

CHAPTER 4

ALAIN LEROY LOCKE: MORE THAN AN ADULT EDUCATOR

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He was a philosopher, writer, critic, and an educator who “understood the puzzling paradoxes which enshrouded certain great human problems and the long range perspective required to see and understand”¹ these problems. He was a man who sought to bring the local and universal segments of social and economic racial differences into a harmonious balance. More importantly, he provided African Americans with the opportunity to have “visions that could be attained . . . a sense of belonging, a cause to struggle for . . . a consciousness of being part of humankind . . . a partner in the creative process.”² Likewise, he was a man who had “vision, courage, intellect, patience, and resilience.”³

Locke has been described as a man alone, personally uncommitted, who came to see in his own situation an exemplar of the situation and problems of every human being wherever in the world people are penalized for some difference entirely unrelated to their qualities as persons or their competence as thinkers or craftsmen or artists.⁴

This man was Alain Leroy Locke, who is recognized primarily for his work in African American culture and literature during the Harlem Renaissance. However, in small circles he is recognized as a spokesperson and leader in the adult education movement for African Americans.⁵ Locke believed that it was through adult education that African Americans would achieve their rightful place in this society, as well as “exhibit a profound and continuing interest in their own intellectual and cultural development.”⁶

BEGINNINGS

Alain Leroy Locke was born in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania on September 13, 1886, five years after Tuskegee Institute was founded by Booker T. Washington. He was the son of Pliny and Mary Hawkins Locke. Pliny Locke was a lawyer and graduate of Howard University Law School, while Mary Hawkins Locke was a school teacher. Little is written about the relationship between Locke and his father. However, Stafford suggested that Locke was greatly influenced by his mother. She taught Locke "that authors of social tone did not necessarily understand what gave them their power any more than they saw what took it away."⁷ Mary Hawkins Locke raised Locke to accept his responsibility to society, to appreciate poetry and music, to understand the Negro Protestantism idea, while protecting him from feeling self-pity and helplessness.

Locke's educational experience was exhaustive and rigorous. He attended the Hichsite Quaker School in Germantown and the Ethical Culture School, established by Felix Adler, which focused on sexual purity, concern for the working class, and intellectual development. Locke attended Central High School and the Philadelphia School of Pedagogy where he wrote his thesis on "Moral Training in Elementary School," graduated first in his class, and received his second Bachelor of Arts degree. It was at Central High and the School of Pedagogy that Locke developed his appreciation and awareness of how ideas have an impact on altering the status quo, and how interracial communication could change attitudes and bridge the gaps between whites and African Americans.

Locke received his master's degree in philosophy from Harvard University, where he studied under G. P. Adams, R. B. Perry, Munsterberg, Copeland, Sheffer, and was influenced by Royce, James, Palmer, and Santayana. At Harvard, Locke embraced the themes of liberalism and cosmopolitanism. Locke graduated from Harvard with honors in philosophy, a member of Phi Beta Kappa, and won a Rhodes Scholarship.

In 1907, Locke went to Oxford University, England, as the first African American Rhodes Scholar; not until 1962 did another black win a Rhodes Scholarship.⁸ At Oxford, he focused on the

African race and searched for a sense of self-identity. His experience both at Harvard and Oxford provided him with food for thought. He found himself in social isolation. Unlike some students, Locke did not perceive himself as inferior, rather he was

convinced that in his ideas, his intentions, and his work and ways, he was not inferior, nor otherwise different from those people who held themselves to be better than he was and there were intervals . . . when he did not appear to live under any penalty for his difference.⁹

Locke remained steadfast in his intellectual pursuit, and applied for an extension of his scholarship to study at the University of Berlin from 1910–11. While at the University of Berlin, he also studied at the University of Paris, where he attended lectures by Henri Bergson, which helped to clarify his philosophical ideas. Locke returned to the United States in 1912.

