Booker T. Washington vs. W. E. B. Du Bois on Black Education: A Classic Debate and its Contemporary Significance

Houghton University's Kingdom Initiative
sponsors a series of three public conversations
with President Wayne D. Lewis, Jr. and Prof. Peter Meilaender

September 28: Booker T. Washington and Industrial Education

Readings: "The Atlanta Exposition Address of 1895" (from *Up From Slavery*, 1901)
"Industrial Education for the Negro" (from *The Negro Problem*, 1903)

October 24: W. E. B. Du Bois and the Talented Tenth

Readings: "The Talented Tenth" (from *The Negro Problem*, 1903)
"Of Mr. Booker T. Washington and Others" (from *The Souls of Black Folk*, 1903)

November 14: Race, Freedom, and the Education of Black Children

Readings: Du Bois, "Does the Negro Need Separate Schools?" (1935)
Wayne D. Lewis, "Busing, Desegregation, and Parent Choice" (from *The Politics of Parent Choice in Public Education*, 2013)

perfect freedom, in my hearing, what was going to take place the next day. We were met by a committee in Atlanta. Almost the first thing that I heard when I got off the train in that city was an expression something like this, from an old coloured man near by: "Dat's de man of my race what's gwine to make a speech at de Exposition to-morrow. I'se sho' gwine to hear him."

Atlanta was literally packed, at the time, with people from all parts of this country, and with representatives of foreign governments, as well as with military and civic organizations. The afternoon papers had forecasts of the next day's proceedings in flaring headlines. All this tended to add to my burden. I did not sleep much that night. The next morning, before day, I went carefully over what I intended to say. I also kneeled down and asked God's blessing upon my effort. Right here, perhaps, I ought to add that I make it a rule never to go before an audience, on any occasion, without asking the blessing of God upon what I want to say.

I always make it a rule to make especial preparation for each separate address. No two audiences are exactly alike. It is my aim to reach and talk to the heart of each individual audience, taking it into my confidence very much as I would a person. When I am speaking to an audience, I care little for how what I am saying is going to sound in the newspapers, or to another audience, or to an individual. At the time, the audience before me absorbs all my sympathy, thought, and energy.

Early in the morning a committee called to escort me to my place in the procession which was to march to the Exposition grounds. In this procession were prominent coloured citizens in carriages, as well as several Negro military organizations. I noted that the Exposition officials seemed to go out of their way to see that all of the coloured people in the procession were properly placed and properly treated. The procession was about three hours in reaching the Exposition grounds, and during all of this time the sun was shining down upon us disagreeably hot. When we reached the grounds, the heat, together with my nervous anxiety, made me feel as if I were about ready to collapse, and to feel that my address was not going to be a success. When I entered the audience-room, I found it packed with humanity from bottom to top, and there were thousands outside who could not get in.

The room was very large, and well suited to public speaking. When I entered the room, there were vigorous cheers from the coloured portion of the audience, and faint cheers from some of the white people. I had been told, while I had been in Atlanta, that while many white people

were going to be present to hear me speak, simply out of curiosity, and that others who would be present would be in full sympathy with me, there was a still larger element of the audience which would consist of those who were going to be present for the purpose of hearing me make a fool of myself, or, at least, of hearing me say some foolish thing, so that they could say to the officials who had invited me to speak, "I told you so!"

One of the trustees of the Tuskegee Institute, as well as my personal friend, Mr. William H. Baldwin, Jr. was at the time General Manager of the Southern Railroad, and happened to be in Atlanta on that day. He was so nervous about the kind of reception that I would have, and the effect that my speech would produce, that he could not persuade himself to go into the building, but walked back and forth in the grounds outside until the opening exercises were over.

CHAPTER XIV

The Atlanta Exposition Address

THE ATLANTA EXPOSITION, at which I had been asked to make an address as a representative of the Negro race, as stated in the last chapter, was opened with a short address from Governor Bullock. After other interesting exercises, including an invocation from Bishop Nelson, of Georgia, a dedicatory ode by Albert Howell, Jr., and addresses by the President of the Exposition and Mrs. Joseph Thompson, the President of the Woman's Board, Governor Bullock introduced me with the words, "We have with us to-day a representative of Negro enterprise and Negro civilization."

When I arose to speak, there was considerable cheering, especially from the coloured people. As I remember it now, the thing that was uppermost in my mind was the desire to say something that would cement the friendship of the races and bring about hearty coöperation between them. So far as my outward surroundings were concerned, the only thing that I recall distinctly now is that when I got up, I saw thousands of eyes looking intently into my face. The following is the address which I delivered: —

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS AND CITIZENS.

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

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

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

Cast it down in agriculture, mechanics, in commerce, in domestic service, and in the professions. And in this connection it is well to bear in mind that whatever other sins the South may be called to bear, when it comes to business, pure and simple, it is in the South that the

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

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

There is no defence or security for any of us except in the highest intelligence and development of all. If anywhere there are efforts tending to curtail the fullest growth of the Negro, let these efforts be turned into stimulating, encouraging, and making him the most useful and intelligent citizen. Effort or means so invested will pay a thousand per cent interest. These efforts will be twice blessed—"blessing him that gives and him that takes."

There is no escape through law of man or God from the inevitable:—

> The laws of changeless justice bind
> Oppressor with oppressed;
> And close as sin and suffering joined
> We march to fate abreast.

Nearly sixteen millions of hands will aid you in pulling the load upward, or they will pull against you the load downward. We shall constitute one-third and more of the ignorance and crime of the South, or one-third its intelligence and progress; we shall contribute one-third to the business and industrial prosperity of the South, or we shall prove a veritable body of death, stagnating, depressing, retarding every effort to advance the body politic.

Gentlemen of the Exposition, as we present to you our humble effort at an exhibition of our progress, you must not expect overmuch. Starting thirty years ago with ownership here and there in a few quilts and pumpkins and chickens (gathered from miscellaneous sources), remember the path that has led from these to the inventions and production of agricultural implements, buggies, steam-engines, newspapers, books, statuary, carving, paintings, the management of drug-stores and banks, has not been trodden without contact with thorns and thistles. While we take pride in what we exhibit as a result of our independent efforts, we do not for a moment forget that our part in this exhibition would fall far short of your expectations but for the constant help that has come to our educational life, not only from the Southern states, but especially from Northern philanthropists, who have made their gifts a constant stream of blessing and encouragement.

The wisest among my race understand that the agitation of questions of social equality is the extremest folly, and that progress in the enjoyment of all the privileges that will come to us must be the result of severe and constant struggle rather than of artificial forcing. No race that has

anything to contribute to the markets of the world is long in any degree ostracized. It is important and right that all privileges of the law be ours, but it is vastly more important that we be prepared for the exercises of these privileges. The opportunity to earn a dollar in a factory just now is worth infinitely more than the opportunity to spend a dollar in an opera-house.

In conclusion, may I repeat that nothing in thirty years has given us more hope and encouragement, and drawn us so near to you of the white race, as this opportunity offered by the Exposition; and here bending, as it were, over the altar that represents the results of the struggles of your race and mine, both starting practically empty-handed three decades ago, I pledge that in your effort to work out the great and intricate problem which God has laid at the doors of the South, you shall have at all times the patient, sympathetic help of my race; only let this be constantly in mind, that, while from representations in these buildings of the product of field, of forest, of mine, of factory, letters, and art, much good will come, yet far above and beyond material benefits will be that higher good, that, let us pray God, will come, in a blotting out of sectional differences and racial animosities and suspicions, in a determination to administer absolute justice, in a willing obedience among all classes to the mandates of law. This, this, coupled with our material prosperity, will bring into our beloved South a new heaven and a new earth.

The first thing that I remember, after I had finished speaking, was that Governor Bullock rushed across the platform and took me by the hand, and that others did the same. I received so many and such hearty congratulations that I found it difficult to get out of the building. I did not appreciate to any degree, however, the impression which my address seemed to have made, until the next morning, when I went into the business part of the city. As soon as I was recognized, I was surprised to find myself pointed out and surrounded by a crowd of men who wished to shake hands with me. This was kept up on every street on to which I went, to an extent which embarrassed me so much that I went back to my boarding-place. The next morning I returned to Tuskegee. At the station in Atlanta, and at almost all of the stations at which the train stopped between that city and Tuskegee, I found a crowd of people anxious to shake hands with me.

The papers in all parts of the United States published the address in full, and for months afterward there were complimentary editorial

references to it. Mr. Clark Howell, the editor of the Atlanta *Constitution*, telegraphed to a New York paper, among other words, the following, "I do not exaggerate when I say that Professor Booker T. Washington's address yesterday was one of the most notable speeches, both as to character and as to the warmth of its reception, ever delivered to a Southern audience. The address was a revelation. The whole speech is a platform upon which blacks and whites can stand with full justice to each other."

The Boston *Transcript* said editorially: "The speech of Booker T. Washington at the Atlanta Exposition, this week, seems to have dwarfed all the other proceedings and the Exposition itself. The sensation that it has caused in the press has never been equalled."

I very soon began receiving all kinds of propositions from lecture bureaus, and editors of magazines and papers, to take the lecture platform, and to write articles. One lecture bureau offered me fifty thousand dollars, or two hundred dollars a night and expenses, if I would place my services at its disposal for a given period. To all these communications I replied that my life-work was at Tuskegee; and that whenever I spoke it must be in the interests of the Tuskegee school and my race, and that I would enter into no arrangements that seemed to place a mere commercial value upon my services.

Some days after its delivery I sent a copy of my address to the President of the United States, the Hon. Grover Cleveland. I received from him the following autograph reply: —

GRAY GABLES, BUZZARD'S BAY, MASS.,
October 6, 1895.

BOOKER T. WASHINGTON, ESQ.:

MY DEAR SIR: I thank you for sending me a copy of your address delivered at the Atlanta Exposition.

I thank you with much enthusiasm for making the address. I have read it with intense interest, and I think the Exposition would be fully justified if it did not do more than furnish the opportunity for its delivery. Your words cannot fail to delight and encourage all who wish well for your race; and if our coloured fellow-citizens do not from your utterances gather new hope and form new determinations to gain every valuable advantage offered them by their citizenship, it will be strange indeed.

Yours very truly,
GROVER CLEVELAND.

Later I met Mr. Cleveland, for the first time, when, as President, he visited the Atlanta Exposition. At the request of myself and others he consented to spend an hour in the Negro Building, for the purpose of inspecting the Negro exhibit and of giving the coloured people in attendance an opportunity to shake hands with him. As soon as I met Mr. Cleveland I became impressed with his simplicity, greatness, and rugged honesty. I have met him many times since then, both at public functions and at his private residence in Princeton, and the more I see of him the more I admire him. When he visited the Negro Building in Atlanta he seemed to give himself up wholly, for that hour, to the coloured people. He seemed to be as careful to shake hands with some old coloured "auntie" clad partially in rags, and to take as much pleasure in doing so, as if he were greeting some millionnaire. Many of the coloured people took advantage of the occasion to get him to write his name in a book or on a slip of paper. He was as careful and patient in doing this as if he were putting his signature to some great state document.

Mr. Cleveland has not only shown his friendship for me in many personal ways, but has always consented to do anything I have asked of him for our school. This he has done, whether it was to make a personal donation or to use his influence in securing the donations of others. Judging from my personal acquaintance with Mr. Cleveland, I do not believe that he is conscious of possessing any colour prejudice. He is too great for that. In my contact with people I find that, as a rule, it is only the little, narrow people who live for themselves, who never read good books, who do not travel, who never open up their souls in a way to permit them to come into contact with other souls — with the great outside world. No man whose vision is bounded by colour can come into contact with what is highest and best in the world. In meeting men, in many places, I have found that the happiest people are those who do the most for others; the most miserable are those who do the least. I have also found that few things, if any, are capable of making one so blind and narrow as race prejudice. I often say to our students, in the course of my talks to them on Sunday evenings in the chapel, that the longer I live and the more experience I have of the world, the more I am convinced that, after all, the one thing that is most worth living for — and dying for, if need be — is the opportunity of making some one else more happy and more useful.

The coloured people and the coloured newspapers at first seemed to be greatly pleased with the character of my Atlanta address, as well as

with its reception. But after the first burst of enthusiasm began to die away, and the coloured people began reading the speech in cold type, some of them seemed to feel that they had been hypnotized. They seemed to feel that I had been too liberal in my remarks toward the Southern whites, and that I had not spoken out strongly enough for what they termed the "rights" of the race. For a while there was a reaction, so far as a certain element of my own race was concerned, but later these reactionary ones seemed to have been won over to my way of believing and acting.

While speaking of changes in public sentiment, I recall that about ten years after the school at Tuskegee was established, I had an experience that I shall never forget. Dr. Lyman Abbott, then the pastor of Plymouth Church, and also editor of the *Outlook* (then the *Christian Union*), asked me to write a letter for his paper giving my opinion of the exact condition, mental and moral, of the coloured ministers in the South, as based upon my observations. I wrote the letter, giving the exact facts as I conceived them to be. The picture painted was a rather black one — or, since I am black, shall I say "white"? It could not be otherwise with a race but a few years out of slavery, a race which had not had time or opportunity to produce a competent ministry.

What I said soon reached every Negro minister in the country, I think, and the letters of condemnation which I received from them were not few. I think that for a year after the publication of this article every association and every conference or religious body of any kind, of my race, that met, did not fail before adjourning to pass a resolution condemning me, or calling upon me to retract or modify what I had said. Many of these organizations went so far in their resolutions as to advise parents to cease sending their children to Tuskegee. One association even appointed a "missionary" whose duty it was to warn the people against sending their children to Tuskegee. This missionary had a son in the school, and I noticed that, whatever the "missionary" might have said or done with regard to others, he was careful not to take his son away from the institution. Many of the coloured papers, especially those that were the organs of religious bodies, joined in the general chorus of condemnation or demands for retraction.

During the whole time of the excitement, and through all the criticism, I did not utter a word of explanation or retraction. I knew that I was right, and that time and the sober second thought of the people would vindicate me. It was not long before the bishops and other church leaders began to make a careful investigation of the conditions of the

ministry, and they found out that I was right. In fact, the oldest and most influential bishop in one branch of the Methodist Church said that my words were far too mild. Very soon public sentiment began making itself felt, in demanding a purifying of the ministry. While this is not yet complete by any means, I think I may say, without egotism, and I have been told by many of our most influential ministers, that my words had much to do with starting a demand for the placing of a higher type of men in the pulpit. I have had the satisfaction of having many who once condemned me thank me heartily for my frank words.

The change of the attitude of the Negro ministry, so far as regards myself, is so complete that at the present time I have no warmer friends among any class than I have among the clergymen. The improvement in the character and life of the Negro ministers is one of the most gratifying evidences of the progress of the race. My experience with them, as well as other events in my life, convince me that the thing to do, when one feels sure that he has said or done the right thing, and is condemned, is to stand still and keep quiet. If he is right, time will show it.

In the midst of the discussion which was going on concerning my Atlanta speech, I received the letter which I give below, from Dr. Gilman, the President of Johns Hopkins University, who had been made chairman of the judges of award in connection with the Atlanta Exposition: —

JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY, BALTIMORE,
President's Office, September 30, 1895.

DEAR MR. WASHINGTON: Would it be agreeable to you to be one of the Judges of Award in the Department of Education at Atlanta? If so, I shall be glad to place your name upon the list. A line by telegraph will be welcomed.

Yours very truly,
D. C. GILMAN.

