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CONTENTS

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BOOKER T. WASHINGTON'S PHILOSOPHY OF THE 'GRAND TRINITY' IN EDUCATION

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THE PURPOSE OF this article is to examine the philosophy of the 'Grand Trinity' in education of Booker T. Washington. Among other things the following aspects will be examined: his background and factors that influenced his philosophy; the 'Grand Trinity' as the great philosophy that guided his educational programmes; and strategies for its implementation, such as correlating theory and practice of education.

Booker T. Washington is one of the distinguished Black American educators. Born a slave at Hale's Ford, Virginia, in 1856, he lived through the most critical years in Black history and passed his youth during the bitter trials of the Reconstruction period. He was educated at Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute, Virginia, and elevated to the leadership level as founder and head of Tuskegee Institute. As Principal of this Institute from 1881 to 1915, Dr Washington had the opportunity to formulate and implement his philosophy of the 'Grand Trinity' in education as is evidenced by the programmes that he set up.

A key to the understanding of Booker T. Washington's philosophy can be found in the political and economic context of his time. After the emancipation of the Blacks, two major problems emerged; the first was to find work and economic provision for the four million ignorant and dependent Blacks who were without status, untrained and unaccustomed to self-support, especially under a new system of wage service; the second was to secure for them the advantages and personal powers of education and mental discipline.[1]

Men of vision like Booker T. Washington and W. E. Burghardt Du Bois articulated the Blacks' demands for social justice and symbolized their aspirations towards economic fulfilment. The former was acknowledged for his sanity, industrial philosophy, educational methods and contribution to harmony and co-operation between both races.[2] His major objective was to produce trained men and women who could return to their communities and uplift people. Washington himself gives us some insights as he sums up his educational goals: 'from the very outset of my work, it has been my steadfast purpose to establish an institution that would provide instruction not for the selected few but for the masses, giving them standards and ideas and inspiring in them hope and courage

[1] *The Tuskegee Messenger* (May 1931), VII, 19.

[2] Ibid.

to go patiently forwards'.[3] Indeed, Washington's role in education was recognized by President Hoover who stated, 'the nation owes a debt of gratitude to the wisdom and constructive ideas of Booker T. Washington, Founder of Tuskegee'.[4]

To Washington, it soon appeared that the only way to national security was through a comprehensive scheme of education. For him, ignorance was not the remedy: 'a nation which was not safe with ignorant slaves cannot be safe with ignorant free men'.[5] Therefore his educational programme was based on the need for economic means of survival and on the philosophy of diversity in education in farms, shops, family, church and school. It appears that Washington's scheme of education was to be developed along scientific and industrial lines in connection with the highest mental and religious culture. It is also important to note that his programme reflects service to the people, and stresses the practical without ignoring the need to educate. Among others, the following were Washington's educational goals:

(a) To make the learner self-reliant and self-supporting.
(b) To instil the value of work and to promote efficiency and economic security.
(c) To link theory and practice through the education of the head, the heart and the hand.
(d) To ensure that education was functional in daily activities.

William De Laney recognizes Booker T. Washington's contribution to the American people:

> The philosophy of the American life cannot be correctly and fully chronicled without the inclusion of the philosophy of the American Negro, and the philosophy of the American Negro is empty, void and mute without the philosophy of Booker T. Washington. His philosophy is an epic of rare and unusual beauty, of intrepid genius whose intrinsic value as yet is not known.[6]

De Laney claims that, in 1876 while teaching at Malden, West Virginia, Washington actually anticipated the steps basic to the progressive movement in education. Later, Dewey popularized the movement at his laboratory school at the University of Chicago in 1895. According to De Laney, 'it is the projection of Washington's educational philosophy contained in his writings which merits consideration along with the philosophy of Dewey and other great educators such

[3] B. Mackintosh, *Booker T. Washington: An Appreciation of the Man and His Time* (Washington, U.S. Dep. of the Interior, National Park Service, Office of Publications, 1972), 24.

[4] H. C. Hoover, 'Appraise, Tuskegee Institute', *The Tuskegee Messenger* (May 1931), VII, 3.

[5] F. G. Peabody, *Education for Life: The Story of Hampton Institute* (Garden City NY, Doubleday, Page & Co., 1918), xiii.

