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Negro Training in an Industrialized Democracy

Willard Potter

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NEGRO TRAINING
IN AN
INDUSTRIALIZED DEMOCRACY

BY
WILLARD POTTER
PH.B., BROWN UNIVERSITY, 1926
A.M., VIRGINIA UNIVERSITY, 1938

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# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Pages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I INTRODUCTION</td>
<td>Page 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II BODY</td>
<td>Pages 2 - 27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III CONCLUSION</td>
<td>Page 28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV BIBLIOGRAPHY</td>
<td>Pages 29 - 31</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INTRODUCTION

This study has to do with the training of the Negro in an industrial democracy in which the national government once assumed the direct responsibility for such training, as well as with the results which were incurred when this government relinquished its role as administrator. It will be pointed out how the lassitude of able and gifted minds during the past century in regard to the Negro question led to haphazard efforts, on the part of inspired philanthropists and zealous home missionaries, to educate the Negro; and how such attitude brought about a Negro psychology of "accommodation" in the South and of "protest" in the North. It will be shown how this emphasis upon "protest" has led to an effort being made to attain equality with the whites through the ranks of organized labor and to an insistence that the Negro problem for equality has become one of economic opportunity. A summary will be made of the inherent dangers in making an attempt to gain equal rights through an economic medium, rather than through the use of all educational and cultural facilities, and the probable results of such effort, economically and socially, on the Negro masses.
NEGRO TRAINING IN AN INDUSTRIALIZED DEMOCRACY

The training of the Negro for his place in the American democracy has been at one time the function of the United States government and at another the endeavor of high minded citizens. A large mass of white Americans have remained indifferent toward the race question and have calculated that the formal educative processes of our American school system would orient the Negro to his environment. The result of such indifference has permitted pressure groups to arise which have given direction to a movement for racial equality that lacks Federal leadership. Since 1872 the attitude of the government concerning the race question has been one of political expediency that has wavered between the demands of private organizations and those of southern politicians. 

A. Philip Randolph won presidential sanction for fair employment practices in war industries at the beginning of World War II, but the southern block in Congress obstructed a plan for Negro employment on the railroads. In the last century, the practice of considering the race question as a political issue led to the Civil War which was a contest between white Americans over the disposition of the Negro as property. Lillian Smith believes that a different approach should be made toward the Negro problem.

"By ignoring man’s psychological needs, by pretending to ourselves that his economic or political status is more important than his personality status, we oversimplify a complex, subtle, tragically profound problem and fail miserably in our efforts to solve it. As we have been failing for almost a century."

Left to its own devices Negro leadership hopes to attain enfranchisement by obtaining Negro equality with white labor of which there has always been an oversupply in times of peace. The insistence upon utilizing industry as the bridge to salvation places the Negro forever in the "working class" which may be as deleterious in its effects as the impress of "caste" has been in the past. As long as the solution to the Negro problem is restricted to economic relief and political maneuvering any conventional program of education for Negro youth can only hope to sharpen the conflict between the two races, rather than lessen an already volatile issue.

There is much talk in educational circles, both Negro and white, concerning Federal support for education; and it is apparent that the authorities in Washington are showing avid interest in Negro training. Such interest by the government has appeared before. In fact the Federal government, on March 3, 1865, accepted the direct responsibility of education for the Negro under the act which established the Freedmen’s Bureau. Modern authorities pass over, or fail

2. Ibid., M. Halsey, "Memorandum to Junior Hostesses," p. 476.
to mention, the remarkable achievement which was accomplished by the Freedmen's Bureau in Negro education, although Howard University, Washington, D.C.,(1867); Fiske University, Nashville, Tenn., (1876); and Hampton Institute, Hampton, Va., (1868) owe their existence to the plans and policies of this defunct organization. 1 When the Freedmen's Bureau came into existence there were 4,100,000 Negroes who were waiting to be adjusted to a new way of life, and among whom there were 1,700,000 of school age. The Bureau had no precedent upon which it could rely, because there had been no race problem prior to the Civil War.

"No one knew, in fact, just what should be done with the liberated Negroes since, previously, it had been slavery rather than the Negro which had concerned the nation. . . . No nation in the world had ever faced just such a problem; and surely there was little in our previous experience upon which we could draw for guidance." 2

The Bureau was not overly successful in meeting the educational problem as there were some 500,000 Negro children who received no schooling whatsoever; yet it did organize 2,677 day and night schools; set up secondary schools in which Greek and Latin were taught; and by 1869 had trained 1,871 teachers, one half of whom were Negroes.

