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Sources of Booker T. Washington's effectiveness as a public speaker

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SOURCES OF
BOOKER T. WASHINGTON'S
EFFECTIVENESS
AS A PUBLIC SPEAKER

A THESIS
SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF ATLANTA UNIVERSITY
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR
THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS

BY
WILLIAM HARRISON PIPES

DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH

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PREFACE

Although separate addresses of Booker T. Washington have been reproduced and commented upon by writers of both newspaper articles and books, and Mr. E. Davidson Washington has edited a book of his father's addresses, no full, analytical study seems to have been made of the sources of Booker T. Washington's effectiveness as a public speaker.

It is the aim of this thesis to discover the sources of Mr. Washington's oratorical success. What were those qualities of his addresses that enabled him to get "the desired response"? What was it that made his speeches move, persuade, and convince his listeners to act, feel, or believe in a desired manner? These are questions this study would answer.

It was not Mr. Washington's practice to write and polish his speeches. Only on special occasions, like the Atlanta Exposition, did he write his speeches. Usually he prepared an address in the following manner: (1) he made an outline of what he wanted to say; (2) he delivered a speech from this outline in his office while a stenographer recorded it; (3) he read through the recorded speech and made changes or additions to his original outline; and (4) he spoke on the occasion from this corrected outline.

Most of the addresses used in this study were recordings made by the stenographer in the second step of this process. A few speeches were recordings made by the stenographer as Mr. Washington spoke on the occasion. A small number of addresses remain in Mr. Washington's handwriting.

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Mr. E. Davidson Washington has been of the greatest assistance to me in this study. He told me of Dr. Washington's unique method of preparing his addresses, and he very kindly permitted me to study a private collection of the stenographic recordings of his father's speeches, as well as other personal manuscripts. Acknowledgments for assistance must also be given Mr. Monroe Work, Director of the Records and Research Department at Tuskegee Institute, Alabama, and his assistant, Mr. Ralph M. Davis. These men allowed me to use very valuable newspaper clippings, addresses, and pamphlets that are in the Booker T. Washington file of the Research Department. The entire staff of the Hollis Burke Frissell Library at Tuskegee Institute, Alabama, offered me every possible assistance. The works of Dr. Washington possessed by this library were an indispensable source of information.
CHAPTER I

BACKGROUND

The Times

To discover the sources of Booker T. Washington's effectiveness as a public speaker it is necessary to study the political, economic, and social conditions which affected the Southern people--particularly the Negro--from, approximately, 1865 to 1895. These conditions formed the background against which Washington spoke; they gave rise to the urgent need of a program that would solve the great social and economic problems of both white and black men of the South.

Reconstruction placed the Negro in a predicament that tended to form "the worst calamity of a 'tragic era.'" With growing displeasure the whites watched the Negro exercise power in directing the government. L.M. Hacker and B.M. Kendrick, authorities in the Reconstruction period, tell the part that race hatred played in politics:

The poor whites, who had always supported slavery on racial rather than on economic grounds, now had their worst fears realized when they beheld the Negro as free, and quite as well off economically, as they themselves were.

The writers continue:

The most perceptible differences between these and the Negroes, before the war, had been their legal status and the color of their skins. Civil inequalities had now been eliminated.

The whites reclaimed the governments of the Southern states with satisfaction when the Negroes proved to be "ignorant and unfit to

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2Louis M. Hacker and Benjamin M. Kendrick, The United States since 1865, New York, 1932, p. 17.

3Ibid., p. 22.
and immediately they proceeded to prevent future participation of the Negro in government. Laws of suffrage were made that eliminated him from voting. A voter must be able to read and write; he must own property and be a descendant of persons who were voters. Segregation laws of Southern states curtailed the privileges of Negroes in places of amusement like theaters and parks, in the schools, and finally in farming and residential districts. "Negroes became the focus of a growing contempt and hatred," L.M. Hacker and B.M. Kendrick declare. "To a very real degree the blacks were the innocent victims...." Carter G. Woodson, eminent historian of the Negro, sums up the situation as follows:

The abridgement of the Negroes' rights came as a calamity. For a generation following the restoration of the reactionaries to power, the Negroes were in a state of confusion; and they could not extricate themselves from their difficulties.

The race hatred caused by the Reconstruction, declares W.B. Hesseltine, one of the most recent historians of the South, was not only hurting the Negro; it was destroying the South.

A vital aspect of the Negro's confusion was his economic insecurity. Because of persecution by the whites the ex-slave's employment became uncertain, yet ability to work was the greatest possession he had to

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5Ibid., p. 425.

6W.B. Hesseltine, *op. cit.*., p. 573.
offer. The large tracts of land were still held by planters. Most of the Negroes who had acquired property during the Reconstruction witnessed the seizure of their property on the plea of delinquent taxes and saw it transferred to the master class. Even if he had owned land, the Negro would have been unable to operate farms and factories independently because he, like most of the other Southern people, had "no money, and very little credit with which to buy."

As a farmer, the Southern Negro seemed doomed on every hand. Working on shares was a failure. Under this system the planter advanced the tenant supplies pending the growth of crops. The Negro agreed to give the planter a certain share of his crops, but often the cropper's laziness made this agreement unprofitable for the white man. The system of renting made the Negro the victim of his own ignorance by throwing him on his own responsibility; he paid too much for rent in most instances. He suffered because "of an economic program." Because he had no money, the Negro renter had to purchase tools, food, and clothing on credit. He promised to pay his debt, with interest, when his crops were sold. Usually the landlord became the creditor, and cheated the Negro out of

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1Carter G. Woodson, op. cit., p. 426.
2Ibid., p. 426.
3Louis M. Hacker and Benjamin M. Kendrick, op. cit., p. 17.
5Ibid., p. 336.
6Carter G. Woodson, op. cit., p. 427.
most of his earnings before the end of the year.\textsuperscript{1} "The most fortunate Negro tenant or farmers," Carter G. Woodson states, "did not come to the end of the year with more than they needed to keep them while producing their crop during the next."\textsuperscript{2} A few planters were honest creditors and tried to help the Negro.\textsuperscript{3} But, in general, farming offered no solution to the Negro's problem in the South.

It was necessary for the Negro to become a wage-earner; but the wage system was unsatisfactory. The colored man, who was unable to read and write, became dependent upon the will of his employer. He was cheated in his contracts and cruelly treated if he complained. "The wage system of the South," Carter G. Woodson declares, "early failed to give satisfaction."\textsuperscript{4}

The Southern Negro's condition became even more insauspicious as a result of an address by Congressman L.Q.C. Lamar of Mississippi in 1784. Congressman Lamar, representing the new South that was losing its hatred for the North, delivered his address, an eloquent eulogy on Charles Sumner of Massachusetts, in the House of Representatives. The Northern white man, the Negro's great friend, was becoming the friend of the Southern white man, the Negro's bitterest enemy. W.A. Dunning, one of the best authorities on Reconstruction, sums up the results of this speech by saying: "In the South it perceptibly checked a growing move-

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{1}C.G. Woodson, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 427-28.
\item \textsuperscript{2}Ibid., p. 431.
\item \textsuperscript{3}My grandfather, who was an ex-slave, often told me of those honest planters of the Reconstruction period.
\item \textsuperscript{4}C.G. Woodson, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 427.
\end{itemize}
ment among the whites to overthrow radicalism by a ruthless suppression of the Negro vote.₁

The Negro needed desperately to make a more satisfactory economic adjustment. The need for this adjustment caused the entire South to suffer. As W.B. Hesseltine summarized it,

The ex-confederates sought to adjust themselves to new conditions, to solve the social and economic problems which resulted from emancipation. ... Reconstruction, rather than the Civil War, destroyed the Old South.²

Economically and socially, the Negro remained the big problem for the South. "The unrest first found a safety valve in the exodus of the Negroes."³ Some colored people migrated to the North, a place of refuge for the Negro, Carter G. Woodson states.⁴

Under the leadership of Bishop H.M. Turner, the Negro tried to escape by means of colonization.⁵ Both movements stopped when the planters promised the Negroes better treatment. These promises, however, were soon forgotten. The ex-slaves fell back into the original condition that existed before the exodus:

The rural earner did well to receive for his toil, from sunrise to sunset, twenty-five or thirty cents a day, including board restricted to half a gallon of meal and half a pound of fat bacon. Mechanics believed that they were highly favored when they earned from seventy-five cents to a dollar a day.⁶

²William B. Hesseltine, op. cit., p. 573.
³Carter G. Woodson, op. cit., p. 428.
⁴Ibid., p. 437.
⁵Ibid., p. 434.
⁶Ibid., p. 431.
Perhaps the first successful approach to a real solution of the Negro's problem in general was made in 1868 when, under the auspices of the American Missionary Association, Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute was opened, being chartered by a special act of the General Assembly of Virginia. General Chapman Armstrong, principal of the school, expressed the aim of the institution on its opening day:

To train selected youth who shall go out and teach and lead their people, first by example, by getting land and homes, to give them not a dollar that they can earn for themselves; to teach respect for labor; to replace stupid drudgery with skilled hands; and to these ends to build up an industrial system, for the sake of character.

Here was a new approach to the solution of the problem of the Negro. This message of cleaner and more thrifty living was spread by the graduates of Hampton Institute for a decade after the opening of the school in 1868. But their message was confined almost wholly to Virginia. The entire South needed a messenger to bring to them this idea of practical education. The time was ripe for some one to go to the cotton belt and interpret Hampton's idea to the man behind the plow there and to the unskilled laborer in general: to teach them "to put brains and skill into the common occupations of life." This person must be able to take the lecture platform and teach the entire South the Hampton philosophy. In 1881 a graduate of Hampton Institute was ready to do this work. This graduate was Booker T. Washington.


2Quoted in Benjamin Brawley, op. cit., p. 157.

1. Early Life and Training—Booker Taliferro Washington was born April 5, 1856, in Franklin County, Virginia. While he was still very young, his stepfather and mother removed to Molden, West Virginia. Soon he began work in the salt furnaces and coal mines of that state. During these years he was called merely Booker. Later he adopted the name Washington on the spur of the moment while in the little home-town school when it became necessary to have a surname.

It seems that Booker, unlike most young Negro slaves of his childhood, had at an early age been inspired to become a public speaker:

I heard so much about Douglas when I was a boy that one of the reasons why I wanted to go to school and learn to read was that I might read for myself what he had written and said.1 This desire for an education spurred Washington in 1872 "to work his way" to Hampton Institute, Virginia. He was happy to pay his expenses while there by working as a janitor.