I think I was even more surprised to receive this invitation than I had been to receive the invitation to speak at the opening of the Exposition. It was to be a part of my duty, as one of the jurors, to pass not only upon the exhibits of the coloured schools, but also upon those of the white schools. I accepted the position, and spent a month in Atlanta in performance of the duties which it entailed. The board of jurors was a large one, consisting in all of sixty members. It was about

equally divided between Southern white people and Northern white people. Among them were college presidents, leading scientists and men of letters, and specialists in many subjects. When the group of jurors to which I was assigned met for organization, Mr. Thomas Nelson Page, who was one of the number, moved that I be made secretary of that division, and the motion was unanimously adopted. Nearly half of our division were Southern people. In performing my duties in the inspection of the exhibits of white schools I was in every case treated with respect, and at the close of our labours I parted from my associates with regret.

I am often asked to express myself more freely than I do upon the political condition and the political future of my race. These recollections of my experience in Atlanta give me the opportunity to do so briefly. My own belief is, although I have never before said so in so many words, that the time will come when the Negro in the South will be accorded all the political rights which his ability, character, and material possessions entitle him to. I think, though, that the opportunity to freely exercise such political rights will not come in any large degree through outside or artificial forcing, but will be accorded to the Negro by the Southern white people themselves, and that they will protect him in the exercise of those rights. Just as soon as the South gets over the old feeling that it is being forced by "foreigners," or "aliens," to do something which it does not want to do, I believe that the change in the direction that I have indicated is going to begin. In fact, there are indications that it is already beginning in a slight degree.

Let me illustrate my meaning. Suppose that some months before the opening of the Atlanta Exposition there had been a general demand from the press and public platform outside the South that a Negro be given a place on the opening programme, and that a Negro be placed upon the board of jurors of award. Would any such recognition of the race have taken place? I do not think so. The Atlanta officials went as far as they did because they felt it to be a pleasure, as well as a duty, to reward what they considered merit in the Negro race. Say what we will, there is something in human nature which we cannot blot out, which makes one man, in the end, recognize and reward merit in another, regardless of colour or race.

I believe it is the duty of the Negro — as the greater part of the race is already doing — to deport himself modestly in regard to political claims, depending upon the slow but sure influences that proceed from the possession of property, intelligence, and high character for the full

recognition of his political rights. I think that the according of the full exercise of political rights is going to be a matter of natural, slow growth, not an over-night, gourd-vine affair. I do not believe that the Negro should cease voting, for a man cannot learn the exercise of self-government by ceasing to vote, any more than a boy can learn to swim by keeping out of the water, but I do believe that in his voting he should more and more be influenced by those of intelligence and character who are his next-door neighbours.

I know coloured men who, through the encouragement, help, and advice of Southern white people, have accumulated thousands of dollars' worth of property, but who, at the same time, would never think of going to those same persons for advice concerning the casting of their ballots. This, it seems to me, is unwise and unreasonable, and should cease. In saying this I do not mean that the Negro should truckle, or not vote from principle, for the instant he ceases to vote from principle he loses the confidence and respect of the Southern white man even.

I do not believe that any state should make a law that permits an ignorant and poverty-stricken white man to vote, and prevents a black man in the same condition from voting. Such a law is not only unjust, but it will react, as all unjust laws do, in time; for the effect of such a law is to encourage the Negro to secure education and property, and at the same time it encourages the white man to remain in ignorance and poverty. I believe that in time, through the operation of intelligence and friendly race relations, all cheating at the ballot-box in the South will cease. It will become apparent that the white man who begins by cheating a Negro out of his ballot soon learns to cheat a white man out of his, and that the man who does this ends his career of dishonesty by the theft of property or by some equally serious crime. In my opinion, the time will come when the South will encourage all of its citizens to vote. It will see that it pays better, from every standpoint, to have healthy, vigorous life than to have that political stagnation which always results when one-half of the population has no share and no interest in the Government.

As a rule, I believe in universal, free suffrage, but I believe that in the South we are confronted with peculiar conditions that justify the protection of the ballot in many of the states, for a while at least, either by an educational test, a property test, or by both combined; but whatever tests are required, they should be made to apply with equal and exact justice to both races.

Industrial Education for the Negro

By Booker T. Washington

The necessity for the race's learning the difference between being worked and working. He would not confine the Negro to industrial life, but believes that the very best service which any one can render to what is called the "higher education" is to teach the present generation to work and save. This will create the wealth from which alone can come leisure and the opportunity for higher education.

One of the most fundamental and far-reaching deeds that has been accomplished during the last quarter of a century has been that by which the Negro has been helped to find himself and to learn the secrets of civilization—to learn that there are a few simple, cardinal principles upon which a race must start its upward course, unless it would fail, and its last estate be worse than its first.

It has been necessary for the Negro to learn the difference between being worked and working—to learn that being worked meant degradation, while working means civilization; that all forms of labor are honorable, and all forms of idleness disgraceful. It has been necessary for him to learn that all races that have got upon their feet have done so largely by laying an economic foundation, and, in general, by beginning in a proper cultivation and ownership of the soil.

Forty years ago my race emerged from slavery into freedom. If, in too many cases, the Negro race began development at the wrong end, it was largely because neither white nor black properly understood the case. Nor is it any wonder that this was so, for never before in the history of the world had just such a problem been presented as that of the two races at the coming of freedom in this country.

For two hundred and fifty years, I believe the way for the redemption of the Negro was being prepared through industrial development. Through all those years the Southern white man did business with the Negro in a way that no one else has done business with him. In most cases if a Southern white man wanted a house built he consulted a Negro mechanic about the plan and about the actual building of the structure. If he wanted a suit of clothes made he went to a Negro tailor, and for shoes he went to a shoemaker of the same race. In a certain way every slave plantation in the South was an industrial school. On these plantations young colored men and women were constantly being trained

not only as farmers but as carpenters, blacksmiths, wheelwrights, brick masons, engineers, cooks, laundresses, sewing women and housekeepers.

I do not mean in any way to apologize for the curse of slavery, which was a curse to both races, but in what I say about industrial training in slavery I am simply stating facts. This training was crude, and was given for selfish purposes. It did not answer the highest ends, because there was an absence of mental training in connection with the training of the hand. To a large degree, though, this business contact with the Southern white man, and the industrial training on the plantations, left the Negro at the close of the war in possession of nearly all the common and skilled labor in the South. The industries that gave the South its power, prominence and wealth prior to the Civil War were mainly the raising of cotton, sugar cane, rice and tobacco. Before the way could be prepared for the proper growing and marketing of these crops forests had to be cleared, houses to be built, public roads and railroads constructed. In all these works the Negro did most of the heavy work. In the planting, cultivating and marketing of the crops not only was the Negro the chief dependence, but in the manufacture of tobacco he became a skilled and proficient workman, and in this, up to the present time, in the South, holds the lead in the large tobacco manufactories.

In most of the industries, though, what happened? For nearly twenty years after the war, except in a few instances, the value of the industrial training given by the plantations was overlooked. Negro men and women were educated in literature, in mathematics and in the sciences, with little thought of what had been taking place during the preceding two hundred and fifty years, except, perhaps, as something to be escaped, to be got as far away from as possible. As a generation began to pass, those who had been trained as mechanics in slavery began to disappear by death, and gradually it began to be realized that there were few to take their places. There were young men educated in foreign tongues, but few in carpentry or in mechanical or architectural drawing. Many were trained in Latin, but few as engineers and blacksmiths. Too many were taken from the farm and educated, but educated in everything but farming. For this reason they had no interest in farming and did not return to it. And yet eighty-five per cent. of the Negro population of the Southern states lives and for a considerable time will continue to live in the country districts. The charge is often brought against the members of my race—and too often justly, I confess—that they are found leaving the country districts and flocking into the great cities where temptations are more frequent and harder to resist, and where the Negro people too often become demoralized. Think, though, how frequently it is the case that from the first day that a pupil begins to go to school his books teach him much about the cities of the world and city life, and almost nothing about the country. How natural it is, then, that when he has the ordering of his life he wants to live it in the city.

Only a short time before his death the late Mr. C.P. Huntington, to whose memory a magnificent library has just been given by his widow to

the Hampton Institute for Negroes, in Virginia, said in a public address some words which seem to me so wise that I want to quote them here:

"Our schools teach everybody a little of almost everything, but, in my opinion, they teach very few children just what they ought to know in order to make their way successfully in life. They do not put into their hands the tools they are best fitted to use, and hence so many failures. Many a mother and sister have worked and slaved, living upon scanty food, in order to give a son and brother a "liberal education," and in doing this have built up a barrier between the boy and the work he was fitted to do. Let me say to you that all honest work is honorable work. If the labor is manual, and seems common, you will have all the more chance to be thinking of other things, or of work that is higher and brings better pay, and to work out in your minds better and higher duties and responsibilities for yourselves, and for thinking of ways by which you can help others as well as yourselves, and bring them up to your own higher level."

Some years ago, when we decided to make tailoring a part of our training at the Tuskegee Institute, I was amazed to find that it was almost impossible to find in the whole country an educated colored man who could teach the making of clothing. We could find numbers of them who could teach astronomy, theology, Latin or grammar, but almost none who could instruct in the making of clothing, something that has to be used by every one of us every day in the year. How often have I been discouraged as I have gone through the South, and into the homes of the people of my race, and have found women who could converse intelligently upon abstruse subjects, and yet could not tell how to improve the condition of the poorly cooked and still more poorly served bread and meat which they and their families were eating three times a day. It is discouraging to find a girl who can tell you the geographical location of any country on the globe and who does not know where to place the dishes upon a common dinner table. It is discouraging to find a woman who knows much about theoretical chemistry, and who cannot properly wash and iron a shirt.

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.

I would not confine the race to industrial life, not even to agriculture, for example, although I believe that by far the greater part of the Negro race is best off in the country districts and must and should continue to live there, but I would teach the race that in industry the foundation must be laid—that the very best service which any one can render to what is called the higher education is to teach the present generation to provide a material or industrial foundation. On such a foundation as this will grow habits of thrift, a love of work, economy, ownership of property, bank accounts. Out of it in the future will grow practical education, professional education, positions of public responsibility. Out of it will grow moral and religious strength. Out of it will grow wealth from which alone can come leisure and the opportunity for the enjoyment of literature and the fine arts.

In the words of the late beloved Frederick Douglass: "Every blow of the sledge hammer wielded by a sable arm is a powerful blow in support of our cause. Every colored mechanic is by virtue of circumstances an elevator of his race. Every house built by a black man is a strong tower against the allied hosts of prejudice. It is impossible for us to attach too much importance to this aspect of the subject. Without industrial development there can be no wealth; without wealth there can be no leisure; without leisure no opportunity for thoughtful reflection and the cultivation of the higher arts."

I would set no limits to the attainments of the Negro in arts, in letters or statesmanship, but I believe the surest way to reach those ends is by laying the foundation in the little things of life that lie immediately about one's door. I plead for industrial education and development for the Negro not because I want to cramp him, but because I want to free him. I want to see him enter the all-powerful business and commercial world.

It was such combined mental, moral and industrial education which the late General Armstrong set out to give at the Hampton Institute when he established that school thirty years ago. The Hampton Institute has continued along the lines laid down by its great founder, and now each year an increasing number of similar schools are being established in the South, for the people of both races.

Early in the history of the Tuskegee Institute we began to combine industrial training with mental and moral culture. Our first efforts were in the direction of agriculture, and we began teaching this with no appliances except one hoe and a blind mule. From this small beginning we have grown until now the Institute owns two thousand acres of land, eight hundred of which are cultivated each year by the young men of the school. We began teaching wheelwrighting and blacksmithing in a small way to the men, and laundry work, cooking and sewing and housekeeping to the young women. The fourteen hundred and over young men and women who attended the school during the last school year received

instruction—in addition to academic and religious training—in thirty-three trades and industries, including carpentry, blacksmithing, printing, wheelwrighting harnessmaking, painting, machinery, founding, shoemaking, brickmasonry and brickmaking, plastering, sawmilling, tinsmithing, tailoring, mechanical and architectural drawing, electrical and steam engineering, canning, sewing, dressmaking, millinery, cooking, laundering, housekeeping, mattress making, basketry, nursing, agriculture, dairying and stock raising, horticulture.

Not only do the students receive instruction in these trades, but they do actual work, by means of which more than half of them pay some part or all of their expenses while remaining at the school. Of the sixty buildings belonging to the school all but four were almost wholly erected by the students as a part of their industrial education. Even the bricks which go into the walls are made by students in the school's brick yard, in which, last year, they manufactured two million bricks.

When we first began this work at Tuskegee, and the idea got spread among the people of my race that the students who came to the Tuskegee school were to be taught industries in connection with their academic studies, were, in other words, to be taught to work, I received a great many verbal messages and letters from parents informing me that they wanted their children taught books, but not how to work. This protest went on for three or four years, but I am glad to be able to say now that our people have very generally been educated to a point where they see their own needs and conditions so clearly that it has been several years since we have had a single protest from parents against the teaching of industries, and there is now a positive enthusiasm for it. In fact, public sentiment among the students at Tuskegee is now so strong for industrial training that it would hardly permit a student to remain on the grounds who was unwilling to labor.

It seems to me that too often mere book education leaves the Negro young man or woman in a weak position. For example, I have seen a Negro girl taught by her mother to help her in doing laundry work at home. Later, when this same girl was graduated from the public schools or a high school and returned home she finds herself educated out of sympathy with laundry work, and yet not able to find anything to do which seems in keeping with the cost and character of her education. Under these circumstances we cannot be surprised if she does not fulfill the expectations made for her. What should have been done for her, it seems to me, was to give her along with her academic education thorough training in the latest and best methods of laundry work, so that she could have put so much skill and intelligence into it that the work would have been lifted out from the plane of drudgery. The home which she would then have been able to found by the results of her work would have enabled her to help her children to take a still more responsible position in life.

Almost from the first Tuskegee has kept in mind—and this I think should be the policy of all industrial schools—fitting students for occupations which would be open to them in their home communities.

Some years ago we noted the fact that there was beginning to be a demand in the South for men to operate dairies in a skillful, modern manner. We opened a dairy department in connection with the school, where a number of young men could have instruction in the latest and most scientific methods of dairy work. At present we have calls—mainly from Southern white men—for twice as many dairymen as we are able to supply. What is equally satisfactory, the reports which come to us indicate that our young men are giving the highest satisfaction and are fast changing and improving the dairy product in the communities into which they go. I use the dairy here as an example. What I have said of this is equally true of many of the other industries which we teach. Aside from the economic value of this work I cannot but believe, and my observation confirms me in my belief, that as we continue to place Negro men and women of intelligence, religion, modesty, conscience and skill in every community in the South, who will prove by actual results their value to the community, I cannot but believe, I say, that this will constitute a solution to many of the present political and social difficulties.

Many seem to think that industrial education is meant to make the Negro work as he worked in the days of slavery. This is far from my conception of industrial education. If this training is worth anything to the Negro, it consists in teaching him how not to work, but how to make the forces of nature—air, steam, water, horse-power and electricity—work for him. If it has any value it is in lifting labor up out of toil and drudgery into the plane of the dignified and the beautiful. The Negro in the South works and works hard; but too often his ignorance and lack of skill causes him to do his work in the most costly and shiftless manner, and this keeps him near the bottom of the ladder in the economic world.

