Du Bois and His Impact on America with David Levering Lewis

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[00:00:04.7] Tanaya Tauber: Welcome to Live at the National Constitution Center, the podcast sharing live constitutional conversations and debates hosted by the Center in person and online. I'm Tanaya Tauber, the Senior Director of Town Hall Programs. In celebration of Juneteenth, this episode features a special conversation with David Levering Lewis, the Pulitzer Prize winning historian and author of the definitive two-volume biography of W.E.B. Du Bois. David reflects on Du Bois's life, legacy, and enduring impact on American history, and also touches on his new memoir, *The Stained Glass Window*. Jeffrey Rosen, President and CEO of the National Constitution Center, moderates. Here's Jeff to get the conversation started.

[00:00:57.4] Jeffrey Rosen: Thank you so much for joining us, Professor Lewis. I've been eager to share your light and wisdom with NCC audiences for a long time. I'm a tremendous admirer of your definitive biography of Du Bois and of Du Bois himself, who, as you show, is really the central African American intellectual of the 20th century, who wrote in *The Souls of Black Folks* that the color line is the central problem of the 20th century, and whose towering thinking evolved from a focus on leadership by what he called the "Talented Tenth" to, at the end of his life, embracing socialism as the only solution to what he viewed as the ingrained racism of American society. Why don't we start... You've written a belated obituary of Du Bois. Tell us the story of that and perhaps share it with the audience to introduce them to his towering life and thought.

[00:01:59.6] David Levering Lewis: Yes, this is an opportunity to read this obituary, a belated obituary, because the American Historical Association did not acknowledge the passing of Du Bois when he did, and so belatedly I was asked to amend that oversight. It was an American Historical Review obituary that appeared in December of 2022.

[00:02:00.9] David Levering Lewis: In the late evening of August 27, 1963, our profession lost William Edward Burghardt Du Bois, a major innovator and prolific contributor. He died at home in Accra, Ghana at 95, where he had resided since October 1, 1961, as a guest of the Republic of Ghana and in self-imposed exile after the American embassy stopped the renewal of his United States passport. New England born, his mother's black Burghardt ancestry and enigmatic father's Haitian birth had encouraged a special sense of self in an only son schooled in Great Barrington, Massachusetts. Regardless of race, few late 19th century American historians rivaled Dr. Du Bois' superior credentialing his double Fisk University and Harvard College baccalaureates, graduate study at the University of Berlin, his 1896 Harvard PhD in history, an American first, his path-breaking dissertation thesis, *The Suppression of the African Slave Trade to the United States*, initiated the Harvard Historical Series.

[00:03:56.8] David Levering Lewis: Few 20th century American historians would surpass Dr. Du Bois in interpretive originality. Indeed, *The Philadelphia Negro*, 1899, long read as legitimate social history, is belatedly appropriated by sociologists as a founding monograph in urban sociology. Nor were W.E.B. Du Bois' revisionist insights always appreciated by fellow historians, as when the paper presented at the 1909 annual AHA meeting confounded received professional wisdom in the presence of Columbia University's arbitral professor William Archibald Dunning. Reconstruction and its benefits was a brilliant prefiguration of Du Bois' magnum opus, *Black Reconstruction in America*, 1935, scholarship that inspired, enhanced, and instigated the contemporary field consensus about the socio-racial, political, and economic long aftermath of the Civil War. The indebted acknowledgments of C. Vann Woodward, Kenneth Stampp, Leon Litwack, John Hope Franklin, Thomas Holt, and Eric Foner may be seen as posthumous professional consolations to an historian whose political heterodoxy in his final years invited the full wrath of the Cold War establishment. Yet may it not have been inevitable that the author of 16 books of history, politics, literature, and social criticism would have found the classroom, the seminar office, and even his synoptic Atlanta University studies woefully inadequate social science antidotes for his country's dismal race relations.