It was at Hampton Institute that Washington was further influenced to take the platform of the public speaker; his interest in Frederick Douglas, the brilliant Negro orator, had been an earlier influence. Miss Nathalie Lord, one of Washington's teachers at Hampton Institute, became interested in the little colored boy who wanted to become a speaker. Concerning his indebtedness to her, he said:

Whatever ability I may have as a public speaker I owe in a measure to Miss Lord. When she found that I had some inclination in this direction, she gave me private lessons in the matter of breathing, emphasis, and articulation.2

1Booker T. Washington, My Larger Education, Garden City, 1912, p. 104. Hereafter, works by B.T. Washington will be cited without the author's name.
2Up From Slavery, New York, 1901, p. 67.
At Hampton Institute Washington continued to develop as a public speaker through participation in speaking societies. As he himself writes:

I not only attended the weekly debating society, but was instrumental in organizing an additional society. About twenty of us formed a society for the purpose of utilizing this time between the time when supper was over and the time to begin evening study in debate or in practice in public speaking. Few persons ever derived more happiness or benefit from the use of twenty minutes of time than we did in this way.\(^1\)

Washington finished Hampton Institute in 1875 and returned to Molden, where he taught for three years. As he says himself, his development in public speaking was continued here: "It was in this debating society [at Molden] and the society of a similar character at Hampton that I began to cultivate whatever talent I have for public speaking."\(^2\)

During Washington's third year of teaching at Molden, he delivered his first great address. Hampton Institute gave him the opportunity to begin his speaking career. Dr. Washington describes the occasion:

There was a letter from General Armstrong inviting me to return to Hampton at the next commencement to deliver what was called the post-graduate address. With much care I prepared the best address I was capable of. I chose for my subject "The Force That Wins."\(^3\)

This address first brought Washington to the attention of the public as a potentially great public speaker.

In 1878 Booker Washington went to Wayland Seminary in Washington (now incorporated in Virginia Union University in Richmond) with the

\(^1\)Ibid., p. 68.

\(^2\)The Story of My Life and Work, Naperville, 1900, p. 44.

\(^3\)Ibid., p. 68.
intention of becoming a lawyer. At the end of a year here he received an invitation to make a number of speeches in the interest of Charleston, West Virginia. Concerning the canvass of Virginia, he said:

At the close of my school year in Washington, I was very pleasantly surprised to receive an invitation to canvass the state in the interest of that city.1

It was during this canvass that Booker T. Washington first established his reputation as a public speaker.

In 1879 Washington was appointed "house father"2 to the Indian youths at Hampton Institute; he later directed the night-school of the institution.

In May, 1881, the opportunity opened for Washington to begin his life work. Mr. Washington tells of this important step in his life in the following words:

One night in chapel, after the usual chapel exercises were over, General Armstrong referred to the fact that he had received a letter from some gentleman in Alabama asking him to recommend some one to take charge of what was to be a normal school for the colored people in the little town of Tuskegee in that state.... The next day General Armstrong sent for me to come to his office, and, to my surprise, asked me if I thought I could fill the position in Alabama. I told him that I would be willing to try.... Several days passed before anything more was heard about the matter. [General Armstrong had recommended Mr. Washington for the position in Alabama.] Some time afterward, one Sunday evening during the chapel exercises, a messenger came in and handed the general a telegram. At the end of the exercise he read the telegram to the school. In substance, these were its words: "Booker T. Washington will suit us. Send him at once."3

Mr. Washington opened the door of Tuskegee Institute on July 4, 1881.

1Up From Slavery, p. 92.

2The "house father" lived in the building with the Indian students, and had charge of their clothing and rooms and matters of discipline.

3Up From Slavery, pp. 106 - 7.
The school was started in a little shanty, with an enrollment of thirty pupils. It is a well-known story how, despite almost insurmountable obstacles, Washington built Tuskegee Institute into the greatest school of its kind in the world. The South needed a plan for the solution of both the social and the economic problems of the Negro. At the Atlanta Exposition, in 1895, Washington delivered a speech in which he crystalized his plan for the South, a speech which made him a nationally known figure. Washington had a plan.

2. His Plan.-- This Hampton trained man brought to the South Hampton Institute's great objective in education: "To teach respect for labor; to replace stupid drudgery with skilled hands; and to build up an industrial system, for the sake of character." In addition, Washington declared that, economically, the races of the South could work to help each other and that, socially, they could live separate lives. His plan for both races of the South might best be expressed in the words of his Atlanta Exposition Speech:

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.... 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 million 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.... 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.2

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1From General Chapman Armstrong's Speech at the opening of Hampton Institute, quoted in Benjamin Brawley, op. cit., p. 157.

2Up From Slavery, pp. 219-20, 222.
Booker T. Washington's Atlanta Exposition Speech caused a great reaction to his plan. The white South embraced the plan because it satisfied their feeling of superiority; the Negro should be taught to work with his hands and not with his head. The North was divided, some fearing that this type of education might cause the Negro to develop into a class of laborers and nothing more. But there were some wealthy white men of the North who thought the plan a very wise one. A few Negro leaders considered it a surrender to the oppressors, and they accordingly proceeded to attack Mr. Washington. But, through his oratory, Mr. Washington eventually won the approval of many of his opponents.

As a result of Washington's eloquent declaration of the efficacy of the Negro's pursuit of practical education, his fame spread rapidly. As Carter G. Woodson reminds us, what he taught, "the world had heard before, but never had an educator so expounded this doctrine as to move the millions."

In 1896 Harvard University conferred upon him the degree of Master of Arts; and in 1901 Dartmouth, the Doctor of Laws. He became the unquestioned leader of his race before his death, November 14, 1915. As Kelly Miller said, he was recognized as "a great Negro, a great American, a great man."

When Booker T. Washington, answering the call of the little town of Tuskegee, Alabama, for a teacher to start a colored school, left Hampton Institute and journeyed to the heart of the black belt, he found himself in the midst of post-Reconstruction misery for the Negro. As a farmer,

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2Kelly Miller used these words in a Founder's Day Address, which I heard at Tuskegee Institute, Alabama, 1934.
a wage-earner, a migrator, and an emigrator the ex-slave had failed. He was apparently doomed. Washington might well have been discouraged; but his early experiences in solving difficult problems of life, the Hampton philosophy of practical education which he possessed, and his ability as a public speaker made success for him inevitable. It was indeed a rare combination of circumstances and ability: (1) the South was ripe for the Hampton idea of education; (2) the lecture platform was the ideal method of spreading this idea of practical instruction; and (3) Booker T. Washington, an ardent believer in Hampton's philosophy of education and a naturally endowed public speaker, had entered the deep South. Washington was the right man for the times, in the first place, because of his personality. He was a practical man, an admirer of common, concrete things. In addition to this he had a style, both in the literary structure of his addresses and in his delivery, that made him one of the most noted speakers of his time. The study of this style reveals the sources of Booker T. Washington's effectiveness as a public speaker.
For a study of Booker T. Washington's speeches it is necessary to have in mind what constitutes good style. The means by which a writer succeeds in conveying his ideas in "an elegant and pregnant texture: that is style."¹ This definition will be used in this study. Such a definition can best be understood by considering the essential elements which make up the style of the literary artist. Among these elements may be found the following: words, phrases, clauses and sentences, figures of speech, and the method of using quotations and anecdotes.

Since the writer must work with words, his choice of them is of great importance. Every writer develops a personal vocabulary, and the effectiveness of his style varies directly with the richness of his vocabulary and his ability to manipulate these words so that they express his thoughts and his ideas accurately and vividly.

The phrase is no less important than the word. Stevenson describes its proper use as follows:

Each phrase of each sentence, like an air or a recitation in music, should be so artfully compounded out of long and short, out of accented and unaccented, as to gratify the sensual ear.² There should be rhythm of the phrase, even of the prose phrase, which obeys no law but to be lawless and yet to please.³

²Ibid., p. 743.
³Ibid.
The literary artist seeks for the right phrase: a phrase which expresses the author's exact meaning.\(^1\) Walter Pater had this to say concerning this element of truth:

In the highest as in the lowliest literature, the one indispensable beauty is, after all, truth... truth there as accuracy, truth here as expression.\(^2\)

The clause and the sentence may be discussed together. By placing the clause in different positions in the sentence, the writer builds a composition that has variety of construction. He may use the balanced sentence to obtain force and the periodic sentence to secure both force and suspense. Monotony may also be avoided by alternating skillfully long and short sentences.

Quotations add richness to the compositions of successful authors. Closely akin to this element, yet less frequent, is the use that writers make of anecdotes.

Summarizing these ideas concerning style, Pater said:

Given the conditions I have tried to explain as constituting good art:—then, if it be devoted further to the increase of men's happiness, to the redemption of the oppressed, or the enlargement of our sympathies with each other, or to such presentation of new or old truth about ourselves and our relation of the world as may ennoble and fortify us in our sojourn here, or immediately, as with Dante, to the glory of God, it will be also great art; if, over and above those qualities I summed up as mind and soul—that color and mystic perfume, and that reasonable structure, it has something of the soul of humanity in it, and finds its logical, its architectural place, in the great structure of human life.\(^3\)

With this conception of style this study proceeds to an examination of the sources of Washington's oratorical success.

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A study of Washington's words shows that they were concrete, terse, suggestive, and familiar to his audience. The nouns in the following show all these qualities:

The rank and file of our people are ignorant.\(^1\)

The world watches to see whether the Negro is to have a funeral or a resurrection.\(^2\)

... Our people down in the swamps of Mississippi.\(^3\)

Our ability to work in harness embraces our third test.\(^4\)

Washington used verbs and verbals successfully. His finite verbs were particularly suggestive and concrete:

The Negro has squatted down upon a pretty big field in the matter of labor.\(^5\)

Do not fritter away too much time in technicalities known as parliamentary rules.\(^6\)

May our feet never falter or grow weary while treading the toilsome way.\(^7\)

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\(^1\)"Extracts of Address Delivered Before the Young People's Christian Union, Indianapolis, August 20, 1893," p. 8.


\(^3\)"Before the 14th Annual Session of the National Negro Business League, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, August 21, 1913," p. 3.

\(^4\)"Delivered at Wilberforce University, Wilberforce, Ohio, [n.d.]," p. 1.

\(^5\)"Delivered at the Installation of Dr. J.A. Whitted, Birmingham, Alabama, October 13, 1911," p. 2.

\(^6\)"Convention Hall, Muskogee, Oklahoma, August 19, 1914," p. 2.