I have not emphasized particularly in these pages the great need of training the Negro in agriculture, but I believe that this branch of industrial education does need very great emphasis. In this connection I want to quote some words which Mr. Edgar Gardner Murphy, of Montgomery, Alabama, has recently written upon this subject:

"We must incorporate into our public school system a larger recognition of the practical and industrial elements in educational training. Ours is an agricultural population. The school must be brought more closely to the soil. The teaching of history, for example, is all very well, but nobody can really know anything of history unless he has been taught to see things grow—has so seen things not only with the outward eye, but with the eyes of his intelligence and conscience. The actual things of the present are more important, however, than the institutions of the past. Even to young children can be shown the simpler conditions and processes of growth—how corn is put into the ground—how cotton and potatoes should be planted—how to choose the soil best adapted to a particular plant, how to improve that soil, how to care for the plant while it grows, how to get the most value out of it, how to use the elements of waste for the fertilization of other crops; how, through the alternation of crops, the land may be made to increase the annual value of its products—these things, upon their elementary side are absolutely vital to the worth and success

of hundreds of thousands of these people of the Negro race, and yet our whole educational system has practically ignored them.

"Such work will mean not only an education in agriculture, but an education through agriculture and education, through natural symbols and practical forms, which will educate as deeply, as broadly and as truly as any other system which the world has known. Such changes will bring far larger results than the mere improvement of our Negroes. They will give us an agricultural class, a class of tenants or small land owners, trained not away from the soil, but in relation to the soil and in intelligent dependence upon its resources."

I close, then, as I began, by saying that as a slave the Negro was worked, and that as a freeman he must learn to work. There is still doubt in many quarters as to the ability of the Negro unguided, unsupported, to hew his own path and put into visible, tangible, indisputable form, products and signs of civilization. This doubt cannot be much affected by abstract arguments, no matter how delicately and convincingly woven together. Patiently, quietly, doggedly, persistently, through summer and winter, sunshine and shadow, by self-sacrifice, by foresight, by honesty and industry, we must re-enforce argument with results. One farm bought, one house built, one home sweetly and intelligently kept, one man who is the largest tax payer or has the largest bank account, one school or church maintained, one factory running successfully, one truck garden profitably cultivated, one patient cured by a Negro doctor, one sermon well preached, one office well filled, one life cleanly lived—these will tell more in our favor than all the abstract eloquence that can be summoned to plead our cause. Our pathway must be up through the soil, up through swamps, up through forests, up through the streams, the rocks, up through commerce, education and religion!

The Talented Tenth

By Prof. W.E. Burghardt Dubois

A strong plea for the higher education of the Negro, which those who are interested in the future of the freedmen cannot afford to ignore. Prof. DuBois produces ample evidence to prove conclusively the truth of his statement that "to attempt to establish any sort of a system of common and industrial school training, without *first* providing for the higher training of the very best teachers, is simply throwing your money to the winds."

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

If this be true—and who can deny it—three tasks lay before me; first to show from the past that the Talented Tenth as they have risen among American Negroes have been worthy of leadership; secondly, to show how these men may be educated and developed; and thirdly, to show their relation to the Negro problem.

You misjudge us because you do not know us. From the very first it has been the educated and intelligent of the Negro people that have led and elevated the mass, and the sole obstacles that nullified and retarded their efforts were slavery and race prejudice; for what is slavery but the legalized survival of the unfit and the nullification of the work of natural internal leadership? Negro leadership, therefore, sought from the first to

rid the race of this awful incubus that it might make way for natural selection and the survival of the fittest. In colonial days came Phillis Wheatley and Paul Cuffe striving against the bars of prejudice; and Benjamin Banneker, the almanac maker, voiced their longings when he said to Thomas Jefferson, "I freely and cheerfully acknowledge that I am of the African race, and in colour which is natural to them, of the deepest dye; and it is under a sense of the most profound gratitude to the Supreme Ruler of the Universe, that I now confess to you that I am not under that state of tyrannical thraldom and inhuman captivity to which too many of my brethren are doomed, but that I have abundantly tasted of the fruition of those blessings which proceed from that free and unequalled liberty with which you are favored, and which I hope you will willingly allow, you have mercifully received from the immediate hand of that Being from whom proceedeth every good and perfect gift.

"Suffer me to recall to your mind that time, in which the arms of the British crown were exerted with every powerful effort, in order to reduce you to a state of servitude; look back, I entreat you, on the variety of dangers to which you were exposed; reflect on that period in which every human aid appeared unavailable, and in which even hope and fortitude wore the aspect of inability to the conflict, and you cannot but be led to a serious and grateful sense of your miraculous and providential preservation, you cannot but acknowledge, that the present freedom and tranquility which you enjoy, you have mercifully received, and that a peculiar blessing of heaven.

"This, sir, was a time when you clearly saw into the injustice of a state of Slavery, and in which you had just apprehensions of the horrors of its condition. It was then that your abhorrence thereof was so excited, that you publicly held forth this true and invaluable doctrine, which is worthy to be recorded and remembered in all succeeding ages: 'We hold these truths to be self evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed with certain inalienable rights, and that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.'"

Then came Dr. James Derham, who could tell even the learned Dr. Rush something of medicine, and Lemuel Haynes, to whom Middlebury College gave an honorary A.M. in 1804. These and others we may call the Revolutionary group of distinguished Negroes—they were persons of marked ability, leaders of a Talented Tenth, standing conspicuously among the best of their time. They strove by word and deed to save the color line from becoming the line between the bond and free, but all they could do was nullified by Eli Whitney and the Curse of Gold. So they passed into forgetfulness.

But their spirit did not wholly die; here and there in the early part of the century came other exceptional men. Some were natural sons of unnatural fathers and were given often a liberal training and thus a race of educated mulattoes sprang up to plead for black men's rights. There was Ira Aldridge, whom all Europe loved to honor; there was that Voice crying in the Wilderness, David Walker, and saying:

"I declare it does appear to me as though some nations think God is asleep, or that he made the Africans for nothing else but to dig their mines and work their farms, or they cannot believe history, sacred or profane. I ask every man who has a heart, and is blessed with the privilege of believing—Is not God a God of justice to all his creatures? Do you say he is? Then if he gives peace and tranquility to tyrants and permits them to keep our fathers, our mothers, ourselves and our children in eternal ignorance and wretchedness to support them and their families, would he be to us a God of Justice? I ask, O, ye Christians, who hold us and our children in the most abject ignorance and degradation that ever a people were afflicted with since the world began—I say if God gives you peace and tranquility, and suffers you thus to go on afflicting us, and our children, who have never given you the least provocation—would He be to us a God of Justice? If you will allow that we are men, who feel for each other, does not the blood of our fathers and of us, their children, cry aloud to the Lord of Sabaoth against you for the cruelties and murders with which you have and do continue to afflict us?"

This was the wild voice that first aroused Southern legislators in 1829 to the terrors of abolitionism.

In 1831 there met that first Negro convention in Philadelphia, at which the world gaped curiously but which bravely attacked the problems of race and slavery, crying out against persecution and declaring that "Laws as cruel in themselves as they were unconstitutional and unjust, have in many places been enacted against our poor, unfriended and unoffending brethren (without a shadow of provocation on our part), at whose bare recital the very savage draws himself up for fear of contagion—looks noble and prides himself because he bears not the name of Christian." Side by side this free Negro movement, and the movement for abolition, strove until they merged into one strong stream. Too little notice has been taken of the work which the Talented Tenth among Negroes took in the great abolition crusade. From the very day that a Philadelphia colored man became the first subscriber to Garrison's "Liberator," to the day when Negro soldiers made the Emancipation Proclamation possible, black leaders worked shoulder to shoulder with white men in a movement, the success of which would have been impossible without them. There was Purvis and Remond, Pennington and Highland Garnett, Sojourner Truth and Alexander Crummel, and above all, Frederick Douglass—what would the abolition movement have been without them? They stood as living examples of the possibilities of the Negro race, their own hard experiences and well wrought culture said silently more than all the drawn periods of orators—they were the men who made American slavery impossible. As Maria Weston Chapman once said, from the school of anti-slavery agitation "a throng of authors, editors, lawyers, orators and accomplished gentlemen of color have taken their degree! It has equally implanted hopes and aspirations, noble thoughts, and sublime purposes, in the hearts of both races. It has prepared the white man for the freedom of the black man, and it has made the black man scorn the thought of enslavement, as does a white man, as far as its influence has extended.

Strengthen that noble influence! Before its organization, the country only saw here and there in slavery some faithful Cudjoe or Dinah, whose strong natures blossomed even in bondage, like a fine plant beneath a heavy stone. Now, under the elevating and cherishing influence of the American Anti-slavery Society, the colored race, like the white, furnishes Corinthian capitals for the noblest temples."

Where were these black abolitionists trained? Some, like Frederick Douglass, were self-trained, but yet trained liberally; others, like Alexander Crummell and McCune Smith, graduated from famous foreign universities. Most of them rose up through the colored schools of New York and Philadelphia and Boston, taught by college-bred men like Russworm, of Dartmouth, and college-bred white men like Neau and Benezet.

After emancipation came a new group of educated and gifted leaders: Langston, Bruce and Elliot, Greener, Williams and Payne. Through political organization, historical and polemic writing and moral regeneration, these men strove to uplift their people. It is the fashion of to-day to sneer at them and to say that with freedom Negro leadership should have begun at the plow and not in the Senate—a foolish and mischievous lie; two hundred and fifty years that black serf toiled at the plow and yet that toiling was in vain till the Senate passed the war amendments; and two hundred and fifty years more the half-free serf of to-day may toil at his plow, but unless he have political rights and righteously guarded civic status, he will still remain the poverty-stricken and ignorant plaything of rascals, that he now is. This all sane men know even if they dare not say it.

And so we come to the present—a day of cowardice and vacillation, of strident wide-voiced wrong and faint hearted compromise; of double-faced dallying with Truth and Right. Who are to-day guiding the work of the Negro people? The "exceptions" of course. And yet so sure as this Talented Tenth is pointed out, the blind worshippers of the Average cry out in alarm: "These are exceptions, look here at death, disease and crime—these are the happy rule." Of course they are the rule, because a silly nation made them the rule: Because for three long centuries this people lynched Negroes who dared to be brave, raped black women who dared to be virtuous, crushed dark-hued youth who dared to be ambitious, and encouraged and made to flourish servility and lewdness and apathy. But not even this was able to crush all manhood and chastity and aspiration from black folk. A saving remnant continually survives and persists, continually aspires, continually shows itself in thrift and ability and character. Exceptional it is to be sure, but this is its chiefest promise; it shows the capability of Negro blood, the promise of black men. Do Americans ever stop to reflect that there are in this land a million men of Negro blood, well-educated, owners of homes, against the honor of whose womanhood no breath was ever raised, whose men occupy positions of trust and usefulness, and who, judged by any standard, have reached the full measure of the best type of modern European culture? Is it fair, is it decent, is it Christian to ignore these facts of the Negro problem, to

belittle such aspiration, to nullify such leadership and seek to crush these people back into the mass out of which by toil and travail, they and their fathers have raised themselves?

Can the masses of the Negro people be in any possible way more quickly raised than by the effort and example of this aristocracy of talent and character? Was there ever a nation on God's fair earth civilized from the bottom upward? Never; it is, ever was and ever will be from the top downward that culture filters. The Talented Tenth rises and pulls all that are worth the saving up to their vantage ground. This is the history of human progress; and the two historic mistakes which have hindered that progress were the thinking first that no more could ever rise save the few already risen; or second, that it would better the unrisen to pull the risen down.

How then shall the leaders of a struggling people be trained and the hands of the risen few strengthened? There can be but one answer: The best and most capable of their youth must be schooled in the colleges and universities of the land. We will not quarrel as to just what the university of the Negro should teach or how it should teach it—I willingly admit that each soul and each race-soul needs its own peculiar curriculum. But this is true: A university is a human invention for the transmission of knowledge and culture from generation to generation, through the training of quick minds and pure hearts, and for this work no other human invention will suffice, not even trade and industrial schools.

All men cannot go to college but some men must; every isolated group or nation must have its yeast, must have for the talented few centers of training where men are not so mystified and befuddled by the hard and necessary toil of earning a living, as to have no aims higher than their bellies, and no God greater than Gold. This is true training, and thus in the beginning were the favored sons of the freedmen trained. Out of the colleges of the North came, after the blood of war, Ware, Cravath, Chase, Andrews, Bumstead and Spence to build the foundations of knowledge and civilization in the black South. Where ought they to have begun to build? At the bottom, of course, quibbles the mole with his eyes in the earth. Aye! truly at the bottom, at the very bottom; at the bottom of knowledge, down in the very depths of knowledge there where the roots of justice strike into the lowest soil of Truth. And so they did begin; they founded colleges, and up from the colleges shot normal schools, and out from the normal schools went teachers, and around the normal teachers clustered other teachers to teach the public schools; the college trained in Greek and Latin and mathematics, 2,000 men; and these men trained full 50,000 others in morals and manners, and they in turn taught thrift and the alphabet to nine millions of men, who to-day hold $300,000,000 of property. It was a miracle—the most wonderful peace-battle of the 19th century, and yet to-day men smile at it, and in fine superiority tell us that it was all a strange mistake; that a proper way to found a system of education is first to gather the children and buy them spelling books and hoes; afterward men may look about for teachers, if haply they may find

them; or again they would teach men Work, but as for Life—why, what has Work to do with Life, they ask vacantly.

Was the work of these college founders successful; did it stand the test of time? Did the college graduates, with all their fine theories of life, really live? Are they useful men helping to civilize and elevate their less fortunate fellows? Let us see. Omitting all institutions which have not actually graduated students from a college course, there are to-day in the United States thirty-four institutions giving something above high school training to Negroes and designed especially for this race.

Three of these were established in border States before the War; thirteen were planted by the Freedmen's Bureau in the years 1864-1869; nine were established between 1870 and 1880 by various church bodies; five were established after 1881 by Negro churches, and four are state institutions supported by United States' agricultural funds. In most cases the college departments are small adjuncts to high and common school work. As a matter of fact six institutions—Atlanta, Fisk, Howard, Shaw, Wilberforce and Leland, are the important Negro colleges so far as actual work and number of students are concerned. In all these institutions, seven hundred and fifty Negro college students are enrolled. In grade the best of these colleges are about a year behind the smaller New England colleges and a typical curriculum is that of Atlanta University. Here students from the grammar grades, after a three years' high school course, take a college course of 136 weeks. One-fourth of this time is given to Latin and Greek; one-fifth, to English and modern languages; one-sixth, to history and social science; one-seventh, to natural science; one-eighth to mathematics, and one-eighth to philosophy and pedagogy.

In addition to these students in the South, Negroes have attended Northern colleges for many years. As early as 1826 one was graduated from Bowdoin College, and from that time till to-day nearly every year has seen elsewhere, other such graduates. They have, of course, met much color prejudice. Fifty years ago very few colleges would admit them at all. Even to-day no Negro has ever been admitted to Princeton, and at some other leading institutions they are rather endured than encouraged. Oberlin was the great pioneer in the work of blotting out the color line in colleges, and has more Negro graduates by far than any other Northern college.

The total number of Negro college graduates up to 1899, (several of the graduates of that year not being reported), was as follows:

	Negro Colleges.	White Colleges.
Before '76	137	75
'75-80	143	22
'80-85	250	31
'85-90	413	43
'90-95	465	66
'96-99	475	88

Class Unknown	57	64
Total	1,914	390

Of these graduates 2,079 were men and 252 were women; 50 per cent. of Northern-born college men come South to work among the masses of their people, at a sacrifice which few people realize; nearly 90 per cent. of the Southern-born graduates instead of seeking that personal freedom and broader intellectual atmosphere which their training has led them, in some degree, to conceive, stay and labor and wait in the midst of their black neighbors and relatives.