This organization also accomplished the ground


work for what later became tax supported schools.¹

"Many of the early schools were ridiculously pretentious. Institutions which were giving only primary instruction were called colleges and universities. Pupils who could not read or write English correctly plunged into Latin and Greek; many who could scarcely count the pennies in their pockets - or had them to count - talked glibly of problems in Algebra and Geometry."²

The Freedmen's Bureau, not content with its huge program of education in the mode of the day, took upon itself the task of aiding and fostering the Negro in other fields. It provided institutions for the care of the sick, infirm, insane, crippled, aged, and deaf and dumb, as well as for the orphans and the destitute. In addition to such types of benevolence, the Bureau arranged for distribution of public lands in Mississippi, Missouri, Arkansas, and Florida and settled 4,000 families upon them; made equitable labor contracts between plantation owners and Negro laborers; established counsels for giving legal advice; and had its agents appear in court in behalf of Negro litigants. Furthermore, the Bureau advised the Negro how to vote and saw to it that he did vote. This plank in the bridge from slavery to freedom would have aided the Negro in passing from a feudal to a free labor system had the bridge been allowed to stand. But in the terrific struggle of reconciliation that began with the "great

¹. Moon, op. cit., pp. 139-40, passim.
². Embree, op., cit., p. 74.
betrayal of 1876," the work of the Freedmen's Bureau was forgotten. On June 30, 1872 this Bureau ceased to exist, and its demise marked the one and only time the government has been directly responsible for Negro welfare.  

Few writers on the Negro problem have stressed the period of American life between 1876 and 1900, although it was during this period that the causes of present day dissension were born. While the South was obsessed with its premise of white supremacy, the North was engrossed in reviving its industrialism that had been halted by the Civil War.

"A great deflation of ideals occurred, as is usual after a successful war. In a spirit of opportunist optimism and ideological deflation the northerners wanted to get back to normalcy. The Negro was a thorn in their flesh. He stood in the way of a return to national solidarity and a development of trade relations between the two trade regions."

It was this change in the attitude of the North toward the Negro that was the real explanation of events which subsequently happened in Congress. The radical Republican element in Congress had sponsored and supported the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution; but in the Slaughterhouse Case of 1872 the Supreme Court handed down a decision to the effect that the Fourteenth Amendment did not accomplish the

purpose for which it was adopted. In other words the Court decided that the above cited amendment concerned the Negroes only in a national sense and that the government had no right to interfere in the Negro problem within the separate states. The Amnesty Act of 1872 was but another signal on the horizon of the new orientation of convenience in national affairs, although various farsighted northern politicians claimed that the nation should consider the rights of the Negro before becoming subservient to the caprices of the South. In 1876 the Republican majority entered into an alliance with the southerners which placed the party's candidate, Hayes, in the presidency.

"'The bargain consisted,' writes Dr. Dubois,'in allowing the southern whites to disenfranchise the Negroes by any means' which they wished to employ, including force and fraud, but which somehow was to be reduced to a semblance of legality in time. And then that the South hereafter would stand with the North in its main industrial policies and all the more certainly so, because northern capital would develop an industrial oligarchy in the South!" 1

The Nation of April 5, 1877 was fully aware of the immediate effects of this political type of legislation, as an editorial in this issue stated "the nation as a nation will have nothing more to do with the Negro." 2 Mr. Ottley, writing in 1943, comments further on the results of the

1. Moon, op. cit., p. 144.
2. Ibid., p. 144.
aforesaid deal when he remarks that the present
condition of the Negro in the South today is due
chiefly to his disenfranchisement.  

In the impetuous rush of the North on the
road to reunion other interpretations and de-
cisions fostered by the Supreme Court gave to
the South the substance of authority which was
needed for "Jim Crow" legislation. The decisions
in the Cruikshank Case (1876), the Civil Rights
Case (1883), and the Harris Case (1889) indicated
that conclusions had been based upon political
rather than legal considerations.  
The South
first through terror and afterward through legal
means began to take away the Negro power to vote.
Between 1881 and 1907 all the southern states,
except Missouri, had made "Jim Crow" legislation
and disenfranchisement legal by constitutional
enactments within the several states. Coupled
with the inability of Congress to act favorably
in behalf of the Negro was a hydra of another stamp:
the poor whites. This body of citizens had always
considered itself slighted in the days of the
plantation landlord and hierarchy of slave owner
capitalism. But with the liberation of the slaves
there arose a new group of freedmen - a colored
group - which challenged what little authority
the poor whites had possessed prior to the cessa-