\(^7\)"President's Annual Address... National Negro Business League, New York City, August 17, 1905," p. 5.
The falls of Niagara have been literally harnessed.¹

We are seeking to place on the old plantation where but yesterday were the master and the slave, and the auction block, and where the bloodhound yelped, a great light house.²

We have got to weave ideas into activities. Why, there are enough ideas floating about to float a ship.³

No less than twenty-six colored men were wantonly murdered by mobs.⁴

She has twice measured arms with England and has won.⁵

This third test embraces our ability to work... in the capacity of organized human beings.⁶

The infinitive reveals the author's taste for the familiar, concrete word:

It is a recognition that will do more to cement the friendship of the two races....⁷

But it was the verbal that gave action and life to Washington's words:

The uneducated Negro will be an excuse for the Southern white man's dragging himself down—for his smuggling out his own moral life.⁸

We believe that while the world may pity a crying, whining race, it seldom respects it.⁹

¹"Delivered at Wilberforce University, Wilberforce, Ohio, [n.d.]," p.1.
²Recognized by handwriting, p. 3.
³"First Joint Commencement, Normal School No. 2," p. 12.
⁵"Cuban Education," p. 3.
⁹"Before the National Negro Business League, Atlanta, August 30, 1908," p. 1.
Adjectives give vividness and force to the following passages:

When proof is asked of our ability to receive education we can point to the little, bare-headed and bare-footed pickaninny in the Mississippi log cabin school or we can point to the Negro youth in cap and gown in Oxford University.¹

These adjectives, it may be noted, are compound adjectives. On another occasion he speaks of the power of practical education to change the Negro from

the down-trodden child of ignorance...

to a

thoroughly-rounded man of prudence....²

Occasionally the strength of Washington's sentence resides in a thought whose meaning is expressed by a preposition:

The white people and the black people have talked too much about each other and not enough to each other.³

Force and vividness, not mere beauty of expression, were the primary objectives in Washington's choice of words; it was the thought that was important. He knew that to convince his hearers it was necessary that his words be understood. Therefore, as we have seen, he drew his expressions from the vocabulary of the common man. His picturesque words were also eminently simple and clear. It was this finesse of selection, as well as power in use, that made Booker Washington's words efficacious.

Balanced construction gives force and power to Washington's use of

¹"Extracts from Address Before the Conclave of the Negro Knights of Pythias of America, Louisville, [n.d.]."

²Tuskegee and Its People, p. 1.

phrases, clauses, and sentences. Balance in the form of parallel phrases results in contrast and climax, which add emphasis and vividness to his style:

We must cease to judge the greatness of a nation in terms of tons, but judge it in terms of service.¹

They have learned Tuskegee graduates the beauty of work the disgrace of idleness.²

They have learned the disgrace of idleness and the sweetness of labor.³

Fisk University is great in its past; is great in its present. It can become greater in the future.⁴

There is an unconscious, beautiful, strong clinging to truth; and it is this quality in child or in man, in Jew

¹"4th American Peace Congress," p. 3.
³Tuskegee and Its People, p. VII.
⁴"Address at Meeting in Interest of Fisk University, Boston, April 26, 1911," p. 2.
Gerundial phrases frequently show Washington at his best in securing emphasis by means of contrast:

There are two ways of exerting one's strength: one is pushing down the other is pulling up.

Balancing the thought in infinitives, he attacks a disbeliever in this manner:

To believe otherwise is to deny the existence of him who rewards virtue.

The use of parallel independent clauses secures emphasis through contrast:

Centuries ago the Negro began life in America in paganism; today there are more than ten millions of Christians; he began life without a language; today he speaks the English tongue.

Nearly sixteen millions of hands will aid you in pulling the load upwards or they will pull against you—

1 "Sing the Old Songs," p. 2.
3 "The South as an Opening for a Career," p. 3.
the load goes downward.¹

Emphasis is also obtained through the use of the parallel independent clause that carries a balanced dependent clause:

She can have no sorrow
that I do not share;
she can have no prosperity
that I do not rejoice in.²

You show me a man
who is not doing anything in the world,
and I will show you a man
who is unhappy.³

If others choose to be mean,⁴
we can be good;
if others push us down,
we can help push them up.⁵

There is much
that the brave... white man can do for us;
there is much
that we can do for ourselves.⁶

Sentences, as well as phrases and clauses, gained force by means of balance:

There is no hope for any man or woman, whatever his color,
who is pessimistic.
There is hope for any race of people, however handicapped by difficulties,

¹"Atlanta Exposition Speech," p. 4.
³"Before the 9th Convention of the National Negro Business League, Baltimore, August 20, 1908," pp. 6-7.
⁴Note the use of the periodic structure.
⁶"Before the National Negro Business League, August 30, 1908," p. 3.
that makes up its mind to succeed.¹

Repetition added further strength to the balanced sentences that were themselves parallel in structure:

- We went into slavery pagans;  
  we came out Christians.

- We went into slavery pieces of property;  
  we came out American citizens.

- We went into slavery without a language;  
  we came out speaking the Anglo-Saxon tongue.

- We went into slavery with slave chains clanking about our wrists;  
  we came out with the American ballot in our hand.²

The periodic sentence added variety to Washington's style, and by withholding the completion of the thought to the end, also gave force to his structure. The following sentences are typical of this practice:

The solution of the great problem is not in the abuse of the South by the North, not in the abuse of the North by the South, not in condemning the Negro, nor in the Negro cursing the white man, not in colonization, not in deportation, not in amalgamation or extermination, but in honest, sympathetic cooperation between the races.³

To make hard conditions easier, to raise common labor from drudgery to dignity, and to adopt systems of training that will meet the needs of the greatest number and prepare them for the better things that intelligent effort will surely bring, form a task....⁴

That the South, staggering under the burden, made blunders, that in some measure there has been disappointment, no one needs be surprised.⁵

¹"Before the National Colored Teachers' Association, St. Louis, Missouri, July 30, 1911," p. 6.
²"Tisk University, 1895," p. 1.
³"Collis P. Huntington Memorial Address," p. 8.
⁴"Tuskegee and Its People," p. 10.
⁵"Residence of H.C. Davis...," p. 2.
Further variety is added to his compositions by the use of both long and short sentences:

War between nations is not only wasteful in the highest degree but brutalizing. War means destruction. Peace means construction.¹

In moments of dramatic intensity, as shown in this passage, the short sentence seemed effective. The following sentences were used to conclude a long, dramatic illustration:

Explanation is easy. Construction is difficult.²

Occasionally a very long sentence adds further variety:

But to follow the seventy dollars further—through Hampton, out from Hampton to Alabama, where it produced compound interest at the Tuskegee Normal School in the shape of ten graduates, ten strong, intelligent Christian young men and women, who went out into the dark places of Alabama to do for Alabama what Hampton graduates do for Virginia.³

By such sentences set over against short sentences and further diversified with the balanced and periodic construction, Washington avoided monotony. In the phrase, the clause, and the sentence parallelism was the prime source of forcefulness.

Figures of speech served Washington indispensably for vividness and power. The simile compared a familiar object with another less familiar. When emphasizing the miseries and needs of his race, the subject nearest to his heart, Washington invariably burst forth with a simile. When he emphasized the urgency of the Negro problem, he exclaimed:

Seek with me a way out of this great problem [race problem]

¹"Fourth American Peace Congress ...," p. 3.
which hangs over our country like a blighting shadow.\(^1\)

Like Lincoln, he [the Negro] is gathering strength from the very obstacles he is mastering and overcoming.\(^2\)

Washington had succeeded despite handicaps and obstacles, and he must have liked to use the individual as an inspiration to his race:

It is only by meeting and solving problems day by day that races, like individuals, are strengthened and broadened and lifted up into a higher atmosphere.\(^3\)

These comparisons added vividness and power to Washington's speeches.

It was with the simile that Dr. Washington reached his highest note of optimism concerning the progress that the Negro had made despite his miseries and needs:

One might as well talk of stopping the flow of the Mississippi River as the progress of a race that is securing property, education, and Christian character.\(^4\)

Just so sure as the rays of the sun dispel the frost of winter, so sure will brains, property, and education conquer prejudice.\(^5\)

Such expressions, even if disbelieved, vivified Washington's ideas so forcefully that the audience was affected greatly. On one occasion an entire nation was stirred by one of his similes:

In all things that are purely social we can by as separate as the fingers, yet one as the hand in all things essential to mutual progress.\(^6\)

\(^1\)"Delivered at the Residence of Mr. Henry C. Davis, February 14, 1899," p. 5.
\(^2\)Ibid., p. 4.
\(^4\)"Delivered at the Residence of Mr. Henry C. Davis, February 14, 1899," p. 4.
\(^5\)"The South as an Opening for a Career," p. 4.
\(^6\)"Delivered at the Opening of Cotton States' Exposition, Atlanta," p. 3.
In one simple simile, using an ordinary hand as the basis of the comparison, Booker T. Washington suggested an entire social program, a program that aroused the interest of both races of the North and of the South. Many men accepted the idea of this simile as the platform for the solution of the race problem in the South; others opposed it as a dangerous compromise. Because of the conflict which it caused, and is still causing, the simile is famous even today. It was, then, with the terse, suggestive simile, even more than with other stylistic devices, that Washington added effectiveness and power to his oratorical style.

The metaphor, like the simile, enabled Washington to present his ideas forcefully. When he wanted to stress the importance of training the masses of the Negro race, he said:

"In the raw material of my race we have about us "acres of diamonds." We can by neglect, by injustice, leave this material undeveloped—a millstone about our necks."

The Negro is compared with raw material, something an audience at an industrial school like Hampton Institute was sure to comprehend. The figure of speech in the following expression, where the race is likened to a ball, shows the vividness the metaphor often secured:

"Show me a race that is living on the outer edge of the industrial world, on the skimmed milk of business, and I will show you a race that is the foot-ball for political parties."

The following use of the metaphor to suggest the Negro's use of his difficulties as assets left a vivid picture in the mind of the audience:

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1"Collis P. Huntington Memorial Address, Hampton Institute, April 28, 1903," p. 7.

2"Delivered at Hampton Institute, Virginia, November 18, 1896," p. 2.
There is no group of people of any race, of any color, who do not have their difficulties, who do not have their problems to solve, but these problems become wings by which to lift us into higher atmosphere.¹

Washington, in paying tribute to the work of a friend at Tuskegee Institute, used the rose figuratively:

The rose which I would place on his grave today is his work at Tuskegee.²

With a metaphor of the tree, Washington gave the past, the present, and the future of his race:

Slavery presented a problem of destruction... a giant tree growing in the garden that was hurtful in its influence. This problem was direct—simply destroy the evil. Our problem at present is not to destroy a tree but to grow one.³

Nature, a garden, a tree—these every man knew. Booker T. Washington's contention stood out clear. In this way the metaphor, like the charged word and the packed simile, became a source of the effectiveness of Washington's speaking.

