Aim:

Whose strategy for advancing the African-American freedom struggle – that of Booker T. Washington, W. E. B. DuBois, Marcus Garvey or A. Philip Randolph – was most effective?

Instructional Objectives:

Students will be able to:

1. identify Booker T. Washington, W. E. B. DuBois, Marcus Garvey, and A. Philip Randolph, and describe their respective accomplishments;
2. describe how Booker T. Washington, W. E. B. DuBois, Marcus Garvey, and A. Philip Randolph each responded to the hardships that African-Americans had to overcome from the late 19th century to the mid- 20th century, both in the Jim Crow South and the North;
3. compare and contrast the different political views, the different educational views, the different means for improving the lives of African-Americans and the different attitudes toward working with white allies of Booker T. Washington, W. E. B. DuBois, Marcus Garvey, and A. Philip Randolph;
4. using supporting evidence and examples from history, explain whose strategy for advancing the African-American freedom struggle – that of Booker T. Washington, W. E. B. DuBois, Marcus Garvey or A. Philip Randolph – they believe was most effective;
5. explain whose strategy for advancing the African-American freedom struggle – that of Booker T. Washington, W. E. B. DuBois, Marcus Garvey or A. Philip Randolph – they would have supported if they had been alive from the late 19th century to the mid- 20th century, and why they would have supported it.

Grade Level: Secondary, Grades 9—12.

Common Core Standards:

Standards for Literacy in History/Social Studies, Science, and Technical Subjects

Grades 9-10

CCSS.ELA-Literacy.RH.9-10.1 Cite specific textual evidence to support analysis of primary and secondary sources, attending to such features as the date and origin of the information.

CCSS.ELA-Literacy.RH.9-10.2 Determine the central ideas or information of a primary or secondary source; provide an accurate summary of how key events or ideas develop over the course of the text.

CCSS.ELA-Literacy.RH.9-10.6 Compare the point of view of two or more authors for how they treat the same or similar topics, including which details they include and emphasize in their respective accounts.

CCSS.ELA-Literacy.RH.9-10.7 Integrate quantitative or technical analysis (e.g., charts, research data) with qualitative analysis in print or digital text.

CCSS.ELA-Literacy.RH.9-10.9 Compare and contrast treatments of the same topic in several primary and secondary sources.

CCSS.ELA-Literacy.RH.9-10.10 By the end of grade 10, read and comprehend history/social studies texts in the grades 9–10 text complexity band independently and proficiently.
CCSS.ELA-Literacy.WHST.9-10.1 Write arguments focused on *discipline-specific content*.
CCSS.ELA-Literacy.WHST.9-10.8 Gather relevant information from multiple authoritative print and digital sources, using advanced searches effectively; assess the usefulness of each source in answering the research question; integrate information into the text selectively to maintain the flow of ideas, avoiding plagiarism and following a standard format for citation.
CCSS.ELA-Literacy.WHST.9-10.9 Draw evidence from informational texts to support analysis, reflection, and research.
CCSS.ELA-Literacy.WHST.9-10.10 Write routinely over extended time frames (time for reflection and revision) and shorter time frames (a single sitting or a day or two) for a range of discipline-specific tasks, purposes, and audiences.

Grades 11-12:
CCSS.ELA-Literacy.RH.11-12.1 Cite specific textual evidence to support analysis of primary and secondary sources, connecting insights gained from specific details to an understanding of the text as a whole.
CCSS.ELA-Literacy.RH.11-12.2 Determine the central ideas or information of a primary or secondary source; provide an accurate summary that makes clear the relationships among the key details and ideas.
CCSS.ELA-Literacy.RH.11-12.6 Evaluate authors' differing points of view on the same historical event or issue by assessing the authors' claims, reasoning, and evidence.
CCSS.ELA-Literacy.RH.11-12.7 Integrate and evaluate multiple sources of information presented in diverse formats and media (e.g., visually, quantitatively, as well as in words) in order to address a question or solve a problem.
CCSS.ELA-Literacy.RH.11-12.9 Integrate information from diverse sources, both primary and secondary, into a coherent understanding of an idea or event, noting discrepancies among sources.
CCSS.ELA-Literacy.RH.11-12.10 By the end of grade 12, read and comprehend history/social studies texts in the grades 11–CCR text complexity band independently and proficiently.
CCSS.ELA-Literacy.WHST.11-12.1 Write arguments focused on *discipline-specific content*.
CCSS.ELA-Literacy.WHST.11-12.8 Gather relevant information from multiple authoritative print and digital sources, using advanced searches effectively; assess the strengths and limitations of each source in terms of the specific task, purpose, and audience; integrate information into the text selectively to maintain the flow of ideas, avoiding plagiarism and overreliance on any one source and following a standard format for citation.
CCSS.ELA-Literacy.WHST.11-12.9 Draw evidence from informational texts to support analysis, reflection, and research.
CCSS.ELA-Literacy.WHST.11-12.10 Write routinely over extended time frames (time for reflection and revision) and shorter time frames (a single sitting or a day or two) for a range of discipline-specific tasks, purposes, and audiences.