tion of hostilities between the North and the South. It became evident almost at once that white supremacy now meant that the Negro was no longer considered eligible for such hereditary employment in servile positions as porters and draymen. Such conditions only aggravated the caste system and placed it on an impersonal basis in which the contending groups for economic power were played up to and against each other by southern aspirants to the national Congress. A strange psychology swept the country which inferred that the Negro problem was insoluble; an attitude which was bolstered by Mr. Justice Brown's pronouncement that the Constitution of the United States cannot make the white and black equals. This myth of the insolubility of the Negro problem led to various experiments in Negro education and colonizing schemes which have failed to remedy the issue.

"It [the Negro problem] has made for uneasiness, unrest, bad consciences, a studied attempt to shy away from the Negro problem, an overemphasis on education as a solution, and the propagation of numerous crackpot theories." Congress, however, adhered to the bargain of 1876, and as late as 1927 Andre Siegfried wrote, "No matter which way we turn in the North or in the South . . . there seems to be

2. Ibid., p. 148.
no solution. The color problem is an abyss into which we can look only with terror.¹

Ever since the decay of Puritanism the evangelical and reforming spirit of the sect had been carried forward by inspired citizens of the Protestant faith. These altruistic individuals were not lacking in zeal. Therefore it was not unusual that a genuine missionary ardor gave impetus to a movement which assumed the task of educating the Negro in the South. Such philanthropic endeavors, nebulous and scattered as they were at first, served to stimulate interest in a function that really belonged to the national government. Recent efforts of the Rockefeller, Rosenwald, Carnegie, Dupont, and Duke foundations have aided greatly in focussing public attention on the need of Federal jurisdiction in Negro education and Negro welfare. The early home missionaries, however, were imbued with the idea that education was a solvent for all troubles, but erudition was only a partial remedy.

¹These missionary schools with all their early pretensions, with their too simple faith in the efficacy of education, with their belief that the Negro could be carried along regardless of the attitude and cooperation of the white south, were nevertheless a potent force in bringing the newly freed men into touch with the civilization which they were joining. They have educated the teachers and leaders of the race and have set a

standard for the rising public
schools and colleges."1

This effort to educate the southern Negro pro-
duced dissension within the Negro ranks itself,
as the northern Negro leaders claimed the
philanthropists were inveigled into following
the system of segregation in the South in order
to put their plans of education into effect. The
assertions of northern Negro leaders inferred that
any such system of education in the South only
tended to fortify an already undesirable caste
distinction. On the other hand under the leader-
ship of Booker T. Washington a school for Negroes
was begun at Tuskegee, Alabama, at which place the
Negro students were to be taught a knowledge of
crafts that would enable them to fit into the
pattern of southern segregation.

"Washington did more than prepare
the minds of the white South for Negro
education. He reenlisted northern
patrons who had grown lukewarm after
the first flush of missionary en-
deavor or had become discouraged be-
cause of the continued opposition of
the South."2

At any rate biracialism in education, instead
of minimizing racial friction, made for a "si-
lent, dogged, sanguinary struggle in which the
contestants never rest upon their arms."3 But
within the Negro group itself two different
schools of thought arose and which are still
1. Embree, _op. cit._, p.86.
2. Ibid., p.86.
extant; that of Booker T. Washington which was accomodation and that of Dr. Dubois which was positive action.

While the noble struggle of the home missionaries in the South was carried on against great odds, their efforts mirrored in no way the general attitude of the North against slavery. George Ripley and Bronson Alcott established, in Massachusetts, centers of communal living which were supposed to demonstrate the art of uniting intellectual life with manual labor. Somehow George Ripley, the founder of Brook Farm, looked upon his experiment as one that would pave the way for a reorganization of society in which slavery would become extinct as a matter of course. But with the return of prosperity to the country, after the election of Polk to the presidency in 1844, the cooperative idea of living ceased to be attractive. The immigrants who arrived in America from the north of Europe were given jobs in the expanding textile industry, but there arose no champion to sponsor shorter working hours or better working conditions in the mills. Men of intellect were interested in stretching back across the centuries for inspiration and example, with the result that imitation Parthenons arose on college campuses; and classical inheritences in meter, onomatopoeia, rhyme, and stanza were found in American poetry. Science was involved with Dar- 1. Haraszti,Z., The Idyll of Brook Farm,(Boston, Public Library, 1937), passim.
win's survival of the fittest and Galton's theory of hereditary genius. Only in art was there a semblance of utilizing the American scene, but even in this field the artists contented themselves with an approved inspiration: the valley of the Hudson River. The main trend of nineteenth century intellect was a search for something outside of America. The great minds of the day - and they were great minds - were not interested in the expanding frontier, they were not interested in white labor unions, they were not interested in a tax supported universal education, and above all they were not interested in the Negro either in the North or in the South.