Personification also made Washington's speeches forceful. Particularly effective to the colored audience must have been his frequent personification of race; for, as in his other figures, he selected the common things to vivify his ideas. When he wished to emphasize the necessity of difficulties in progress, he said:

No race ever got upon its feet without a struggle.⁴

¹"Address Before the Paul Lawrence Dunbar Club...," p. 2.


³"Extracts from an Address Before the Baptist Social Union, Boston, December 9, 1903," p. 2.

⁴"President's Annual Address, Delivered at the First Meeting of the National Negro Business League, Boston, Mass., August 24, 1900," p. 3.
When he wanted to say that the United States had been successful in her wars, Washington exclaimed:

This country has been fortunate in her victories. She has twice measured arms with England and has won.¹

When he wished to pay tribute to science, he declared:

The falls of Niagara have been literally harnessed.²

Alliteration was another rhetorical device found in the sentences of Booker T. Washington’s addresses. When he says,

To you who fought so valiantly in the ranks, the scarred and scattered remnant of the 54th regiment, who with empty sleeve and wanting leg ...,³

the frequency of the sounds of "s" and "t" gives a rhythmical, poetic effect to the passage. Notice the similar effect of the sounds of "w", "f", and "t" in this passage:

May our feet never falter or grow weary while treading the toilsome way.⁴

These examples of Mr. Washington’s use of figures of speech show that because they made his writing perspicuous, suggestive, and picturesque, Washington’s figures were an important source of his effectiveness as a public speaker.

Quotations.—Booker T. Washington’s breadth of reading is evinced by the sources of his quotations. In the literature of power⁵ he drew

¹"Cuban Education," p. 3.
²"Delivered at Wilberforce University, Wilberforce, Ohio [n.d.]," p. 1.
⁴"President’s Annual Address... National Negro Business League, New York City, August 17, 1905," p. 5.
quotations from such English writers as Shakespeare, Milton, and Robert Burns; from such American writers as Longfellow, Whittier, and Emerson; from the Bible; and from divers religious sources. In the literature of knowledge he quoted from the Latin of Julius Caesar, from the American educator Horace Mann, and from the Irish-Canadian writer Henry Drummond. A study of the use that Washington made of these quotations will reveal an important source of the effectiveness of his addresses.

Washington must have strengthened his style greatly by reading Shakespeare, for there are many references in his speeches to the great English poet. He made a conversion of a Shakespearean passage to describe the marvelous accomplishment of Emancipation:

History has no more wonderful story than the sudden transformation of four millions of American slaves into free men and women with its pathetic sequel of the new struggle for education and a higher level of living. Slavery exemplified Othello's plan—"Put out the light"—put out the light of liberty and then put out the light of intelligence. Now the reversal of the process, "Turn on the light," is the imperative injunction.

Speaking of the Negro's right to rule as well as to be ruled, Washington said on another occasion:

Wherever the stars and stripes float, there the sentiment that to be governed implies the right to govern, is cherished and fostered, and this sentiment like Banquo's ghost will not down.

Pointing out that the foundations upon which the future of the race must

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1 William Shakespeare, "Othello", V, ii, 7, Hardin Craig, Shakespeare, Chicago, 1934. Future reference to Shakespeare's works, unless otherwise stated, will be found in this edition.

2 Recognized by the handwriting; place and date delivered or written unknown. Undoubtedly the handwriting is Booker Washington's.

rest were then being laid, Washington quoted:

There is a tide in the affairs of men, which taken at
the flood, leads on to fortune. Omitted, all the voy-
age of their life is bound in shallows and in miseries.¹

When he asked the races of the South to cooperate with each other because
"efforts or means so invested will pay a thousand percent interest," he
concluded:

These efforts will be twice blessed—blessing "him that
gives and him that takes."²

When we remember that the great English writer was a master both in
the understanding of human nature and in expressing what he understood,
it is not surprising that Washington was devoted to Shakespeare. Booker
Washington found many opportunities to weave Shakespeare's words into
his own sentences and to make apt application of the poet's philosophy
to the situation that faced the American Negro after Reconstruction.

Upon one occasion³ Booker Washington used a passage from Paradise
Lost to complete a picture of the depth of economic remorse and pain
to which the shiftless Negro will inevitably descend:

1."Address Delivered Before National Negro Business League, Chicago,
Illinois, August 22, 1912," p. 2. He is quoting William Shakespeare,
"Julius Caesar", IV, iii, 216:
There is a tide in the affairs of men,
Which, taken at the flood, leads on to fortune;
Omitted, all the voyage of their life
Is bound in shallows and in miseries.
(W.G. Clark, William Shakespeare, New York, 1911).

2."Sowing and Reaping..." p. 3. The quotation is from William
Shakespeare, "Merchant of Venice," IV, 1, 86, Hardin Craig, Shakespeare,
New York, 1934.

3Ibid., p. 8.
Regions of sorrow, doleful shades, where peace
And rest can never dwell, hope never comes
That comes to all; but torture without end
Still urges, and a fiery Deluge, fed
With ever-burning Sulphur unconsum'd:
Such place Sternal Justice had prepar'd
For those rebellious, here their prison ordain'd
In utter darkness, and their portion set
As far remov'd from God and light of Heav'n
As from the Center thrice to th' utmost Pole.
O how unlike the place from whence they fell!

It is not surprising that Washington quotes that rustic poet Robert Burns, an early champion of the rights of man. On one occasion, when he sought common grounds for himself and his audience, Washington found the words of Burns helpful:

To me a man is a man "for a' that an' a' that." I propose
no man shall drag me down by making me hate him.2

Booker T. Washington wove quotations from American writers of the literature of power into his speeches as effectively as he did those from English authors. When Washington wanted to convince his audience that economic independence was the only foundation upon which any lasting success for the Negro race could be built, he turned to Longfellow:3

In the building of a house the main thing is to get the foundation laid correctly, to get it started upon the rock, and not upon the sand, to be sure that the principal members are sound and true to measure. Or changing the metaphor to say of the ship:
We know what master laid thy keel,
What workman wrought thy ribs of steel,

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Who made each mast, and sail, and rope, 
What anvils rang, what hammers beat, 
In what a forge and what a heat 
Were shaped the anchors of thy hope! 
Fear not each sudden sound and shock, 
'Tis of the wave and not the rock; 
'Tis but the flapping of the sail, 
And not a rent made by the gale! 

Showing that the idle sower becomes a miserable person, Washington once said that such an individual, whose mind dwells on his lost opportunities, is finally without position, without the satisfaction that his life has been an iota of value to the world—his life a blank, a failure—and he can only add that "Of all sad words of tongue or pen, The saddest are these: 'It might have been." 

He turned to Emerson to exclaim that the proper type of education for the Negro must be one that considers the Negro's stage of development:

You have got to keep in mind the age—the chronological needs of the race for whom that education is designed. In this regard I think it was the philosopher Emerson who said: "One generation clears the forests, the next builds the palaces." 

Now it is true of all races—our race not excepted—that very often the temptation has come to build the palaces without clearing the forests.

Washington sought to encourage prospective Tuskegee donors to appreciate the progress that the Negro race had made:

"The progress of the Negro race should not be judged so much

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1 "Extracts from Address Before the Conclave of the Negro Knights of Pythias of America, Louisville," p. 2.
2 "Sowing and Reaping," p. 6. The last two lines were taken from John Greenleaf Whittier, "Maudie Muller."
3 Not identified.
4 "First Joint Commencement, Normal School Number 2," p. 5.
by the height to which he has risen as by the depth
from which he has come.\(^1\)

With a few specially important passages Washington revealed his gift
of working quotations into his own sentences so that they became an organ-
ic part of his expression. Speaking of the possibilities of the South,
he said:

> A few minutes spent in considering the resources of that rich
and beautiful country—the South—where "every prospect pleases,
and only man is vile"\(^2\)—would not be spent in vain.\(^3\)

Washington showed the influence of one economically independent Negro
upon other Negroes in his state:

One has said, "It may be one colored man in a state who has
achieved financial independence in a decade, yet that one man
is constantly an example to all others, stimulating them to
renewed exertion:

> 'The smallest wave of influence set in motion
Extends and widens to the Eternal shore.'\(^4\)

He encourages his listeners to appreciate the power of their minds with
these words:

> "Had I the height to reach the pole,
To grasp the ocean with a span,
I'll still be measured by my soul—
The mind's the measure of the man."\(^5\)

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\(^1\)"Address Before the Boston Unitarian Club, 1888," p. 8, quoting
Frederick Douglass.

\(^2\)Reginald Heber, "From Greenland's Icy Mountains."

\(^3\)"The South as an Opening for a Career, April 26, 1888," p. 1.

\(^4\)Ibid., p. 6.

\(^5\)Ibid., p. 5. Dr. Washington evidently had in mind the following words
from Isaac Watts' "Horace Lyrical", Book 2, "False Greatness":

> Were I so tall to reach the pole,
Or grasp the ocean with my span,
I must be measured by my soul:
The mind's the standard of the man.

(John Bartlett, Familiar Quotations, 10th ed., Boston,
1928, p. 303).
When Washington, on another occasion, was encouraging the Negro to keep fighting, because in time right would triumph, he quoted:

"The dreamers who gaze while we battle the waves
May see us in sunshine or shade;
Yet true to our course, though our shadow grows dark,
We'll trim our broad sail as before,
And stand by the rudder that governs the bark,
Nor ask how we look from the shore." 1

Remembering that a phase of his great work was to develop a friendly relationship between the white people and the Negroes of the South, his frequent use of this quotation is readily understandable:

"The slave's chain and the master's alike broken;
The one curse of the race held both in tether;
They are rising, all are rising--
The black man, the white, together." 2

Closely akin to this thought was another frequently used by Mr. Washington. It struck at the heart of his philosophy concerning the two races of the South. Declaring that the two races must either stand or fall together, Mr. Washington once exclaimed:

No member of your race in any part of the country can harm the weakest or meanest member of my race without the proudest and bluest blood in our civilization being degraded:

"The laws of changeless Justice bind
Oppressor with oppressed;
And close as sin and suffering joined,
We march to fate abreast." 3

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1 "Race Problem, 1903," Classification of MS. in Records and Research Department. The quotation is from Oliver Wendell Holmes, "Sun and Shadow."