Overarching Understanding:
From the late 19th century to the mid- 20th century, four important African-American leaders – Booker T. Washington, W. E. B. DuBois, Marcus Garvey, and A. Philip Randolph – developed different strategies for advancing the African-American freedom struggle. Today, those different strategies continue to define the various approaches to winning full civil, political and economic rights for African-Americans.

Length:
Depending upon how many of the activities are done, this lesson will take one or two 40 minute periods.

Resource Materials:
- Preparatory Reading on "Leaders in the African-American Freedom Struggle: Booker T. Washington, W. E. B. DuBois, Marcus Garvey, A. Philip Randolph" provided at end of this lesson plan.
- Chart Comparing Strategies of Booker T. Washington, W. E. B. DuBois, Marcus Garvey, A. Philip Randolph provided at end of this lesson plan.
- Audio recordings and accompanying texts:
  - Booker T. Washington's Address to 1895 Atlanta Exposition:
    Link to audio recording in http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Atlanta_Exposition_Speech;
    Link to text of speech at http://www.bartleby.com/1004/14.html.
  - Marcus Garvey's Speech Explaining Goals of UNIA:
    Link to audio recording in
    http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Universal_Negro_Improvement_Association_and_African_Communities_League.
  - A. Philip Randolph's Speech at 1963 March on Washington:
    Link to audio recording in http://openvault.wgbh.org/catalog/march-592217-the-march-begins;
    Link to text of speech at http://openvault.wgbh.org/catalog/march-592217-the-march-begins/print.

About the Lesson:
This lesson will fit into a U.S. History class or an African-American History class. It assumes student knowledge of the conditions for African-Americans in the Jim Crow South after the end of Reconstruction and student knowledge of the conditions for African-Americans who migrated to Northern ghettos, so students should have had lessons on those topics before they do this lesson.

Homework:
For homework the night before the lesson, students should have read "Leaders in the African-American Freedom Struggle: Booker T. Washington, W. E. B. DuBois, Marcus Garvey, A. Philip Randolph" provided at end of this lesson plan. They should then have filled out the chart comparing the strategies of Booker T. Washington, W. E. B. DuBois, Marcus Garvey, A. Philip

Randolph provided at end of this lesson plan, and written a three paragraph essay on which of the strategies they would have embraced, had they been alive from the late 19th century to the mid- 20th century.

Lesson Procedure:
Teachers have two options for teaching this class.

For a two day lesson, students should be put in small groups of four on the first day. Each group should discuss the charts they completed for homework, with the objective of achieving a group consensus on what should be in a single group chart. Students will then be provided with the audio recordings of Washington, Garvey and Randolph, together with the written transcript, and instructed to listen to the recording(s), with the goal of using evidence from the speeches to either support or revise their group chart. At the end of the first day, each group would submit a completed group chart.

On the second day, students would meet in a whole class seminar setting, and the teacher would lead the class in discussion of the inquiry questions laid out below in Lesson Development.

For a one day lesson, students would be given the master chart provided at the end of this lesson plan, and asked to check their homework chart against it. The class would then meeting in a whole class seminar setting, and the teacher would lead the class in discussion of the inquiry questions laid out below in Lesson Development.

When doing a single day lesson, students may be referred to an electronic version of the homework reading, and encouraged to listen to the audio recordings as part of their homework.