[6] W. De Laney, 'Learning by Doing' (Ann Arbor, Michigan State Univ., Ph.D. thesis, 1961), xiv.

as Pestalozzi, Herbart, Froebel, Locke and many others'.[7] In light of this evidence, Booker T. Washington may be regarded as one of the forerunners of the progressive movement.

INFLUENCES ON WASHINGTON'S PHILOSOPHY

Among forces which influenced and shaped Booker T. Washington's intellect, character and philosophy are his mother, his employer Mrs Ruffner, Dr Armstrong and the Hampton Institute staff. Although his mother was a slave, she gave all her support to her son's plans to pursue his studies.

Before Washington went on his memorable journey to school, he had an important educational experience in the family of Mrs Ruffner — a New England woman of high character, an excellent housekeeper and a strict disciplinarian who wanted things done promptly and systematically.[8] From Mrs Ruffner, Washington learnt the gospel of thrift, cleanliness and hardwork which was his employer's New England heritage. Booker Washington also confirms that the lessons he learned in the home of Mrs Ruffner were as valuable to him as any education.[9] These experiences helped him in formulating his philosophy of life and his ideas in education.

In order to fulfil his dream for his major occupation, Washington enrolled at Hampton Institute as a student, while working as a janitor for three years to earn his board. This experience influenced him profoundly. Hampton's emphasis on vocational training, industry, agriculture and teaching was a revelation to him. At Hampton, he learned that 'it was not a disgrace to labour, but [he] learned to love labour, not alone for its financial value, but for labour's own sake and for the independence and self-reliance that the ability to do something which the world wants alone brings'.[10]

The Principal at Hampton, Dr Armstrong, was very influential in shaping the philosophy of Washington. He emphasized the practical and utilitarian, and his basic philosophy comprised the following principles:[11]

(a) To teach respect for labour.
(b) To replace menial drudgery with skilled hands.
(c) To master industrial mechanical skills.
(d) To develop character and to impart rudiments of learning simultaneously.

What strikes one is that some of these principles are later reflected both in Washington's philosophy and his educational programmes.

[7] Ibid.

[8] A. P. Stokes, *A Brief Biograpny of Booker T. Washington* (Hampton, Hampton Institute Press, 1936), 5.

[9] De Laney, 'Learning by Doing', 35.

[10] Mackintosh, *Booker T. Washington*, 20.

[11] De Laney, 'Learning by Doing', xv.

WASHINGTON'S CONCEPT OF EDUCATION

In order to understand Washington's 'Grand Trinity' of education, it is necessary to examine his concept of education. For him, education should be functional in daily activities and related to life.[12] In this way, one would apply intelligence and skill to the common occupation of life. This is a philosophy of learning by doing that reflects the Tuskegee doctrine of self-sufficiency and self-improvement. The main goal was self-reliance, which aimed at liberating the individual as a whole.

One of Washington's popular philosophic statements was 'cast the bucket where you are'.[13] This demonstrates that, for him, education is action-oriented and community-based. His scheme of education was a vertical programme which included the influence of the home and aimed at perpetuating excellence. In this way education was to be practical and related to life. In another sense, when Booker Washington spoke of education, he meant among other considerations education that makes an individual feel that labour whether with the hands or head is honourable and that idleness should be regearded as an external disgrace.[14] Education was therefore a way of making everyone realize the dignity of labour. Not only this, but education should assist each individual 'to be reliable in regard to labour'.[15]

Washington's other understanding of education was to construe it as aiming to make 'the forces of nature — horse power, steam and electricity — work for [man]. It is the ignorant and the unskilled man who fails from day to day with his hands while the man with education and trained hands makes the forces of nature do the work for him.'[16] It should be noted that Washington joined a growing group of those engaged in the Black people's education and self-discovery. Therefore his idea may not be considered original. It was General Armstrong who had begun its demonstration and Washington was its great product and exemplifier. This is confirmed by Bishop W. J. Walls of the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church, who says this about Washington:

> In him the man and idea had met their time. He coupled theory with deed and gave the dream its expression.... He taught the American public how to help the Negro to educate himself for usefulness. The true test of a person's faith and genius is seen in how he conducts himself amid hardships and failures.[17]

[12] Personal communication from Mrs Poole, former Professor of Education, Tuskegee Institute, Alabama, 1 Mar. 1985).

[13] Ibid.

[14] B. T. Washington, Address at Union Town, Alabama, 2 Jun. 1904.

