4.

and present have suggested," he continues, "Washington was a human being with goals and aspirations."<sup>84</sup>

Citro's critical discussions of faculty and student life at Tuskegee dispel the romantic myths of Washington's perfection and complete control. For example, by analyzing the findings of Monroe N. Work, Tuskegee's Director of Research and Records beginning in 1908, he shocks the reader with the statistics revealing Tuskegee's low retention and graduation rates. In addition, the Tuskegeean was not the "master of the plantation" that we are led to believe. Not only did teachers, such as George Washington Carver, challenge Washington's authority, but students, whether through vandalism, strikes, theft, dropping out, sexual misconduct, or grade changing, undermined his absolute power as well.

The most revealing element of Citro's study is his analysis of the students who actually graduated from Tuskegee. During Washington's final years, Monroe N. Work published a host of studies inquiring into the graduation rates at Tuskegee. In one study, Work indicates that seventy percent of those students who enrolled in Tuskegee dropped out, without graduating, after two or more years of study. Moreover, between 1885 and 1915, 2,211 received some form of approval from Tuskegee. Of this number 1,753 were actual academic Tuskegee Institute diplomas.<sup>85</sup> Facts like these make Citro's conclusions critical. "Thus as one goes through the Booker T. Washington Papers, one comes to feel that there existed at his school a pervasive defeatist prophecy. Students

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<sup>84</sup>Ibid., 155.

<sup>85</sup>Ibid., 424. Citro cites many more statistics like this. These were particularly shocking to me, since I carelessly assumed that the majority of Washington's students were like those featured in Tuskegee and Its People and Working with the Hands. As Citro highlights in his investigation of Monroe N. Work's Industrial Work of Tuskegee Graduates and Former Students During the Year 1910, these books were, in a large part, written to convince Euro-America that Tuskegee was producing law-abiding, "middle-class" Americans.

failed to learn and teachers failed to teach because everyone knew their efforts were likely to lead to failure," Citro gathers.<sup>86</sup>

Citro's critical study forces us to deal with the criteria with which we determine whether or not a Black liberation movement is successful. In many respects, he deems Tuskegee a failure, since most of Washington's ideals were not reached. At the same time, however, Citro credits Tuskegee with making "a difference in the lives of some of its students."<sup>87</sup> How do we then determine if a Black movement is successful or not? Can this be measured quantitatively? Moreover, can we judge the success of Washington's program in the same manner that we judge that of a Du Bois? Nevertheless, Citro's study deserves to be ranked amongst the great books on Washington. This study complements and fills the voids of Harlan's second biography volume. According to the current writer, Citro's work is of equal scholarship as Harlan's study. Why the former's was not polished and published is a good question.

Since the 1960s, Louis R. Harlan has published a host of articles, two biographies, and a fourteen volume series exploring Washington's life. In most academic circles he has been deemed "Washington's biographer." Harlan was born in Mississippi in 1922, and "grew up in the South, but it was the urban South, a suburb of Atlanta, where the commercial spirit and bourgeois liberalism were tainted by racism but not completely overwhelmed by it."<sup>88</sup> As a scholar, he was influenced by personalities such as C. Vann Woodward and John Hope Franklin. In 1949-1950, Harlan was one of the first scholars to explore the Washington Papers. "When I saw them they were stacked in unlabeled boxes deep in the recess of the Library's Manuscripts Division," Harlan continues, " In those easy-going days before tight security regulations, the authorities let me go into the

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<sup>86</sup>Ibid., 435.

<sup>87</sup>Ibid., 522 and 552.

<sup>88</sup>Raymond W. Smock, ed., Booker T. Washington in Perspective: Essays of Louis R. Harlan (Jackson: University of Mississippi Press, 1988), 185.



stacks and poke around among the boxes for what I wanted. It was like discovering a new world, the private world of the black community hidden behind the veil and mask that protected blacks from the gaze of whites."<sup>89</sup> At this time, however, Washington was not Harlan's key topic of interest.

According to Meier and Rudwick, he followed in the footsteps of C. Vann Woodward by becoming a Euro-American, southern historian sensitive to Negro history during another monumental phase of American race relations.<sup>90</sup> As an outgrowth of a Ph.D. dissertation completed in 1955, Separate and Unequal was his first major scholarly contribution.<sup>91</sup> Throughout this exhaustively footnoted text Washington is only casually mentioned. Seven years later in a brief commentary published by the American Historical Association surveying trends in Black American historiography, Harlan calls for a re-evaluation of Washington. "Though Washington succeeded Frederick Douglass as the Negro father-figure, Negro scholars have avoided this obviously important biographical subject, possibly because of alienation from his social philosophy and the lack of a tradition of critical biography," he suggests.<sup>92</sup>

Two years after this observation, in 1967 Harlan began the Booker T. Washington Papers Project, the first major "project of its kind that dealt with the letters of a black person." As he delved through the Papers, he produced various articles. From 1966 until 1983, for example, he published a dozen essays exploring various elements of the Tuskegeean's career. These studies became the bases for his two volume biography.

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<sup>89</sup>Ibid., 186.