Lesson Development:
Teacher will very briefly recall from past lessons the conditions African Americans faced from the late 19th century to the mid- 20th century in the Jim Crow South and in northern ghettos.

Students will then be asked the following inquiry questions:

1. These four leaders grew up and lived in different environments which shaped their thinking.
   - Of these four African-American leaders, Booker T. Washington was the only one who lived in the Jim Crow South for all of his adult life. How might this experience have shaped his strategy for African-American advancement?
   - Marcus Garvey was the only leader who was an immigrant to the U.S. Is there evidence that this experience shaped his strategy for African-American advancement?
   - Both W. E. B. DuBois and A. Philip Randolph spent their adult lives in Northern cities. How might their experiences have shaped their strategies for African-American advancement?

2. Compare the approaches of Washington, DuBois, and Randolph to education.
   - Why do you think these three leaders placed a strong emphasis on education in their strategies? Why do you think Marcus Garvey paid little attention to education?
   - What do you think each of these three leaders were hoping to accomplish with their different programs for education?
   - Why would Washington's education strategy lead him to seek help from powerful whites and avoid protests?
   - Do you agree with DuBois that primary goal must be to provide the "talented tenth" of top African-American leaders the very best education?
   - Why would A. Philip Randolph's strategy have led him to disagree with DuBois' approach to education, even though both favored protests against racial segregation and discrimination?

3. What was the appeal of Marcus Garvey's program to poorer African-Americans living in Northern ghettos?

4. Both Booker T. Washington and A. Philip Randolph placed a strong emphasis on providing working class African-Americans with jobs.
   - How did this focus on jobs distinguish these two leaders from W. E. B. DuBois and Marcus Garvey?
   - Despite this common focus on jobs, it is clear that Washington and Randolph saw the types of jobs African-American workers should have very differently. What types of jobs did Washington envision for African-Americans and what types of jobs did Randolph envision for African-Americans?
   - Do you agree that a focus on jobs is very important for the advancement of the African-American freedom struggle?
   - Would you support Washington's approach to jobs for African-Americans or Randolph's approach to jobs for African-Americans? Provide reasons for your choice.

5. One key issue for leaders such as Washington, DuBois, Garvey and Randolph is how the African-American freedom struggle should relate to white Americans.
   - Is it possible to reconcile Garvey's Black Nationalist aversion to working with whites, on the one hand, and his willingness to seek common ground with the Ku Klux Klan, on the other hand?
   - While Washington, DuBois and Randolph are sought out allies among white Americans, they looked to different socio-economic classes and groups of white Americans. How did their different strategies for the advancement of the African-American freedom struggle lead them to seek white American allies in different places?
   - Which approach to working with white Americans – that of Booker T. Washington, W. E. B. DuBois, Marcus Garvey or A. Philip Randolph – would you support? Why?

Summary Questions:

Which strategy for the advancement of the African-American freedom struggle – that of Booker T. Washington, W. E. B. DuBois, Marcus Garvey or A. Philip Randolph – do you believe has been the most effective? Why?

If you had been alive from the late 19th century to the mid- 20th century, which strategy would you have embraced?

Application Questions:

The different strategies of Washington, DuBois, Garvey and Randolph have been used by African-American leaders that have followed them.

- During the 1960s, which strategies or combination of these strategies did Martin Luther King follow? Did Malcolm X follow?
- Today, which strategies or combination of these strategies does Barack Obama follow? Does Al Sharpton follow? Does Jesse Jackson follow? Does Cory Booker follow?
- In your judgment, do changing race relations in America require the development of new strategies, different from those of the late 19th and 20th centuries? If yes, how would those new strategies differ from the four we have examined today? If no, why do you think that one or more of those four strategies are still relevant today?

Leaders in the African-American Freedom Struggle:
Booker T. Washington, W. E. B. DuBois, Marcus Garvey, A. Philip Randolph

During the late 1800s and the early 1900s, four of the most important African-American leaders were Booker T. Washington (1856-1915), W. E. B. DuBois (1868-1963), Marcus Garvey (1870-1940), and A. Philip Randolph (1889-1979). All four men sought to advance the freedom and improve the lives of African-Americans, but they took different approaches to reaching this common goal.