It was not until the twentieth century that the weakness of nineteenth century northern respectability became fully manifest. After 1900 the trade unions became stronger, somewhat falteringly at first, but without any hope of effective leadership from the great intellectuals of the country, the labor masses selected individuals from their own numbers to take command. The Darwinian concept which claimed that the weak and unlucky or the poorly adapted could expect no quarter in a modern world was discarded as a wornout slogan of a former era. Instead there arose a new type of arbiter who up until the machine age had remained inarticulate, but who now led the masses to think in terms of power rather than of value. The pride of the skilled craftsman in his work gave way
to large scale industry in which the easily learned manipulative processes of operating a drill press, a turret lathe, or a horizontal plane called for production by a large number of workers. The result has been a group of citizenry who look for a materialistic Utopia on earth and who rely upon their union organizers to protect their economic interests.

"The observer is struck by the importance played by salaried 'organizers' and the relative unimportance of, or often lack of, a spontaneous drive from the workers themselves." ¹

The government was looked upon more and more as the guiding star of a cooperative commonwealth which existed for the benefit of oppressed workers, oppressed minorities, and oppressed religious sects. It is as a member of an economic group, therefore, that the worker finds himself today; and the result has been a loss of his individuality, except as a member of a union, as well as a diminution of his powers of adaptation. The refusal of the unions to be exploited by capitalists has led to protest and demands for higher wages and better working conditions. This mass protest of a large part of our population may be stated in other words as the failure of a group to adapt itself to existing conditions or theories. In the light of history the danger of such attitude produced revolutionary world changes, because it was the failure of the mob in ancient Rome to assimilate the culture of the ancients which gave impetus to the

¹ Myrdal, op. cit., p. 713.
new movement of Christianity, while the Protestant reaction to Roman Catholicism can be interpreted only as the resistance of the unlettered masses to the revival of learning. But today we are living in a type of industrial democracy that the world has never seen before, and there is a mounting protest against an economic theory - the theory of capitalism. It is an age which calls for a reeducation of the will and an analytical understanding of self by both Negro and white alike, in order to become adjusted to a new and different cosmos.

The attitude toward the Negro after 1900 changed throughout the land. Enlightened southerners pitted their revitalized program of discussion and spread of enlightenment against the programs of two race conscious groups in the North: the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the Urban League which demanded unconditional equality with the whites right now. World War I found the Negro in colored regiments which, in a few instances, had colored officers. Such troops, however, were used chiefly as stevedore battalions and work companies or were given other work of unsoldierly nature. During the war and afterward Negro labor migrated to the North to work in industry, although such labor was usually considered a temporary expedient or, at best, a source of supply for strike breakers. With

the arrival of the Negro on the northern economic scene the South's color psychosis became extended throughout the nation. In the North the pattern of residential segregation tended to retard the Negro to almost the same extent as disenfranchisement had done in the South. In 1919 there were twenty-six race riots in the country and some of the most vicious acts of violence took place in northern industrial centers. Other militant acts instituted by Negroes in late years have emphasized a growing persistence to acquire their objectives by press notices and virile propaganda rather than by force. Negro organizations led the fight against the confirmation of Judge Parker as a Supreme Court justice and rallied to the defense of the Scottsboro boys. Sociologists began to make a serious study of the underlying causes of race dissension, with the result that much valuable data has been garnered to lessen racial prejudices.

The trouble with the researchers has been, however, that they seemingly have failed to relate the Negro problem with other minorities, and, furthermore, the information that has been obtained has not been disseminated in a form that could be easily comprehended by the ordinary Negro and white layman. An instance of a misunderstanding between the Negroes and Jews in Harlem produced a riot against the Jews on March 19, 1935 with the result that in the pillaging and looting which followed $2,000,000 worth of property was destroyed. An editorial in a recent issue of the Nation
emphasizes the need of concerted action by all minority
and underprivileged groups rather than haphazard efforts
by individual ethnic bodies.