Prior to his appointment as assistant professor of philosophy and education at Howard University, Locke embarked on a six month fact finding tour of the South. The tour was significant to Locke for two reasons. First, it furthered his interest in interpreting the cultured, educational, and artistic expression of African Americans. Second, it furthered his belief that it was through education and information on black cultural ethos, that African Americans would acquire recognition and racial solidarity, and become functionally literate.

In addition to teaching at Howard University, Locke served as statistician for the New Jersey Semi-Centennial Commission for the Negro and as personnel officer and instructor in Howard University's Students' Army Training Corps. Locke left Howard in 1916 to complete his doctorate in philosophy at Harvard University. He received his Ph.D. in 1918, with his dissertation entitled, "The Problem of Classification on the Theory of Value," and returned to Howard University as a full professor and chair of the Department of Philosophy. While at Howard, Locke was instrumental in organizing the arts and music departments and the Howard Players, as well as making Howard the first university requiring general education and principles of reasoning as a

requirement for graduation. He also taught at Fisk University, Tuskegee University, University of Wisconsin, the New School for Social Research, and New York City College.

In the midst of his teaching and consultant work, Locke contributed to several journals and magazines. *Opportunity: A Journal of Negro Life*, *The Crisis*, *Phylon*, *The American Scholar*, and *Art in America*. *The New Negro*, *Four Negro Poets*, *Plays of Negro Life*, and *The Negro in Art: A Pictorial Record of Negro Artists* are only a few of the books he wrote or edited. Not only did he author a series of articles and books, he also encouraged up and coming scholars and writers such as Jessie Fauset, Shirley Graham, and Langston Hughes. Locke also admired the works of Frederick Douglass, Booker T. Washington, W. E. B. Du Bois, and Carter G. Woodson.

Locke's international experiences, affiliation with historical black colleges and universities, and the conditions of African Americans in the early 1900's shaped his interest in literacy, race consciousness, and adult education. This diversity of experience enabled him to develop his philosophy of cultural pluralism and adult education.

Throughout his lifetime, Locke encouraged African Americans to learn about the history and culture of Africa. He believed if they were grounded in their history and provided with better educational opportunities, they could stand with dignity, take their rightful place in society, and be active and productive citizens. Because of his experiences at Harvard and in Europe, as well as in the United States, he knew and understood how and what things were valued in society and shared them with the African American Community.¹⁰ He believed that

civilization is largely the product and residue of this ever widening process of culture, contact, interchange, and fusion . . . cultural exchange passed in reciprocal streams from the conquered to the dominant groups. It is not always the dominant stock or upper classes who are carriers or importers of culture. Societies have just as frequently received infiltrations of alien culture from the bottom through the absorption of conquered and subject groups.¹¹

LOCKE AS A PHILOSOPHER

Scholars have written that Locke's philosophical views were "rich in meaning and subtle thinking."¹² Likewise, they have stated that, "The cornerstone of [his] philosophical ideal[s] was the determination of values and by them the estimation of conduct which affects human lives and relationships."¹³ Locke's view of life, wisdom, knowledge, and diverse background provided him with the foundation to develop his philosophical views.

According to Days and Marable,¹⁴ Locke's philosophy provided a rationalization for a new Negro culture and was written in an arcane language only understood by a few. Yet, it reflected the democratic ideas of society and focused on the education, culture, and economic conditions of all human beings, especially African Americans.