Booker T. Washington was born enslaved in 1856, to an African-American mother and a white man his mother never identified. He took the surname Washington from a freedman who married his mother and raised him as a step-father. After the emancipation of slaves in 1865, Washington worked in the coal mines and salt furnaces of West Virginia. He attended Virginia's Hampton Institute, an industrial school that prepared African-Americans for factory and farm labor, where he worked his way through college. He later became a teacher at Hampton. As a teacher, Washington developed his own theories about industrial education and the advancement of African-Americans, and he founded the Tuskegee Institute on the basis of those theories. Although Washington dreamed of the day when African-Americans could take their rightful place in American society as political and civic leaders, intellectuals, lawyers, doctors and artists, he was convinced that they must move slowly, pulling themselves up by their own hard work. Tuskegee applied his theory of African-American 'self-reliance' or 'self-help' by offering courses in agriculture, building and machine trades, and even cooking and waiting on tables. These were occupations in which he believed African-American men and women were most likely to find jobs, and he prepared his students to work in these areas.

In 1895, Washington delivered a widely heralded address at the Atlanta Exposition. (A recording of the beginning of the speech can be heard here, and the text of the speech can be read here.) Two famous rhetorical images defined the speech. First, Washington told both southern whites and African-Americans to "cast down your buckets where you are," a phrase he repeated a number of times in the speech. For the southern white elite, Washington's words were a message that African-Americans would be reliable and compliant workers, a sharply drawn contrast with northern workers who were then engaged in epic labor struggles such as the Homestead Strike against wealthy robber barons like Andrew Carnegie and Henry Clay Frick. For African-Americans, Washington's words were an admonition to make the most of their conditions in the Jim Crow South, by proving and improving themselves through their own hard work and diligence. Second, Washington described the South through the simile of a hand: "in all things purely social we can be as separate as the fingers," he said, "yet one as the hand in all things essential to mutual progress." This image was widely read as an acceptance of Jim Crow segregation and disenfranchisement, in which the races would be as "separate as the fingers." W. E. B. DuBois was quite critical of this tacit acceptance of southern racism, and he called the speech the Atlanta Compromise and labeled Washington the "Great Accommodator." Washington replied that in a society where whites outnumbered African-Americans, open confrontation would be calamitous for the minority race.

Washington published five books during his lifetime. His second autobiography, *Up From Slavery*, was widely read and very influential within the African-American community. In the book, Washington uses his personal life experiences as demonstrations of how his philosophy of 'self-reliance' and accommodation to Jim Crow segregation can lead to personal success. *Up From Slavery* remained the best selling African American autobiography for decades, until the 1965 publication of *The Autobiography of Malcolm X*.

Washington was able to broker his accommodationist perspective into real personal power, becoming an influential leader who advised Presidents and governors on political appointments for African-Americans, raised large amounts of money to assist African-American organizations, and owned or controlled many African-American newspapers. Republican Presidents Theodore Roosevelt and William Howard Taft relied upon Washington for political advice, and he established close relations with a wide range of wealthy Americans, from John D. Rockefeller and Andrew Carnegie to George Eastman and Henry Huttleston Rogers. Powerful whites approved of him because he was willing – temporarily, at least – to compromise on political and civil rights for African-Americans, and because, as the historian C. Vann Woodward put it, "the businessman's gospel of free enterprise, competition and laissez-faire never had a more loyal exponent" than Washington. In return, Washington sought and often won the support of his wealthy and powerful friends for African-American schools, for the ability of African-Americans to own property, and for an end to violence against African-Americans.

Washington's influence began to wane as other African-American leaders began new, more aggressive movements for civil rights. One such leader was William Edward Burghardt DuBois. DuBois, born in 1868 in a small town in Massachusetts, experienced little of the racial bigotry and discrimination that was directed at most African-Americans, especially those living in the segregated Jim Crow South. When he was orphaned at an early age, the people of his home town sent him to college on a scholarship. Du Bois became the first African-American to receive a doctorate from Harvard University, and was a brilliant writer, historian and sociologist.