"In the United States as in Nazi
Germany or prewar Poland, opportuni-
ties for a higher education is sharp-
ly conditioned by a student's religion,
social, or national background. . . .
Quotas restricting the number of Negro,
Jewish, and Italian students in our
'better' medical and law schools have
long been a matter of common knowledge," etc.

At any rate with emphasis now on the study of the
Negro from the point of view of cultural adjust-
ment, the problem has assumed national proportions
that point toward a definite solution.

The leadership of the Negroes in their contest
for equality with the whites is, as mentioned pre-
viously, now divided between those who assume the
southern attitude of accommodation and those who fos-
ter the northern attitude of protest. Negro leaders
have always acted as plenipotentiaries for their race
with the whites regardless of whether they were in
the North or the South. There is a difference, however,
in the manner in which Negro leaders rise to power, be-
cause in the South some Negro who is considered to
possess an accommodating spirit is selected by the
white man as arbiter for his race, while in the North
the Negroes select one from their own number. This
leadership gives to the Negro a certain class distinction
within his own group and has resulted in different
strata of society among the colored people. In the
upper class group are found, besides the leaders, the successful Negro business and professional men all of whom make up what Roi Ottley calls the "café au lait" society. This distinction which rewards the successful Negro has often led to friction with the lower class Negroes who claim that success tends to make a select group of Negroes acceptable to the whites.

"Upper class Negroes find it necessary to instigate a protest against caste on the Negro masses as a means of averting lower class opposition against themselves and to steer it instead against the white caste. For them the preaching of race solidarity is an instrument to assert Negro leadership. It is also desirable in order to strengthen their economic monopolies behind the segregation wall." 1

In addition, the supernaturalism and simple faith of the Negro, as extolled by the colored parson, are losing their attraction for the Negro as the exodus from the rural districts to the cities gains in momentum. The New Deal, however, placed a different emphasis upon Negro leadership in the North with the result that the leaders, instead of acting solely as organizers in a political campaign, became actively engaged in championing the rights of equality for the Negro in union labor.

"What seems to be taking place in Negro life is a transfer of power from the politicians to the leaders of the labor and militant civil rights organizations, and the emergence of new types of men who are taking positions toward the left." 2

3. OTTLEY, op. sup., p. 219.
In the development of the mass production industries with their relative decrease in emphasis upon skilled craftsmen, Negroes could not be barred from employment in manufacturing plants on any grounds except color. The repetitive process of pulling a drillpress handle was no more difficult of mastery for the Negro than for the white man. Hence it is in the mass production industries that the Negro has discovered that he is eligible for employment. There has been opposition on the part of white workers to the influx of Negro hands, but the opposition is not based on absolute exclusion of Negroes from industry; it is calculated on the theory that the caste system will deteriorate provided the colored men is employed in the same job, at the same pay, and with the same union status. Some unions looked askance at Negro membership at first, but the CIO set the pace by eradicating the barrier of color as the basis of membership in their organization.

"Officially, the CIO has abolished the color line as to opportunity and privileges for Negroes in unions. An educational division has been created in part for the purpose of bringing the rank and file of the CIO to accept the idea of essential unity of all American workers without regard to race. The CIO is, at the moment, the most promising force for correcting the inconsistencies in our racial patterns. Furthermore its policy is already having an effect upon older, more conservative unions." etc.

The Negroes, therefore, perceiving that organized

labor is the means whereby they can advance, are eager to become affiliated in full membership with labor unions.

It has come to be the generally accepted belief in our country that the problem of racial differences stems from competition for jobs between the colored and the white man, and that the "whole caste problem is 'basically' economic."¹ Hence the Negro hopes for an adjustment of his condition based upon the solidarity of labor with its leadership in the hands of paid organizers. The Negro makes this attempt for equality in an employment field in which he will be classed as a "working man" who in America has not attained the respectability of the white collar class.

"The aim of this theory is to unify the whole Negro people, not with the white upper class, but with the white working class. And the underlying ideology stems from Marxist proletarian radicalism instead of middle class conservatism."²

The disadvantage of using the labor front as a sole basis for obtaining racial equality is its failure to consider the many facets which compose the American scene. Living as we do in an industrial democracy which east of the Mississippi River is divided between the northern and southern manufacturers, the wheels of industry are kept moving by consumer demands for products made in the mills. The southern mills employ poor whites who until recently had not much more economic prominence than the southern Negro.