2 "Address at Unveiling of the Shaw Monument, Boston, May 51, 1897," Pamphlet, p. 5. The quotation was not identified.

3 "Address Delivered at the Residence of Mr. H.C. Davis, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, February 14, 1899," p. 5. The quatrain occurs also in "The Memorial Address Delivered at Hampton Institute, April 28, 1903," and "The Address Delivered at the Opening of the Cotton States' Exposition in Atlanta, Georgia, September 16, 1895," p. 4. It was not identified.
Booker T. Washington used his knowledge of the Bible to obtain force and vividness in his speeches. Quotations from and reference to this great book appear frequently in his addresses. Standing in Boston at the dedication of the Robert Gould Shaw Monument in 1897, Washington, to obtain striking clarity, contemplated the future of the Negro race in this manner:

Watchman, tell us of the night,
What the signs of promise are.1

Here he was evidently paraphrasing this line from the Bible:

Watchman, what of the night?2

A similar allusion was made in a speech in Washington, D.C., when Booker T. Washington proclaimed the importance of education for his race:

And if you don't give him the same kind of chance, he is going to become a "hewer of wood and a drawer of water."3

It was with the philosophy of religion expressed in poetry that Dr. Washington often was able to kindle new flames of encouragement, of endurance and ambition in the hearts of a race just emerging from slavery.

Speaking to an audience of Negroes in 1907, he asked them to have courage:

If in the midst of denominational rivalry and bigotry, and in the midst of racial pride and selfishness, and in the midst of national ambition and desire for power, if for a short season the progress of the world seems to halt or slacken, let us not grow discouraged, or faithless, or lose hope in our task, but at all times be ready to exclaim with one of old:

2"Isaiah," XXI, 11.
"The stormy billows are high,
The fury is mighty, but
The Lord is above them, and
Is Almighty and Almighty."1

Although on one occasion Washington had to change the thought of a religious quotation, he wove it successfully into his sentence:

"In the beauty of the lilies,
Christ was born across the sea,
With a glory in his bosom that transfigures you and me;
As he died to make men holy,
let us"2—not die but live to make them free, in body, in mind, in sympathy, and in service, each toward the other.3

In the category of religious literature which Dr. Washington knew and used might be placed not only hymns but also Negro spirituals. These, like his other religious references, were used to encourage the Negro in his struggle to live. Asking his race to learn lessons of endurance and to realize the power of religion, Washington said:

Hear how our foreparents broke through all the deceptions, and allurements of false wealth, and in their long days of weariness expressed their faith in a place where every day would be one of rest:

Oh, religion is a fortune,
I really do believe;
Oh, religion is a fortune,
I really do believe;
Oh, religion is a fortune,
I really do believe,
Whar Sabbath hab no end.
Whar yo' ben, po moner, whar yo' ben so long?
"Ben down in de valley fur to pray;

1"Address Before the International Council of Religious Thinkers and Workers, Boston, September 22, 1907," p. 4. It was not identified.

2"... let us die to make men free
While God is marching on." (Julia Ward,"Battle Hymn of the Republic").

3"Collis P. Huntington Memorial Address," p. 8.
An I ain't dun prayin' yet."¹

Booker T. Washington wove quotations from the literature of knowledge into his addresses. Attempting to dispel the idea that the Negro's progress has been too slow since his emancipation, Washington explained with the words of an Irish-Canadian writer:

As Professor Drummond says: "All great things grow noiselessly. All thorough work is slow. All true development is by minute, slight, and insensible degrees. The higher the being the slower is the process of development."²

To emphasize the importance of using time wisely, he exclaimed in the words of an American educator:

Let us recall Horace Mann's impressive admonition: "Lost yesterday somewhere between sunrise and sunset, two golden hours, each set with sixty diamond minutes. No reward is offered, for they are gone forever."³

To encourage the white race to have faith in the future of a people emerging from slavery, Washington turned to Latin history to show the depths from which these Caucasians themselves had come:

Caesar, writing for the people out of which your race grew, describing them as he found them in England, says: "The inhabitants do not for the most part sow corn, but live on milk and flesh and clothe themselves with skins. All the Britons stain themselves with a pigment which produces a blue color, and gives them a more formidable appearance in battle. They wear their hair long. Ten or twelve have wives in common."⁴

¹"Sing the Old Songs," p. 3.
²"Sowing and Reaping," p. 10.
³Ibid., p. 7. These quotations from educators were not numerous in Washington's addresses. It is possible that he had merely heard them; it is probable that he had read them.
⁴Ms., without title, classified under "Booker T. Washington, Race Problems, 1903," p. 4, in the Records and Research Department, Tuskegee Institute, Alabama. He quotes Caesar's De Bello Gallico, Bk V, Chapter XIV.
The richness of Washington's speeches with appropriate expressions from the masters, and from other writers, reveals the breadth of his reading. It is the weaving of these passages from various writers of both literature of power and literature of knowledge into his own sentences that declares a source of the success of his addresses.

*Use of the Anecdote.* - In very much the same manner in which he wove quotations into his sentences Booker T. Washington so told stories that they became an organic part of his ideas and made his thought clearer and more impressive. That he was not unaware of this stylistic device is evinced by Washington's own words:

> I found that, by using my personal experience and observation; by making use of the stories that I had heard as illustrations; by restating some incident that happened in my own case or some incident that I had heard from some one else, I could frequently express what I had to say in a much clearer and more impressive way.\(^1\)

Both humorous and serious anecdotes, largely of Negro life, were used by Washington. He was never guilty, however, of inserting a meaningless story; his illustrations always added clarity and impressiveness to what he had to say. As he himself stated:

> I never tell an anecdote simply for the sake of telling one. That kind of thing, I think, is empty and hollow; and an audience soon finds it out.\(^2\)

Humorous stories were particularly effective. In discussing the lack of sincerity on the part of many Negro ministers, he illustrated the type with an incident:

> The kind of preachers they are may be illustrated by one of

\(^1\) *My Larger Education*, p. 12.

\(^2\) *Up From Slavery*, p. 243.
whom it is said that while at work in a cotton field in the middle of July he suddenly stopped, lifted his eyes toward heaven and said, "De cotton is so grassy, de work is so hard, and de sun is so hot, I believe dis darby am called to preach." **

In order to suggest humorously that, though he did not know whether the audience wanted a lengthy or a brief speech, both his long and short addresses were rather disagreeable, Washington began a speech with this story:

Some years ago I was travelling through a certain section of the South with a friend. We chanced to stop overnight in one of the cabins that are common to that section of the country. The next morning, when we went to the breakfast table, the good hostess asked us whether we wanted long or short sweetening in our coffee. Neither of us had ever heard the question put in that form before and each was puzzled. She looked at one and then at the other for an answer. I punched my friend rather gently and slyly in the side and suggested that he answer first. With a good deal of courage he finally said that he would take long sweetening. With that the good woman put one of her fingers into a cup of molasses—that is allowable—and then put that same finger into his coffee. Now that was one sweetening. Then she turned to me and asked what I wanted, long or short. I said I would take short. Then she put her hand into another cup, took out something that resembled a lump of maple sugar, put it between her teeth, bit it into two parts, put one part into her coffee and the other part into my coffee. That was short sweetening. Now, I do not know what you want or expect of me in the way of an address, but I wish to assure you in the beginning that both my long and short addresses are rather disagreeable.**

When he wanted to make clear his belief that the South was the Negro's home and that the black man was permanently attached to this section of the United States, he illustrated his conviction with a humorous and

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1"Before the Boston Unitarian Club, 1888," p. 9.

2"Address on the Negro Race at the First National Conference on Race Betterment, Battle Creek Sanitorium, Battle Creek, Michigan, 1914," p. 5.
concrete example:

I suppose you have heard the story of the old colored man in Virginia, who lived on a plantation up there for about seventy years, in slavery and in freedom. One of the young men who used to be a part owner of this old fellow went to New York to live and afterwards went back to his old Virginia home for a little visit. He found this old colored man around there and he got a little impatient with the old fellow because of his slothfulness and because of the way in which he performed some of his duties. He said to him one morning, "Jim, I think we will have to part; I can't put up with your slothfulness and carelessness any longer; Jim, I think we shall have to part." The old fellow replied, "Boss, I'm sorry for it, but I don't know what you is agoin." In my opinion, we are here to stay.1

For some reason, Washington was unable to prepare a speech for the Fifteenth Annual Convention of the National Negro Business League. When he was called upon to speak, he sought to minimize the unpleasantness which his unpreparedness caused him by relating the following story:

There was an old colored woman called Aunt Hanna, and it happened that she was called as a witness to court to testify in a certain case at law. The commonwealth's lawyer would pace up and down in front of the witness stand, firing his questions at the witness in rapid succession, and in answer to almost all the questions of the lawyer the old woman would say: "Boss, I think so, I think so." Finally the lawyer began to be exasperated by such answers, and he turned to the old woman and said: "Auntie, this honorable court doesn't care a snap about what you think; all we want is for you to talk and tell the court what you know about the case." Immediately the old woman replied: "I can't talk without thinking—I'm no lawyer." And so, at this time, I find it difficult to talk without thinking, but I shall have to think upon my feet.2

The importance of economic independence in securing for the Negro the white man's respect he explains with this incident:

1"Extracts from Address of Booker T. Washington, March 29, 1907," p.4.

It happened a few days ago in the town of Tuskegee that two white men met a colored man in the street, and it also happened that the colored man owns some property, has a nice little home, keeps a bank account, has some education, and pays his debts. After the two white men had gotten by, one was overheard to say to the other, "By Josh, it is all I can do to keep from calling that Negro mister when I meet him."\footnote{"Before New York Congregational Club at St. Dennis Hotel, New York, January 16, 1893," p. 12.}

Recalling the story of the old colored woman, Washington declared that the Negro race was progressing:

Some time ago, I met an old colored woman on the public road at Tuskegee one Sunday morning; and I turned to her and said, "Aunt Caroline, where are you going this morning?" Quick as a flash she turned and said, "Why, Mr. Washington, I'se done been where I'se goin'." The Negro has not been where he is going.\footnote{"Address, Battle Creek Sanitorium, Battle Creek, Michigan, January, 1914," p. 5.}

After a visit to Europe, Washington used this story to show the amount of emphasis placed on fashion in Paris:

Fashion seemed to sway everything. For example, when I went into a shoe store to purchase a pair of shoes, I could not find a pair large enough to be comfortable. I was gently told that it was not the fashion to wear large shoes there.\footnote{"European Impressions," pp. 4-5.}

To show the progress of the Negro in Baltimore and to pay a subtle compliment to his Baltimore audience, he told the following story to the Negro Business League:

I was rather amused today by one of our delegates—I think he was from Mississippi (Laughter as Dr. Washington facetiously glanced at the chairman, Mr. Banks of Mississippi\footnote{Comment of stenographer who recorded the speech as it was delivered.}).
On his way from the train to his appointed stopping place, I met him wandering up and down Druid Hill Avenue, gazing at the three and four and five story brick dwellings, with their white marble steps and neat appearance. When he came to the right number, he looked at the windows and wanted to know from me whether white or colored people lived in there. (Laughter) I told him that good old fashioned colored people actually lived in that brick house (Renewed laughter); and, after some hesitation, I prevailed upon him to push the button and walk right in. When he left me he said he would try to make himself "perfectly at home," even though he felt he was in the wrong section of the city.