The most interesting question, and in many respects the crucial question, to be asked concerning college-bred Negroes, is: Do they earn a living? It has been intimated more than once that the higher training of Negroes has resulted in sending into the world of work, men who could find nothing to do suitable to their talents. Now and then there comes a rumor of a colored college man working at menial service, etc. Fortunately, returns as to occupations of college-bred Negroes, gathered by the Atlanta conference, are quite full—nearly sixty per cent. of the total number of graduates.

This enables us to reach fairly certain conclusions as to the occupations of all college-bred Negroes. Of 1,312 persons reported, there were:

	Per Cent.
Teachers	53.4
Clergymen	16.8
Physicians, etc.	6.3
Students	5.6
Lawyers	4.7
In Govt. Service	4.0
In Business	3.6
Farmers and Artisans	2.7
Editors, Secretaries and Clerks	2.4
Miscellaneous	.5

Over half are teachers, a sixth are preachers, another sixth are students and professional men; over 6 per cent. are farmers, artisans and merchants, and 4 per cent. are in government service. In detail the occupations are as follows:

Occupations of College-Bred Men.

Teachers:	
Presidents and Deans	19
Teacher of Music	7
Professors, Principals and Teachers,	675
Total	701

Clergymen:		
Bishop		1
Chaplains U.S. Army		2
Missionaries		9
Presiding Elders		12
Preachers		197
	Total	221
Physicians,		
Doctors of Medicine		76
Druggists		4
Dentists		3
	Total	83
Students		74
Lawyers		62
Civil Service:		
U.S. Minister Plenipotentiary		1
U.S. Consul		1
U.S. Deputy Collector		1
U.S. Gauger		1
U.S. Postmasters		2
U.S. Clerks		44
State Civil Service		2
City Civil Service		1
	Total	53
Business Men:		
Merchants, etc.		30
Managers		13
Real Estate Dealers		4
	Total	47
Farmers		26
Clerks and Secretaries:		
Secretary of National Societies		7
Clerks, etc.		15
	Total	22
Artisans		9
Editors		9
Miscellaneous		5

These figures illustrate vividly the function of the college-bred Negro. He is, as he ought to be, the group leader, the man who sets the ideals of the community where he lives, directs its thoughts and heads its social movements. It need hardly be argued that the Negro people need social leadership more than most groups; that they have no traditions to fall back upon, no long established customs, no strong family ties, no well defined social classes. All these things must be slowly and painfully evolved. The preacher was, even before the war, the group leader of the Negroes, and the church their greatest social institution. Naturally this preacher was ignorant and often immoral, and the problem of replacing the older type by better educated men has been a difficult one. Both by direct work and by direct influence on other preachers, and on congregations, the college-bred preacher has an opportunity for reformatory work and moral inspiration, the value of which cannot be overestimated.

It has, however, been in the furnishing of teachers that the Negro college has found its peculiar function. Few persons realize how vast a work, how mighty a revolution has been thus accomplished. To furnish five millions and more of ignorant people with teachers of their own race and blood, in one generation, was not only a very difficult undertaking, but a very important one, in that, it placed before the eyes of almost every Negro child an attainable ideal. It brought the masses of the blacks in contact with modern civilization, made black men the leaders of their communities and trainers of the new generation. In this work college-bred Negroes were first teachers, and then teachers of teachers. And here it is that the broad culture of college work has been of peculiar value. Knowledge of life and its wider meaning, has been the point of the Negro's deepest ignorance, and the sending out of teachers whose training has not been simply for bread winning, but also for human culture, has been of inestimable value in the training of these men.

In earlier years the two occupations of preacher and teacher were practically the only ones open to the black college graduate. Of later years a larger diversity of life among his people, has opened new avenues of employment. Nor have these college men been paupers and spendthrifts; 557 college-bred Negroes owned in 1899, $1,342,862.50 worth of real estate, (assessed value) or $2,411 per family. The real value of the total accumulations of the whole group is perhaps about $10,000,000, or $5,000 a piece. Pitiful, is it not, beside the fortunes of oil kings and steel trusts, but after all is the fortune of the millionaire the only stamp of true and successful living? Alas! it is, with many, and there's the rub.

The problem of training the Negro is to-day immensely complicated by the fact that the whole question of the efficiency and appropriateness of our present systems of education, for any kind of child, is a matter of active debate, in which final settlement seems still afar off. Consequently it often happens that persons arguing for or against certain systems of education for Negroes, have these controversies in mind and miss the real question at issue. The main question, so far as the Southern Negro is concerned, is: What under the present circumstance, must a system of

education do in order to raise the Negro as quickly as possible in the scale of civilization? The answer to this question seems to me clear: It must strengthen the Negro's character, increase his knowledge and teach him to earn a living. Now it goes without saying, that it is hard to do all these things simultaneously or suddenly, and that at the same time it will not do to give all the attention to one and neglect the others; we could give black boys trades, but that alone will not civilize a race of ex-slaves; we might simply increase their knowledge of the world, but this would not necessarily make them wish to use this knowledge honestly; we might seek to strengthen character and purpose, but to what end if this people have nothing to eat or to wear? A system of education is not one thing, nor does it have a single definite object, nor is it a mere matter of schools. Education is that whole system of human training within and without the school house walls, which molds and develops men. If then we start out to train an ignorant and unskilled people with a heritage of bad habits, our system of training must set before itself two great aims—the one dealing with knowledge and character, the other part seeking to give the child the technical knowledge necessary for him to earn a living under the present circumstances. These objects are accomplished in part by the opening of the common schools on the one, and of the industrial schools on the other. But only in part, for there must also be trained those who are to teach these schools—men and women of knowledge and culture and technical skill who understand modern civilization, and have the training and aptitude to impart it to the children under them. There must be teachers, and teachers of teachers, and to attempt to establish any sort of a system of common and industrial school training, without *first* (and I say *first* advisedly) without *first* providing for the higher training of the very best teachers, is simply throwing your money to the winds. School houses do not teach themselves—piles of brick and mortar and machinery do not send out *men*. It is the trained, living human soul, cultivated and strengthened by long study and thought, that breathes the real breath of life into boys and girls and makes them human, whether they be black or white, Greek, Russian or American. Nothing, in these latter days, has so dampened the faith of thinking Negroes in recent educational movements, as the fact that such movements have been accompanied by ridicule and denouncement and decrying of those very institutions of higher training which made the Negro public school possible, and make Negro industrial schools thinkable. It was Fisk, Atlanta, Howard and Straight, those colleges born of the faith and sacrifice of the abolitionists, that placed in the black schools of the South the 30,000 teachers and more, which some, who depreciate the work of these higher schools, are using to teach their own new experiments. If Hampton, Tuskegee and the hundred other industrial schools prove in the future to be as successful as they deserve to be, then their success in training black artisans for the South, will be due primarily to the white colleges of the North and the black colleges of the South, which trained the teachers who to-day conduct these institutions. There was a time when the American people believed pretty devoutly that a log of wood with a boy at one end and Mark Hopkins at

the other, represented the highest ideal of human training. But in these eager days it would seem that we have changed all that and think it necessary to add a couple of saw-mills and a hammer to this outfit, and, at a pinch, to dispense with the services of Mark Hopkins.

I would not deny, or for a moment seem to deny, the paramount necessity of teaching the Negro to work, and to work steadily and skillfully; or seem to depreciate in the slightest degree the important part industrial schools must play in the accomplishment of these ends, but I *do* say, and insist upon it, that it is industrialism drunk with its vision of success, to imagine that its own work can be accomplished without providing for the training of broadly cultured men and women to teach its own teachers, and to teach the teachers of the public schools.

But I have already said that human education is not simply a matter of schools; it is much more a matter of family and group life—the training of one's home, of one's daily companions, of one's social class. Now the black boy of the South moves in a black world—a world with its own leaders, its own thoughts, its own ideals. In this world he gets by far the larger part of his life training, and through the eyes of this dark world he peers into the veiled world beyond. Who guides and determines the education which he receives in his world? His teachers here are the group-leaders of the Negro people—the physicians and clergymen, the trained fathers and mothers, the influential and forceful men about him of all kinds; here it is, if at all, that the culture of the surrounding world trickles through and is handed on by the graduates of the higher schools. Can such culture training of group leaders be neglected? Can we afford to ignore it? Do you think that if the leaders of thought among Negroes are not trained and educated thinkers, that they will have no leaders? On the contrary a hundred half-trained demagogues will still hold the places they so largely occupy now, and hundreds of vociferous busy-bodies will multiply. You have no choice; either you must help furnish this race from within its own ranks with thoughtful men of trained leadership, or you must suffer the evil consequences of a headless misguided rabble.

I am an earnest advocate of manual training and trade teaching for black boys, and for white boys, too. I believe that next to the founding of Negro colleges the most valuable addition to Negro education since the war, has been industrial training for black boys. Nevertheless, I insist that the object of all true education is not to make men carpenters, it is to make carpenters men; there are two means of making the carpenter a man, each equally important: the first is to give the group and community in which he works, liberally trained teachers and leaders to teach him and his family what life means; the second is to give him sufficient intelligence and technical skill to make him an efficient workman; the first object demands the Negro college and college-bred men—not a quantity of such colleges, but a few of excellent quality; not too many college-bred men, but enough to leaven the lump, to inspire the masses, to raise the Talented Tenth to leadership; the second object demands a good system of common schools, well-taught, conveniently located and properly equipped.

The Sixth Atlanta Conference truly said in 1901:

"We call the attention of the Nation to the fact that less than one million of the three million Negro children of school age, are at present regularly attending school, and these attend a session which lasts only a few months.

"We are to-day deliberately rearing millions of our citizens in ignorance, and at the same time limiting the rights of citizenship by educational qualifications. This is unjust. Half the black youth of the land have no opportunities open to them for learning to read, write and cipher. In the discussion as to the proper training of Negro children after they leave the public schools, we have forgotten that they are not yet decently provided with public schools.

"Propositions are beginning to be made in the South to reduce the already meagre school facilities of Negroes. We congratulate the South on resisting, as much as it has, this pressure, and on the many millions it has spent on Negro education. But it is only fair to point out that Negro taxes and the Negroes' share of the income from indirect taxes and endowments have fully repaid this expenditure, so that the Negro public school system has not in all probability cost the white taxpayers a single cent since the war.

"This is not fair. Negro schools should be a public burden, since they are a public benefit. The Negro has a right to demand good common school training at the hands of the States and the Nation since by their fault he is not in position to pay for this himself."

What is the chief need for the building up of the Negro public school in the South? The Negro race in the South needs teachers to-day above all else. This is the concurrent testimony of all who know the situation. For the supply of this great demand two things are needed—institutions of higher education and money for school houses and salaries. It is usually assumed that a hundred or more institutions for Negro training are to-day turning out so many teachers and college-bred men that the race is threatened with an over-supply. This is sheer nonsense. There are to-day less than 3,000 living Negro college graduates in the United States, and less than 1,000 Negroes in college. Moreover, in the 164 schools for Negroes, 95 per cent. of their students are doing elementary and secondary work, work which should be done in the public schools. Over half the remaining 2,157 students are taking high school studies. The mass of so-called "normal" schools for the Negro, are simply doing elementary common school work, or, at most, high school work, with a little instruction in methods. The Negro colleges and the post-graduate courses at other institutions are the only agencies for the broader and more careful training of teachers. The work of these institutions is hampered for lack of funds. It is getting increasingly difficult to get funds for training teachers in the best modern methods, and yet all over the South, from State Superintendents, county officials, city boards and school principals comes the wail, "We need *Teachers*!" and teachers must be trained. As the fairest minded of all white Southerners, Atticus G. Haygood, once said: "The defects of colored teachers are so great as to create an urgent necessity for training better ones. Their excellencies and

their successes are sufficient to justify the best hopes of success in the effort, and to vindicate the judgment of those who make large investments of money and service, to give to colored students opportunity for thoroughly preparing themselves for the work of teaching children of their people."

The truth of this has been strikingly shown in the marked improvement of white teachers in the South. Twenty years ago the rank and file of white public school teachers were not as good as the Negro teachers. But they, by scholarships and good salaries, have been encouraged to thorough normal and collegiate preparation, while the Negro teachers have been discouraged by starvation wages and the idea that any training will do for a black teacher. If carpenters are needed it is well and good to train men as carpenters. But to train men as carpenters, and then set them to teaching is wasteful and criminal; and to train men as teachers and then refuse them living wages, unless they become carpenters, is rank nonsense.

The United States Commissioner of Education says in his report for 1900: "For comparison between the white and colored enrollment in secondary and higher education, I have added together the enrollment in high schools and secondary schools, with the attendance on colleges and universities, not being sure of the actual grade of work done in the colleges and universities. The work done in the secondary schools is reported in such detail in this office, that there can be no doubt of its grade."

He then makes the following comparisons of persons in every million enrolled in secondary and higher education:

Whole Country.	Negroes.
1880 4,362	1,289
1900 10,743	2,061

And he concludes: "While the number in colored high schools and colleges had increased somewhat faster than the population, it had not kept pace with the average of the whole country, for it had fallen from 30 per cent. to 24 per cent. of the average quota. Of all colored pupils, one (1) in one hundred was engaged in secondary and higher work, and that ratio has continued substantially for the past twenty years. If the ratio of colored population in secondary and higher education is to be equal to the average for the whole country, it must be increased to five times its present average." And if this be true of the secondary and higher education, it is safe to say that the Negro has not one-tenth his quota in college studies. How baseless, therefore, is the charge of too much training! We need Negro teachers for the Negro common schools, and we need first-class normal schools and colleges to train them. This is the work of higher Negro education and it must be done.

Further than this, after being provided with group leaders of civilization, and a foundation of intelligence in the public schools, the carpenter, in order to be a man, needs technical skill. This calls for trade

schools. Now trade schools are not nearly such simple things as people once thought. The original idea was that the "Industrial" school was to furnish education, practically free, to those willing to work for it; it was to "do" things—i.e.: become a center of productive industry, it was to be partially, if not wholly, self-supporting, and it was to teach trades. Admirable as were some of the ideas underlying this scheme, the whole thing simply would not work in practice; it was found that if you were to use time and material to teach trades thoroughly, you could not at the same time keep the industries on a commercial basis and make them pay. Many schools started out to do this on a large scale and went into virtual bankruptcy. Moreover, it was found also that it was possible to teach a boy a trade mechanically, without giving him the full educative benefit of the process, and, vice versa, that there was a distinctive educative value in teaching a boy to use his hands and eyes in carrying out certain physical processes, even though he did not actually learn a trade. It has happened, therefore, in the last decade, that a noticeable change has come over the industrial schools. In the first place the idea of commercially remunerative industry in a school is being pushed rapidly to the back-ground. There are still schools with shops and farms that bring an income, and schools that use student labor partially for the erection of their buildings and the furnishing of equipment. It is coming to be seen, however, in the education of the Negro, as clearly as it has been seen in the education of the youths the world over, that it is the *boy* and not the material product, that is the true object of education. Consequently the object of the industrial school came to be the thorough training of boys regardless of the cost of the training, so long as it was thoroughly well done.

Even at this point, however, the difficulties were not surmounted. In the first place modern industry has taken great strides since the war, and the teaching of trades is no longer a simple matter. Machinery and long processes of work have greatly changed the work of the carpenter, the ironworker and the shoemaker. A really efficient workman must be to-day an intelligent man who has had good technical training in addition to thorough common school, and perhaps even higher training. To meet this situation the industrial schools began a further development; they established distinct Trade Schools for the thorough training of better class artisans, and at the same time they sought to preserve for the purposes of general education, such of the simpler processes of elementary trade learning as were best suited therefor. In this differentiation of the Trade School and manual training, the best of the industrial schools simply followed the plain trend of the present educational epoch. A prominent educator tells us that, in Sweden, "In the beginning the economic conception was generally adopted, and everywhere manual training was looked upon as a means of preparing the children of the common people to earn their living. But gradually it came to be recognized that manual training has a more elevated purpose, and one, indeed, more useful in the deeper meaning of the term. It came to be considered as an educative process for the complete moral, physical and intellectual development of the child."