[00:06:02.0] David Levering Lewis: The butchered remains on public display of a lynched black man near his Atlanta campus induced a traumatic understanding as he famously wrote that, "there was no such definite demand for the scientific work of the sort I was doing". In lieu of social science, Atlanta University professor Du Bois conceived a unique experiment of history as literature. *The Souls of Black Folk*, his 1903 collection of 16 luminescent essays, remains an indispensable interpreting template for understanding the American race problem in all its anomalous history of color, gender, caste, law, and otherness. To be sure, Dr. Du Bois's temporary departure from the historian's sedentary triad of teaching, research, and writing books only placed his capacious scholarship in the service of institutional agency. The NAACP twinned to the mobilizing propaganda of *The Crisis* magazine, a record of the darker races. Twice in his controversial career, the better to correct its wrong course, Dr. Du Bois abjured the organization's very raison d'etre to articles published in 1934 denounced the ideal of racial integration as no longer economically realistic in the Great Depression. And yet, with my obituary invited to return in 1944 as venerated senior intellectual of his race, Dr. Du Bois soon flabbergasted board member Eleanor Roosevelt by lobbying the United Nations Secretariat in 1948 for official acceptance of the collectively authored and splendidly documented *Appeal to the World*, a statement on the denial of human rights to minorities in the case of citizens of Negro descent in the United States.

[00:08:39.9] David Levering Lewis: As Dr. Du Bois came to believe that the Progressive Party alone could advance genuine domestic racial equality and negotiate nuclear disarmament and Pacific coexistence with the Soviet Union, he tendered his resignation to the NAACP again in advance of the termination in September 1948. Dr. Du Bois, ever the historian making national history, campaigned with presidential contender Henry Wallace in Harlem, but one doubt that he really believed his masses in mainstream prediction that Negroes would vote progressive. 15 more years of active, lucid, and significant life remained. In the wake of the Progressive Party's electoral disaster, Dr. Du Bois stunned proud members of a 44-year-old African-American professional association by abjuring his signature concept of the “talented tenth’ as a mistake

giving rise to a petit bourgeois black elitism. Three days in late March of 1949, Manhattan, New York was convulsed by ideological confrontations as the Waldorf Astoria Peace Conference unfolded. The conference's final night featured octogenarian Dr. Du Bois in eloquent voice at Madison Square Garden. Inevitably, his peace protestations were sanctioned by the Truman administration's Justice Department. To read his account of his 1951 Smith Act trial in battle for peace may chasten those of us who study the long shadow of history where principled ideals slip the traces of parochial culture and reductionist politics.

[00:10:54.1] David Levering Lewis: On the morning following Dr. Du Bois' Ghanaian exit, the executive secretary of Dr. Du Bois' NAACP asked the great crowd at the March on Washington encircling the reflecting pool for a moment of silence. Regardless of the fact that in his later years Dr. Du Bois chose another path, Roy Wilkins told the suddenly still crowd on August 28th, it is incontrovertible that at the dawn of the 20th century, his was the voice calling you together here today in this cause. That, it seems to me, gives a pretty breathless and yet concise appreciation of this titanic man, this great contrarian. It seems to me whose message today in all of its controversy and idealism and social democracy could not be more relevant as we contend with an America that we have never experienced before perhaps.

[00:12:15.0] Jeffrey Rosen: Thank you so much for that powerful introduction to the life and work of the great Du Bois. You tell us so powerfully that his contribution as a historian is among his great enduring legacies. You talk about his luminescent or luminescerous scholarship and in persuading the profession to repudiate the so-called Dunning School of Scholarship, which had viewed reconstruction as an offense against white supremacy, Du Bois pointed the way for the new generation of scholars that you describe so well. I'd love to dig in on his early life and his initial embrace of the idea of the "Talented Tenth." You show in your biography first his remarkable ancestry, which included a relation to Elizabeth Freeman or Mum Bett, the African American woman who sued for her own freedom in colonial Massachusetts. You talk about his time at Fisk and Harvard. I must say how struck I was by his remarkable reading schedule at Harvard. You say there he rose at 7:15, worked from 8:00 to 12:30, lunch, worked from 1:00 to 4:00, 4:00 to 5:00 gymnasium, I take a breathing spell, 5:30 to 7:00, dinner and daily papers, 7:00 to 10.30, study lectures, social visits. Jefferson had a similar schedule.

[00:13:39.7] Jeffrey Rosen: And it's just a really inspiring reminder for our audience about the importance of intense reading and a daily schedule of disciplined hard work for the kind of intellectual success that Du Bois had. And then he goes on and in Philadelphia does this pathbreaking study of what he calls "the Philadelphia Negro," where he introduces four classes or grades of African-Americans, as you write, the aristocracy, 277 families, described as those of undoubted respectability, then the respectable working classes, then the working poor, and then the lowest class, the submerged tenth. Tell us about the relationship between that study and his idea of the "Talented Tenth." What was his idea of the Talented Tenth, and how did he first articulate it?