2. Ibid., p. 793.
At the moment this group of whites will not countenance active competition from Negro labor since it avidly fosters a cleavage between the two races to protect its newly won economic status. In addition the Negroes need the help of all individuals and organizations in the United States interested in the minority problem: the civil liberties group in the North, the liberals in the South, and above all intellectual conservatives of both the North and the South who could bring to bear so much strength and influence in a move of this type.

"Negro strategy would build on an illusion if it set all its hope on a blitzkrieg directed toward a 'basic' factor. In the nature of things it must work on the broadest possible front." The caste system should be attacked on all sides and not confined to a "basic factor" which is but part of a larger whole. There is need for a broader horizon if the movement is to be permanently successful.

In the positive program which the Negroes have planned for self-realization of their aim in a mechanical medium of mass production, little or no thought has been given to other minority groups. Colored men are using the slogan of equality in labor as a plank for non-discrimination against Negroes, but they have shown no concern about apportionment of work opportunity according to race.¹

¹ Myrdal, op. cit., p. 795.
² Ibid., p. 803.
Furthermore Dr. Dubois in *The Souls of Blackfolk*, in which book he emphasized the rights of the "Talented Tenth," neglected to pronounce the need of uniting with other underprivileged groups in a common front against race segregation, yet he insisted upon immediate action on the Negro problem.

"Dubois demanded full social and political equality for Negroes, according to the Constitution, and complete cultural assimilation. And he offered his demands not as ultimate goals but as a matter of practical policy of the day." 1

Such attitude reflects to a great degree the inescapable premise that Negro thought is conditioned by the white man's conception about the black man and caste, and it is this concept which has spurred the Negro to gain recognition in a field where he surmises the goal will be attained. Somehow the Negroes in their clamor for recognition "now" have given little reflection to the noble efforts that have been put forth by highminded white individuals in their behalf since the days of reconstruction; instead it is taken for granted that northern philanthropists and poor church boards will continue to sponsor Negro education in the South. 3 The acceptance of the industrial scene as the bridge to salvation is assumed without consideration of the

prodigious efforts that white labor has made to gain recognition for the whites themselves and which efforts gave the pattern for modern labor organization. Apparently the theory that people of different racial stock can live peaceably together without complete assimilation of the culture of the symbiotic group has been overlooked.

"Peoples of different racial stock may live side by side in relation of symbiosis, each playing a role in a common economy . . . each maintaining a more or less complete tribal organization or society of their own."

And if little regard has been given to the ultimate consequences of Negro alignment with organized labor, no consideration has been evinced which would indicate that in an industrial democracy all cannot be successful and that overstimulation of ambition can lead only to chagrin for those who fail and perhaps to even more tragic consequences.

The demand by Negro leaders of the positive persuasion for equal opportunity with white youth in the matter of vocational education would seem to presume that such education could prepare Negro youth for adjustment to the American way of life. Recent authorities on education have advanced the theory that vocational training is not the answer to such question.

"Specialists in vocational education have been trapped behind the barriers raised by


industrial demand, labor regulations, and social reform that they can no longer claim that job training is offered primarily as a solution of the problem of adjusting youth to life.\(^1\)

Mr. Myrdal states that "education has been, and is increasingly becoming a chief means of climbing the social status scale,"\(^2\) but any theory of educative processes that neglects to emphasize the importance of an individual's adjustment in a complex world, can only hope to produce a group of volatile individuals who can be swayed by propaganda and coercion. Education for life applies not only to Negro youth but to white youth as well.

"It [education] must provide for the development of those abilities requisite to successful adjustment of the individual within his changing culture," etc.\(^3\)

Adjustment to life applies to Negro adults, and as the migration of the colored masses from the rural South to the industrial centers of the North gains in momentum, the program of adult education for Negroes should be intensified. What is needed is an education which enables the Negro to adapt himself to and move about in the American culture at large.