<sup>90</sup>Meier and Rudwick, Black History and the Historical Profession, 147-149.

<sup>91</sup>See Louis R. Harlan, Separate and Unequal: Public School Campaigns and Racism in the South Seaboard States, 1901-1915 (Chapel Hill: University of South Carolina Press, 1958).

<sup>92</sup>Harlan, The Negro in American History (Washington, D.C.: American Historical Association, 1965), 21-22.

**Booker T. Washington: The Making of a Black Leader, 1856-1901** is the first volume and more of a standard biography than the latter.

Through an extensive investigation of Washington's Papers and other obscure primary sources, Harlan discusses pivotal individuals, opportunities, factors, and accomplishments in Washington's life as a "slave," a houseboy, a student, a teacher, and a leading Black spokesperson. He defines the Tuskegeean's philosophy based upon his life as a statesman. "Washington's biographer" asserts:

Booker Washington's incorrigible humility made him the kind of symbolic black figure that whites accepted. His self-help advice to blacks shifted from whites the responsibility for racial problems they were thoroughly tired of. His economic emphasis took the question of Negro progress out of politics. His materialism was thoroughly American and attuned to the industrial age. His proposals of racial compromise promised peace not only between the races but between the sections.<sup>93</sup>

Moreover, at certain points throughout the text, mainly in the beginning or conclusion of chapter following the book's fourth, Harlan inserts his thesis that Washington was not an intellectual, but "a man of action" who sought self-empowerment at all costs. According to Harlan, Washington's "thirst for power" began in his early twenties. Even then, he claims, Washington's "aim was not intellectual clarity, but power. His genius was that of a stratagem. His restless mind was constantly devising new moves and countermoves."<sup>94</sup> Harlan's most blatant assault on Washington's character appears in "Another Part of the Forest," in which we are lead to believe that Washington was strictly a devious power broker.<sup>95</sup> To the uncritical eye, Harlan's commentary seems to be true. In sum, because of its breadth and research the first biography deserves the

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<sup>93</sup>Harlan, **Booker T. Washington: The Making of a Black Leader, 1856-1901**, 204.

<sup>94</sup>*Ibid.*, 92.

<sup>95</sup>*Ibid.*, 157-158, 166-168, 171, 191, 254-255. This theme runs rampant in "Master of the Tuskegee Plantation," 272-287.

high praise that it received. But, it is lacking in explaining *why* Washington acted in certain ways, beyond his power stricken theory.

In the same year as this study, Harlan began publishing The Booker T. Washington Papers. Harlan and his large editorial staff carefully selected from the million items available. "To select for publication only about one percent of the total available documents, however, puts a heavy burden of decision on the editor," Harlan continues, "In several rounds of decision making, the three editors argue out the relative historical value of various documents, their literary quality, and the possibility of using one letter in the annotation of another."<sup>96</sup> Harlan adds that especially during Washington's later life, they have selected certain, no more than five percent, of the available information. In a sense, Harlan's volumes are aimed at triggering further research into the Tuskegeean's life. Two years after Harlan published the first volume of the Papers, moreover, Dr. Daniel T. Williams, the Archivist at Tuskegee Institute, finished cataloging and organizing one hundred and thirty-three boxes of the Tuskegeean's papers in Booker Taliaferro Washington: A Register of His Papers in the Tuskegee Institute Archives. No doubt, Dr. Williams could produce his own biography on Washington.

As he published the Booker T. Washington Papers and wrote various articles, ten years after the first biography, he published the second volume of this biography. In the "Preface" of this exhaustive work, Harlan points out that "Washington had multiple personalities to fit his various roles."<sup>97</sup> Instead of attempting to examine Washington as a multi-dimensional character, he focuses upon a so-called "power hungry" Washington involved in politics. He outlines how he will examine Washington:

Readers who expect to find this book a treatise on Washington's role in the history of education may be disappointed to find that his educational administration at Tuskegee Institute and his speeches and writings on education receive relatively brief attention. In view of the

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<sup>96</sup>Smock, editor, Booker T. Washington in Perspective, 181.

<sup>97</sup>Harlan, Booker T. Washington: The Wizard of Tuskegee, 1901-1915, ix.

greater detail on this side of his life in the published *Booker T. Washington Papers* and because I feel that he played an important but not remarkably innovative role in educational history, I have stressed what seems to me more important: the sources, nature, uses, and consequences of his power.<sup>98</sup>

Harlan clearly lays out that knowing the public, power-broker, statesman Washington is most important. In fulfilling this goal he is extremely successful. The reader definitely comes away with a knowledge of what Washington did in the eyes of the world and behind the scenes in order to maintain the "Tuskegee Machine." Harlan's second volume does not represent a comprehensive, balanced biography of Washington. It should be supplemented with Denton's or Citro's study.

Louis Harlan spent two decades shedding more light on Washington's life. His meticulous research has enabled generations of scholars to peer into Washington's life without visiting the Library of Congress or Tuskegee University. His commentary and own personal agenda should, at the same time, be queried and challenged. Indeed, he has made Washington familiar in the academy.