Thus, again, in the manning of trade schools and manual training schools we are thrown back upon the higher training as its source and chief support. There was a time when any aged and wornout carpenter could teach in a trade school. But not so to-day. Indeed the demand for college-bred men by a school like Tuskegee, ought to make Mr. Booker T. Washington the firmest friend of higher training. Here he has as helpers the son of a Negro senator, trained in Greek and the humanities, and graduated at Harvard; the son of a Negro congressman and lawyer, trained in Latin and mathematics, and graduated at Oberlin; he has as his wife, a woman who read Virgil and Homer in the same class room with me; he has as college chaplain, a classical graduate of Atlanta University; as teacher of science, a graduate of Fisk; as teacher of history, a graduate of Smith,—indeed some thirty of his chief teachers are college graduates, and instead of studying French grammars in the midst of weeds, or buying pianos for dirty cabins, they are at Mr. Washington's right hand helping him in a noble work. And yet one of the effects of Mr. Washington's propaganda has been to throw doubt upon the expediency of such training for Negroes, as these persons have had.

Men of America, the problem is plain before you. Here is a race transplanted through the criminal foolishness of your fathers. Whether you like it or not the millions are here, and here they will remain. If you do not lift them up, they will pull you down. Education and work are the levers to uplift a people. Work alone will not do it unless inspired by the right ideals and guided by intelligence. Education must not simply teach work—it must teach Life. The Talented Tenth of the Negro race must be made leaders of thought and missionaries of culture among their people. No others can do this work and Negro colleges must train men for it. The Negro race, like all other races, is going to be saved by its exceptional men.

III

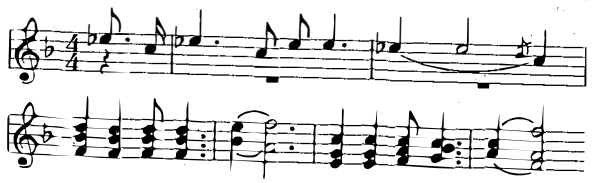
Of Mr. Booker T. Washington and Others

From birth till death enslaved; in word, in deed, unmanned!

. . . . . .

Hereditary bondsmen! Know ye not
Who would be free themselves must strike the blow?

BYRON.



EASILY the most striking thing in the history of the American Negro since 1876 is the ascendancy of Mr. Booker T. Washington. It began at the time when war memories and ideals were rapidly passing; a day of astonishing commercial development was dawning; a sense of doubt and hesitation overtook the freedmen's sons,—then it was that his leading began. Mr. Washington came, with a simple definite programme, at the psychological moment when the nation was a little ashamed of having bestowed so much sentiment on Negroes, and was concentrating its energies on Dollars. His programme of industrial education, conciliation of the South, and submission and silence as to civil and political rights, was not wholly original, the Free Negroes from 1830 up to wartime had striven to build industrial schools, and the American Missionary Association had from the first taught various trades; and Price and others had sought a way of honorable alliance with the best of the Southerners. But Mr. Washington first indissolubly linked these things; he put enthusiasm, unlimited energy, and perfect faith into this programme, and changed it from a by-path into a veritable Way of Life. And the tale of the methods by which he did this is a fascinating study of human life.

It startled the nation to hear a Negro advocating such a programme after many decades of bitter complaint; it startled

and won the applause of the South, it interested and won the admiration of the North; and after a confused murmur of protest, it silenced if it did not convert the Negroes themselves.

To gain the sympathy and coöperation of the various elements comprising the white South was Mr. Washington's first task; and this, at the time Tuskegee was founded, seemed, for a black man, well-nigh impossible. And yet ten years later it was done in the word spoken at Atlanta: "In all things purely social we can be as separate as the five fingers, and yet one as the hand in all things essential to mutual progress." This "Atlanta Compromise" is by all odds the most notable thing in Mr. Washington's career. The South interpreted it in different ways: the radicals received it as a complete surrender of the demand for civil and political equality; the conservatives, as a generously conceived working basis for mutual understanding. So both approved it, and to-day its author is certainly the most distinguished Southerner since Jefferson Davis, and the one with the largest personal following.

Next to this achievement comes Mr. Washington's work in gaining place and consideration in the North. Others less shrewd and tactful had formerly essayed to sit on these two stools and had fallen between them; but as Mr. Washington knew the heart of the South from birth and training, so by singular insight he intuitively grasped the spirit of the age which was dominating the North. And so thoroughly did he learn the speech and thought of triumphant commercialism, and the ideals of material prosperity, that the picture of a lone black boy poring over a French grammar amid the weeds and dirt of a neglected home soon seemed to him the acme of absurdities. One wonders what Socrates and St. Francis of Assisi would say to this.

And yet this very singleness of vision and thorough oneness with his age is a mark of the successful man. It is as though Nature must needs make men narrow in order to give them force. So Mr. Washington's cult has gained unquestioning followers, his work has wonderfully prospered, his friends are legion, and his enemies are confounded. To-day he stands as the one recognized spokesman of his ten million fellows, and one of the most notable figures in a nation of seventy

millions. One hesitates, therefore, to criticise a life which, beginning with so little, has done so much. And yet the time is come when one may speak in all sincerity and utter courtesy of the mistakes and shortcomings of Mr. Washington's career, as well as of his triumphs, without being thought captious or envious, and without forgetting that it is easier to do ill than well in the world.

The criticism that has hitherto met Mr. Washington has not always been of this broad character. In the South especially has he had to walk warily to avoid the harshest judgments,—and naturally so, for he is dealing with the one subject of deepest sensitiveness to that section. Twice—once when at the Chicago celebration of the Spanish-American War he alluded to the color-prejudice that is "eating away the vitals of the South," and once when he dined with President Roosevelt—has the resulting Southern criticism been violent enough to threaten seriously his popularity. In the North the feeling has several times forced itself into words, that Mr. Washington's counsels of submission overlooked certain elements of true manhood, and that his educational programme was unnecessarily narrow. Usually, however, such criticism has not found open expression, although, too, the spiritual sons of the Abolitionists have not been prepared to acknowledge that the schools founded before Tuskegee, by men of broad ideals and self-sacrificing spirit, were wholly failures or worthy of ridicule. While, then, criticism has not failed to follow Mr. Washington, yet the prevailing public opinion of the land has been but too willing to deliver the solution of a wearisome problem into his hands, and say, "If that is all you and your race ask, take it."

Among his own people, however, Mr. Washington has encountered the strongest and most lasting opposition, amounting at times to bitterness, and even to-day continuing strong and insistent even though largely silenced in outward expression by the public opinion of the nation. Some of this opposition is, of course, mere envy; the disappointment of displaced demagogues and the spite of narrow minds. But aside from this, there is among educated and thoughtful colored men in all parts of the land a feeling of deep regret, sorrow, and apprehension at the wide currency and ascendancy which some of Mr. Washington's theories have gained. These same men admire his sincerity of purpose, and are willing to forgive much to honest endeavor which is doing something worth the doing. They coöperate with Mr. Washington as far as they conscientiously can; and, indeed, it is no ordinary tribute to this man's tact and power that, steering as he must between so many diverse interests and opinions, he so largely retains the respect of all.

But the hushing of the criticism of honest opponents is a dangerous thing. It leads some of the best of the critics to unfortunate silence and paralysis of effort, and others to burst into speech so passionately and intemperately as to lose listeners. Honest and earnest criticism from those whose interests are most nearly touched,—criticism of writers by readers, of government by those governed, of leaders by those led,—this is the soul of democracy and the safeguard of modern society. If the best of the American Negroes receive by outer pressure a leader whom they had not recognized before, manifestly there is here a certain palpable gain. Yet there is also irreparable loss,—a loss of that peculiarly valuable education which a group receives when by search and criticism it finds and commissions its own leaders. The way in which this is done is at once the most elementary and the nicest problem of social growth. History is but the record of such group-leadership; and yet how infinitely changeful is its type and character! And of all types and kinds, what can be more instructive than the leadership of a group within a group?—that curious double movement where real progress may be negative and actual advance be relative retrogression. All this is the social student's inspiration and despair.

Now in the past the American Negro has had instructive experience in the choosing of group leaders, founding thus a peculiar dynasty which in the light of present conditions is worth while studying. When sticks and stones and beasts form the sole environment of a people, their attitude is largely one of determined opposition to and conquest of natural forces. But when to earth and brute is added an environment of men and ideas, then the attitude of the imprisoned group may take three main forms,—a feeling of revolt and revenge; an attempt to adjust all thought and action to the will of the

greater group; or, finally, a determined effort at self-realization and self-development despite environing opinion. The influence of all of these attitudes at various times can be traced in the history of the American Negro, and in the evolution of his successive leaders.

Before 1750, while the fire of African freedom still burned in the veins of the slaves, there was in all leadership or attempted leadership but the one motive of revolt and revenge,—typified in the terrible Maroons, the Danish blacks, and Cato of Stono, and veiling all the Americas in fear of insurrection. The liberalizing tendencies of the latter half of the eighteenth century brought, along with kindlier relations between black and white, thoughts of ultimate adjustment and assimilation. Such aspiration was especially voiced in the earnest songs of Phyllis, in the martyrdom of Attucks, the fighting of Salem and Poor, the intellectual accomplishments of Banneker and Derham, and the political demands of the Cuffes.

Stern financial and social stress after the war cooled much of the previous humanitarian ardor. The disappointment and impatience of the Negroes at the persistence of slavery and serfdom voiced itself in two movements. The slaves in the South, aroused undoubtedly by vague rumors of the Haytian revolt, made three fierce attempts at insurrection,—in 1800 under Gabriel in Virginia, in 1822 under Vesey in Carolina, and in 1831 again in Virginia under the terrible Nat Turner. In the Free States, on the other hand, a new and curious attempt at self-development was made. In Philadelphia and New York color-prescription led to a withdrawal of Negro communicants from white churches and the formation of a peculiar socio-religious institution among the Negroes known as the African Church,—an organization still living and controlling in its various branches over a million of men.

Walker's wild appeal against the trend of the times showed how the world was changing after the coming of the cotton-gin. By 1830 slavery seemed hopelessly fastened on the South, and the slaves thoroughly cowed into submission. The free Negroes of the North, inspired by the mulatto immigrants from the West Indies, began to change the basis of their demands; they recognized the slavery of slaves, but insisted that

they themselves were freemen, and sought assimilation and amalgamation with the nation on the same terms with other men. Thus, Forten and Purvis of Philadelphia, Shad of Wilmington, Du Bois of New Haven, Barbadoes of Boston, and others, strove singly and together as men, they said, not as slaves; as "people of color," not as "Negroes." The trend of the times, however, refused them recognition save in individual and exceptional cases, considered them as one with all the despised blacks, and they soon found themselves striving to keep even the rights they formerly had of voting and working and moving as freemen. Schemes of migration and colonization arose among them; but these they refused to entertain, and they eventually turned to the Abolition movement as a final refuge.

Here, led by Remond, Nell, Wells-Brown, and Douglass, a new period of self-assertion and self-development dawned. To be sure, ultimate freedom and assimilation was the ideal before the leaders, but the assertion of the manhood rights of the Negro by himself was the main reliance, and John Brown's raid was the extreme of its logic. After the war and emancipation, the great form of Frederick Douglass, the greatest of American Negro leaders, still led the host. Self-assertion, especially in political lines, was the main programme, and behind Douglass came Elliot, Bruce, and Langston, and the Reconstruction politicians, and, less conspicuous but of greater social significance Alexander Crummell and Bishop Daniel Payne.

Then came the Revolution of 1876, the suppression of the Negro votes, the changing and shifting of ideals, and the seeking of new lights in the great night. Douglass, in his old age, still bravely stood for the ideals of his early manhood,—ultimate assimilation *through* self-assertion, and on no other terms. For a time Price arose as a new leader, destined, it seemed, not to give up, but to re-state the old ideals in a form less repugnant to the white South. But he passed away in his prime. Then came the new leader. Nearly all the former ones had become leaders by the silent suffrage of their fellows, had sought to lead their own people alone, and were usually, save Douglass, little known outside their race. But Booker T. Washington arose as essentially the leader not of one race but

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

Mr. Washington represents in Negro thought the old attitude of adjustment and submission; but adjustment at such a peculiar time as to make his programme unique. This is an age of unusual economic development, and Mr. Washington's programme naturally takes an economic cast, becoming a gospel of Work and Money to such an extent as apparently almost completely to overshadow the higher aims of life. Moreover, this is an age when the more advanced races are coming in closer contact with the less developed races, and the race-feeling is therefore intensified; and Mr. Washington's programme practically accepts the alleged inferiority of the Negro races. Again, in our own land, the reaction from the sentiment of war time has given impetus to race-prejudice against Negroes, and Mr. Washington withdraws many of the high demands of Negroes as men and American citizens. In other periods of intensified prejudice all the Negro's tendency to self-assertion has been called forth; at this period a policy of submission is advocated. In the history of nearly all other races and peoples the doctrine preached at such crises has been that manly self-respect is worth more than lands and houses, and that a people who voluntarily surrender such respect, or cease striving for it, are not worth civilizing.

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

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

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

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

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

1. He is striving nobly to make Negro artisans business men and property-owners; but it is utterly impossible, under modern competitive methods, for workingmen and property-owners to defend their rights and exist without the right of suffrage.
2. He insists on thrift and self-respect, but at the same time counsels a silent submission to civic inferiority such as is bound to sap the manhood of any race in the long run.
3. He advocates common-school and industrial training, and depreciates institutions of higher learning; but neither the Negro common-schools, nor Tuskegee itself, could remain open a day were it not for teachers trained in Negro colleges, or trained by their graduates.

This triple paradox in Mr. Washington's position is the object of criticism by two classes of colored Americans. One class is spiritually descended from Toussaint the Savior, through Gabriel, Vesey, and Turner, and they represent the attitude of revolt and revenge; they hate the white South blindly and distrust the white race generally, and so far as they agree on definite action, think that the Negro's only hope lies

in emigration beyond the borders of the United States. And yet, by the irony of fate, nothing has more effectually made this programme seem hopeless than the recent course of the United States toward weaker and darker peoples in the West Indies, Hawaii, and the Philippines,—for where in the world may we go and be safe from lying and brute force?

The other class of Negroes who cannot agree with Mr. Washington has hitherto said little aloud. They deprecate the sight of scattered counsels, of internal disagreement; and especially they dislike making their just criticism of a useful and earnest man an excuse for a general discharge of venom from small-minded opponents. Nevertheless, the questions involved are so fundamental and serious that it is difficult to see how men like the Grimkes, Kelly Miller, J. W. E. Bowen, and other representatives of this group, can much longer be silent. Such men feel in conscience bound to ask of this nation three things:

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

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

This group of men honor Mr. Washington for his attitude of conciliation toward the white South; they accept the "Atlanta Compromise" in its broadest interpretation; they recognize, with him, many signs of promise, many men of high purpose and fair judgment, in this section; they know that no easy task has been laid upon a region already tottering under heavy burdens. But, nevertheless, they insist that the way to truth and right lies in straightforward honesty, not in indiscriminate flattery; in praising those of the South who do well and criticising uncompromisingly those who do ill; in taking advantage of the opportunities at hand and urging their fellows to do the same, but at the same time in remembering that only a firm adherence to their higher ideals and aspirations will ever keep those ideals within the realm of possibility. They do not expect that the free right to vote, to enjoy civic rights, and to be educated, will come in a moment; they do not expect to see the bias and prejudices of years disappear at the blast of a trumpet; but they are absolutely certain that the way for a people to gain their reasonable rights is not by voluntarily throwing them away and insisting that they do not want them; that the way for a people to gain respect is not by continually belittling and ridiculing themselves; that, on the contrary, Negroes must insist continually, in season and out of season, that voting is necessary to modern manhood, that color discrimination is barbarism, and that black boys need education as well as white boys.