Among DuBois' better known works are *The Souls of Black Folks* and *Black Reconstruction in America*. In *The Souls of Black Folks*, DuBois famously argued that "the problem of the Twentieth Century is the problem of the color line" which separated white people, on the one hand, and people of color (black, brown and yellow), on the other hand. Living in a racist culture and society defined by that 'color line,' African-Americans developed a double consciousness, DuBois explained, one part American and one part African, but never completely at home in either identity or either world. The hyphenated term African-American embodies this divided identity. In *Black Reconstruction in America*, DuBois offered a powerful defense of the Reconstruction as a period of the advancement of democratic governance in the former slave states of the Confederate South. He successfully challenged the approach southern white historians had taken to the Reconstruction, demonstrating that these states had made great progress in public education, public health and economic development when under Radical Republican governments.

As a teacher of history and economics, DuBois was painfully aware of the sufferings of his people. He decided that Booker T. Washington's accommodationist approach to race relations was not working. Moreover, DuBois criticized Washington for discouraging blacks from aspiring to something more than an industrial education and job, and advocated academic education for a new black leadership. In 1905, DuBois and other young, militant African-Americans organized the Niagara Movement, and together with others, went on to found the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) in 1909. DuBois became the editor of the NAACP magazine, *The Crisis*. In fiery editorials he called upon African-Americans to fight openly against discrimination; he advocated not only economic advancement, but social and political equality – a radical stance for this time.

In the 1920s, the NAACP campaigned against D. W. Griffith's Birth of a Nation, a racist film that idealized slavery and the Ku Klux Klan. For much of the interwar years, it focused on opposition to lynching in the South. A major campaign was fought on behalf of the Scottsboro Boys, nine young African-Americans falsely convicted of rape and sentenced to death, and after a long struggle, they were finally freed. In 1954, a long legal effort of the NAACP to strike down de jure racial segregation in the South bore fruit with the Supreme Court decision in Brown v. Board of Education.

While many of DuBois' ideas were radical, he had a strong elitist strain in his thinking. He was convinced that education for African-Americans should focus on obtaining the very best education for the 'talented tenth,' the leadership of the race. It was essential, DuBois wrote, that "the Best of this race" be educated so "that they may guide the Mass away from the contamination and death of the Worst."

While Washington died in 1915, DuBois had a long career that lasted for five more decades. In the 1930s, he developed a deep interest in the plight of Africans. He believed in Pan-Africanism, the idea that all people of African descent around the globe should work together on behalf of their common interests. In his later years he was so dissatisfied with the progress of race relations in America that he moved to Africa, where he died in 1963.

As Washington passed from the scene, another African-American leader appeared. Marcus Garvey was a flamboyant Jamaican who became the first leader of a mass movement among Northern blacks. Largely self-taught, Garvey was an admirer of Washington. However, he gave Washington's theory of African-American 'self-reliance' a new twist when he combined it with a growing sense of racial pride and black nationalism. Convinced that true equality with whites was not possible in America, Garvey built his movement around a call for the return of all blacks to Africa. Only there, Garvey argued, would blacks be completely free and able to advance and better themselves. Garvey dreamed of building a great new African empire, and declared himself its provisional president.

To further his ideas, Garvey organized the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA),

which had some appeal among urban black workers and unemployed. (A recording of a Garvey speech explaining the goals of the UNIA can be heard here.) He also established a newspaper, a chain of grocery stores and restaurants, and the Black Star Line, a steamship company which was to provide the means for the return to Africa. The line collapsed because of mismanagement, and Garvey was arrested and convicted on charges of using the mails to defraud its shareholders. Although he conceded that there had been funds stolen from the line, Garvey maintained his own innocence. Nonetheless, his imprisonment and later exile to Jamaica destroyed his movement.

One of the more controversial features of Garvey's political career was his meeting with Ku Klux Klan Imperial Wizard Edward Young Clarke, an action that drew strong condemnation from other African-American leaders. Garvey forcefully defended his détente with the Klan: "I regard the Klan, the Anglo-Saxon clubs and White American societies, as far as the Negro is concerned, as better friends of the race than all other groups of hypocritical whites put together. I like honesty and fair play. You may call me a Klansman if you will, but, potentially, every white man is a Klansman, as far as the Negro in competition with whites socially, economically and politically is concerned, and there is no use lying." With sentiments such as these, it is not hard to understand why both DuBois and A. Philip Randolph were very outspoken critics of Garvey.

