

# Garvey, Washington and Du Bois: African Americans Fight for Change

**Museum Connection:** Family and Community

**Purpose:** In this lesson students will examine early 20<sup>th</sup> century perspectives on how African Americans could achieve racial equality. Through the analysis of primary and secondary sources, students will create a poster and draft a persuasive speech that uses the tone and strategy that the student found to be most effective.

**Course:** United States History, African American History

**Time Frame:** two 90-minute periods; three to four 50-minute periods

**Correlation to State Standards:**

**United States History State Curriculum:**

**5.0 CONTENT STANDARDS: HISTORY-** Students will examine significant ideas, beliefs and themes; organize patterns and events; analyze how individuals and societies have changed over time in Maryland and the United States.

1. Analyze the cultural, economic, political, and social impact of the Progressive Movement (5.2.1).

**Objective:**

- g.** Analyze African American responses to inequality (PS, PNW, G, E)

**Objective:** Students will compare, contrast, and evaluate the effectiveness of the African-American responses to inequity by writing speeches defending and analyzing the views of Booker T. Washington, W.E.B. Du Bois, and Marcus Garvey.

**Vocabulary and Concepts:**

Conciliation	to gain or to try to gain someone's friendship or goodwill through pleasant behavior or appeasement.
Disenfranchisement	to deprive a person or organization of a privilege, immunity, or legal right, especially the right to vote.
Suffrage	the right to vote in public elections.

## **Materials**

### ***For the Students:***

Student Resource Sheet 1a-d: Excerpt from W.E.B. Du Bois' *The Souls of Black Folk*

Student Resource Sheet 2a-c: Excerpt from Marcus Garvey's *The Handwriting on the Wall* speech

Student Resource Sheet 3a-c: Excerpt from Booker T. Washington's *Atlanta Compromise* speech

Student Resource Sheet 4: Group Analysis

Student Resource Sheet 5: Racial Equality Publicity Campaign Group Project

## **Resources:**

### ***Publications:***

Garvey, Marcus, and Amy Jacques Garvey. *The Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey, Or, Africa for the Africans*. Dover, MA: Majority, 1986. Print.

Grant, Colin. *Negro with a Hat: the Rise and Fall of Marcus Garvey*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2008. Print.

Katz, Michael B., and Thomas J. Sugrue. *W.E.B. Du Bois, Race, and the City: The Philadelphia Negro and Its Legacy*. Philadelphia: U of Pennsylvania P, 1998. Print.

Lewis, David L. *W.E.B. Du Bois--Biography of a Race, 1868-1919*. New York: Holt, 1994. Print.

Norrell, Robert J. *Up from History: The Life of Booker T. Washington*. Cambridge, MA: Belknap of Harvard UP, 2009. Print.

### ***Web Sites:***

<http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/aahtml/aopart6.html>

<http://docsouth.unc.edu/fpn/washington/bio.html>

<http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/amex/garvey/>

<http://www.marcusgarvey.com/>

[http://www.pbs.org/wnet/jimcrow/stories\\_people\\_dubois.html](http://www.pbs.org/wnet/jimcrow/stories_people_dubois.html)

<http://www.lucidcafe.com/library/96feb/dubois.html>

<http://www.duboisl.org/html/DuBoisBio.html>

## **Historical Background:**

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, with the optimism of Reconstruction long gone and an uncertain future ahead of them, African American leaders developed a number of philosophies that targeted the problems African Americans faced. While there was a large amount of diversity in the approaches espoused by Booker T. Washington, W.E.B. Du Bois, and Marcus Garvey, the three agreed on the need for action. African Americans, especially in the south, faced legal disenfranchisement, discrimination, and limited educational opportunities. African Americans were denied educational opportunities and, as a result, were barred from high-paying jobs. African Americans were also denied skilled jobs because they were largely undereducated. Likewise, African Americans were denied the power to vote in the South, and this denial removed the option of holding politicians accountable for their racism. Overall, the situation for African Americans was deeply troubling to them and to African American leaders who attempted to confront discrimination and inequities African Americans faced.