Cultural pluralism and value relativism served as the foundation for Locke's ideas on education and aesthetics. Kallen wrote that Locke became interested in cultural pluralism and value relativism when he was a student at Harvard and this interest continued to grow after his experience in Europe as a Rhodes Scholar. Cultural pluralism to Locke was "a way of life, the projection of value judgment into the milieu of contemporary problems" and "a practical model through which congenial relations between conflicting groups could be achieved."¹⁵ Cultural pluralism was a model of action with each individual being an active participant, and it provided people with self-respect, self-pride, and self-esteem. Yet, it rejected the idea of one group having the best culture or history and being without virtues. Value relativism, on the other hand, was the "rejection of all absolutes, theological as well as metaphysical."¹⁶ In other words, Locke recognized the value humans placed on race was fictitious and that

the real value of things, that which gives meaning and substance, lies in their possibility of providing the human with a healthy emotional state . . . The real value of race, the positive value . . . [is] the great contribution it could make to the diversity as well as the unity of the human race."¹⁷

His philosophy of cultural pluralism and value relativism along with his aesthetic philosophy was an integral part of the work he did as an advocate of adult education for African Americans.

LOCKE AS AN ADULT EDUCATOR

Between 1918 and 1930 several events—black migration from the South, the Harlem Renaissance, and the New Negro Movement—had a major effect on the African American community.

It was during this period that Locke began to write a number of articles on adult education. The “Role of the Talented Tenth,” “A Decade of Negro Self Expression,” and “The Negro Education Bids for Par” are only a few of his early writings on adult education.

Locke’s early interest in adult education was based on several factors: (a) the illiteracy rate among African Americans was high; (b) a high percentage of African Americans did not complete elementary school; and (c) educational opportunities for African Americans were below national standards in all categories—teacher preparation, equipment and facilities, procedures, and atmosphere.

With these factors in mind, Locke was able to identify the problems and needs of African Americans—housing, employment, health, recreation, agricultural extension, social and economic problems. These problems and needs convinced Locke that African Americans “were ripe for varied and broad adult education programs.”¹⁸

It was Locke’s contention that “only through lifelong learning could the black man truly liberate himself from the debilitating effects of . . . racial subjugation and educational neglect thrust upon him by the dominant white community.”¹⁹ Therefore, adult education has a twofold purpose—first, to educate the talented and gifted and second, to increase the literacy and cultural skills of African Americans.

The movement for adult education among any disadvantaged group must have a dynamic and enthusiasm-compelling drive. Beyond the mere literacy level, enlarging horizons and broad-

ening human values must dominate it or the movement will stall.²⁰

Locke's early writings were based on the previous needs and concerns within the African American community and on the role black colleges and universities had in providing adult education programs which addressed their needs and concerns. In the "Role of the Talented Tenth," Locke wrote that trained educators and leaders were needed to improve the educational status of African Americans. The "talented tenth" were needed to plan and implement adult education programs which would address the problems and needs of the African American community.

. . . enlightened social service has always been the class ideal and the code of the professions. Now there confronts the educated man an almost universal and inevitable profession of public service, with many branches, but all of them motivated by the same system of social estimate and reward. Education must meet this by extending the professional code to all types of education, and by making the study of society and needs of society the basic and common foundation of education.²¹

Both Locke and Du Bois called on the "talented tenth" to provided leadership and responsibility in communicating the aspirations, hopes, needs, and problems of African Americans. According to Locke,

The nation, the group that has not such leadership ready at hand, or in the making, now suffers the handicap instead of those causes which hitherto were thought to be hopelessly handicapped, but which now have suddenly leaped to the fore. The cause of our people in this world is surely of this sort that has just so recently come into their greatest opportunity.²²

The questions of liberal versus industrial education and the educational needs of African Americans were discussed in "Negro Education Bids for Par." On the theme of liberal versus industrial education, Locke agreed with both Washington and Du Bois.

He believed that they both would provide a new era in education for African Americans and provide leadership in both arenas.