[15] B. T. Washington, Address at the American Institute, Georgia, 23 May 1908.

[16] B. T. Washington, Address at the Academy of Music, Philadelphia, 25 Apr. 1899.

[17] W. J. Walls, 'The man and the idea', *Tuskegee Messenger* (May 1931), VII, 3.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE 'GRAND TRINITY'

According to Booker T. Washington, the 'Grand Trinity' in education is indeed the philosophy of the three 'h's — the head, heart and hand — working in unity for self-support (see Table I). The most complete and thorough education was that the head, heart and hand should become of service to the individual. It should not surprise us because Hampton, and subsequently Tuskegee, taught the dignity

Table I

THE GRAND TRINITY

The Head	*The Heart*	*The Hand*
(a) Related to the mind	(a) Related to the soul or feelings	(a) Related to action
(b) The educated brain	(b) The trained heart	(b) The trained and skilful hand
(c) The aims are developing intelligence, thinking and applying power, i.e. cognitive development	(c) The purposes are character building, promotion of sound morals, values and good citizenship	(c) Emphasis is on motor skills, dignity of labour and the inculcation of an industrial or technical orientation

of labour, the value of skills, the use of the mind and application of the hand, and the lesson that without taking pains, without exercising self-restraint, no progress can be made by either man or nation.[18]

For Washington, mere training of the hand, without mental and moral training, would mean little to his race. The three kinds of training should go together.[19] William De Laney notes that Washington believed in learning by doing and that he insisted that the human being should educate the mind to think, the heart to feel and the body to act. On a much higher plane, Dewey and other great educators agreed that this was one great principle of education. It was also perceived by Washington that

> education should enable every individual to earn a living, to stand up on his feet, to learn to bear his proportion of the burden of the community in which he lives. Education should teach individuals that all forms of labour are honourable and dignified whether with the hand or heart or head, and that all forms of idleness are a disgrace.[20]

[18] *Tuskegee Student*, 28 Apr. 1906.

[19] Mrs Poole, personal communication, 26 Feb. 1985.

[20] Washington, Address at the American Institute.

The rationale for the 'Grand Trinity' is to develop manhood and womanhood by training the head, heart and hand. The assumption made is that behind the busy hand must be the mind at work.[21] This allows the student to gain sound moral, literary and industrial training. It promotes respect for manual labour and inculcates habits of thrift and industrial orientation. A similar view was expressed by C. W. Eliot, president of Harvard University, that regular labour develops the higher intellectual and moral qualities of the human being.[22] It was Washington's firm belief that so long as the Black American was ignorant in head, unskilled in hand, unacquainted with labour,[23] there would be no progress and advancement for his people and their education. At Tuskegee, the school kept three points before it:

(a) To give the student the best.
(b) To furnish him with labour that will be valuable to the school, and that will enable the student to learn something from labour itself.
(c) To teach the dignity of labour.[24]

In all these aspects, the philosophy of the 'Grand Trinity' is reflected.

One of the major elements emphasized under the 'Grand Trinity' is mental education, which refers to the development of the head, intellect and cognitive skills.[25] Mental education is valuable, but mere 'head training' which is not harnessed to something means little. It should be clearly stressed that no mere learning of industrial arts and mechanical trades is in itself enough.

> There must be behind it the trained intellect to guide and apply its power. Chemistry and the Arts of Agriculture are needed for the cultivation of the soil as is the skilled hand to guide the flow and gather the harvest, but mere theories of Science, unapplied, are but play things and toys with no practical result.[26]

The rationale, again, is that behind the busy hands must be the mind at work. Both Hampton and Tuskegee taught the honour of service, the dignity of labour, the privilege and prerogative of work.[27]

Washington calls for a programme of education emphasizing the mind and morals, and preaches the gospel of industry, illustrated and enforced at Tuskee and found worthy and successful in its results, which would be of practical value

[21] Mrs Poole, personal communication, 20 Feb. 1985.

[22] *Tuskegee Student*, 28 Apr. 1906.

[23] B. T. Washington, 'The Negro and his Relation to the Economic Progress of the South', Address in New York City, 12 Oct. 1904.

[24] B. T. Washington, *Selected Speeches*, ed. by E. D. Washington (Garden City NY, Doubleday, Doran & Co., 1932), 10.