In failing thus to state plainly and unequivocally the legitimate demands of their people, even at the cost of opposing an honored leader, the thinking classes of American Negroes would shirk a heavy responsibility,—a responsibility to themselves, a responsibility to the struggling masses, a responsibility to the darker races of men whose future depends so largely on this American experiment, but especially a responsibility to this nation,—this common Fatherland. It is wrong to encourage a man or a people in evil-doing; it is wrong to aid and abet a national crime simply because it is unpopular not to do so. The growing spirit of kindliness and reconciliation between the North and South after the frightful differences of a generation ago ought to be a source of deep congratulation to all, and especially to those whose mistreatment caused

the war; but if that reconciliation is to be marked by the industrial slavery and civic death of those same black men, with permanent legislation into a position of inferiority, then those black men, if they are really men, are called upon by every consideration of patriotism and loyalty to oppose such a course by all civilized methods, even though such opposition involves disagreement with Mr. Booker T. Washington. We have no right to sit silently by while the inevitable seeds are sown for a harvest of disaster to our children, black and white.

First, it is the duty of black men to judge the South discriminatingly. The present generation of Southerners are not responsible for the past, and they should not be blindly hated or blamed for it. Furthermore, to no class is the indiscriminate endorsement of the recent course of the South toward Negroes more nauseating than to the best thought of the South. The South is not "solid"; it is a land in the ferment of social change, wherein forces of all kinds are fighting for supremacy; and to praise the ill the South is to-day perpetrating is just as wrong as to condemn the good. Discriminating and broad-minded criticism is what the South needs,—needs it for the sake of her own white sons and daughters, and for the insurance of robust, healthy mental and moral development.

To-day even the attitude of the Southern whites toward the blacks is not, as so many assume, in all cases the same; the ignorant Southerner hates the Negro, the workingmen fear his competition, the money-makers wish to use him as a laborer, some of the educated see a menace in his upward development, while others—usually the sons of the masters—wish to help him to rise. National opinion has enabled this last class to maintain the Negro common schools, and to protect the Negro partially in property, life, and limb. Through the pressure of the money-makers, the Negro is in danger of being reduced to semi-slavery, especially in the country districts; the workingmen, and those of the educated who fear the Negro, have united to disfranchise him, and some have urged his deportation; while the passions of the ignorant are easily aroused to lynch and abuse any black man. To praise this intricate whirl of thought and prejudice is nonsense; to inveigh indiscriminately against "the South" is unjust; but to

use the same breath in praising Governor Aycock, exposing Senator Morgan, arguing with Mr. Thomas Nelson Page, and denouncing Senator Ben Tillman, is not only sane, but the imperative duty of thinking black men.

It would be unjust to Mr. Washington not to acknowledge that in several instances he has opposed movements in the South which were unjust to the Negro; he sent memorials to the Louisiana and Alabama constitutional conventions, he has spoken against lynching, and in other ways has openly or silently set his influence against sinister schemes and unfortunate happenings. Notwithstanding this, it is equally true to assert that on the whole the distinct impression left by Mr. Washington's propaganda is, first, that the South is justified in its present attitude toward the Negro because of the Negro's degradation; secondly, that the prime cause of the Negro's failure to rise more quickly is his wrong education in the past; and, thirdly, that his future rise depends primarily on his own efforts. Each of these propositions is a dangerous half-truth. The supplementary truths must never be lost sight of: first, slavery and race-prejudice are potent if not sufficient causes of the Negro's position; second, industrial and common-school training were necessarily slow in planting because they had to await the black teachers trained by higher institutions,—it being extremely doubtful if any essentially different development was possible, and certainly a Tuskegee was unthinkable before 1880; and, third, while it is a great truth to say that the Negro must strive and strive mightily to help himself, it is equally true that unless his striving be not simply seconded, but rather aroused and encouraged, by the initiative of the richer and wiser environing group, he cannot hope for great success.

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

The South ought to be led, by candid and honest criticism,

to assert her better self and do her full duty to the race she has cruelly wronged and is still wronging. The North—her co-partner in guilt—cannot salve her conscience by plastering it with gold. We cannot settle this problem by diplomacy and suaveness, by "policy" alone. If worse come to worst, can the moral fibre of this country survive the slow throttling and murder of nine millions of men?

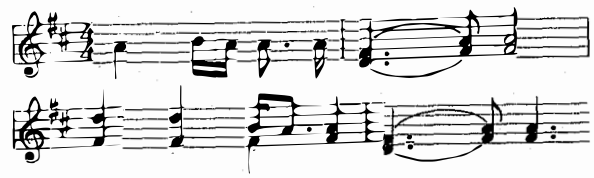
The black men of America have a duty to perform, a duty stern and delicate,—a forward movement to oppose a part of the work of their greatest leader. So far as Mr. Washington preaches Thrift, Patience, and Industrial Training for the masses, we must hold up his hands and strive with him, rejoicing in his honors and glorying in the strength of this Joshua called of God and of man to lead the headless host. But so far as Mr. Washington apologizes for injustice, North or South, does not rightly value the privilege and duty of voting, belittles the emasculating effects of caste distinctions, and opposes the higher training and ambition of our brighter minds,—so far as he, the South, or the Nation, does this,—we must unceasingly and firmly oppose them. By every civilized and peaceful method we must strive for the rights which the world accords to men, clinging unwaveringly to those great words which the sons of the Fathers would fain forget: "We hold these truths to be self-evident: That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

IV

Of the Meaning of Progress

Willst Du Deine Macht verkünden,
Wähle sie die frei von Sünden,
Steh'n in Deinem ew'gen Haus!
Deine Geister sende aus!
Die Unsterblichen, die Reinen,
Die nicht fühlen, die nicht weinen!
Nicht die zarte Jungfrau wähle,
Nicht der Hirtin weiche Seele!

SCHILLER.



ONCE upon a time I taught school in the hills of Tennessee, where the broad dark vale of the Mississippi begins to roll and crumple to greet the Alleghanies. I was a Fisk student then, and all Fisk men thought that Tennessee—beyond the Veil—was theirs alone, and in vacation time they sallied forth in lusty bands to meet the county school-commissioners. Young and happy, I too went, and I shall not soon forget that summer, seventeen years ago.

First, there was a Teachers' Institute at the county-seat; and there distinguished guests of the superintendent taught the teachers fractions and spelling and other mysteries,—white teachers in the morning, Negroes at night. A picnic now and then, and a supper, and the rough world was softened by laughter and song. I remember how— But I wander.

There came a day when all the teachers left the Institute and began the hunt for schools. I learn from hearsay (for my mother was mortally afraid of fire-arms) that the hunting of ducks and bears and men is wonderfully interesting, but I am sure that the man who has never hunted a country school has something to learn of the pleasures of the chase. I see now the white, hot roads lazily rise and fall and wind before me

The first reading for November 14 is W. E. B. Du Bois, “Does the Negro Need Separate Schools?,” found in *The Journal of Negro Education*, July 1935, vol. 4, no. 3, pp. 328-335.

Due to copyright considerations, we are not reprinting this article. Please look for it online here:

https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/2291871.pdf?refreqid=excelsior%3Aa510a80f1ed5051fc878725fe26ab66d&ab_segments=0%2Fbasic_phrase_search%2Fcontrol&origin=&initiator=&acceptTC=1

or here:

https://www.jstor.org/stable/2291871?searchText=%28au%3A%22du+bois%22+AND+ti%3A%28negro+separate+schools%29%29&searchUri=%2Faction%2FdoAdvancedSearch%3Fq0%3Ddu%2Bbois%26q1%3Dnegro%2Bseparate%2Bschools%26f0%3Dau%26c1%3DAND%26f1%3Dti%26acc%3Don&ab_segments=0%2Fbasic_phrase_search%2Fcontrol&refreqid=fastly-default%3Ac7a3b892796aaab0f43c95f84d857616

or by searching the JSTOR database at the Houghton University Library website using the bibliographical information given above.

The Politics of Parent Choice in Public Education

The Choice Movement in North Carolina and the United States

Wayne D. Lewis

palgrave
macmillan

governor in 2008, losing narrowly to then lieutenant governor Beverly Perdue. But with extremely low approval ratings, Perdue, who was North Carolina's first female governor, announced early in 2012 that she would not seek reelection, and McCrory cruised to a relatively easy victory in the November 2012 election.

McCrory ran for governor on an education platform that included providing expanded educational choices for North Carolina families and students. McCrory's ideas around expanded choice include expanding high school diploma options for students to include both a college-ready and a separate career-ready diploma option; expanding virtual school and virtual course options for students; and reducing the number of families on charter school waiting lists by implementing a smoother and more efficient process for charter school authorization.

In response to Republican control of state government, a group of nonprofit organizations from across the state have banded together in a new group called Public Schools First NC. According to the group's website, it formed "out of deep concern about the growing threat to privatize and weaken North Carolina's public schools" (Public Schools First NC, 2012). The group opposes efforts to create or expand education savings accounts, vouchers, and tax credits, and supports only "a limited number of truly innovative charter schools designed to work with local school districts, managed with careful local and state oversight" (Public Schools First NC, 2012). The formation of the group is just one indicator of the defensive position that traditional public school advocates in the state have been forced into. With their partners, state Democratic lawmakers, now the minority party in state government, opponents of choice policy expansion are banding together and preparing for the fight of their lives. Choice advocates in North Carolina are extremely hopeful about the expansion of choice policies in the state. PEFNC president Darrell Allison was hopeful in January 2013 that new leadership would mean an even greater potential for expanding choice policy. Allison commented, "You have new leadership that's not averse to other school models playing a greater role in the education of our children.... It's a paradigm shift" (Frank & Bonner, 2013). Expect to hear a lot about choice policy expansion in North Carolina in the coming years.

5

Busing, Desegregation, and Parent Choice

Du Bois's (1935) question of whether Black children should attend racially integrated schools to receive a high-quality education is one that continues to trouble education policy discussion and debate in the United States. Du Bois answered the question by asserting that the quality of education provided by a school was of greater importance than the school's racial composition, and that Negro-only schools were necessary only to the extent that they were needed to provide a quality education to the Negro people. Du Bois's question has continually been debated in the courts, in Congress, in state legislatures, and by local boards of education. Most notably, his question took center stage in the landmark *Brown v. Board of Education* case, with the US Supreme Court ultimately deciding that separate schools for Black and White children are "inherently unequal." While the Court's decision decided for the nation whether government would separate children by race for the purpose of schooling, questions do remain: Should children be able to attend racially separate schools if their parents choose to send them to such? Should government play a role in ensuring that racially separate schooling does not occur, even if it results at the hands of parents' school and housing decisions? And given the competing educational policy goals of parent choice and racial balance, which goal should receive priority in educational policy considerations? Conflicting answers to these questions serve to support divergent directions for education policy relating to public school diversity and parent choice.

After a period of decreased racial isolation in US schools from the late 1960s through the 1970s, racial isolation is again rising (Frankenberg & Lee, 2003). While only approximately 25% of the US population is nonwhite, over 40% of American public school students are nonwhite, with the vast majority of those nonwhite students attending schools that are

substantially segregated by race (Orfield & Lee, 2007). Research has shown that the racial composition of schools is highly correlated with both student achievement scores and the presence of highly qualified and experienced teachers (Lee, 2004a). Part of the explanation for these findings is that race and socioeconomic status in the United States are highly correlated. Since Black and Hispanic children are significantly more likely to be poor, racially isolated minority schools are much more likely to be high-poverty schools as well (Rumberger & Palardy, 2002). For example, in a study of Metropolitan Boston, Lee (2004b) found that 97% of the schools that were less than 10% White faced concentrated poverty, while only 1% of schools that were less than 10% students of color faced such high-poverty conditions.

In the years following *Brown* and up to the present, scholars have questioned whether *Brown's* impact on educational equity has been substantive or symbolic, given the reality that large urban school districts including the Atlanta Public Schools and Chicago Public Schools have student populations that are over 90% minority with more than half of their students eligible for free or reduced-price lunches (McNeal, 2009). Research has shown that most racially segregated schools share the characteristics of having relatively lower teacher quality, fewer total years of teaching experience, persistently low student achievement, low graduation rates, and high dropout rates (McNeal, 2009; Orfield & Lee, 2007). Still others question whether the goal of having racially and socioeconomically balanced schools and classrooms should supersede parents' ability to make school choices for their children. This chapter explores some of the most debated issues surrounding the parent choice policies and the racial and socioeconomic balancing of schools.

Charter Schools: Choice and Diversity

An initial claim of some charter school advocates was that charter school reform would result in the reduced racial isolation of students in public schools. They reasoned that giving parents of poor children of color currently trapped in failing racially isolated schools the opportunity to enroll their children in "better," more diverse schools would result in more racially balanced schools and classrooms for all children. By and large, however, this has not occurred. In fact, studies have shown that in some cases charter schools may contribute to children attending more racially isolated schools (Bifulco & Ladd, 2007; Cobb, Glass, & Crocket, 2000; Fuller, Gawlik, Gonzales, & Park, 2003; Harman, Bingham, & Hood, 2002). Cobb et al. (2000) examined the degree of ethnic/racial stratification in charter schools in Arizona and found that while patterns of racial segregation were not discernible when considering Arizona's charter schools in the aggregate, comparing charter schools to neighboring traditional public schools revealed that approximately one-third of Arizona's charter schools contributed to racial separation during the 1998–1999 school year. Further, their results showed that more Arizona students attended racially segregated schools in 1998 than in 1996. Similarly, comparing the degree of racial isolation in charter schools to traditional public schools in close proximity in 16 states, Frankenberg and Lee (2003) found that charter schools were significantly more racially isolated than their neighboring traditional public schools. Seventy percent of Black charter school students attended intensely segregated schools. Latino charter school students were less segregated than Black charter school students, but they were considerably more segregated than White students. White charter school students in every state attended schools with a disproportionately higher percentage of Whites than the White percentage of the overall charter school population.

In a nationwide study examining inequality and disparities both within charter schools as a group, as well as between charter schools and traditional public schools, Fuller et al. (2003) found that charter schools where more than half the enrollment was African American relied more heavily on teachers who were not licensed. In predominantly African American schools, 60% of teachers worked with an emergency, provisional or probationary certificate, compared to 44% of teachers in predominantly White charter schools. Also, predominantly African American schools were significantly less likely than predominantly White schools to be in compliance with special education laws requiring the development of individualized education programs (IEPs) for students identified as having special needs. Further, Bifulco and Ladd (2007) found that Black students who transferred out of traditional public schools and into racially segregated Black charter schools experienced a much greater negative effect on math achievement than both nonblack students, and Black students who transferred into a nonracially segregated charter school. Findings that charter schools have smaller percentages of traditionally credentialed educators is not surprising given that a goal of the charter school movement has been to bring greater innovation into public schooling, with nontraditional teachers being one of those innovations. In some states, including North Carolina, charter school laws are written specifically to allow nontraditionally credentialed teachers into the classroom. Obviously, debate

continues surrounding the correlation of teacher licensure and teacher quality, but findings of noncompliance with special education law and negative effects on student achievement are undeniably concerning, and must be investigated further.