Asa Philip Randolph was born in 1889, the son of a Florida minister in the African Methodist Episcopal Church. Randolph was an excellent student, and move to New York City when he was 21 years old to take classes at City College while supporting himself with odd jobs. Randolph became a socialist, and developed an approach to civil rights organizing that focused on mass actions by ordinary working people. "A community is democratic," he once wrote, "only when the humblest and weakest person can enjoy the highest civil, economic and social rights that the biggest and most powerful possess." In 1917, Randolph and fellow African-American socialist Chandler Owen founded the *Messenger*, and used the journal to articulate their opposition to World War One. After the end of the war, a federal government report labeled Randolph "the most dangerous Negro in America."

Randolph believed that African-American working people needed to organize into unions, where they could exercise the collective power that was necessary to win full civil rights and advance the freedom struggle. His first experiences in union organizing were unsuccessful, but in 1925 the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters elected him their president. The sleeping car porters were an exploited African-American workforce that provided services to customers using the Pullman Company's sleeping cars on long distance trains. Pullman had a history of anti-union animus, going back to the famous Pullman Strike which it had crushed, and it fought the Brotherhood bitterly, firing union supporters. It took fourteen years in all, but when the porters won the right to organize and bargain collectively under federal law and the Brotherhood won a recognition election, the Pullman Company finally had to negotiate a contract which provided significant improvements in wages, length of the work week and overtime pay. At the end of this long struggle, the American Federation of Labor chartered the Brotherhood, the first African-American union to achieve that status. Randolph's stature in the

African-American community rose dramatically.

Randolph's socialism was thoroughly democratic in character, and he was always careful to distinguish himself from the authoritarian political views of the Communist Party (CPUSA), with whom he strongly disagreed over the course of his political career. For Randolph, the Communists were not independent political thinkers, but slavish followers of whatever political line was directed by the Soviet Union. Given the propensity of the Soviet Union to radically change the policy it imposed upon the American Communists, especially in the decades of Stalin's rule, the CPUSA was an unreliable ally in struggle for democratic rights for working people and African-Americans. Randolph strongly believed that the professed support of the Communists for the civil rights of African-Americans always took a back seat to the needs of the Soviet Union at that moment.

In 1941, Randolph founded the March on Washington Movement (MOWM) to protest racial discrimination and segregation in the U.S. Armed Forces and in the military defense industries. MOWM plans to organize 100,000 African-Americans to march on Washington DC led to great concern in the nation's capitol, and a small White House meeting with President Franklin Roosevelt and First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt was arranged. In response to Roosevelt's request that the march be called of, Randolph made the case that the President would have to take action against job discrimination if he wanted to avoid the march. Shortly thereafter, Roosevelt issued Executive Order 8802, prohibiting racial discrimination in defense industries and establishing a Fair Employment Practice Committee to investigate violations of the order. "There shall be no discrimination in the employment of workers in defense industries or government," the order read, "because of race, creed, color, or national origin." With this victory in hand, the first action ever taken by the U.S. federal government to fight racial discrimination, Randolph called off the march.

The MOWM was an historical watershed in the African-American freedom struggle. It set the stage for Randolph's post-war campaigns to desegregate the US armed forces, leading to President Harry Truman's 1947 Executive Order 9981 that finally accomplished that objective. More importantly, Randolph's MOWM work, with its focus on mass mobilization and on Gandhian non-violent direct action and civil disobedience, created an organizing model that was embraced and used to great effect by the civil rights movement of the late 1950s and 1960s. Indeed, one of the key organizations of that movement, the Congress of Racial Equality, was founded in 1942, inspired in significant measure by the MOWM organizing model.

During the 1950s and 1960s, Randolph was a courageous – and sometimes lonely – voice within the leadership of the American labor movement for ending racial segregation and discrimination in American unions. By the end of his life, considerable progress had been made toward that goal, in no small part because of his pioneering efforts.