Although African American leaders of the time agreed on the problems and their magnitude, they disagreed on the solutions. Washington, Du Bois, and Garvey presented very different solutions to the challenges African Americans faced. Booker Taliaferro Washington was born a slave in 1856 in southwestern Virginia. He was the son of an enslaved mother and a white father about whom little is known. He left school and worked several manual jobs before continuing his education at Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute. After graduating, Washington returned to Hampton to teach and was soon tapped to become the head of a new and similar institute established in Alabama – Tuskegee Institute. Washington headed Tuskegee from age 25 to his death at 59. During this time he maximized his influence as the institution's president by writing, making appearances, and touring the country to fundraise for Tuskegee and other African American institutions. Booker T. Washington was the first African American invited to the White House and formed relationships with numerous influential industrialists who supported his causes.

Booker T. Washington was part of the last generation of African Americans born into slavery. His personal philosophy reveals his awareness of the difficulty the nation had in transitioning from a slaveholding society to one based on freedom and equality. Washington felt strongly that African Americans deserved full citizenship rights and equal opportunity. However, he also felt strongly that it was incumbent on African Americans to earn those rights by proving to whites that they deserved them. Rather than advocating for political change and social equality, Washington and his followers urged Blacks to practice the values of hard work, diligence, and thrift in order to better themselves and present a positive image of African Americans. Washington's work

embodied these themes. His autobiographical work, *Up from Slavery*, repeatedly emphasizes the idea that with hard work it is possible for even the poorest, most disadvantaged person to rise in station. Key to Washington's theory of diligence was education. The purpose of his work with the Tuskegee Institute was not to graduate middle class African American professionals, but rather to create agricultural and technical teachers who would work in African American communities to ensure that those who were willing and able to work had the skills to do so. His success was impressive. Washington's fundraising was directly responsible for the establishment of over 5000 schools in the rural South. However, Washington was not without his detractors. Many of his critics, especially in the later years of his life, found fault with the idea that blacks should not push for equality. Washington openly advocated conciliation with whites. He wrote repeatedly that he feared the violence that demands for civil rights would provoke. Washington's philosophy was clearly formed by the fact that he came of age in the South during the Reconstruction period. It is worth noting, however, that although Washington eschewed civil rights advocacy in favor of conciliation with whites, he secretly bankrolled several civil rights cases and anti-lynching causes.

Washington's theories were opposed by those of W. E. B. Du Bois. While Washington's philosophy represented a southern ideology grounded strongly in slavery and Reconstruction, Du Bois represented a political and social belief system much more reminiscent of his northern, and to some extent global, heritage. Du Bois was born in Great Barrington, Massachusetts and was raised by his mother. His ancestors included free blacks, Haitian slaves, and Dutch merchants. Du Bois pursued higher education at Fisk University (B.A.) and later Harvard – he was the first African American to earn a PhD from the school. Du Bois spent most of his life as a writer, a scholar, and protest leader. He was one of the founding members and director of research and publications for the NAACP, and a leading advocate of Pan-Africanism (Du Bois is often called the “Father of Pan-Africanism”). Du Bois' philosophy was a shifting target (from peace and anti-colonialism to Marxism and Pan-Africanism) and thus, is difficult to encompass in such a brief space. Du Bois was the consummate intellectual who was constantly absorbing new information and creating an increasingly complex ideology that at times contradicted itself. In essence, however, Du Bois believed that African Americans should advocate for full civil rights and equality.