[00:14:31.7] David Levering Lewis: Yes, it was quite controversial, I think it's fair to say. He understood it to mean that to those of whom much is given, much is expected, that leadership for uplift purposes, for the spread of democracy, for knowledge, for citizenship, that all these things were emblematized by the concept of the Talented Tenth. But as years went by, and a Talented

Tenth indeed did emerge, that is to say doctors, lawyers, teachers and preachers became the representatives of advancement, there was a kind of elitism indeed, and a kind of selfishness really that corrupted his view of what it was to be. But it did provide the support of the NAACP and of the National Urban League, and without those constituencies, of course, Du Bois' ideas would have been simply useless, I suppose you really have to concede. It is true that he tried, through the Niagara movement early on, to incorporate his ideas in a leadership class that really would be militant. And that worked well. It worked so well, in fact, that finally, as the South dishonored in every respect its supposed bargain with Booker T. Washington's construct of accommodation, when that resulted in lynching more and the expulsion more of economically successful African Americans in small towns in Mississippi and Georgia and Alabama and elsewhere.

[00:16:43.4] David Levering Lewis: And when indeed the nationalization of the race problem moved north across the Mason-Dixon line into Springfield, Illinois, the birthplace of Abraham Lincoln, it forced the realization on the part of the descendants of the abolitionists, the Oswald Garrison Villard's and others, to realize that to deal with the race problem, one would have to have a national address for it. And so, with a combination of motivated African Americans of the Talented Tenth stripe and the descendants of the abolitionists, Mary White Ovington and Oswald Villard and John Milholland and such names, came the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The name itself was Du Bois's gift. He wanted it to be a National Association for the Advancement of the Colored People, and already he was thinking of this idea, which he was to embed in his famous book, The Souls of Black Folk, the statement that the problem of the century would be the color line. And he really meant it for the United States indeed, but he meant it globally as well. And so that NAACP and that National Urban League contended for responsible address of the amendments that came out of the Civil War, the 13th, the 14th, and the 15th Amendment.

[00:18:31.0] David Levering Lewis: Soon, though, the Supreme Court, in its wisdom, eviscerated much of those amendments. It found that they did not quite apply in this case or that case, so that by the 1900s, really, the African American in the South, where the great majority of us resided, had been eliminated from the voting rolls by all kinds of creative deceptions of multiple box ballots and education and whether or not citizenship was a right. No, it was a privilege of those who were decent folk, and so it both restricted the franchise to poor whites indeed, but most largely its impact was with African Americans. And so the nationalization of the problem put Du Bois in a remarkable role. And then came the Great Depression, and he welcomed Roosevelt, first dubious that a man whose vice president was a Southerner and a president somewhat problematically disabled, Roosevelt. I should, of course, hesitate to go back and point out the fallacy of some of Du Bois's talent-to-tenth wisdom. He believed in 1912 that Woodrow Wilson would be the man that should preside over the republic and that African Americans should vote Democrat.

[00:20:32.8] David Levering Lewis: There is little in the history of the Democratic Party that encouraged such a political maneuver, but Du Bois argued that Wilson's generosity, his scholarship, his presidency of Princeton, that all those things gave the choice to the electorate of a grand scholar who would play fair with the African American. And so it was Du Bois who brought much of the African American people who could vote to vote for Woodrow Wilson. And

that was, of course, a horrendous mistake. Wilson, perhaps there were moments when Wilson wished to honor his bargain, but he represented the solid white South. And so segregation became an official federal reality, which that had not been the case. And Wilson was blind to the lynching problem that was much exacerbated during his regime. Worse than that, of course, came the scholarship of the time, and that was white supremacy which found new voices in Lothrop Stoddard and Madison Grant and others, which said that the African American was simply congenitally ready and incapable of the full citizenship responsibility of the mainstream. And so, also, of course, on Stone Mountain one night came the birth of the Ku Klux Klan, or the rebirth of it, really.

[00:22:44.8] David Levering Lewis: Ulysses Grant's presidency had remarkably extinguished the Ku Klux Klan during his presidency, but now again in 1915, there it was again in full flourish and ferocity. Well, this is called the nadir, I believe, by a great African American scholar, Rayford Logan, and a colleague of Harvard colleague of Du Bois'. The New Deal was a great disappointment for African Americans because Roosevelt reasonably perhaps saw that if he hostaged the radicalism of the New Deal to a program that would be biracially uplifting for whites and blacks, the white South would destroy it because of the seniority rule that most committees were headed by Southerners, and Southerners were quite unresponsive to any fair play that would result institutionally in the betterment of African Americans. And so, although employment, unemployment was mitigated somewhat and many African Americans benefited, it was an uneven bargain, illustrated well by a young man who had joined the NAACP by that time, Walter Francis White from Atlanta, who, with the sympathy and allegiance of Eleanor Roosevelt, was able finally to shoehorn an audience on the patio of the White House, Franklin Roosevelt. And there, white, white in appearance, white phenotypic, and yet white militantly integrationist asked Roosevelt to please soften and improve the New Deal.