"Education freely available to all children and youth is basic to development of democracy. In a democratic nation, one of the most important functions of the school is to cultivate tolerance toward those who are different, and an understanding of all groups, regardless of race, color, or religious faith."\(^4\)


Active emphasis in our schools on the consideration of the rights of others and the part they play in an industrial democracy will do much toward developing a healthy perspective on the problem of race and class. Such emphasis will do much to allay Mr. Myrdal's apprehension which stems from the fear that the continued assimilation of white culture will only intensify racial consciousness and caste feeling.¹

Education for the Negro has normally emphasized the assimilation of white culture, but the strange notion that a culture which is preeminently democratic by nature can be aligned with caste precludes good judgment. With the American faith in education toward cultural advancement, it was thought that the race question could be minimized somehow or other, provided the Negro was exposed to its formal processes. This theory has proved to be wrong, because instead of drawing the two races closer together it has operated to sharpen race consciousness of the Negro group and has led to mounting tension. For Negro thinking is predicated first, last, and always upon the mission of obtaining equality with the whites and Negro rights under the Constitution. It was not until the demand for Negro labor arose to fill the gap in industry during World War II that the stage became set for an attempt to attain Negro recognition through organized labor. Negro leaders, not white, seized the opportunity to enlist their

¹ Myrdal, op. cit., p. 745.
colored cohorts in the ranks of the CIO; an organization which is looked upon today as "the most promising force for correcting inconsistencies in our racial patterns." The action of a labor organization, which accepts the Negro as an equal, is supported by the Negro pamphleteers who pound away on the subject that the Negro possesses the same qualities and qualifications as the white man provided the colored man is judged from the scientific standpoint of race. The oft repeated, and as oft misunderstood, phrase "all men are created equal" is now presumed to have validity. But without any agency of the government to give direction to an acute problem, the indoctrination of ten million Negroes is left to paid organizers and propagandists of unequal talents who prescribe mass action to gain the objective. It is time the law makers of the nation took a leaf from General Howard's note-book and avidly sponsored a revitalized program similar to that of the Freedmen's Bureau - a program that would meet the needs of the conflicting demands and problems of the Negro in the intricate labor and social structure of a modern technocracy.

A bureau established by the national government to have charge of Negro education would be interested primarily in sponsoring a program for better school buildings, better equipment, and better teachers. Government funds would be allotted to the states for such program, but the states would also contribute.
A scheme which gave some of the responsibility for financing the education of the Negro to the states would also allay any fears that the colored man was to become simply a ward of the government. Such imprint would place the Negro in the same category as the American Indian and is to be avoided. In addition, the bureau would give direction to the courses pursued in order that a proper balance might be made between industrial, vocational, and classical education. Such plan would consider the feasibility of acquiring basic skills and fundamental attitudes that would enable the Negro to adapt himself to different jobs and new environments. The program of adult education for Negroes would receive strong support from the bureau. Finally, the bureau would reorient the Negro as to his part in a white culture, as the present stress upon equality that is based upon anthropological similarities does not mean that every Negro will fit the pattern of democracy over night. An opportunity to work in a factory alongside a white man does not necessarily qualify the Negro for intelligent citizenship. A Federal bureau of Negro affairs could intelligently guide the Negro to his salvation, and, in so doing, would stress the need for Negro leaders who would cooperate with the whites in planning the new freedom.
III

CONCLUSION

An attempt has been made in the preceding pages to evaluate the efforts which have been made to accommodate the Negro to an industrial civilization in which, prior to the ending of the Civil War, he played no part except as an indentured servant. The failure of the national government to continue the Freedmen's Bureau in 1872 led to Negro action which in the South was exemplified by Booker T. Washington's attitude of conciliation, and which in the North was stressed by W.E.B. Du Bois's pattern of protest. Left to itself Negro strategy based all its hopes upon attaining equality by utilizing organized labor as the stepping stone to success. The danger of stressing a basic factor to gain an objective, which is composed of many different facets, has been emphasized; and the insistence of depending upon the CIO, as the means of training the Negro for intelligent citizenship, has been noted. It has been suggested that the only satisfactory solution to the problem lies in Federal control of Negro education.
BIOGRAPHY

WILLARD POTTER
SON OF

CHARLES ALFRED & SARAH TILLINGHAST

I EDUCATION
a. In public and private schools.
b. Brown University, Ph.B.
c. Virginia University, A.M.

II ARMY SERVICE
a. Private, Cavalry, Mexican Border, one year.
b. Lieutenant, Field Artillery, WW I, two years.
c. Major, Air Corps, WW II, four years.

III TRAVEL
a. Continent.
b. South America.
c. Mexico.
d. Caribbean Archipelago.

IV WORK
a. Instructor in private boarding schools.
   1. Massachusetts.
   2. New Jersey.
   3. Arizona.
   4. Virginia.
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