Serious as well as humorous incidents added clarity and impressiveness to Washington's addresses. One of these incidents illustrates a principle that he held to be fundamental, namely: for successful cooperation between the races of the South, the end is more important than the means:

I was traveling with one of these old people [simple, unlettered Negroes] in South Carolina some years ago. We were at Columbia, and he went up town and was delayed so that he was in danger of losing the train. In his haste to get to the railroad station, he went up to a hack-driver and said: "Mr. Hack-Driver, take me to the station as quick as possible, or I shall lose my train." The hackman he approached happened to be a white man, who had never had the experience of driving a black man in his hack. "I have never carried a colored man, and I'm not going to begin. You'll have to find another hack." But he did carry the colored man. "No, boss, I'm not going to find anyone but you. All I want to do is to get there, and if you will keep quiet, I will show you how. You get in the back seat and take the ride, and I will take the front seat and do the driving." Within a few minutes the white man and the black man were at the railroad station. The white man got his quarter and the black man his train.... We should not forget to keep our minds centered on the great fundamental things of civilization."

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2"Before the Semi-Centennial of Worcester Polytechnic Institute, June 9, 1905," p. 5.
When he wanted to tell his people to do constructive work, to live for their race in the South, Washington recalled an incident from his experience:

Some time ago a young colored man, about twenty-five years old, came to me in New York City with tears in his eyes. He said: "Dr. Washington, I may not see you again; I have come to tell you good bye; I am going to sail across the waters; I feel it my duty to go to Africa, and give my life,—yes die, if need be, for the salvation of my race." I said to him: "I am not going to ask you to die for the Negro race in the South, but I am going to ask you to go down there and live for your race."

The following incident was used to impress upon the minds of the audience the fact that emancipation freed the white man as well as the Negro:

A few months ago it was my privilege to return to the old farm in Virginia upon which I was born and spent my early years as a slave. I had been absent for forty years; it was my first visit since the days of slavery. I met on this farm one of the grandsons of my former owner, who was made the executor of my former master's estate, which had been intrusted to him. As I read the items, I found so many acres of land, valued at so many dollars; farther down I found the word "Booker," valued at four hundred dollars. I could not help but recall when the gentleman handed me the inventory, that the same proclamation which made me free also made him free.

To illustrate the difference between the person who had constructive ideas and the undesirable individual of destructive ideas, he related this incident:

In Atlanta, an old colored minister, without very much education but interested in his race, had built a fine and useful building there, which he had dedicated as an orphan asylum. A young minister came to visit the new building. This young fellow said: "That is a pretty good building, but it has certain faults." The old minister said, "You stop

right there. You have the advantage of me; I can't discuss the orphan asylum you built." The old fellow was on the constructive side of life.1

In order to stimulate ambition and race confidence in the Negro Wash-

ington turned to the story of the dying soldier:

I like the spirit—the determination—of that colored soldier who lay dying upon the battlefield during the late war. After the doctor came and saw his wounds, he told the dying comrade that he had but a few minutes to live, and asked him if there was some token or some message that he would like to send to any of his loved ones at home. The helpless soldier looked Surgeon Jones straight in the eye with not the slightest fear of death upon his countenance; and when the chaplain came later and told him that he must soon pass into another world, and asked him if he had some last word to send mother, or wife, or loved ones at home, he turned to the chaplain and said, as he lay there trembling on the grass: "Chap-

lain, place your hand in my vest pocket; take out that little memorandum book; open it, please, and get out that bill." The chaplain quietly obeyed, and then the soldier said: "Hold that bill up before my eyes so I can see it. Now," he said, "Chaplain, I'll bet you that five dollars that I'm going to get well!" And, my friends, I will bet the people of this nation that the Negro race will get well.2

Perhaps the most famous illustration that Washington used was the one that he related at the Atlanta Exposition to encourage each of the two races of the South to turn to the other for a solution of its problems:

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 heed-

1 "The Higher and the Lower Life, Hampton Institute, August 19, 1907," p. 5.

2 "Joint Commencement, Normal School Number 2, June 16, 1905," p. 17.
ing 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 by making friends in every manly way of the people of all races by whom we are surrounded.

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."

Anecdotes added effectiveness to Washington's speeches in a simple and fundamental manner. The humorous stories caused the listeners to laugh, and, therein the speaker, through laughter, gained their good will. Because they were then in a responsive mood, Washington found it easier to convince them. The more serious stories illustrated spiritual and social truths in the direct, parable-like style of the New Testament. The story of the man who went forth to sow, and the incident of Washington's dying soldier, and his other stories, sought to convince, not by abstract analyses but by means of concrete familiar stories. By illustrating new doctrines with old truths and simple every-day incidents, Washington made his ideas graphic, clear, and emphatic.

With this treatment of the stylistic devices of the literary artist, found in Washington's speeches, the importance of the composition of his addresses to his success as a public speaker looms out clear. In order to convey his ideas with force and clarity he had (1) common words that

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were charged and packed with meaning, (2) the balanced phrase, clause, and sentence, (3) variety in structure, obtained by using periodic construction and long and short sentences, (4) figures of speech of concrete and familiar things, and (5) a rich texture, a result of his ability to weave quotations and anecdotes so successfully into his own composition that they became an organic part of his expression.
Booker T. Washington possessed personal qualities as a man which were important sources of his success as a public speaker. His appearance, sincerity, truthfulness, optimism, belief in God, and tact were assets of untold importance. The qualities of his composition, the qualities of his delivery, and the opportune occasions pointed the way to Washington the successful speaker.

In delivering his speech Washington's movement about the platform and his facial expression greatly impressed his audience. Those who heard him speak proclaim the effect of these qualities. An observer on one occasion commented:

He has not an imposing presence; but his kindled face, warm with vitality... and informed by a remarkable intelligence, is nothing less than winning.

The honesty in his face was impressive:

The roar might swell ever so high, but the expression of his honest face never changed.

Raising himself to his full height, and taking on a most

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1Professor George A. Towns, acting principal of the Fort Valley Normal and Industrial School and for more than twenty-five years professor of English at Atlanta University, was present when Washington spoke at the Atlanta Exposition in 1895. Washington, he says, was a large man, but he moved about on the platform with grace. It was the "fire" in his face, he says, that attracted the audience.

2The Springfield Weekly Republican [no title], May 17, 1906; Clipping in the Records and Research Department, Tuskegee Institute, Alabama, Classified under "Booker T. Washington's Works." All periodical references, unless otherwise stated, can be found in this department.

3The Cleveland (Ohio) Leader, January 2, 1897.
serious and honest look, he... 1

Sincerity of purpose enabled Washington to impress his audience. Washington himself declares:

Simply to be able to speak in public for the sake of talking has never had the least attraction to me. In fact I consider that there is nothing so empty and unsatisfactory as mere abstract public speaking; but from my early childhood I have had a desire to do something to make the world better and then to be able to speak to the world about that thing. 2

When one feels, from the bottom of his heart to the top of his head, that he has something to say..., then let him say it... 3

And men who heard Washington speak recognized this element of sincerity in his voice:

Booker T. Washington was not the really brilliant orator that Douglas was, but he was a speaker of clear, simple strength and by no means unattractive in the deep quality of his earnestness. 4

His impassioned bursts are native to his own inmost thoughts.... 5

His kindled face, warm with vitality and sincerity..., is nothing less than winning. 6

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2 Up From Slavery, p. 67.

3 Ibid., p. 244.


5 The Springfield Weekly Republican, May 17, 1906.

6 Ibid.
For nearly an hour and a half he talked earnestly.

The truthfulness of what he said enabled Washington to impress his audience with his sincerity. And Washington knew the importance of this element to his art:

I do not care how much you get out of... literature, unless you get truth, you have failed.

I make up my mind, as a rule, that I will try to... state so many interesting facts... that no one can leave the room.

Men who heard Washington speak recognized also this element of truth:

His address was magnificent.... It was a truthful statement.

A thousand and a half of Negroes heard his fatherly address to the people of his race. They laughed and wept by turns as he played skilfully upon the cords of their emotional natures.... Deep amens thundered forth as the Negro orator voiced the naked truth.

Optimism added charm to Washington's great declaration of truth with sincerity. Carter G. Woodson even classifies Washington as an optimistic orator:

After the Reconstruction there came the optimistic Negro orator.... The best representative of the class was Booker T. Washington.

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1Ibid.
3Up From Slavery, p. 244.
4Story of My Life and Work, p. 188, quoting The Buffalo (New York) Express.
5"Famous Negro Lecturer," Des Moines (Iowa) Capitol, March 15, 1911.
6Carter G. Woodson, Negro Orators and Their Orations, Washington, 1925, p. 11.
Optimism is declared by Washington's faith in his ability to triumph over difficulties:

I like a real hard, tough proposition. It is interesting to work on the hard problems. Any fellow can solve an easy one. You honor the fellow who can work out the tough perplexing problems. I like to belong to a race that has hard, knotty problems to solve.

... In an increasing degree we must be an optimistic race. There is no help for a despairing individual or a despairing race.

Christianity helped Washington to maintain his spirit of optimism, particularly where the Negro race was concerned. He felt that the colored man's economic and social conditions were a part of God's providence:

If the sins of the fathers are visited upon the children to the third and fourth generations, who knows but that God, in his divine goodness, means through the enslavers' improvidence to repay the enslaved that of which he has been robbed?

He showed his belief in the providence of God when addressing the Southern Sociological Congress, founded by Anna Russell Cole:

This Southern Sociological Congress, in my opinion, is one of the great medicines in God's providence, brought into existence for this purpose.