[00:24:59.0] David Levering Lewis: And he said, Roosevelt to Walter, "Walter, if I do that, I destroy the good that I've been able to accomplish". And true enough, perhaps, since the absence of an effort is no proof of the effort's success. And the situation drives Du Bois to the left. He goes to the Soviet Union. He's profoundly impressed by its progress, as so many intellectuals of the time were. It was obligatory, indeed, for an intellectual to visit the Soviet Union in those days of the 1920s and '30s. And for Du Bois, because of the apparent absence of racism in that experiment, he drifted or marched left. And he did so also for reasons of scholarship. As he looked at the injustices that had flown from the destroyed Reconstruction period and the redemption of the South, he revised his appreciation of the failures of Reconstruction. And so in 1935, having come back from the Soviet Union, he published Black Reconstruction in America, which had eventually a profound impact on the scholarship that we today live by. And then, of course, he had an idea that there should be an encyclopedia of the Negro. He appealed to Jacob Schiff, he appealed to Andrew Carnegie, he appealed to the foundations.

[00:26:59.0] David Levering Lewis: And the foundations were rather, how shall I put it, the choice was awkward because Du Bois's endorsements were so stellar. German scholarship, French scholarship, European scholarship said, oh, no, we need this, the Encyclopedia of the Negro. And it presented then for the Grand General Education Board financed by the Rockefellers and the Carnegie Foundation, also obviously so financed, to decide. And Du Bois had good reason to believe that the Stokes Fund, for example, which was an advocate of the

Encyclopedia of the Negro, would recognize the validity of the effort, and that did not happen. Indeed, you could have a bit of history about the Carnegie Foundation and Frederick Keppel, who had been so cooperative with Du Bois and had managed to fund much of the expense of Black Reconstruction. But there, Frederick Keppel found that his board thought that the idea of $300,000 of research funds going to a Du Bois to define social science would have been a horror. And so out of that dilemma came the choice of a curious man, a Swedish social scientist and politician, Gunnar Myrdal. And Du Bois was informed by the Carnegie and General Education Board travelers that Myrdal was to be the new Tocqueville or the African-American.

[00:28:55.3] David Levering Lewis: And so that idea, though, lingered. And finally, as the World War II ends and decolonialization becomes an issue, and Du Bois believes that the problem of the century now is not the color line, it is really the cash line. It is the maldistribution of opportunity in money that is the great problem. And it is then in that fifth Pan-African Congress in Manchester in 1945 or so, where Jomo Kenyatta and Kwame Nkrumah and all the luminaries forthcoming for Black Africa joined with Du Bois in demanding the rights of the people in the sub-Sahara. And then it is finally Kwame Nkrumah as the leader of the first decolonialized Republic of Africa, Ghana, who invites Du Bois to return to come home for the first time, as it were, to Africa and there to have the full resources of the Ghanaian government behind the publication and investigation of the Encyclopedia of the Negro. And there with full funds and a citizenship provided by the Ghanaians once the United States demanded that for the renewal of his passport, Du Bois would have to pledge a loyalty to the United States that he could not foresee and abide.

[00:30:42.6] David Levering Lewis: He worked on the Encyclopedia of the Negro until his demise, just as the March on Washington organized by Bayard Rustin with the great assistance of the great man whose voice for a moment I struggle to remember, resulted in the passing of the baton, as it were, as said by Roy Wilkins, as he reminded the 250,000 people around the reflecting pool that Du Bois had passed but that the new movement emblemized by the March on Washington was his responsibility and his gift. And so Martin Luther King rises with a new language and a new urgency that will give us chapter three, perhaps.