An initial concern of the public and policy makers around charter schools was the possibility that charter schools would become racially isolated havens of refuge for middle-class and affluent White families. As the previously referenced research shows, that has not happened. In fact, what has more often resulted has been parents of color choosing to send their children to more racially isolated charter schools than the district-assigned schools they previously attended. In a study of African American parents' decision-making when choosing a charter school for their children, Lewis and Danzig (2010) found that parents considered a multitude of factors beyond a schools' achievement scores when choosing a school. Parents' reasons for choosing a school included teacher quality and experience, classroom and school size, comfort level with a school and school staff, and the race and gender distribution of teachers and staff. Similarly, some educational leaders have argued that the great numbers of Black children in charter schools, particularly in predominantly Black charter schools, is attributable to the racism that Black families experience in traditional public school systems. Ruth Hopkins, principal of the all-Black Carter G. Woodson Charter School in Winston-Salem, NC, purported that traditional public schools are often characterized by "a culture that holds down expectations, invites excuses and creates failure [for Black students]. The race that is the majority is more enthusiastic about supporting its own" (Associated Press, 1998a, p. 5C). Jeanne Allen, president of The Center for Education Reform, a Washington DC–based charter school advocacy group, voiced similar sentiments saying, "I think what we are seeing is that charter schools attract parents who feel the most disenfranchised from their schools. The South has been plagued with the question of how to educate black children" (Associated Press, 1998a, p. 5C).

Further, Gregory Cizek, education professor at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, is careful to point out that Black parents choosing to send their children to predominantly Black charter schools today is quite different than either the de jure segregation of days past or the de facto segregation of the present. According to Cizek:

> They're choosing it. It's an option for them that they clearly want to pursue. I think it's somewhat different from the old segregation days. People are deciding that it's a better option for them than the school that they would be assigned to. (Vaden, 2002, p. A5)

In 2013, one would be hard-pressed to find a group that would label itself as opposing racial diversity in schools. Instead, the major point of contention around this issue is how highly prioritized racial diversity in schools should be in education policy. Advocates of racial balance in schools have frequently found themselves opposing advocates of parent choice policies who argue that having choices for families should be a greater education policy priority than achieving racial diversity. The values of choice and racial balance have and will continue to conflict. Their conflict is unavoidable. The question that we have to answer is which value should be prioritized in public policy. One North Carolina education policy actor described his thinking about choice and diversity in the context of charter school diversity policy in this way:

> My position is that we shouldn't determine the lives of kids based on desegregation. We should determine the lives of kids based on the quality of their education. So if I end up with an all-black school. I don't really care, if we educate the kids. Because if we educate kids, they can decide how much integration they want. They can decide how much desegregation they need....I don't think we should try to influence that. I think what we should say is that you're not permitted to turn away a kid who does not fit the demographic you put in the school. In other words, you can have a school that serves white kids, but you better not ever turn away a black kid who tries to get in.

In the best of both worlds, parents would choose schools for their children that meet their learning needs and their choices would result in racially and socioeconomically balanced schools. In some communities that could very well happen, but in many others, it likely will not; so one of these, choice or racial balance, will have to win out. There appears to be agreement that neither discrimination nor the segregation of students by race will be tolerated; neither discrimination nor segregation are at issue here. The question is whether states and boards of education will prioritize choice over racial balance, or vice versa.

Several state legislatures have decided to address the issue of racial balance in charter schools by including diversity provisions in their charter school laws. On one hand, choice is at the very core of the charter school concept, giving parents the ability to choose a school that lines up with their preferences and meets their children's learning needs. On the other hand, achieving racial balance in public schools has been an education policy goal across the United States since *Brown*, and in some parts of the country, prior to that. Choice is about giving parents the responsibility of deciding what school they want their children to attend based on their

personal preferences and their children's needs, learning and otherwise. Racial and socioeconomic balancing is about school districts making decisions about where children should attend school based on the desire to have racially and socioeconomically balanced schools. Both goals are laudable, but one must be prioritized over the other.

In an effort to deal with these potentially conflicting goals, 19 states have written guidelines into their charter school legislation pertaining to the racial/ethnic balance of individual charter school enrollments (Frankenberg & Lee, 2003). North Carolina is one of the 19 states with such a provision. North Carolina's charter school law requires that within a calendar year of a charter school opening, its student body must reflect either the racial composition of the population residing within the county where the school is located, or the racial composition of the special population that the school serves residing within the county where the school is located.

North Carolina's charter school racial composition provision drew quite a few questions. One question was whether a charter school with an African-centered curriculum but an open admissions policy that ends up with an entirely Black student body would be legal. Given the provision's intent—preventing the resegregation of public schools in the state—it seemed clear that lawmakers had not anticipated the possibility that minority parents would move their children from relatively desegregated traditional public schools to predominantly minority charter schools. But these early questions proved to be extremely pertinent and in many ways predictive of how charter schools in North Carolina would evolve. By 1998, at least half of North Carolina's charter schools were more than 85% Black and the State Charter School Advisory Committee was considering whether to revoke schools' charters due to racial imbalance.

Many questions loomed: How would the State Board of Education and/or the General Assembly handle charter school racial imbalance? Among members of the Charter School Advisory Committee, there was initially no consensus as to what should be done. One Advisory Committee member who was also superintendent of the Raleigh Catholic Diocese asserted, "What people don't want to see happen is you re-segregate public schools. We want to be sure we're not creating two separate-but-equal schools systems" (Thompson, 1998, p. 3C). Conversely, the chairman of the Advisory Committee commented, "It does not bother me if a charter school has a certain mission that attracts a certain group of people—white, black, Japanese, whatever" (Associated Press, 1998b, p. 6C); "I don't want to be shutting down schools that parents are actively choosing, but not everyone agrees with me. We don't know what we are going to do" (Associated Press, 1998a, p. 5C).

In May 1998, the Charter School Advisory Committee recommended to the State Board of Education that charter schools be exempted from racial diversity standards, prioritizing parental choice over the goal of racial diversity. The committee's recommendation was that each charter school's racial enrollment be examined, and if a school failed the standard but could show that it had attempted to diversify its enrollment, it would be exempt from the integration rules that govern traditional schools. The State Board of Education accepted the recommendation of the Advisory Committee that charter schools should be monitored to ensure that they are as diverse as possible. Disagreement and ambiguity, however, continued to surround the question of how schools would be held accountable to the law's diversity requirement. Additionally, the State Board had yet to answer the important question of whether it would be fair to permit all-Black charter schools to operate, but prohibit all-White charter schools.

In July 1998 the State Board wrote its official Policy on Charter Schools Racial Balance (Policy ID Number: EEO-U-003). The policy required all charter schools to have open admissions procedures and policies. It further stated that charter schools must have student demographic makeups that fall within the range exhibited by the regular, nonmagnet, nonspecial schools in their counties. The racial composition of charter schools that have a mission that targets a specific population must reflect the percentage of the targeted population in the county. Further, the policy directed the Charter School Advisory Committee to investigate any charter school whose racial makeup does not fall into these ranges to determine whether the charter school made a good faith effort for diversity during its enrollment period. As of 20012, most charter schools in North Carolina remained either predominantly White or predominantly Black, but no charter schools had been closed for violating the racial balance requirement of the charter school law.

Busing, Racial Balance, and Choice

Conversations about expanding choice policy typically include consideration of charter schools, private school tuition tax credits, and school vouchers. But policy debates about parent choice and achieving racial and socioeconomic balance in traditional public schools have been more heated and have involved more children than any of the other choice policy debates. Any contemporary discussion of parent choice and race, particularly in an urban school district context, would be incomplete without considering the impact of the Supreme Court's relatively recent ruling in *Parents Involved in Community Schools (PICS) v. Seattle School*

District No. 1, 2007, striking down student assignment plans in Seattle and Louisville (see *Meredith v. Jefferson County Schools Board*, 2006). The central issue in the cases was whether it is permissible for local boards of education to consider race in school assignment plans and decisions. The school districts in both cases had developed assignment plans with the goals of creating and maintain racially integrated schools (McNeal, 2009). In Jefferson County (Louisville, KY), the school system operated under a court-ordered desegregation decree from 1975 to 2000, after a federal court found in 1975 that the board of education maintained a segregated school system despite the US Supreme Court's ruling in *Brown*. In 2001, one year after the federal court found that the board had achieved unitary status and lifted the decree, the Jefferson County School Board adopted a race-conscious student assignment plan intended to maintain the system's integrated schools. The plan included several school options for parents to choose from based on their address, but the plan's primary goal was to ensure that no less than 15% and no more than 50% of any school's enrollment was African American.

In Seattle, in an effort to respond to school segregation resulting from segregated housing patterns, the Seattle Public Schools adopted an open-choice plan student assignment plan for high schools, through which students were asked to rank their preference for schools. The district then used a series of tiebreakers to determine which students would attend the popular, oversubscribed schools. The first tiebreaker gave preference to students with siblings attending the school; the second considered the student's race in relation to the school's student body racial composition; and the third considered the proximity of the student's residence to the school.

With its ruling in PICS, the US Supreme Court struck down the student assignment plans in both Seattle and Jefferson County. The Court found that the plans were in violation of the fourteenth Amendment to the US Constitution, sending the clear message with their ruling that school districts would not be able to legally assign or deny students admission to schools on the basis of their race, regardless of whether the intent of the assignment plan is to achieve racial integration in schools (*Parents Involved in Community Schools (PICS) v. Seattle School District No. 1*, 2007; McNeal, 2009).

Student Assignment and Choice in North Carolina

Although no school districts in North Carolina were named in the PICS decision, North Carolina districts have a colorful history with student assignment policies and school diversity. Both of North Carolina's largest school districts have struggled with the competing policy goals of choice and racial balance. The following sections provide brief accounts of the ongoing challenges of the Wake County Public School System and Charlotte-Mecklenburg Schools to try to balance the two.

Charlotte-Mecklenburg Schools

Charlotte-Mecklenburg Schools (CMS) is the countywide public school district serving metropolitan Charlotte, NC. Charlotte is the largest city in North Carolina and the seventeenth largest city in the United States, with a population of approximately 1.8 million for the Charlotte metropolitan area. Charlotte is the county seat of Mecklenburg County, North Carolina's most populous county with over 944 thousand residents. Charlotte is the second largest financial center in the United States, home to the headquarters of Bank of American and the East Coast operations of Wells Fargo. Charlotte's economy is a diversified one, including finance, insurance, real estate, sports and entertainment, and high-tech industrial development and manufacturing. Charlotte's expanding economy has driven the region's rapid growth and development since the 1980s (Mickelson & Southworth, 2005).

CMS is the second largest school district in the state of North Carolina. During the 2012–2013 academic school year the district enrolled just over 140 thousand students in grades K through 12 in 159 schools, with the following racial/ethnic distribution of students: 42% African American, 32% White, 18% Hispanic, 5% Asian, and 3% American Indian/multiracial. In 2011–2012 CMS served just over 15 thousand students classified as Limited English Proficient, and approximately 53% of the district's students were classified as economically disadvantaged.

From 1971 until 1999 CMS operated in the shadow of the US Supreme Court's decision in *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education*, The Court ordered that every school in the district have an ethnic makeup mirroring the proportions of African Americans and non–African Americans in the school district. In order to achieve the court-order proportions in schools, CMS adopted a mandatory busing policy. CMS's implementation of busing was notably largely accepted by the community, and was heralded as a model for large urban districts desegregating schools through busing (Douglas, 1995; Mickelson, 2001).

During the 1980s, CMS began losing public support for its mandatory busing, largely attributed to rapid immigration into the region from the

Northeast and Midwest. Immigration into the region resulted in growth, but specifically, two population growth trends developed:

> Relocating white middle-class families swelled the county's suburbs, while ethnic minorities—especially Latino and Asian immigrant students—arrived in the urban center of the county. Latinos are the fastest growing segment of the county's population. The black student population has continued to grow in relative and absolute terms. (Mickelson & Southworth, 2005, p. 253)

As a result of declining support for its mandatory busing policy, in 1992, CMS changed its approach and adopted a mandatory choice system that included the use of magnet schools and limited mandatory busing (Mickelson, 2001; Mickelson & Ray, 1994). As a result of the new plan, one-third of CMS schools became either full or partial magnet schools, with each magnet school having a quota for White and African American Students. CMS's stated goals for the new choice system were: meeting the court's requirements of giving all students the opportunity to attend school near their home and dropping the consideration of race and ethnicity in school assignment decisions, improving student achievement, reducing achievement gaps between students of color and White students, maintaining a desegregated schools, and getting community support for the plan (Godwin et al., 2006).

This policy change, however, did not satisfy all parents, particularly White parents, as the policy still included both limited mandatory busing of students and racial quotas for magnet schools that resulted in some White students being denied admission to magnet schools that had reached their White child limit. The result was a lawsuit filed in 1997 by a parent whose White daughter had been denied admission to a magnet school twice because of her race (see *Capacchione v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Schools,* 57 F. Supp. 2d 228). In the end, the parents were victorious with the court declaring unitary status for CMS (that the system was no longer a dual one, with schools for Blacks and schools for Whites), a ruling that was upheld after appeal and resulted in the end of busing and the end of considering race and ethnicity with individual student assignment in CMS.

CMS developed a new *School Choice* plan implemented in 2002, which divides the district into four transportation zones, with each zone comprised of predominantly White and predominantly African American neighborhoods. Parents may then select their *home school* or any other school in CMS. CMS guarantees that students' whose first choice is their home school will be assigned there. Students not selecting their home school may select up to three schools and participate in a lottery through which spaces are allocated in oversubscribed schools. However, CMS only provides free transportation to schools within students' transportation zone and to magnet schools that serve a student's transportation zone. Students whose parents do not *choose* a school are assigned to their home school.

Wake County Public School System

The Wake County Public School System (WCPSS) is the countywide public school district of metropolitan Raleigh, NC. Raleigh is North Carolina's capital and second largest city, and the county seat of Wake County, North Carolina's second most populous county and the ninth fastest growing county in the United States. The Raleigh-Cary metropolitan area had a 2011 Census estimate of just over 1.1 million residents. Raleigh has been noted recently by numerous sources for its quality of life and business climate, making the city and the region an attractive relocation destination for families. As the capital city, the North Carolina state government is the city's largest employer, followed by WCPSS and North Carolina State University. Healthcare has been a driver of the city's economy. Since 2004, Raleigh has also been home to Duke Energy subsidiary Progress Energy, which prior to its merger with Duke Energy in 2012 was a Fortune 500 company.

WCPSS is North Carolina's largest school district. During the 2012–2013 school year, WCPSS enrolled over 163 thousand students in 169 schools, with 7.5% of students classified as Limited English Proficient and 33.7% of students eligible for free or reduced-price lunch. During the 2011–2012 school year, the district's racial and ethnic distribution of students was as follows: 49.3% White, 24.7% Black or African American, 15% Hispanic or Latino, 6.3% Asian, 4.3% two or more races, 0.4% American Indian or Alaskan Native, and 0.1% Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander.