With close cooperation and understanding established between its two equally important wings, we can optimistically look forward to a new era in Negro education. . . . We shall then see the education of the Negro not as a conflict between two programs or types, but as a mutually supplementary program of collegiate professional education on the one hand, and of the collegiate economic, technical and agricultural training on the other, with the field of teach[ing] and social service training divided between them. . . .²³

In discussing the needs for African American education and racially separated education, he wrote of:

the need for more positive and favorable conditions for the expression and cultivation of the developing race spirit. . . . Negro education . . . ought to be free to develop its own racial interests and special aims for both positive and compensatory reasons . . . racial separation presents . . . a negative and irritating challenge or disparagement instead of a welcome and inspiring challenge . . . this type of education constantly reminds Negro[s] . . . of the unpleasant side of the race problem, instead of utilizing it as a positive factor. . . .²⁴

Continuing on this theme, Locke recognized that black colleges and universities have a responsibility in educating African Americans for leadership roles which would provide them with skills and education necessary to aid in transforming "segregated centers of Negro professional education into . . . centers of Negro culture," and in helping them "to attain their full spiritual growth and influence, and function actively in general race development."²⁵ Thus, he suggested the goal of black colleges and universities

should be the development of racially inspired and devoted professional class with group service as their integrating ideal. Certainly the least that can be expected and demanded of sepa-

rately organized Negro college education is that in the formative period of life the prevailing contacts should be with the positive rather than the negative aspects of race, and that race feeling of a constructive sort should be stimulating and compensating elements in the system of education.²⁶

In order for African Americans to receive the education they needed and for black colleges and universities to offer positive educational programs, more support was needed from private, public, and state institutions:

The improvement of Negro education is overwhelmingly a public task and responsibility: never for any reason or temporary advantage or special appeal must it be allowed to assume in the public mind the aspect of a special responsibility, a private enterprise, or a philanthropic burden. Many a well-intentioned friend of Negroes and of educational progress still think of Negro education largely in terms of something special and private rather than something basically standard and public, but by right insistence the public conception in this regard must be brought to par.²⁷

ALAIN LOCKE AND THE AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF ADULT EDUCATION

Locke's interest in adult education took another turn with the arrival of an invitation from F. P. Keppel, president of the Carnegie Foundation, to serve as a delegate to the first conference on adult education. His early involvement in adult education found him serving as consultant to the Carnegie Foundation in studying the needs of adults, particularly African Americans, and in the formation of the American Association of Adult Education (AAAE), which he later served as president. From 1924 until his death, Locke was an active member and participant in organizations concerned with issues regarding education and race relations.

As an ardent supporter of the New Deal, Locke believed that

the New Deal programs were "a fulfillment of the democratic ethos, particularly for the disadvantaged minority."²⁸ One emphasis of the New Deal programs was to provide jobs for writers, teachers, and artists, and to eradicate illiteracy, especially among African Americans.

As a member of AAAE, Locke encouraged members

to extend the idea and facilities of adult education . . . throughout the country . . . [to] promote the advancement of the basic adult education that adults can, should, and must learn continuously, not only for their own individual growth and development, but for society's social health and betterment.²⁹

He also reminded them that, "Adult education's main objective and obligation is the democratic extension of opportunity for learning to the people."³⁰

Locke continued to encourage his colleagues to be open minded in their perspective and understanding of the experiences, issues, and needs of minority groups. Thus, adult educators would promote unity and cultivate respect for

differences and intelligent interest in group achievement and backgrounds and through preaching and protecting reciprocity instead of regimentation. If this is true, adult educators will be well advised in taking full account of the interests and problems of minority groups and in utilizing them to stimulate the processes of education.³¹

Like Freire and Lindeman, Locke believed that adult educators should: (a) realize the importance of teaching people about their own history and culture; (b) recognize and keep in mind the vital, concrete, and particular interest of adults; and (c) recognize adult education's role in social and mass education.³² He reminded adult educators that they

have not progressed very far toward better social integration, or saner social understanding, or more healthy social participation throughout objective study of history and sociology and

abstract political science. Nor have we promoted unity or tolerance by our educational policy of ignoring differences and stressing conformity. Indifference and even active intolerance have been the usual results of this procedure.³³

On the issue of social education, he stated:

Social education is for democratic living, for squaring democratic practice with democratic theory and values. [It] will become a crusade, enlisting the common loyalty and effort of all of us, or certainly all intelligent enough to realize the significance of the situation and its critical demand.³⁴

On mass education he wrote:

Mass education or fold education . . . is the democratic widening of all sorts of educative opportunities and experiences for more and more people over greater areas not only of knowledge and skills but for effective self-knowledge and understanding.³⁵

Locke believed that adult educators who were concerned with these issues, "provided the strongest and most effective motivations for participation in adult education programs."³⁶

In 1946, Locke was elected president of AAAE. His inaugural address called for:

an examination of the principles of adult education and stressed the need for self-criticism among practitioners. . . . He cautioned against augmentation in the adult education movement, an approach . . . he felt would stifle creative planning of programs and eventually lead to the abolition of the traditionally democratic character of the adult education field. . . . He perceived that . . . a new education philosophy would require adult education programs to be linked to the changing needs of a national, as well as international society. . . . The ultimate goal of adult education . . . was to create an enlightened society through continuing educative efforts and experiences for the adult population.³⁷

The 1945 issue of the *Journal of Negro Education* was devoted to various adult education programs offered in the African American community. It was in this issue that Locke criticized some adult educators for how they define adult education:

Anything that systematically contacts adults, almost all varieties of organized propaganda, with the possible exception of religion and commercial advertising, seems in the judgment of far too many to be . . . considered "adult education."³⁸

Locke gave his own definition of adult education as:

The systematic training of adults rather than mere informing, persuading, entertaining or propagandizing of adults is the proper scope of any adult education worthy of the name or serious consideration. It should never be forgotten that "education" is the substantive and thus the substance of the matter, and "adult" merely the adjectival reference. Adult educative effort may be as informal, as uncertificated, as untechnical as permitted by the character of the subject matter, as many-sided as life experience . . . but it must at least be systematic, standardized and expertly administered or whatever else it is (and however useful) it is not entitled to be called "education."³⁹

For the twenty-first anniversary of AAAE, Locke wrote an article entitled, "Coming of Age." Subjects such as community organizations, international relations, intergroup understanding, and the future of adult education were discussed in the article.

He recognized adult education as the predecessor of community education and for its desire to stress local initiative and community collaboration as a vital and integral part of all communities.

Regarding adult education's international obligations, he noted:

The core problem of our field today is . . . the development of the most effective techniques of mass education, bold and pioneering experimentation with the new mass media of communication and enlightenment to make them serve constructively the social and cultural needs of . . . larger segments of peo-

ple. . . . By radio, motion picture, visual materials of all sorts, the adult education radius of teaching and propaganda must be extended to the new dimensions of an international age.⁴⁰

On intergroup understanding, he wrote:

We have reached a point of common and joint responsibility for wide scale mass enlightenment and leadership in the basic and fundamental concerns of group and intergroup understanding. That above all else is the crying need and outstanding practical objective of all informal education today. . . . To accept this challenge and be successful in implementing its realization will give every aspect of adult education a new momentum, a new and irresistible appeal, a new vitality.⁴¹

Locke wrote that adult education “has a new setting, a new constituency . . . new objectives”; thus “education for social literacy and understanding comes to the fore as a new responsibility and charge of the adult educator.”⁴² He cautioned educators that the future was going to be difficult and challenging.

Like contemporary scholars in adult education, Locke urged his colleagues to develop a philosophy for adult education which included specific and special objectives; otherwise they would continue to wander. His philosophy of adult education was presented in “Need for a New Organon in Education”:

The quest for a common objective—the discovery of integrating elements for knowledge is the search for focalizing approaches in education. . . . Critical thinking . . . could make no greater headway in a single line of uncompromising advance than, with such a strategic methodology as tactic, to invade the innermost citadel of dogmatic thinking, the real of values.⁴³

Locke was very active in the American Library Association (ALA). He was selected by ALA to write “The Negro in America,” a study course on the history and culture of African Americans. This course was designed for use by black colleges and

universities, programs organized by various groups, as well as for adult learners with learning disabilities.