[25] B. T. Washington, *Working with the Hands* (New York, Doubleday, Page & Co., 1904), 49.

[26] *Tuskegee Student*, 28 Apr. 1906.

[27] Ibid.

to the older schemes of other colleges and universities. In the new scheme of education, young men and women are trained not only intelligently but practically to be working citizens and to carry out the uplifting of their race.[28] Washington's criticism of the past had been the lack of connection between the Black's educated mind and the opportunity or manner of earning his living. The problem was that no thought had been given to linking education with work.

The last aspect related to the 'Grand Trinity' is the training of the heart, and this is closely linked with character. Booker T. Washington argued that 'one may fill one's head with knowledge and skilfully train one's hands, but unless it is based upon high upright character, upon a true heart, it will amount to nothing'.[29] The training of the heart here refers to character-building; the emphasis is on morals, values and good citizenship. The justification was that the heart helps one to stand up morally. The rationale for character-building is that in our moral life, we must learn to draw the line between the good and the bad and create public sentiment that will condemn wrong living. In this way, this would create a standard by which to shape one's character.[30]

According to Washington, the foundation of good citizenship rests upon the intrinsic work of each individual, and the path to strength and beauty of character is through service to one's fellows. He further points out that in all that one performs, whether sweeping a floor, digging in the garden, building a home or studying, one should be perfectly concientious, truthful and honest.[31] As a strategy to achieve character-building, Washington was in the habit of addressing students of Tuskegee Institute on Sunday evenings. The focuses of his speeches were on character-building, and the cultivation of stable habits. A similar emphasis was given by Mrs Poole to the education of the heart that includes socialization of students by initiating them into social values such as honesty and dependability.[32]

An analysis of the 'Grand Trinity' reveals an interesting parallel with Bloom's 'Taxonomy of Educational Objectives' of the mid-1950s, as indicated in Table II. Washington's 'Grand Trinity' in education includes the heart, the head and the hand working in unity, as already discussed above. As noted in the Table, Bloom's 'Taxonomy' is also divided into three parts: the cognitive, the affective and the psychomotor domains of learning. The cognitive domain emphasizes intellectual outcomes such as knowledge and thinking skills; the affective domain emphasizes

[28] 'Notable educational enterprise', *The Southern Letter* (Apr. 1912), XXVII, 4.

[29] B. T. Washington, *Black Belt Diamonds: Gems from the Speeches, Addresses and Talks to Students, 1898* . . . selected and arranged by V. E. Matthews (New York, Fortune and Scott, 1898), 28–47.

[30] B. T. Washington, Address at Hampton Institute, 14 Jun. 1907.

[31] Washington, *Black Belt Diamonds*, 28.

[32] Mrs Poole, personal communication, 21 Feb. 1985.

feelings and emotions such as attitudes and appreciation; the psychomotor domain emphasizes motor skills such as operating machines, swimming, etc.[33]

Table II

COMPARISON OF WASHINGTON'S AND BLOOM'S MODELS

Washington's 'Grand Trinity'	*Bloom's 'Taxonomy of Educational Objectives'*
The head (represents intelligence and thinking)	Cognitive (intelligence outcomes, knowledge, understanding and thinking skills)
The heart (represents feelings and morals)	Affective (interests, emotions such as attitudes and appreciation)
The hand (represents motor skills)	Psychomotor (motor skills, operating machinery, swimming)

IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PHILOSOPHY

The success of the implementation of the philosophy of the 'Grand Trinity' lay in what Washington called correlation, or sometimes 'dovetailing', which was the essence of his educational philosophy. As noted by Harlan,

> Washington began systematic efforts to institute this approach in the 1890s but in the early twentieth century he redoubled his efforts. As Washington elucidates this concept to the trustees, dovetailing meant as in dovetail joints in capentry, blotting out differences between the literary department and the industrial department. The idea was that students would practise Mathematics in the carpentry shop and write essays on ploughing a field in the English class.[34]

It is quite clear from the above statement that Washington's methods of instruction aimed at correlating and combining academic studies and practical work in such a way as to emphasize the social and moral significance of skilled labour[35] and at the same time to illustrate in the shop and in the field the practical meaning of the more abstract teaching of the classroom.

In theory, correlation simply meant that a student would be given work in his

[33] N. Gronlund, *Stating Behavioural Objectives for Classroom Instruction* (London, Collier Macmillan, 1970), 8.