As this chapter has hopefully demonstrated, the second half of the twentieth-century ushered in a new approach to and appreciation of African-American history which can be viewed at a microscopic level through Booker T. Washingtonian scholarship.

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<sup>98</sup>Ibid., xi.

## CONCLUSION

What has been attempted in this thesis is the most comprehensive historiographic analysis of the post-1915 scholarship on Booker T. Washington. As this study has demonstrated, the existing academic discourse on the Tuskegeean can be examined by using a most of criteria. Social historical contexts, race, and authors' motives and intentions are among the most significant of these determinants.

Since late 1915, Washington has been featured in a variety of biographies, articles, commentaries, theses and dissertations, addresses, and texts. Before the Washington Papers reached the Nation's capital and were made accessible to scholars during the second half of the twentieth-century, non-professional historians tended to generate oversimplified, uncritical assessments of Washington by often simply reiteration his worldwide know quest "up from slavery." Most of these scholars were Euro-Americans who celebrated Washington as the Negro race's safe leader, saving grace, and undisputed representative. This approach, in part, helped instigate conflict within the Afro-American community of spokespersons.

Of course, not all Euro-American writers preserved the myth of Washington the "accommodator" or the icon. In particular, popular writer Frederick E. Drinker, social American historian Merle Curti, and Swedish sociologist Gunnar Myrdal distinguish themselves from their non-professional counterparts with their more balanced, intellectual observations of the Tuskegeean's program.

On the other hand, a cadre of Black intellectuals of this era critically assessed Washington's approach by often meshing both streams of "Negro thought" in hopes of solving the "Negro Problem." As they unpacked the Tuskegeean's program they often

discussed alternative solutions. The insights of W.E.B. Du Bois, T.T. Fortune, Ida B. Wells, Kelly Miller, Charles S. Johnson, Horace Mann Bond, Ralph Bunche, Carter G. Woodson, and Emmett J. Scott must therefore be viewed in a different light than those of their Euro-American contemporaries.

Following the transfer of Washington's Papers to the Library of Congress, in the late 1940s scholars began exploring a Booker T. Washington who existed behind the *mask*. They discovered that "The Wizard" was, to say the least, a very active personality in familial, community-oriented, national, and international arenas. Throughout this second half of the twentieth-century, several Euro-American historians sensitive to the Black American past have dominated this new discourse. August Meier, Emma Lou Thornbrough, and especially Louis R. Harlan are the most acclaimed authors here. All three fundamentally approached Washington as a power-broker and an Afro-American statesman. These scholars' popularity and paradigm setting abilities, however, have shifted researchers and students of Black history away from seeking out other equally significant scholarly contributions.

These more creative, yet under acknowledged, analyses of the Tuskegeean emerging in the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s include the works of Joseph F. Citro, William DeLaney, Wilson Jeremiah Moses, Robert Michael Franklin, Houston Baker, Jr., Charlotte Fitzgerald, David Howard-Pitney, and Virginia Lantz Denton.<sup>1</sup> Despite these scattered efforts at unveiling a more human Washington, taken as a whole these scholarship on Washington has been one dimensional (that is, focusing on "The Wizard" as a statesman,

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<sup>1</sup>Franklin's, Moses's, and Howard-Pitney's studies were not directly dealt with in the previous text. All explore aspects of Washington's cultural outlook, with a focus on religion's role therein. See, Robert Michael Franklin, Liberating Visions: Human Fulfillment and Social Justice in African-American Thought (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1990), Wilson Jeremiah Moses, Black Messiahs and Uncle Toms: Social and Literary Manipulations of a Religious Myth (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1982), and David Howard-Pitney, The Afro-American Jeremiad: Appeals for Justice in America (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1990).

economic pragmatist, and so-called "accommodationist"), politically misleading, reduced to polemical debates concerning Black liberation ideologies, and, in sum, oversimplified.

As I discovered during the process of writing this study, and as various advisors and mentors have meticulously pointed out to me, there are many other dimensions that, with more time to research, could have been incorporated into this thesis. Thus, this study represents my initial--of many more to come--revisionist interpretations of Washington's fascinating disposition.

Future research on the Tuskegeean should, foremost, take into consideration the fundamental complexity of his character. Yes, he was a statesman, a "man of action," and perhaps Black America's most powerful leader. But he was also a pragmatic intellectual, an innovative educator, and a man of the "ordinary folk." As we approach the end of the twentieth-century and the constituents of American history continues to expand, a comprehensive analysis of Washington's outlook is needed. Some of the following elements have been neglected.

Washington's philosophy underwent significant changes from 1881 until 1915. It also needs to be stressed that he was regularly appealing to several audiences simultaneously: Euro-America (North and South, philanthropist and industrialism racist and racially tolerant), Tuskegee students, Macon County Black folk, and the Black proletariat of the South. My careful reading and presentation of Washingtonian scholarship since 1915--the foundation for an upcoming intellectual biography on Washington--leaves the reader with little choice except to acknowledge the influence of the Tuskegee Founder on American culture, history, and academic discourse as well as his key position in the great debate as to how to create a "beloved community" in which Black humanity would be valued.

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