[00:31:53.0] Jeffrey Rosen: So powerful and so beautifully put. Say more, if you will, about *Black Reconstruction in America*, which as you note was originally titled “Black Reconstruction of Democracy in America” and we can look at an editor's suggestion. You make such a strong case that, as you put it, *Black Reconstruction*'s greatest achievement was to weave a credible historical narrative in which Black people suddenly admitted to citizenship in an environment of feral hostility. And you talk about it as a kind of tone poem. You capture its prophetic power and you quote Du Bois about how the great song arose. It was a new song in its deep plaintive beauty and its great cadence and wild appeal wailed, throbbed, and thundered on the world's ears with a message seldom voiced by man. Simply quoting Du Bois's poetic prophetic words is so powerful. He transformed the writing of American history and as you note was eventually vindicated by the repudiation of the Dunning School and the embrace of his vision of African-American effort at the center of Reconstruction in the face of white supremacy. Tell us about the book, what its significance was and how it was eventually vindicated.

[00:33:08.8] David Levering Lewis: Well, I think you have captured its impact wonderfully well. It is hard to believe that these students of Dunning, one by one, writing each one a state history, Alabama, Mississippi, Georgia, and so on, and they were uneven. Some, indeed, ignored the African Americans entirely. That was a mercy. Others would even concede that there had been some beneficence out of the experiment in that, say, public instruction was an idea that African Americans had introduced in their brief time in the state capitals, and a number of other institutional recommendations. But no, it was summed up, you might say, by an ambassador to Spain and Roosevelt's selection of a man who wrote *Black Reconstruction*. I am so sorry, but I cannot remember. It was now a selected book, compulsory reading, and he was a North Carolina gentleman of great distinction, and most of us grew up aware of the wonderfully indicting language of that book. However, there was always in the background what Du Bois had found and said, and there were young scholars like C. Vann Woodward, for example, and like others who said, well, this Du Bois really offers an alternate vision and a legitimate one.

[00:35:35.8] David Levering Lewis: And so by he himself, though by that time was unwelcome in much of his own country because he, like Paul Robeson, had offended the establishment by their Marxism. And so when he found himself at Berkeley during the time of his conviction, or rather his indictment as a Smith Act agent, as it were, when he found himself at Berkeley, he found that the professors could not perceive him on campus, but they went off campus to a Unitarian church. And there the students came and the professors came, and Du Bois was so struck by the phenomenon. And he said, but my goodness, why on earth? And they said, Dr. Du Bois, didn't you know that we teach you now in the academy? And that had been a welcome revelation to him. But I think by that time his criticism of capitalism was so solid, he thought, that he decided that capitalism cannot be reformed. And he said that in so many ways, that really the problem of the world would not be the color line. It will be rampaging capitalism, a kind of shark that cannot be restrained but for the total commitment of a citizenship that recognizes the dangers of maldistribution of wealth.

[00:37:29.3] David Levering Lewis: And it is that that finally causes him to be celebrated in Mao Zedong's China and Khrushchev's Russia. Of course, these are not exemplary experiments today for us. On the other hand, we probably are facing the excesses of kleptocracy and irrationality and unconstitutional behavior that may indeed, in a short order, really result in the chaos and resistance to the incumbent regime and perhaps a chance at making the constitutional center a point of concern and welcome that will have great importance in the days to come.

[00:38:37.1] Jeffrey Rosen: We have just a few more moments. I know you have some family travel obligations, but I want to stress how your own history interacted with Du Bois. You tell the story in your memoir of your remarkable decision to leave the University of Michigan Law School and to show up at Columbia University, where you seem to have persuaded the dean of the faculty, Jacques Barzun, to admit you to the history PhD program. You wrote your thesis on John Fiske, a transitional figure in America's social Darwinism. And this is just around, this is in 1958, Brown v. Board of Education has come down. You quote a letter from your father that year in 1958 to Du Bois on his 90th birthday. Tell us about what your father wrote to Du Bois and Du Bois' relationship, his ambivalent relationship with the American Civil Rights Movement, Martin Luther King and Brown, and how it failed ultimately to give him hope that the possibility for civil and political equality in America was imminent.

[00:39:47.3] David Levering Lewis: Yes, I suppose Bill Chafe has written a memoir, the former dean of Duke, in which he has a chapter on the failure of the possibility of *Brown v. Board* because of Dwight Eisenhower. And I think he's quite right that Eisenhower, for reasons that are personal and Southern, refused to implement or say even an encouraging word after the remarkable success of Earl Warren in a unanimous decision overriding *Plessy v. Ferguson*. Actually, that has never been overwritten expressly, but that's another matter for lawyers to debate. But Eisenhower was asked at a press conference, what do you think of this, Mr. President? And he said, I don't have anything to say about it. We'll enforce it as we have to. And that moment when if you surveilled the white South at that moment, which had a progressive moment after all, Huey Long was quite a progressive. Nobody could stand the guy, certainly in Washington. And there are others indeed. In Georgia, for example, there was even a stalemate and two governors, one progressive, one not. Had Eisenhower used the bully pulpit available to him, there's no doubt that *Brown v. Board* would have been implemented with perhaps some prickly problems in the Deep South.