ASSOCIATES IN NEGRO FOLK EDUCATION

With the support of the AAAE, Carnegie Corporation, and the Rosenwald Foundation, Locke and E. Kincke Jones, executive director of the National Urban League, organized the Associates in Negro Folk Education (ANFE). ANFE was established to

1. Prepare and publish study materials on the life and culture of African Americans;
2. Publish syllabi, outlines, and booklets for use in adult education programs for African Americans;
3. Influence a constructive program and policy in the extension of adult education for African Americans.⁴⁴

ANFE developed several programs and published a number of books and articles which could be used in adult education programs for African Americans. Two of ANFE programs included the Bronze Booklets and a series of national conferences on adult education for African Americans.

Two years after the Bronze Booklets were introduced, Locke, in cooperation with AAAE and the ANFE, organized a series of conferences on adult education for African Americans. Approximately eight conferences were held between 1938 and 1949, at various black colleges and universities—Fisk, Howard, Tuskegee, South Carolina—and were attended by prominent educators. Each conference had a central theme and purpose. For example, the first conference theme was “Adult Education and the Negro.” The focus of this conference was to evaluate the conditions and trends in adult education for the masses. Both Locke and Morse Cartwright, executive director of AAAE, were keynote speakers at the first conference. In his speech, Cartwright stressed the fact that AAAE was interested in improving programs for African Americans and that he was committed to the idea that adult education could provide the means for a democratic society:

Without adult education, no true democracy; without democracy no true adult education. The development of the education and understanding of the individual through free exercise of his will and his intellectual attainment formed the cornerstone upon which democratic government is based.⁴⁵

Locke questioned whether or not African Americans should have adult education designed specifically for them. He disagreed with the idea of separate and specific types of education for African Americans.

The outcomes and recommendations from the first conference were: (a) adult education should make an effort to sponsor and encourage community-based forums; (b) efforts should be made to relate to the education programs of all agencies and organizations to the press; (c) adult education training should be offered to all educators; (d) an abundance of simplified materials should be made available in all areas of adult education; and (e) integration of African Americans into all phases of American culture would be a positive outcome of adult education programs.⁴⁶

During the second Conference on Adult Education for African Americans, Locke's speech was entitled, "Popularized Literature"; he addressed the perceived needs in adult education for African Americans. He emphasized the use of visual aids in classes, and the need for educators to be informed of the characteristics and culture of African Americans. Locke also emphasized the need for basic teaching and reading materials for learners who were illiterate or had learning disabilities. The "People's Library," which included a variety of materials, progressive points of view, and general subject matter, was one means of popularizing literature for African Americans. At the end of the second conference, Locke was a prominent figure in organizing and implementing the annual conferences and was elected conference president.

The conferences on Adult Education and the Negro highlighted interracial planning and participation, brought into light the needs and interest for adult education for African Americans, and highlighted Locke's role as leading advocate for adult education opportunities for African Americans.

ADULT EDUCATION FOR THE AFRICAN AMERICAN COMMUNITY

Because African Americans had been deprived of social, economic, and cultural opportunities and contact, Locke agreed with his contemporaries Ambrose Caliver and Ira Reid that it was important that adult education programs be made available to the African American community. They also believed that through lifelong learning African Americans would be liberated, undergo major improvement, and exhibit an interest in their intellectual and cultural development. According to Reid,

The arts, crafts and skills, the music, dances, customs, and folkways that characterize and identify Black life are real and genuine. Their importance in the national cultural must be realized both by Negroes and whites. Achieving their realization is one of the first steps in a group adult education program. It is the high road on which the Negro will be made to see himself and will cause others to see him as an integral part of the American scene, proud of his cultural contributions.⁴⁷