The current WCPSS district was created with the 1976 merger of the Raleigh City Schools and the Wake County Schools. At the time of the merger, the former Wake County Schools was 23% minority and Raleigh City Schools was 38% minority (McNeal & Oxholm, 2009). The US Office of Civil Rights (OCR) had found the Raleigh City Schools in violation of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1963, threatening continued federal funding for the district. Further, the Raleigh business community was voicing concerns that White flight had so weakened the city district that its schools' poor condition would negatively

impact the economic health of the city and the region. A study conducted in 1965 by researchers from Vanderbilt University concluded that a merger of the city and county districts made fiscal sense, would help the region to develop into major urban economic engine for North Carolina, and would have the effect of stabling racial integration in Wake County. The proposed merger was put on a voter referendum in 1973 and was defeated by a 3–1 margin. The eventual merger in 1976 came as the result of action of the North Carolina General Assembly. An 11% decline in the city's population between 1968 and 1976, a weakening tax base, and noticeable White flight from Raleigh caused great concern for a Wake County residents who recognized that the county's fate was tied to that of Raleigh (Grant, 2009). After the merger, the new board resolved to desegregate its schools, and maintain a racial balance of 15–45% minority students in each school. The board accomplished balancing by redrawing its school attendance boundaries, taking into account factors including the racial composition of neighborhoods, the location of schools, and transportation patterns. As a result of the district's successful implementation of the desegregation plan, the civil rights violations were resolved and the district was declared a unitary system by a US District Court in 1979.

Wake County's population exploded during the 1980s, increasing from just over 300,000 to more than 425,000 residents. As the newcomers to the county settled outside of Raleigh, concerns rose that an outer ring of more affluent White schools would surround the city. As a solution, WCPSS would need a plan that would bus low-income students of color into suburban schools outside of the city and bus the more affluent White suburban children into schools in the Raleigh central city. Recognizing that community buy-in would be essential, and that simply reassigning students based on their race and/or socioeconomic status was not going to get the degree of buy-in needed, during the 1982–1983 school year, WCPSS developed and instituted a choice plan that included designating 28 schools as magnet schools. Each magnet school was assigned a base neighborhood population, but a significant number of seats were reserved for applicants from across the school district. Students outside of a magnet school's base population applied to enroll in the school, and students were selected to fill available seats by lottery. The plan worked; all 28 magnet schools filled to capacity with both Black and White students (Grant, 2009; McNeal & Oxholm, 2009).

In 1994, in response to less than desirable achievement scores for WCPSS students, Wake superintendent Bill McNeal with the support of the Wake school board set the goal of achieving a 95% test passage rate. WCPSS did not achieve the 95% passage rate goal, but they got pretty close. By 1993, over 91% of WCPSS students in grades 3 through 8 were passing the state reading and math tests. From 1994 to 2003, the test passage rate for economically disadvantaged students went from 55% to 80%. Scores for White and Black students rose, and the gap between the average scores of Black and White students went from 37 points to 17 points. The gap between Hispanic students and White students went from 28 points to 11 points.

Following a 1999 federal court's declaration of unitary status for the nearby Charlotte-Mecklenburg Schools (CMS) and its directive that CMS discontinue the use of race in its student assignment plan, WCPSS decided to revamp its own student assignment policy with the new stated goal of economic integration rather than of racial integration of schools. Under Wake School Policy 6200 adopted in 2000, no WCPSS school was to have more than 40% of its students from low-income families or more than 25% of its students classified as low-achieving (Wake County Public School System, 2000). However, this change in policy did not change the fact that students would be bused across the county, with some students bused for greater distances than others. Up to this point there had not been any serious opposition to the district's student assignment policy, largely because magnet schools did allow for some degree of choice for families, and because schools across the district were considered by most parents to be good schools (Grant, 2009; McNeal & Oxholm, 2009; Silberman, 2002). But a growing number of parents were saying in louder and louder voices that the time had come to end the district's diversity policy and return to neighborhood schools. Parents, particularly more affluent, suburban White parents, but a smaller contingent of economically disadvantaged parents and parents of color as well, were unhappy with (a) not knowing exactly where their children would attend school, (b) not knowing whether their children's assigned school would change from year to year, and (c) having their children bused out of their own neighborhoods to sometimes relatively distant schools. In 2002, a WCPSS parent expressed the growing sentiment of suburban Wake parents in this way: "Diversity by choice is a good thing.... Diversity by forced busing is not" (Richard, 2002).

The 2009 Wake school board election was one of the most contentious elections in the board's history, and even garnered coverage of some national media outlets. New candidates, funded by the John Locke Foundation, a conservative-leaning policy think tank, successfully ran on a platform of ending the district's busing/diversity policies. Each of the board's four contested seats was won by a candidate in favor of ending the district's diversity student assignment policy. These candidates together with one incumbent board member now constituted a majority on the nine-member school board.

It is important to note that WCPSS grew in enrollment from approximately 60 thousand students during the 1990–1991 school year to about 140 thousand students in 2010. Accommodating that explosive growth while still trying to maintain socioeconomically balanced schools across the district resulted in shifting lots of students around the district, and in some limited instances changing students' assignments from one year to the next. While disenchantment had certainly grown with the district's busing students for diversity purposes, in the end, it was likely the combination of busing for diversity purposes and shifting school assignments to accommodate enrollment growth that led to school board turnover in 2009 and the vote to end the busing policy in 2010. Hoxby and Weingarth's (2005) finding that in a single year during that period, only about 16% of WCPSS reassignments were based on solely diversity balancing lends support to this argument. With the most reassignments, they found, factors including but not limited to parent requests, over- and under-crowding of schools, bus routes, and construction all weighed into reassignment decisions.

A series of contentious school board meetings followed the tide-turning 2009 school board election. Unhappy with the direction of the newly elected Wake school board, in February 2010, WCPSS superintendent Del Burns announced his plan to resign effective June 30, 2010. Burns made the following statement in a February 16, 2010 school board meeting:

> Based on personal and obligatory considerations, it is clear to me that I cannot in good conscience continue to serve as superintendent. Therefore, out of respect for the board, out of respect for its directions and its decisions, I provide to the chair written notice that, effective June 30, 2010, I will resign my position.

In an interview following his resignation Burns was quoted as saying: "I will not allow myself to be a pawn in political gamesmanship." In a later interview with a local news reporter Burns added:

> I hold certain values and convictions very, very highly. The proposed policies of the board are not in alignment with my goals and my vision. My person integrity is very important to me.... If I'm going to serve as superintendent, then I have to align with the board. To be effective, a superintendent has to have strong communication with the board, and vice versa. There has to be involvement, and there has to be trust. If I'm not comfortable with the policy direction, then I have to bend or break my principles. That's not something I'm going to do. (Crisson & Burns, 2010)

Burns' public statements regarding the direction of the Wake board drew the ire of the new board majority, which decided in March 2010 to place Burns on administrative leave until his resignation date at the end of June. In the interim, Burns was replaced by Wake chief academic officer Don Hargens Hargens.

Also in March 2010, the newly elected Wake board in a 5–4 vote along party lines, formally made the decision to end the district's long-standing socioeconomic diversity policy that had been heralded nationally for keeping its schools socioeconomically balanced and given the district the reputation of having "no bad schools" (Grant, 2009). A resolution drafted by the board made no mention of diversity, but said that all children can learn at high levels with high-quality instruction. The resolution said also that "the utilization of objective data-driven decisions better supports these efforts than subjective classification and profiling of students." Shortly after the vote to end the busing policy, school board chairman Ronald Margiotta said in a speech to the Northern Wake Republican Club, "We are giving the school system back to the families and taxpayers in this county" (Aarons, 2010, p. 17).

A July 2010 rally hosted by opponents to the district's policy change drew over one thousand supporters. Community and civil rights groups, led by the local chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), filed a complaint against the Wake board with the US Department of Education's Office for Civil Rights (OCR). OCR responded to the complaint by initiating an investigation into the district's former student assignment policy. In response to an OCR inquiry, WCPSS contended that its former policy had failed to close racial achievement gaps and placed unfair burdens on economically disadvantaged students. The district specifically called attention to the district's graduation rates for Black male students and end-of-grade proficiency rates for economically disadvantaged students, both of which were less than desirable. The board also released data to support its claims (Wake school board to OCR, 2011). As of 2012, OCR investigation was still open.

Also, notably, a collection of groups filed a complaint with AdvancED, the WCPSS's accrediting agency. After a full investigation of the district, AdvancED resolved to place the district on "warned status," and gave them until November 2010 to correct what it deemed to be problems with the district's decision to end the diversity policy. In AdvancED's estimation, the board had ignored student achievement data and acted to advance the personal agendas of board members with its decision to end the socioeconomic diversity policy.

Following the board's decision to end the consideration of socioeconomic status with student assignment, the Wake Education Partnership and the Raleigh Chamber of Commerce partnered with the board to hire a Massachusetts-based education consultant to help develop a new student assignment plan for the district. Based on the consultant's recommendation, the Republican-controlled board decided to move to a *controlled choice* plan. Under controlled choice, all district schools became schools of choice and no students were assigned to a school based solely on their home address. Parents then rank school preferences from a list of schools based on their address. In addition to providing parents with school options, the rationale behind the plan was that parent choices would serve as an indicator of school improvement needs to the district. Board members reasoned that with a choice plan, the presence of underenrolled schools, particularly in a district such as Wake that is bursting at the seams, would force the district to fix problem schools and keep them competitive for families.

The board voted in December 2010 to hire retired Army Brig. Gen. Anthony Tata as superintendent. Tata school experience included a stint as chief operating office in the DC Public Schools under former chancellor Michelle Rhee. But in September 2012, after only 20 months on the job, the politically embattled Wake school board voted to fire Tata. The board's composition had shifted again during the 2011 elections, and Democrats now held the board majority. The new Democrat majority on the Wake board voted to fire Tata who was hired by the Republican-controlled board 20 months prior, and set their sights on returning to a student assignment policy that considers race among other factors. The four Republican members of the school board charged with Democrat members with voting to fire Tata based on politics. Tata and Democrat members of the board had had a series of public disputes over the district's student assignment plan, and Democrat members charged Tata with being a polarizing figure as the board worked to move past its political division.

The board voted in June 2012, again along party lines, to request that WCPSS staff develop a new student assignment plan that would tie a student's address to specific schools but also attempt to balance schools socioeconomically as well as by student achievement scores. The board's decision to move forward with bringing diversity back into student assignment was not welcome news to all. In addition to the board's Republican minority, the Greater Raleigh Chamber of Commerce did not favor such a move. The Wake Education Partnership also objected to the decision of the Democrat-controlled board. The Wake Education Partnership, a Raleigh-based, local business-supported nonprofit, had opposed ending the socioeconomic diversity policy. But the group had continue to work with the Wake board and a Massachusetts-based education consultant the current *controlled choice* plan.

In December 2012, in a 5–4 vote, the Democrat-controlled board adopted a new student assignment plan for the 2013–2014 school year, ending controlled choice. Under the new plan, students moving into the district will be assigned to a school based on their address. Current WCPSS students will be allowed to remain at the school they currently attend even if the schools is not their assigned school under the new plan. The board will also honor the school selections of current rising sixth and ninth grade students made under the controlled choice plan. The new plan includes limited elements of choice, with parents having a window of time to request a transfer to a school that has available seats. Only 1,500 students will be reassigned under the plan, however, with most reassignments tied to filling seats at a new Wake school.

Final Thoughts

More than a few education scholars, educators, and parents have argued that students benefit from sharing curricular and cocurricular experiences with a diverse set of peers (Chang, Denson, Saenz, & Misa, 2006; Gurin, Nagda, & Lopez, 2004; Whitla et al., 2003). Proponents of racial balance in schools continuing as a top policy priority argue that diversity in schools is so important that individual families should be willing to sacrifice choice and even bear minor inconveniences to achieve racial balance in schools. Choice proponents question how minor those inconveniences are: longer bus rides for children; children attending schools that are great distances away from their homes, making it a challenge for parents to be involved in school activities; and the possibility that children will be reassigned to schools multiple times throughout their academic careers. School diversity advocates argue that having racially balanced schools and diverse school and classroom experiences for children are worth the price of these potential inconveniences. It is very important to note, however, that school diversity advocates are not necessarily opponents of choice, and choice proponents are not necessarily opposed to school diversity; rather it is the case that school diversity proponents believe racial balance should be prioritized over choice, and choice advocates believe choice should be prioritized over racially balancing schools.

The long-term benefits for children of color and White children of attending diverse schools are clear. The United States is a diverse nation that grows more and more colorful and beautiful with each passing year,

and American society has benefitted tremendously from *Brown* and the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Although a great deal of work remains to be done, Black and White Americans have enjoyed getting to know each other in schools, at colleges and universities, as professional colleagues, as neighbors, and through sharing public accommodations. But at what point, if any, should parents' ability to choose a school for their children be limited by societal or school district goals of creating and maintaining racially and socioeconomically balanced schools?

Because so many families of color continue to find their children at the bottom of rankings for student achievement scores and graduation rates, and at the top of lists for suspensions, expulsions, and dropout rates, one might imagine that families of color are playing a prominent role in choice policy conversations across the country; and they are. A tremendous amount of advocacy work has been done in African American and Latino communities. Prominent examples of such efforts include the national work of the Black Alliance for Educational Options (BAEO) and the Hispanic Council for Reform and Educational Options (Hispanic CREO), and the state-level advocacy work of Parents for Educational Freedom in North Carolina (PEFNC). As a result of such organizing and advocacy efforts, parents of color who want greater choice in public education are speaking out. But parents of color have not lined up completely on one side or the other of this debate. While it remains true that Black and Latino children disproportionately attend public schools that have been characterized as failing, generally speaking, it is difficult to gauge Black and Latino parents' feelings about choice policy expansion. Their position is complicated. For many years African Americans, and now Latino communities, have found their political positions on many issues to be in line with the Democratic Party, and as such, communities of color have overwhelmingly supported Democratic candidates in both national and state-level elections. Democratic lawmakers at the national level, and even more important, at the state level, have been aligned with teacher unions for many years; and teacher unions have, generally speaking, opposed the expansion of choice policies. Choice policy nationally has become much less tied to one party or another, as current president Barack Obama, a Democrat, has championed the expansion of charter schools and has funded the expansion of the DC voucher program. But in some states, Democrat legislators wedded to teacher unions continue to fiercely guard against the passage of any choice policies. For example, the absence of a charter school law in Kentucky is tied directly to Democrats' control of the state House of Representatives, and thus, the House Education Committee. Indeed, the existence of choice advocacy organizations that represent people of color such as BAEO and Hispanic

CREO represent both the political divergence of interest groups representing people of color in the United States (DeBray-Pelot et al., 2007), and the emerging divergence of political thought in communities of color. Traditional civil rights groups including the NAACP, the National Urban League, the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC), and the Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund (MALDEF) have shown either limited or no support for the expansion of choice policies.

That political dynamic has put parents of color who do want additional educational options for their children in a difficult position. Not only are many of their noneducation policy positions in line with the Democratic Party, but over many years, they have grown to trust Democrats, and in many cases, distrust Republicans. These are alliances that have been forged through tough legal and political battles, some of those battles involving these very issues of school desegregation and holding school districts accountable for discriminatory practices. The relationships between Democrats and communities of color, particularly African American communities, are strong; and those relationships have played a significant role in state-level Democratic lawmakers' ability to limit choice policy in some states. Given that reality, there appear to be only a few paths forward for parent choice advocates in states such as Kentucky: advocates can work to change the composition of the state legislature, they can work to weaken the influence that teachers unions have over Democratic legislators, or they can work to convince communities of color to part ways with Democratic lawmakers and teacher unions on choice policy. The mobilization of parents of color has extraordinary potential for pressuring Democrats to support the expansion of choice in the states. While BAEO and Hispanic CREO have engaged in substantial organizing and advocacy work in communities of color already, greater investment in their brand of work could significantly change choice policy outcomes in states where the iron triangle of teacher unions, the traditional public school establishment, and Democratic lawmakers have successfully limited choice policy options.