A spirit of religion is revealed time and time again in his speeches:

"Be not deceived. God is not mocked. Whatev
man soweth, that shall he also reap.\textsuperscript{1}

... The Great Book in whose teaching we believe, says in effect that that which is temporal passes away, but that which is spiritual remains\textsuperscript{2}

... No man's life is really complete until he owns a Bible that is part of himself. No matter how busy I may be and no matter how many responsibilities crowd upon me, I never have let a day pass without taking my Bible and reading a chapter or at least a few verses. It is valuable... from a spiritual point of view.\textsuperscript{3}

... We must follow the teachings of the Master when he said, "Overcome evil with good."\textsuperscript{4}

... He always wins who sides with God.\textsuperscript{5}

Washington's tact in his public appearances was perhaps his crowning personal characteristic as a speaker. He often gained the good-will of a colored audience by means of an introductory compliment:

I want to thank those of you who have consented to help compose this fine and beautiful audience here tonight. Now if any man would dare to suggest that our race is not succeeding, that it has not justified freedom, if he uttered such a thought while looking upon this magnificent audience assembled here, I believe that such a person would not be entitled to be considered a sane human being.\textsuperscript{6}

\textsuperscript{1}"Sowing and Reaping," p. 7.

\textsuperscript{2}"St. Louis, Missouri, May 1, 1913," p. 5.

\textsuperscript{3}"Muskogee, Oklahoma, August 19, 1914," p. 3.

\textsuperscript{4}Ibid., p. 3.

\textsuperscript{5}"Address--no date," p. 3.

\textsuperscript{6}"Before the Fourteenth Annual Session of the National Negro Business League," pp. 1-2.
When he addressed an audience composed of white people or of whites and Negroes, Washington's great problem arose. In the latter case, it was necessary to please the white man, whose money he needed in order to carry on his work, and it was imperative to please the Negro, because without the Negro's support his program for the improvement of the colored race could only end in failure. It was a delicate situation—delicate on all occasions for even if he spoke to only one race on a certain occasion, the newspapers informed the other of the contents of his speech. How well Washington succeeded despite these difficulties is evinced by this comment:

He could talk to audiences composed of whites and blacks, hold them spellbound with his simple oratory, excite no anger in any person before him, and yet not compromise his essential intellectual integrity.  

When Washington, for example, wanted to tell the white man that it was erroneous to consider all Negroes despicable he called him "brother":

The white brother is beginning to learn by degrees that all Negroes are not liars and chicken thieves.  

In line of service to the South, Washington implied, it was necessary to remind his audience of the undesirable condition in which his race existed in the South:

I would not be serving the white people in the best manner unless I stated that in several parts of the South, not in all, I am glad to say, there is existing today the conditions of uncertainty, fear, unrest, and doubt among our people because of cruelties,

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and injustices that have been perpetrated upon them.¹

He then bursts forth in a tactful but strategic protest:

It is unreasonable for any community to expect that it can permit Negroes to be lynched or burned in the winter, and then have reliable Negro labor to raise cotton in the summer.²

In an appeal for cooperation between the races, he exclaimed to another Southern audience:

I want to see both races advance in the South. I have no race prejudice. I want to see the Negro lifted up for his own sake; but just as emphatically do I want to see the Negro lifted up for the sake of the white man.... I love the South, and no white man can excel me in my devotion to the South.³

In his famous Harvard Alumni Address, Washington opened his speech with a tone of deep humility:

Mr. President and Gentlemen: It would in some measure relieve my embarrassment if I could, even in a slight degree, feel myself worthy of the great honor which you do me today. Why you have called me from the Black Belt of the South, from among my humble people, to share in the honors of this occasion, is not for me to explain....⁴

After this "brief but magnetic paragraph in which the speaker considers the reason for his being called upon to speak before that particular audience," as one writer says, "he goes on to say some profound and serious things which are close to his heart."⁵

¹Northeast Georgia Fair, October 15, 1904," p. 5.
²Ibid., p. 5.
⁵Ibid., p. 316.
It may not be inappropriate for me to suggest that it seems to me that one of the most vital questions that touch our American life, is how to bring the strong, wealthy, and learned into helpful touch with the poorest, most ignorant, and humble, and at the same time, make the one appreciate the vitalizing, strengthening influence of the other. How shall we make the mansions on yon Beacon Street feel and see the need of the lowliest cabin in Alabama cotton fields...?

Washington implies that it was tact that prompted his famous "compromise" at the Atlanta Exposition in 1895:

Just here the great mission of industrial education, coupled with mental, comes in. It kills two birds with one stone; viz., it secures the cooperation of the whites and does the best possible thing for the black man.

No other quality of the man added more to his success as a public speaker than did Washington's unmistakable ability to use tact. With it he not only gained the friendship of men whose money he needed, but was able to proclaim fundamental truths concerning the two races of the South that he could not have uttered otherwise.

Washington's more personal characteristics in delivery were very definitely assets to his success as a public speaker. He had a winning appearance upon the platform because of his agile carriage and kindled facial expression. He was a sincere, truthful, optimistic, religious, and tactful man. These qualities were indispensable to his

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1Ibid., pp. 316-17.

2"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."

3"Before National Education Association, Madison, Wisconsin, 1884," p. 2.
successful attack of the Negro's problem in the South. These he had.

In addition to these qualities, Washington had, as Benjamin Brawley says, the "power to realize with fine feeling the possibilities of an occasion."¹ That he had this ability and became renowned as a public speaker is proclaimed by men of all walks of life.

An English writer made the following comment concerning Booker T. Washington's oratory:

It was quite unstudied—or rather it gave the impression of being so. But, there were no pauses or repetitions—no fumbling for words and phrases. The form and matter could not have been better after laborious preparation, and yet the delivery had all the charm of unpappediated ease. For nearly three-quarters of an hour Dr. Washington, without effort and without a single note, held the rapt attention of his audience, making even facts and figures appear not indigestible to the post-prandial appetite.²

Comparing Washington with Gladstone, an Ohio newspaper writer exclaimed:

I have heard the great orators of many countries, but not even Gladstone himself could have pleaded a cause with more consummate power than did this angular Negro, standing in a nimbus of sunshine, surrounded by the men who once fought to keep his race in bondage. The roar might swell ever so high, but the expression of his honest face never changed. A ragged, ebony giant, squatted on the floor in one of the aisles, watched the orator with burning eyes and tremulous face until the supreme burst of applause came and then the tears ran down his face. Most of the Negroes in the audience were crying, perhaps without knowing just


why. At the close of the speech, Governor Bullock rushed across the platform and seized the orator's hand. Another shout greeted this demonstration, and for a few minutes the two men stood facing each other, hand in hand.¹

After Mr. Washington had spoken in Convention Hall, one of his listeners said:

He delivered an address that was continually interrupted with applause. The audience was intensely in sympathy with the speaker and the subject. For nearly an hour and a half he spoke, earnestly, vigorously, at times humorously.²

A speech at Harvard University made a profound impression:

The address was full of enthusiasm and candor and wisdom; it was oratorical and witty and forceful from beginning to end; and time and time again the speaker was cheered to the echo. The applause went wild when the speaker, raising himself to his full height, and taking on a most serious and earnest look, remarked with a slightly nervous tremor of the hand and lips:

If I could be born again and the great spirit would say to me: "In what skin do you wish to be clothed," I should answer, "Make me an American Negro!"³

On another occasion, Mr. Washington made this impression:

Booker T. Washington's address at the Jubilee Thanksgiving services contained one of the most eloquent tributes ever paid to the loyalty and valor of the colored race.⁴

¹The Cleveland (Ohio) Leader, January 2, 1897.


⁴Chicago (Illinois) Times-Herald, October 18, 1898.
In a few words, this eye-witness summed up his criticism:

Dr. Washington's address at Olinet Church was a perfect "gem."1

And Mr. Washington even became something of the divine to this person:

Reserved in his manner, earnest in the delivery, realizing fully the heavy responsibility resting upon him, he performed that duty with an ease that was magnetic and grace that was divine.2

Washington was honored by people of all walks of life. The story concerning President Theodore Roosevelt in Colorado throws new light on the nature and the extent of his fame. While hunting bears with his guide at his side, the President discovered that more dogs were needed. Accompanied by the guide Mr. Roosevelt hastened to the home of an old Scotchman, never dreaming that there was a man in Colorado who would refuse to let him have the use of his dogs. After some lengthy negotiation, the guide was still unable to persuade the old man to rent out his dogs. Finally the President stepped forward and addressed the Scotchman. "My good friend", he said, "you perhaps do not know that it is the President of the United States who wants to hire your dogs." But the old Scotchman seemed unimpressed.

"Hoot, mon", it wouda make enny difference to me if ye were Booker T. Washington himself, I woudna let ye hae me dogs."3 It was only his

1"Washington Entered Chicago Triumphant," The Western Opinion, April 6, 1907.


3"The Colorado Man", The Long Branch (New Jersey) Echo, January 10, 1907.
fame as an orator that could have made Washington so widely known.

Booker T. Washington's fame spread even to foreign countries. A French newspaper made these remarks:

Ce n'est pas le moins marquant de sa race; il se nomme Booker T. Washington. Ce fut lui déjà qui prononça à Atlanta, à l'ouverture de l'exposition du (Negro department), un discours sur sa race qui eut ce mérite de contenter toute le monde. L'instant était décisif et solennel. C'était la première fois que depuis l'abolition de l'esclavage place avait été faires à la race noire dans la mêlée industrielle et commerciale d'une exposition internationale. C'était aussi la première fois qu'un orateur Nègre était invité devant une assemblé de blancs et de noirs, non seulement à marquer sur la carte du progrès le point extat où grâce à la liberté sa race avait pu atteindre, mais encore à exposer sur quel motif il fondait ses esperances d'avenir. Le president Cleveland remercioï l'orateur.1

Summary. — Booker T. Washington entered the deep South at a time when the Negro was most in need of better economic and social conditions. Because of the lack of money, he could not become a renter. Because of his lack of sufficient education to know when his planter or employer was swindling him, he failed as a share-cropper and as a wage-earner. Because of his former life as a farmer in the South, he found himself mal-adjusted when he migrated to the industrial life of the North. Attempts to emigrate to Africa ended in failure. His mal-adjusted economic life in the South continued.

Many whites of the South, their hatred for the Negro intensified by the Negro's participation in politics during Reconstruction, proceeded to persecute the ex-slave. By means of the "Grandfather Clause,"

1L'Eclair, April 15, 1897.
property and educational requirements, and like, the Negro was kept from voting. He was segregated and despised. Apparently the colored man was doomed, both economically and socially.