[34] L. R. Harlan, *Booker T. Washington: The Wizard of Tuskegee* (London, Oxford Univ. Press, 1983), 149.

[35] *Tuskegee Institute Bulletin* (1910), IV, 10.

various academic classes that had relevance to the work he might be learning in his particular practical subject. According to Washington the rationale for the process of dovetailing literary and academic work is that in this way educationists are able to breathe a new life and interest into what was once dry bones of mathematics, grammar, composition, chemistry and other subjects of the traditional curriculum.[36] At Tuskegee Institute in a class in mathematics, students did not discuss in abstract form an imaginary acre of land. The practice and expectation was that

> the teacher takes the class into the field and measures off an actual acre of land giving the student the correct notion of feet, chains and rods. If the acre is taught in the Chemistry class to test soil and seeds, then again in the Arithmetic class, the student is taught how to measure and calculate the number of quarts, ounces or pounds of peas necessary to plant.[37]

This approach of learning by doing aroused many of the institutions to the necessity of linking work to learning and applying a knowledge of science and letters to things. In the laboratories at Tuskegee men and women learnt by experiment and by doing.[38] Such teaching strategies afterwards impressed Washington's associates, particularly 'the great importance of training pupils to study and analyze the actual things and to use what they had learned in the classroom in observing, thinking about and dealing with objects, situations of everyday life'.[39]

Let us now consider what influenced Washington in seeking new advanced methods after teaching a dull, dry Geography lesson. Washington says:

> We had not been out of the school house and away from the old Geography lesson long before the boy who was dull in the recitation became the leader of the party and began to point out along the stream dozens of islands, capes, peninsulas, lakes and what not. Everyone of the children began at once to pick out the natural divisions of land and water in the same way and there was real joy and zest in the work. For the first time the real difference between study about things through the medium of books and studying things themselves without the medium of books dawned upon them. The lesson that I learned then has remained with me in all my educational work.[40]

For Washington, this was a fresh illumination which suggests inadequacy in the teaching strategies employed during this period. Herbatianism prevailed at this time and teachers were harnessing their students to practical projects as part of

[36] B. T. Washington, Address at the opening of Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Science, New York, 26 Sep. 1904.

[37] Ibid.

[38] *Tuskegee Student*, 28 Apr. 1906.

[39] De Laney, 'Learning by Doing', 53.

[40] Ibid., 46–7.

their work. We do not find any evidence that every subject was taught by the progressive method. Washington was therefore 'compelled to fuse practical and intellectual training thus anticipating the project method which Dewey and his contemporaries later popularized'.[41]

As regards teaching strategies, Tuskegee seems to have recognized certain fundamental principles. These principles seem to be equally applicable to liberal and cultural education. The principles are that a student must be taught on the basis of what he knows, thinks, what he is doing and the things he is interested in.[42] It further assumes that children learn more by seeing, handling and making things, than they do from books. They can grasp principles and theories that are taught to them gradually through the medium of the practical activities which they are performing and which are applied by them in the work of the shop and farm.[43] This approach emphasizes the educational value of experience. 'Books are but the shadow of reality, the photograph of the thing which one encounters in the real experience of life. As certainly as travel is more educative than reading books about travel, so organized experience, rightly bestowed, is more educative than the book which merely summarizes that experience.'[44] It is generally accepted by most educators that experience is the best teacher. Hence at Tuskegee an effort was made to utilize the experience of the learner as the basis from which to teach him all the related technical and academic work which he needed.

For the successful implementation of his educational programme, Washington sought the views and contributions of his teaching staff. The General Faculty Meeting minutes for May 1906 state that suggestions from teachers, verbal or in writing, were invited as ways of strengthening the course of study and more closely uniting the work of the academic and industrial departments.[45] Another interesting aspect was Tuskegee's policy that required academic students to be in academic classes in the morning and in industrial agricultural classes in the afternoon.

It is important to note that Washington supervised his teaching staff and at times organized a tour of observation of the academic classrooms. This is clearly evidenced by a letter he wrote to J. Lee which states: 'Judging by the teaching which I saw last night there is a decided tendency back to the old abstract and general method of teaching rather than carrying out the idea of articulating the classroom work in the life of the people and into the life of the school'.[46] This is a clear indication that Washington believed that education should be relevant and

[41] M. E. Curti, *The Social Ideas of American Educators* (Paterson NJ, Littlefield, Adams, 1959), 293.

