
It takes a very brave (some might say slightly silly) person to decide to sail in waters charted by W. E. B. DuBois, whose work *The Philadelphia Negro*, published in 1898, has set the standard for any subsequent studies in this area. Franklin is a brave person, and his book has broadened our knowledge of the efforts of black Philadelphians to destroy discrimination and segregation in education in the first half of the twentieth century, while at the same time avoiding being hoisted on the petard of his own bravery.

Franklin takes a very broad sweep in defining education. It is just not simply organized instruction in the classroom, but more the whole range of instruction geared towards educating the community to its particular needs and problems. By this means Franklin is able to set his study in its proper economic, social, and political contexts. But this approach creates its own difficulties. It would have been far easier simply to describe the historical evolution of efforts by blacks to improve educational opportunities. The results, however, would have been less rewarding. Such historical analysis, as Franklin employs, demands a careful forging of links in the relationship between education and the economic, social, and political forces which influence it, something Franklin does not always achieve. Where it is attempted, as in Chapter Six, one is left with a clear picture of the forces influencing educational developments. Where it is not, as in Chapter Five, the flow of the analysis is broken. One can only wonder why Franklin deviated in this instance from his original approach.

The author's main task, as he states in the opening pages, is to examine public school and community education. His analysis of nineteenth-century developments sets the stage for his examination of the years 1900-1950, a period in which the contours of black Philadelphia changed dramatically. As the city's black population increased, brought about in large measure by migration from the South in the interwar years, there was a corresponding increase in racial discrimination and segregation. Blacks and their white supporters created a host of organizations to counter (and in some instances to cushion the community against) these growing trends. Some were specific in their stated objectives; but all approached the problem with some
recognition of the links between education and larger economic, social, and political issues. Franklin clearly shows that when blacks wielded political clout, as they did for a few years in the thirties, there was a corresponding improvement in educational opportunities.

Yet because of divisiveness, continued united black effort remained largely elusive. Although Franklin does not state this explicitly, he does imply that this failure could be attributed to an "Afro-American Dilemma." This dilemma hinges on the unresolved issue of whether black Americans want to be part of the American system, which consistently discriminates against them, or whether they wish to destroy it. If the latter then the matter seems simple enough. But if the former, which is implied in this study, then the problems are enormous. The problem is further compounded by the fact that historically America has only conceded power and rights to those who represent organized group interests. This in no way suggests that the system, having conceded ground to black Philadelphians as it did in the thirties, accepted the idea that blacks as Americans are entitled to all the rights of citizenship, only that when confronted by organized group interests it has been forced to give some ground. This is the lesson of the school boycott organized by black parents in the 1830s and the successes of the 1930s.

The question then arises: why did black Philadelphians, recognizing this fact, fail to maintain a united front? The answer is to be found precisely in the fact that the system conceded some ground in the face of organized pressure. So that as Franklin points out, while black Philadelphians were struggling against increased racial segregation in schools, one important group — black teachers — who stood to benefit from the status quo, in terms of continued employment in black schools, opposed the elimination of these schools. But even here the issue is not that clear-cut, for some education in a segregated situation is infinitely better than no education at all. The whole issue was played out in 1923 over the efforts to establish Cheyney as a teachers' college for blacks. To a Mr. Hill, its principal, Cheyney was "not a school set up by white state officials and forced upon Negroes, but a voluntary undertaking developed from within by the finest type of inter-racial cooperation. The State did not create Cheyney, on the contrary it represents the basic principle of voluntary group endeavor." Hill was correct, but his critics understandably warned that such a school could lead to increased segregation in the state. "The next step," they feared, "will be to legalize what has been illegally done; and we will have in law, as well as in act, a completely
segregated school system in the entire state.” DuBois captured the essence of the dilemma when he wrote at the height of the dispute, “how can we follow this almost self-contradictory program? Small wonder that Negro communities have been torn asunder by deep and passionate differences of opinion arising from this pitiable dilemma.” DuBois provided no clear-cut answers, but he was certain that “Negro children must not be allowed to grow up in ignorance” (pp. 72-73). This remains one of the major issues taxing our energies in the struggle to establish black studies as a major discipline.

In addition, Franklin’s analysis of the early use of “intelligence tests” as a device to maintain segregation is particularly relevant to the present debate over their merits as a measurement of intelligence, and one wonders about the extent of their use in other cities. All in all, this is a pathbreaking study, and is the first book dealing with the education of an American minority. My only disappointment, and this may be unfair to the author, is that Franklin did not include in his study the role of parochial schools in the education of black Philadelphians.

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Old postcards have an undeniable fascination; in their varied miniature world they seem to encapsulate fragments of the history of the last hundred and some years since the penny post was inaugurated. Most of the cards discussed in this book not only sold for a penny, but a one-cent stamp would send them through the mails. Twentieth-century inflation has vastly increased their prices both in buying and mailing, but the increased cost has not diminished their popularity.

As historical records, old postcards are, in their small way, unrivaled. This reviewer confesses to a special fondness for them; how often has he been transported to the past when confronted with one of these scraps of colored cardboard! Books about postcards are also engrossing, and this rectangular album, in format so like those photo albums that used to be practically fixtures on American living room