Like Washington, his end goal was full equality and civil rights in the U.S. However, Du Bois believed that Blacks should pursue a liberal arts education in order to create a Talented Tenth that would both confront the white establishment and lead the African American community. Du Bois' belief in the theory of the Talented Tenth was rooted in his scholarship and his experiences. As a sociologist and historian Du Bois was well aware that the majority of Blacks were undereducated and impoverished. Because of their circumstances, he felt they were not equipped to lead the civil rights struggle – they were instead struggling for survival. Instead, middle and upper middle-class, educated African Americans were responsible for the work that would ensure expansion of civil rights and prosperity. Although Du Bois and Washington worked together early in their

careers, their paths diverged later. In fact, it was Du Bois who gave Washington's Atlanta Exposition oratory the derisive nickname, "The Atlanta Compromise." As Du Bois aged, he embraced Pan-Africanism and eventually Communism. He traveled widely the world over to study different political and economic systems, and spent the last two years of his life in Ghana after the American Embassy denied him a renewed passport to return to the United States. In 1962, on his 95<sup>th</sup> birthday, Du Bois became a Ghanaian citizen.

Marcus Garvey espoused a third set of theories on black liberation. Garvey's focus differed from that of Washington and slightly from that of Du Bois' as he worked toward the liberation of the entire African Diaspora. Garvey founded the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) to work against imperialism and colonialism in Africa and Central America and discrimination in the United States. Garvey was born in Jamaica but spent most of his adult life outside of the United States. His impact on African American history and political movements comes from the time he spent in the United States from 1916 to the late 1920s. Garvey was one of the most prominent 20<sup>th</sup> century believers in black separatism. He advocated that the descendants of Africans all across the globe create a self-sustaining society. At its height the UNIA had over four million members, although Garvey was not without his enemies. Memos from Hoover's FBI detail multiple investigations and Hoover's own dismay that Garvey had not acted illegally, and could therefore not be deported. Garvey was eventually indicted on charges of mail fraud, although multiple discrepancies in testimony imply that the charges were false. Garvey faced intellectual criticism from African American leaders, most notably W.E.B. Du Bois. Part of the criticism Garvey faced came from a perceived lack of scruples. Garvey was willing to meet with and endorse the views of practically any prominent American who supported the idea of racial separatism, including the leaders of the Ku Klux Klan. Du Bois, Washington, and Garvey also differed in their approaches to the African American liberation, but all three developed cogent philosophies in response to the oppression they witnessed.

### **Lesson Development:**

#### ***Motivation:***

Write the following quotation on the board:

"The problem of the Twentieth Century is the problem of the color-line."

– W.E.B. Du Bois

Complete a Think-Pair-Share of the following:

What do you think this quotation means? What is Du Bois indicating?

(Think-Pair-Share – have students think about the question; then have them pair up and talk about it with a partner; then have them share their answers with the class. If you

would like, you can also have them write their responses either before or after talking with their partner)

When sharing, students may initially be very literal – however, in your questioning push them to consider the wider historical context in which Du Bois operated. If students do not come up with the following on their own, ask them to consider how the following connect to the quotation: imperialism, segregation, racism.

### **Activities:**

1. Teacher says: “Today, we are going to learn about three African-American leaders who responded to the inequity of America in the wake of the end of Reconstruction. All three wanted to improve the conditions of African Americans but they had different approaches to the problem. Our **focus question** for this investigation is: How are these three men different in their approaches to the problems faced by African-Americans?”
2. Create small groups of two or three students. Have each group read a different excerpt from Washington, Du Bois, or Garvey (**Student Resource Sheets 1-3**). Have students read silently the excerpt together or as a group.

Have them take notes on the speech, specifically to identify:

1. What does the author see as the problems facing African-Americans?
2. According to the author, what role do whites have in the problems facing African Americans?
3. What is the author’s solution to these problems? Who will undertake the work needed to make that solution happen?
4. How does the author justify his solution (In other words, what reasons does he provide that other ideas will not work and why does he think this plan of action will work)?

Students may take notes on their own paper; however, if you feel more structure is necessary, **distribute Student Resource Sheet 4** to students to help them keep track of their notes and quotations.

Depending on the student’s familiarity with primary sources and with this era, it may be necessary to model the questioning with them or to conduct the first analysis as a class.