[42] *The Southern Letter* (Jul. 1912), XXVIII, 10.

[43] Ibid. [44] Ibid.

[45] Minutes of the General Faculty Meeting, Tuskegee Institute, 25 May 1906.

[46] B. T. Washington, correspondence to J. Lee, 7 Nov. 1912.

community-based. However, problems arose with regard to some members who rebelled against the dovetailing of their humanistic disciplines with carpentry or agriculture. For instance, Miss Fisher was unwilling to co-operate in the correlation of work and was told by Washington that he could not change the policy of the school nor could he permit her to be an exception to the rule followed by the majority of other teachers: 'Therefore I see nothing for me to do but ask you to hand in your resignation'.[47] This clearly shows Washington's determination and posture in the implementation of this policy.

The success story of the implementation of the philosophy of the 'Grand Trinity' is evidenced by the outstanding work of the Black scientist, George Carver. His work won him international reputation and he contributed to scholarship through his research work at Tuskegee. Booker T. Washington recognized the work of George Carver as he states:

> I have just finished reading a little pamphlet written by a well-educated Black man, Mr George W. Carver, giving the results of some of his experiments in raising sweet potatoes this year. In this pamphlet this Black man has shown in plain simple language based on scientific principles how he has raised 266 bushels of sweet potatoes on a single acre of common land and made a net profit of $121. The average yield of sweet potatoes to the acre in this section of the South where this experiment was tried is 37 bushels.[48]

This demonstrates that Carver made an unusual success of raising sweet potatoes through the use of scientific principles. His work reveals the unique results of uniting theory and practice in the process of education which is a key element of the philosophy of the 'Grand Trinity'.

CONCLUSION

Finally, Booker T. Washington's educational programme was mass-oriented towards inspiring the people with the hope and courage to go patiently forward. For Washington, national security and economic survival depended upon a comprehensive scheme of education. He saw education as any other commodity that can be used and be of service. His scheme of education would develop along scientific and industrial lines based on the philosophy of the 'Grand Trinity' through the education of the head, heart and hand. In this way one would put brain and skill into everyday life. The rationale of the scheme is that the man with education and trained hands makes the forces of nature do the work for him.

This philosophy of the 'Grand Trinity' promotes a wide diversity of

[47] Harlan, *Booker T. Washington*, 150.

[48] Washington, Address at the Academy of Music.

instruction and the adaptability of teaching to life.[49] Its distinguishable characteristics are that it seeks to relate education in a large measure to the ordinary tasks and problems of daily life. Through its teaching, it has been of incalculable benefit to the Black people.[50]

For the implementation of the philosophy of the 'Grand Trinity', Washington relied heavily upon his teaching staff. He set out the institutional policies that gave it a distinctive character during a day and age full of educational experimentation and innovation.[51] The innovation, borrowed from his own alma mater, transformed Tuskegee from a normal school to a school offering not only traditional courses but also work in various trades and industries.

It was through the philosophy of the 'Grand Trinity' that Washington laid the foundations of instruction by making education serve its highest purpose and seeking to conform to the latest and most advanced methods of instruction. Teaching strategies were geared to meeting the needs and conditions of the people they would seek to develop. Among other things, emphasis was placed on learning principles such as learning by doing and the recognition of the learners' interest. The teaching strategies aimed at fusing practical and intellectual training by harnessing students to practical projects which were later popularized by progressivists. The principle was based on the educational value of experience and the idea that knowledge means little unless it expresses itself in high practical usefulness to the world.

It appears that from the findings of this study, Washington's philosophy of the 'Grand Trinity' aimed at linking theory and practice through the education of the head, the heart and the hand. The purpose was to unite theory and practice of education so that they work in harmony. In the final analysis it appears that Washington's educational philosophy was a forerunner of both the progressivist movement in education and Bloom's 'Taxonomy of Educational Objectives'.

[49] *The Southern Letter* (Jul. 1912), XXVIII, 1.

[50] The Tuskegee Messenger (May 1931), VII, 19.

[51] J. Citro, 'Booker T. Washington's Tuskegee Institute: Black–School Community, 1900–1915' (Rochester NY, Univ. of Rochester, Ed. D. thesis, 1973), 42.