Together with his close friend and ally Bayard Rustin, Randolph was a strong supporter of the civil rights work of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. from its earliest days in the Birmingham Bus

Boycott. As the civil rights movement of the 1960s grew, Randolph was able to finally achieve his long held vision for a March on Washington. With Rustin acting as the organizing genius, Randolph headed up a coalition of civil rights organizations and labor unions that put together the 1963 March on Washington. Reflecting Randolph's life long commitment to economic justice as a necessary component of full civil rights and equality for African-Americans, the 1963 March demanded both "jobs and freedom." (A recording of all of the March's speakers can be heard here; Randolph's speech begins at 4:40; the written text of Randolph's speech is available here.) Over one quarter of million Americans, black and white, turned out for the 1963 March in the largest demonstration ever held in the nation's capitol at this point in history, setting the stage for the historical passage of the Civil Rights Act and the Voting Rights Act in the next two years.

Further Reading:

On Booker T. Washington

Booker T. Washington, *Up From Slavery*. New York: W. W. Norton, 1995.

On W. E. B. DuBois

W. E. B. DuBois, *The Souls of Black Folks*. New York: W. W. Norton, 1995.
W. E. B. DuBois, *Black Reconstruction in America*. Piscataway, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 2013.
David Levering Lewis, *W. E. B. DuBois: A Biography*. New York: Holt, Henry & Co., 2009.

On Marcus Garvey

Selected Writings and Speeches of Marcus Garvey. New York: Dover Publications, 2005.

On A. Philip Randolph

Andrew Kersten, *A. Philip Randolph: A Life in the Vanguard*. New York: Rowman and Littlefield, 2007.
Beth Tompkin Bates, *Pullman Brothers and the Rise of Protest Politics in Black America, 1925-1945*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001.
Jervis Anderson, *A. Philip Randolph*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986.
William Harris, *Keeping the Faith: A. Philip Randolph, Milton Webster and the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, 1925-1937.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1977.

On the 1963 March on Washington

Will Jones, *The March on Washington: Jobs, Freedom and the Forgotten History of Civil Rights.* New York: W. W. Norton, 2013.

Comparison of African-American Leaders and Strategies During the Late 19th and Early 20th Centuries				
NAME	Booker T. Washington	W. E. B. DuBois	Marcus Garvey	A. Phillip Randolph
POLITICAL VIEWS				
VIEWS ON EDUCATION				
MEANS OF IMPROVING LIVES OF AFRICAN-AMERICANS				
RELATIONS WITH WHITES				
ACCOMPLISH-MENTS				

Comparison of African-American Leaders and Strategies During the Late 19th and Early 20th Centuries				
NAME	Booker T. Washington	W. E. B. DuBois	Marcus Garvey	A. Phillip Randolph
POLITICAL VIEWS	Accommodationist: Against confrontation with white power structure	Elitist Activist: For strong protests against discrimination and segregation, led by an African-American elite	Separatist Nationalist and Pan-Africanist: For unity of all African-Americans and their separation from whites	Trade Unionist and Socialist: For mass protests and organization into unions, with special focus on African-American workers
VIEWS ON EDUCATION	African-Americans do not need higher education, but vocational programs than train them in manual labor such as farm work	African-American elite (the 'talented tenth') must have the best higher education in order to lead the African-American community	Was not concerned with educational issues	Believed in extending quality education to all African-Americans, including workers
MEANS OF IMPROVING LIVES OF AFRICAN-AMERICANS	African-Americans must become home and farm owners – Doctrine of Self-Help	African-Americans must establish themselves as full legal equals in the US – Doctrine of African-American Pride	African-Americans must leave white dominated America, where they will never be accepted as equal, and Return to Africa	African-Americans must organize politically and economically, primarily in unions, to achieve good jobs, civil rights and economic equality
RELATIONS WITH WHITES	Close ties with powerful white leaders	Allied with radical whites in favor of African-American civil rights	Against all relations with whites	Promoted alliance between civil rights and labor movements, sees white workers and unionists as main allies
ACCOMPLISH-MENTS	Founder, Tuskegee Institute	Founder, NAACP (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People – first civil rights organization)	Founder, UNIA (Universal Negro Improvement Association-- 'Back to Africa' organization)	Founder, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters; Leader of 1941 & 1963 Marches on Washington