Students should indicate the following:

For Washington, the problem (1) is that African Americans lack access to economic opportunities (2) in part because whites have denied them opportunities and are trying to

use immigrants to fill jobs instead of African Americans. The solution (3) to these problems is that African Americans and whites must work together in the South – African Americans need vocational training and whites need to be willing to provide them with education and jobs. Washington argues that (4) African Americans need money and jobs; once they have achieved economic prosperity as a race, social and legal good standing will follow: Washington says, “No race that has anything to contribute to the markets of the world is long in any degree ostracized.”

For Du Bois, the problem (1) is that African Americans have been consistently denied their civil and social rights (2) because of racism but also because of the support behind programs that are wholly economic in nature. Du Bois argues that the solution (3) must be consistent advocacy of political rights by African Americans and that (4) without those political rights, nothing else is possible (in particular, he claims that one cannot achieve economic success and ensure the safety of that success with suffrage, equal opportunities).

For Garvey, the problem (1) is that African Americans have no jobs because (2) white men are taking over all economic opportunities and will soon ask African Americans to leave or die. Garvey’s solution (3) is the creation of a black nation(s) in Africa. According to Garvey, this is the only solution (4) because there will be no place for Blacks unless they create one for themselves (he gives the example of how overcrowding of Europe made America into a land of Europeans; overcrowding in Europe and America threaten to do the same thing to Africa).

3. Teacher will distribute art/drawing supplies and **Student Resource Sheet 5**. Each group is required to produce two products: (1) a political cartoon or poster describing what their figure argues is the problem and the solution to it and (2) a persuasive speech intended to convince an audience of their solution to the problems that African Americans face. The poster/cartoon and the speech will be combined to create a presentation that will be shared with the class. **Student Resource Sheet 5** gives students instructions and a scoring tool. You may need to change the scoring tool to reflect your grading scale. (For more information about persuasive techniques used by political cartoonists, visit the Library of Congress’s guide to political cartoons, at <http://www.loc.gov/teachers/classroommaterials/presentationsandactivities/activities/political-cartoon/cag.html>)

4. Have groups present their poster/cartoon and speech. Rotate the figures (have a presentation about Washington, then Du Bois, then Garvey, then Washington, etc.) During the presentations, all students should be taking notes on the presentation, specifically to determine that leader’s perspective on the problems and solutions.

### ***Assessment:***

Teacher says, “Today, you have heard three very different views of the solution to the problem of inequality in America during the Progressive Era. Write a paragraph explaining which one you think would be the most effective solution to the problem of inequity.”

As an alternative, students could also script a private conversation between Garvey, DuBois, and Washington, in which each leader would outline his approach to civil rights and respond to the others.

### ***Closure:***

Ask students to reflect on the different methods and theories African American civil rights leaders espoused during the early 20<sup>th</sup> Century. Begin a discussion with the following questions:

1. How are the theories of Du Bois, Garvey and Washington similar? How are they different?
2. What actions does each leader urge?
3. Each leader had a significant number of followers. Why do you think each philosophy was appealing? (Remember, each philosophy will be appealing to different people for different reasons. Try to put yourself in the position of someone, Black or white, who was living during this time period. How would that person feel about Du Bois, Washington, and Garvey)?

### **Thoughtful Application:**

Research the viewpoints of three contemporary civil rights leaders (ex. – Martin Luther King, Jr., Cesar Chavez, Jesse Jackson, Juanita Jackson Mitchell, Gloria Richardson, Rosa Parks, and/or Fannie Lou Hamer), comparing their solutions to inequality. Alternately, research Bea Gaddy’s local anti-poverty activism and radio personality, Michael Baisden’s advocacy for due-process rights of the Jena 6 in order to trace the legacy of the civil rights movement of today.

### **Lesson Extensions**

W.E.B Du Bois believed that “the Negro race, like all other races, is going to be saved by its exceptional men.” This group of men and women was called the *Talented Tenth*. Du Bois thought that African Americans had a responsibility to become politicians, doctors, teachers, lawyers and artists. Explore the museum’s permanent collections and identify Maryland African Americans from the 20<sup>th</sup> century who would be candidates for Dubois’s **Talented Tenth**. Create a poster which includes these individuals and their achievements.