Booker T. Washington, however, loved a difficult problem. The struggles of his early life in the coal mines of Virginia and the work of his first years at Hampton Institute had taught him to use difficulties as assets. Moreover, he had embraced Hampton's philosophy of practical education. He came willingly to the Black Belt of the South to teach his people to "put brains and skill into the common occupations of life." He felt that because the Negro race was just emerging from slavery, it was necessary that it should first become economically independent. Then, and only then, would other equalities come to the Negro. Until that time, the two races could live separate lives in all things purely social, yet be one in those things necessary for mutual progress. He had a plan, and he chose the speaker's platform as the means of popularizing his idea.

The strength of Washington's oratory was found, first, in the composition of his addresses. His words were those of the common man, and they were choice, concrete terms. There was a pronounced element of balance and repetition in his phrases, clauses, and sentences that made his speeches clear, forceful, and convincing. Variety in the length and structure of his sentences also added strength to his composition. Into his structure were woven choice quotations from his wide reading. Likewise, concrete, convincing—often humorous—anecdotes and illustrations added force and clarity to Washington's addresses. His style of composition was truly an indispensable source of his effectiveness.
The strength of Washington's oratory was found, secondly, in the man and his delivery. His winning appearance upon the platform, sincerity, truthfulness, optimism, religious nature, and tact were also assets to his success as a public speaker. In addition to these, he was able to sense the possibilities of an occasion. These characteristics were very definitely sources of his success as a public speaker.

The qualities which have been pointed out in this study made it possible for Washington to earn for himself a place among the most eloquent speakers of all times. The following account of the reception given Booker T. Washington on the important occasion of the unveiling of the Shaw Monument proclaims conclusively his success as an orator:

The core and kernel of yesterday's great noon meeting in honor of the Brotherhood of man in Music Hall, was the superb address of the Negro President of Tuskegee. When Mr. Washington rose up in the flag-filled, enthusiasm-warmed, patriotic and glowing atmosphere of Music Hall, people felt keenly that here was civic justification of the old abolition spirit of Massachusetts. Gold Boston was alive with fire that is always hot in her heart for righteousness and truth. Battle music had filled the air. Ovation after ovation, applause warm and prolonged had greeted the officers and friends of Colonel Shaw...and the Negro soldiers of the 54th Massachusetts. Governor Wolcott had made his short memorial speech, saying, "Port Wagner, marked the epoch in the history of a race and called it into Manhood." Professor James, brother of Adjutant James, who fell at Port Wagner, had told the story of Colonel Shaw and his black regiment in gallant words. Then after the singing of

"Mine eyes have seen the glory of the coming of the Lord",

Booker Washington arose. The multitude, shaken out of its usual symphony concert calm, quivered with an excitement that was not suppressed. A dozen times it had sprung to its feet to cheer and wave and hurrah as one person. When this
man of culture and voice, and power, as well as dark skin, began with the Biblical poetic touch in his first words, and quickly uttered the names of Andrew and of Stearns, feeling began to mount. You could see tears glisten in the eyes of the soldiers and civilians. When the orator turned to the colored officers on the platform, to the color-bearer of Fort Wagner, who, smiling, bore still the flag he never lowered, even when wounded, and said: "To you, to the scarred and scattered remnant of the 54th...," then came the climax of the day and hour. It was Roger Wolcott, as well as the Governor of Massachusetts, who had sprung first to his feet and cried, "Three cheers for Booker Washington." 1

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"The South and the Negro', Delivered at Hampton's Anniversary, May 3, 1903."

"President's Annual Address Delivered Before the Fourth Annual Convention of the National Negro Business League, Nashville, Tennessee, August 20, 1903."

"Address by Booker T. Washington in the Concert Hall, Madison Square Garden, New York, Lincoln's Birthday, February 12, 1904."

"The Education of the Negro Has Paid, Delivered Before the National Educational Association, St. Louis, Missouri, June 30, 1904."
"Delivered at the Northeast Georgia Agricultural Fair, Athens, Georgia, October 15, 1904."

"Address at the First Joint Commencement of Normal School Number 2—Armstrong Training School and M. Street High School, Washington, D.C., June 16, 1905, Convention Hall."

"President's Annual Address, Delivered Before the Sixth Annual Convention of the National Negro Business League, New York City, August 17, 1905."

"Address in Memory of Carl Schurz, Carnegie Hall, New York City, November 21, 1906."

"To the Faculty and Members of Vanderbilt and Ministers of Nashville, Tennessee, March 29, 1907" (in pamphlet form).

"Extracts from the Address at the Colored Industrial Institute, Institute, West Virginia, June 14, 1907."

"'The Higher and the Lower Life', Delivered at Hampton Institute, August 19, 1907."

"Delivered Before the Eighth Annual Convention of the National Negro Business League, Topeka, Kansas, August 15, 1907."

"Delivered Before National Negro Baptist Convention, Friday Evening, September 13, 1907."

"Extracts from Address Before the Conclave of the Negro Knights of Pythias of America, Louisville, Kentucky, Friday, September 6, 1907."

"Extracts of the Address Delivered Before the Anniversary of the Freedmen's Board of Education, Sunday Afternoon, October 27, 1907."

"Delivered at St. Annis, On the Heights, Brooklyn, New York, Sunday Evening, December 8, 1907."

"'The Relation of Industrial Education to National Progress', Delivered Before the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Philadelphia, March 31, 1908."

"The President's Seventh Annual Address Before the National Negro Business League, Atlanta, Georgia, August 30, 1908."

"Delivered Before the 9th Annual Convention of the National Negro Business League, Baltimore, Maryland, August 20, 1908."

"Delivered at the Manhattan-Brooklyn Conference of Congregational Churches, Plymouth, Brooklyn, November 2, 1908."
"Delivered at Carnegie Hall, New York City, Tuesday Evening, February 23, 1909."

"Extracts from Address Delivered at Charleston, South Carolina, March 19, 1909."

"Address Delivered Before the National Negro Business League of Louisville, Kentucky, August 18, 1909."

"Delivered Before the 11th Annual Convention of the National Negro Business League, New York, New York, August 18, 1910."

"Part of Address Delivered Before the Paul Lawrence Dunbar Club, Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee, Wednesday Night, March 30, 1910."

"Part of Address at Meeting in Interest of Fisk University, Boston, April 26, 1911."

"Extracts from Part of Address Delivered Before 'The World' in Boston, April 22, 1911."

"Address Delivered at a Dinner Held at the Hotel Somerset, Boston, April 12, 1911 (when the Price-Campbell Cotton Picking Machine was exhibited in Operation Picking Cotton)."

"Delivered at the Y. M. C. A. Banquet, Auditorium, Hotel Chicago, May 18, 1911."

"Delivered Before the National Colored Teachers Association, St. Louis, Missouri, July 30, 1911."

"Delivered Before the 12th Annual Convention of the National Negro Business League, Little Rock, Arkansas, August 18, 1911."

"Delivered Before the National Encampment of the Knights of Pythias, Indianapolis, Indiana, August 22, 1911."

"Delivered in Memory of Edwin M. Stanton, Steubenville, Ohio, Tuesday Afternoon, September 5, 1911."

"Delivered in Connection with the Installation of Dr. J.A. Whitted, Birmingham, Alabama, October 13, 1911."

"The Case of Dependent Children, New Willard Hotel, Washington, D.C., January 25, 1912."

"Delivered at St. John's Congregational Church, Springfield, Massachusetts, January 21, 1912."

"Extracts from Address Delivered at the Metropolitan A. M. E. Church, Washington, D.C., February 9, 1912, to the Masonic Fraternity."
"The Progress of the Negro Race Delivered Before the New York City Club, March 13, 1912."

"Men and Religion, Forward Movement, Carnegie Hall, New York City, April 21, 1912, 3:30 P. M."

"Delivered Before the National Negro Business League, Chicago, Illinois, August 22, 1912."

"Fourth Annual Peace Congress, St. Louis, Missouri, May 1, 1913."

"Delivered Before the 14th Annual Session of the National Negro Business League, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, August 21, 1913."

"Delivered at the Conservation Congress, Knoxville, Tennessee, October 14, 1913."

"Delivered Before the Negro Organization Society, November 7, 1913, Richmond, Virginia."

"An Address on the Negro Race at the First National Conference on Race Betterment, Battle Creek, Michigan, January, 1914." (Printed pamphlet.)


"Address of Booker T. Washington, President National Negro Business League, Convention Hall, Muskogee, Oklahoma, August 19, 1914." (Another copy gave the date of this address as August 19, 1913.)

"What Cooperation Can Accomplish", Delivered Before the Negro Organization Society, Norfolk, Virginia, November 12, 1914."

"Delivered Before the Semi-Centennial and Commencement of the Worces- ter Polytechnic Institute, Worcester, Massachusetts, June 9, 1915."

"The President's Annual Address Before the National Negro Business League, Boston, Massachusetts, August 19, 1915."

"Last Sunday Evening Talk to the Teachers and Students, Tuskegee Insti- tute Chapel, October 11, 1915."

"European Impressions: A Sunday Evening Talk to the Teachers and Stu- dents, Tuskegee Institute."

"Delivered at Wilmington, Delaware."

"'Education Not Exclusive': A Sunday Evening Talk Delivered to the Teachers and Students."
"'Sowing and Reaping': A Sunday Evening Talk to the Teachers and Students of Tuskegee Institute."

"Keeping in Repair."

"'Sing the Old Songs': A Sunday Evening Talk to the Teachers and Students of Tuskegee Institute."

"The Highest Education': A Sunday Evening Talk to the Teachers and Students of Tuskegee Institute."

"Delivered at Wilberforce University, Wilberforce, Ohio."

Manuscript in Dr. Washington's handwriting— (no other data as to the time and place).


ARTICLES

Atlanta (Georgia) Constitution, Friday, September 20, 1895.

Atlanta (Georgia) Constitution, (editorial), September 19, 1895.

Atlanta (Georgia) Journal, September 4, 1896.


"Recognizing the Colored Man," Boston (Massachusetts) Globe, August 24, 1895.

Journal de Rouen, Rouen, France, Avril, 1897.

"L'Actualite--Emancipation Des Negres D'Apres un Noir," L'Eclair, April 15, 1897.

Chicago (Illinois) Times-Herald, October 18, 1898.


1 The other addresses are typewritten or printed in pamphlet form.

2 Records and Research Department, Tuskegee Institute, Alabama.


"Comments on Atlanta Speech, 1895."¹

¹A number of newspaper comments, without their sources, are so classified in the Records and Research Department.