Locke agreed with this to a point. His philosophy of adult education was based on the fact that all programs should be the same; however, there should be opportunity for adaptations for different groups and individuals based on background, resources, and individual differences. Locke encouraged adult educators to organize programs for African Americans around their culture, problems and needs, and experiences in America. He explained:

Cultural activities and their special appeals and incentives enhance the self-respect of the people and enable them to assert themselves in healthy fashion in their social and economic group life, urging them on toward transformation of their social and economic conditions to constantly rising levels of security and opportunity. . . . [An adult education program] . . . to be educationally sound and effective must be kept from the extremes of racial chauvinism. We must play rather than blow or

toot the racial horn. That means that, at bottom, the racial element must be factually based and soberly balanced instead of childishly, emotionally, or violently partisan.⁴⁸

This idea was furthered in the "Lessons of Negro Adult Education," where Locke discussed what he believed was a proper adult education program for African Americans and the magnet to getting them interested in these programs. First, he suggested adult educators center programs around the culture, social, and personal needs of African Americans, while maintaining the basic objectives of adult education.

The second suggestion for a proper adult education was found in "Types of Adult Education—The Intellectual Interest of Negroes." In this article, Locke stated that:

I myself am convinced that the key to an intellectual interest is a strong emotional drive and that in Negro adult education we should boldly capitalize the motivation of racial interest and let the bogey of propaganda be hanged . . . this means we can get desirable results of serious sustained interest and effort.⁴⁹

He suggested that adult educators use the word "race," as a focus point to generate and sustain the interest of African Americans.

The task of adult educationalist, as I see it, lies in discovering and using ways to generate serious and sustained interest. For the Negro, the one word, "race," with all its mental associations, is a tragically magic charm that instantly evokes dead serious thought. Provided we do not overwork the appeal of this charm, this special interest in the Negro, I believe that we have in it a positive focusing point for mass adult education.⁵⁰

At the same time, Locke reminded adult educators to play down the negative aspects and stereotypes of African Americans and concentrate on providing them with the opportunities to participate within the system.

Around the mid-1940's, Locke started to assess adult education programs for African Americans. Results of the assessment

found: (1) programs were inadequate and inequitable, segregated in public programs of adult training; and (2) programs were amateurish and dangerously propagandist and chauvinistic.

This means that the Negro . . . receives least adult education, when he obviously needs proportionately more because of his minority handicaps. . . . He receives only rudimentary types of adult education service instead of the full complement of a modern program. . . . Most of what little he gets is tainted psychologically with racial segregation, which, when off set by Negro controlled and initiated projects is frequently too narrow as well as amateurishly administered. Added to this, some of these latter programs are too overtly propagandist to be soundly or objectively education.⁵¹

As a result of the assessment, Locke suggested that future programs be integrated. It was his vision that all special and separate programs would be included in general and basic adult education programs. He believed that integrated programs were in the basic interest and provided "the most . . . educative common aspect of the whole experience."⁵² Some successful integrated programs were sponsored by unions, public housing communities, YWCA, settlement houses, and student and church organizations. These integrated programs illustrated that common objectives and interest could bridge the segregation gap. Therefore, Locke believed that:

[T]he adult education movement among Negroes cannot maintain itself reasonably or effectively as a separate or special program. . . . Even with its body in the fetters of a segregated set-up, it must maintain a grasp on universal values and address itself beyond the narrow racial constituency to a general social and cultural service, and finally, it must align itself with more progressive programs of educational reform and social reconstruction.⁵³

Locke also praised African American organizations which offered adult education programs due to historical necessity. Keeping this in mind, he believed it "must be as important for others

to know about the history and contributions of the Negro as for the Negro himself. . . . Similarly the cause of minority rights is . . . absorbed in mixed group organizations with common interest objectives. . . .⁵⁴

CONCLUSIONS

From "The New Negro" to his final work on *The Negro and American Culture*, Locke raised the consciousness of African Americans, encouraged them to study and be proud of their culture and history, and to use their creativity and intelligence to develop adult education programs for their community. Throughout his career, Locke utilized every opportunity to develop, refine, and communicate his philosophical ideas along with the issues concerning adult education for African Americans.