Have students visit the Reginald F. Lewis Museum to learn how African Americans in Maryland responded to the philosophies of Garvey, Du Bois, and Washington. Ask them to write a newspaper article from the perspective of an African American living in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century.

- The Reginald F. Lewis Museum of Maryland African American History and Culture offers several school programs that connect to the curriculum lessons.
  - *Journey in History Theater* provides living history and theatrical performances once a month at the museum that highlight African Americans in the museum's gallery. Contact group reservations for schedule updates.
  - Take the theme tour, *The Fight for Justice* and examine the contributions made by Maryland African Americans in the battle for equality from Jim Crow through the Civil Rights Movement.

## Student Resource Sheet 1a

### W.E.B. Du Bois

#### Excerpt from *The Souls of Black Folk*

Source: W. E. Burghardt Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk* (Chicago, 1903).

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 meager 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.

Such men [critics of Washington's policies] 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.

## Student Resource Sheet 1b

They acknowledge Mr. Washington's invaluable service in counseling 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 or 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 or 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 criticizing 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.

## Student Resource Sheet 1c

The growing spirit of kindness and reconciliation between the North and South after the frightful difference 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.

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## Student Resource Sheet 1d

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.

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."

## **Student Resource Sheets 2a-d**

### **Marcus Garvey**

**Excerpt from: "The Handwriting On The Wall"**

New York, March 4, 1923

### **Source:**

Read the following excerpts found in the link below:

<http://tiny.cc/ggg86>

- Student Resource Sheet 2-a: Page 268: The Change of Condition
- Student Resource Sheet 2-b: Page 268: The Vision of the U.N.I.A.
- Student Resource Sheet 2-c: Page 269: Moving Day Coming
- Student Resource Sheet 2-d: Page 270: Solution of the Problem for this Age

## Student Resource Sheet 3a

### Booker T. Washington 1895 Atlanta Compromise Speech

Source: Louis R. Harlan, ed., *The Booker T. Washington Papers*, Vol. 3, (Urbana: U of Illinois P, 1974), 583–587.

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 neighbor, 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.

## Student Resource Sheet 3b

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 defense 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 defense 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 [of] 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.

### **Student Resource Sheet 3c**

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 exercise 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, coupled with our material prosperity, will bring into our beloved South a new heaven and a new earth.

## Student Resource Sheet 4 – Group Analysis

Title of Source:

Author of Source:

<p>What does the author see as the problems facing African Americans?</p>	<p>My group's answer:</p>          <p>A quote from the source that answers the question:</p>
<p>According to the author, what role do whites have in the problems facing African Americans?</p>	<p>My group's answer:</p>          <p>A quote from the source that answers the question:</p>



## Student Resource Sheet 5

### Racial Equality Publicity Campaign Group Project

**Directions:** In order to rally African Americans in the struggle for racial equality, the African American leader you have studied has hired your group to create a publicity campaign. The purpose of your campaign is to explain the leader's point of view to the African American community and to rally people to take action in the way the leader describes. Your publicity campaign must consist of either a poster or a political cartoon and a speech. Make sure that your products are historically accurate and persuasive!

<b>Poster or Cartoon</b>		
Category	Points Possible	Points Earned
The poster or cartoon clearly describes or presents an accurate depiction of the civil rights leader's philosophy	20	
The poster or cartoon describes or presents an accurate depiction of actions the civil rights leader thinks is necessary	20	
The poster or cartoon is persuasive and easy to understand	5	
The poster includes images, a slogan, and is neat and colorful  -OR- The cartoon is neat and reflects the student's understanding of techniques used by cartoonists, such as symbolism, exaggeration, labeling, analogy, or irony	5	

<b>Speech</b>		
Category	Points Possible	Points Earned
The speech explains difficulties that African Americans face at the beginning of the 20 <sup>th</sup> Century	15	
The speech explains the course of action the civil rights leader urges	15	
The speech is persuasive in tone	5	

The speech explains why other possible methods won't work	15	
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Total Points Earned: /100