[00:41:42.2] David Levering Lewis: And yet, this was a moment for a president to be presidential. And Eisenhower, even his attorney general, who finally left, believed that this was a great mistake. And so that's not to be lost sight of. And it was that that I think my father agonized over. He saw the failure of the presidency as almost personal. He had an additional reason for that in that he had been principal of a leading Southern Negro school, Dunbar in Little Rock, Arkansas, in which the Rosenwald Foundation had expended a great sum to make it one of the leading collegiate academies in the South available to African Americans. And he saw Eisenhower creating a problem that necessitated the 82nd Airborne solution, which was no solution at all. And all of that, as he looked at Eisenhower's unnimble response to the Faubus phenomenon and others, he grieved terribly. But he also was a part of, willy-nilly, of that Talented Tenth that Du Bois had abjured, had renounced. He, however, was far more soul-searching, I think you would say, in the kind of bargain that was worked out between the Black leadership and the White leadership in Georgia and particularly in Atlanta.

[00:43:31.0] David Levering Lewis: Famously collaborated, but at the same time famously racially selfish. And so when I left, I left with a view of opportunity that had been bought, I thought, and off I went abroad. Too soon, of course, because we had to wait for a few more years with students and the transformation of the South and finally the phenomenon of Jimmy Carter, which was a story that is to be written again about, it seems to me. But I went away.

[00:44:11.8] Jeffrey Rosen: Remarkable. Well, it's time for closing thoughts. I'm reluctant to let you go. Our audience is riveted by your thoughts. One of our guests says, having read Lewis's biographies of Du Bois, it is a dream come true to hear his share, to share his extraordinary historical knowledge of Du Bois in his times. I agree entirely. You've taken us on the evolution of Du Bois's vision. First, as you write, had come culture and education for the elites, then the ballot for the masses, then economic democracy, and finally, all these solutions in the service of global racial parity and economic justice. I want to end by asking you first to recommend any additional books that our audience can read. Du Bois inspires us to read. Of course, they should begin with both volumes of your biography or the condensed one-volume version. And we've already talked about *The Soul of Black Folk* and *Reconstruction in America*. But he wrote so

much else from his biography of John Brown to *The Gift of Black Folks* to *Color and Democracy* and so much more, as well as his novels, which are so strong. So give some reading recommendations to our audience. They can continue their learning and then sum up for them, if you will.

[00:45:29.7] David Levering Lewis: Very selfishly, I think I must, because a very prominent man, Courtney B. Vance, has just presented the first audible volume one of Du Bois. And the second one is being recorded as I speak. And so in these times, the voice of Du Bois can be heard through the voice of Courtney Vance. It's a wonderful voice. It is commanding. It is sensitive. It is empathic. And one can live through the summer into the coming fall and the chaos that affronts us now with the voice of Du Bois, volume one and volume two. I must say that it was Henry Holt that published the initial two volumes. Today, it is Random House, which has taken control of those two volumes. And it is being vocalized by Chauncey B. Vance. And I think I had not been so fond of audible books. I've learned, though, that they are wonderful accessories for learning and for remembering, I think. Yes.

[00:47:03.1] Jeffrey Rosen: Beautiful. Professor David Levering Lewis, for illuminating the legacy of the great Du Bois and inspiring all of us to learn more about it. Thank you so much.

[00:47:15.8] David Levering Lewis: Thank you so much, sir.

[00:47:21.5] Tanaya Tauber: This episode was produced by Lana Ulrich, Bill Pollack, and me, Tanaya Tauber. It was engineered by Kevin Kilburn and Bill Pollack. Research was provided by Samson Mostashari, Griffin Richie, and Gyuha Lee. Check out our full lineup of exciting programs this summer and register to join us virtually at constitutioncenter.org. As always, we'll publish those programs on the podcast, so stay tuned here as well. Or watch the videos. They're available in our media library at constitutioncenter.org/media library. Follow Live at the National Constitution Center on Apple Podcasts, Spotify, or your favorite podcast app. On behalf of the National Constitution Center, I'm Tanaya Tauber.