NOTES

1. "Passing of Alain Locke," *Phylon* 15 (1954) p. 245.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 249.
3. Everett A. Days, "Alain Leroy Locke (1886-1954): Pioneer in Adult Education and Catalyst in the Adult Education Movement for Black Americans" (Ed.D diss., North Carolina State University at Raleigh).
4. Eugene C. Holmes, "Alain Leroy Locke: A Sketch," *Phylon* 20 (1959) p. 84.
5. Days, "Alain Leroy Locke," p. 10; Robert C. Hayden and Eugene E. Du Bois, "Drum Major for Black Adult Education: Alain L. Locke," *Western Journal of Black Studies* 1 (December, 1977) pp. 293-296.
6. Days, "Alain Leroy Locke," p. 10
7. Douglas K. Stafford, "Alain Locke: The Child, the Man, and the People," *Journal of Negro Education* 25 (1961) pp. 25-34.
8. E. Toppin, *A Biographical History of Blacks in America since 1958*. (New York: McKay Publishers, 1971).
9. Horace M. Kallen, "Alain Locke and Cultural Pluralism," *Journal of Philosophy* 54 (February 28, 1957) p. 122. See also Horace M.

- Kallen, *What I Believe and Why—Maybe*, (New York: Horizon Press, 1971) pp. 128–38.
10. For additional biographical information, see: Days, “Alain Leroy Locke”; Holmes, “Alain Locke— Philosopher, Critic, Spokesman,” *Journal of Philosophy*, 54 (February 28, 1957) pp. 113–19; Holmes, “Alain Leroy Locke; A Sketch,” *Phylon* 20 (1959) pp. 8–9; Holmes, “Alain L. Locke and the Adult Education,” *Journal of Negro Education* 34 (1965) pp. 5–10; Hayden and Du Bois, “Drum Major for Black Adult Education”; Anthony B. Mitchell, “Forgotten Leaders of African American Adult Education: 1863–1963,” (Master’s thesis, Pennsylvania State University, 1990).
 11. Stafford, “The Child, the Man, the Philosopher,” p. 33.
 12. Days, “Alain Leroy Locke”; see also, Manning Marable, “Alain Locke, W. E. B. Du Bois, and the Crisis of Black Education during the Great Depression,” in *Alain Locke: Reflections on a Modern Renaissance Man* ed. Russell J. Linnemann. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University, 1982) pp. 63–76; Leonard Harris, *The Philosophy of Alain Locke: Harlem Renaissance and Beyond*, (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1989) pp. 1–20.
 13. Holmes, “Passing of Alain Locke,” p. 247.
 14. Days, “Alain Leroy Locke”; Marable, “Alain Locke, W.E.B. Du Bois.”
 15. Kallen, “Alain Locke and Cultural Pluralism.”
 16. Harris, “The Philosophy of Alain Locke,” p. 15.
 17. *Ibid.*
 18. Gyant, “Contributors to Adult Education,” *Journal of Black Studies* 19:1 (1988) pp. 97–110.
 19. Quoted in Days, “Alain Leroy Locke,” p. 62.
 20. *Findings of the First Annual Conference on Adult Education and the Negro*, (Hampton, VA: Hampton Institute Press, 1938), p. 7.
 21. Locke, “Role of the Talented Tenth,” p. 15.
 22. *Ibid.*
 23. Locke, “Negro Education Bids Par,” *Survey Graphic*, 54, pp. 567–570, 592–593.
 24. *Ibid.* p. 569.
 25. *Ibid.*
 26. *Ibid.* p. 568.
 27. *Ibid.* p. 592.
 28. Quoted in Gyant, “Contributors to Adult Education.”
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