

A HISTORY OF SELECTED CRITICAL
FACTORS AND BARRIERS IN
THE DEVELOPMENT OF
BLACK HIGHER EDUCATION

Dissertation for the Degree of Ph. D.
MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY
FOREST H. C. HOLMAN, JR.
1975



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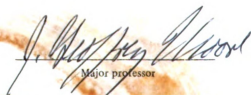
A HISTORY OF SELECTED CRITICAL FACTORS AND
BARRIERS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF
BLACK HIGHER EDUCATION

presented by

Forest H. C. Holman, Jr.

has been accepted towards fulfillment
of the requirements for

Ph.D. degree in Education


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Date February, 1975



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ABSTRACT

A HISTORY OF SELECTED CRITICAL FACTORS AND BARRIERS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF BLACK HIGHER EDUCATION

by

Forest H. C. Holman, Jr.

The origin and development of Black higher education in the United States is directly related to the existence of slavery in the South dating 1660 to 1865, and to the caste system which replaced it, as well as the presence of White racism which has prevailed within the socioeconomic institutions of America since its beginning.

The history and development of Black higher education is unique in that it has had to surpass all odds in order to serve its citizenry and survive. This so-called uniqueness can best be described as an American dilemma. This uniqueness embodies all of the factors and principles of American political thought.

The major research for this study is comprised of government reports, studies, and legislation. It is also replete with the records and proceedings of professional education organizations, societies, and governing boards. Extensive use has been made of the records and

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proceedings of the major philanthropic foundations. I also found manuscript collections and personal papers to have been of invaluable assistance.

Extensive use has also been made of newspaper accounts, interviews, journals and the many books in print which were most beneficial in opening new vistas of knowledge and understanding of the history of Black education. All of these sources have been indispensable in enabling me to arrive at a number of conclusions concerning the history of Black higher education.

From my research, I have arrived at several significant conclusions. They are as follows:

- 1) As a result of overcoming their normal school image Black colleges are recognized today as strong and viable institutions of higher learning providing a needed service to the education of young Black Americans.
- 2) Without the financial resources of the Jeanes, Rosenwald, Rockefeller and Carnegie foundations, Black institutions would not exist as we know them today.
- 3) Black colleges and universities have historically provided a unique service in the education of Black Americans in terms of the unique ability to understand the many academic weaknesses

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which Black students usually develop during their high school careers.

- 4) That certain Black educators along with certain White politicians and philanthropists conspired, during the period of reconstruction, to permanently restrict the growth of Black colleges and universities; consequently, today Black colleges and universities, on the whole, provide only a fairly good background for the further study of the major areas of academic study.
- 5) That as a result of their unique histories, Black colleges have passed through these distinct periods of development:
 - a) The Formative Period: 1850-1920
 - b) The Period of Southern Liberalism: 1920-1945
 - c) The Period of Desegregation and Reevaluation: 1955-1964.

The research for the future shows that the Black colleges are beginning to reapproach these aforementioned periods of their history for virtually the same reasons.

- 6) As a result of an illustrious history of excellence on the part of the Black scholar, the young Black scholar finds that in order to legitimize his existence within academia, he must be

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Forest H. C. Holman, Jr.

willing to excel his forebears in terms of developing new theories and providing new ways and means to solve the problems of the late twentieth century.

- 7) Finally, the Black college is still standing, educating and justifying its existence to a new generation of supporters and critics who marvel at its ability to do so with so few resources as compared to those of the major White universities who enjoy the status of fully adequate financial support.

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A HISTORY OF SELECTED CRITICAL FACTORS
AND BARRIERS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF
BLACK HIGHER EDUCATION

By

Forest H. C. Holman, Jr.

A DISSERTATION

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

College of Education

1975

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1975

This dissertation

by Beverly Ann

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for

the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

in the Department of

Professional

DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my wife, Mrs. Beverly Ann Holman, in sincere and loving appreciation for her many years of sacrifice and scholarly inspiration which, above all, has enabled me to have reached this major milestone in my professional career.

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I would like to express my thanks to Dr. J. G. Moore, Chairman of my doctoral committee, and to the other members of my committee, Professors Robert L. Green, Marvin Grandstaff, and Justin Kestenbaum, whose critical suggestions on organization and content were most beneficial in making this effort a most scholarly and intellectually enriching experience.

Also, a supreme debt of gratitude is warmly extended to my wife, Beverly, and my son, Karriem, for their encouragement, motivation, criticism, and patient understanding while this dissertation was being written.

To my parents, Mr. & Mrs. Forest Holman, Sr., for their many years of sacrifice; and also for the many scholarly stimulating discussions pursuant to this work, and for their faith and encouragement.

My appreciation to the staffs of the Michigan State University Library, the University of Michigan Library, the Michigan State Law Library, the State of Alabama Archives, and the Tuskegee Institute Archives who were most helpful and to the many senior citizens and

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alumnae of Black institutions of higher learning whose conversations were most informational.

Forest H. C. Holman, Jr.
East Lansing, Michigan
August, 1974

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INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this study is to look at the genesis and background of Black American education and to find out how it, in fact, evolved into that of higher education. The reason for the fact that there is not a sufficient amount of studies on hand concerning Black education is that there has not been a sufficient number of scholars willing to search the archives. My purpose was to ferret out the facts and to put them into some type of sensible perspective, to which any serious minded student of history and philosophy of education could refer for purposes of learning and research.

Given the immense interest and enthusiasm expressed on the part of many professors and students over the past ten (10) years regarding Black education, it seemed worthwhile that such a task should be undertaken. In searching through many libraries, it was found that there was an ample supply of primary sources on the part of Black education which enabled me in factually identifying those factors and barriers pursuant to the development of Black higher education.

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This study is replete with extensive discussion of the development of Black education. Inclusive are the nefarious activities of Southern and Northern White and Black politicians who conspired with various Northern philanthropists to design, structure, and determine the scope and future of Black education. Also included are the delimiting and restricting factors which limited the overall growth and development of the Black college professor. These restrictions were so rigid and dictatorial until many Black scholars have only recently been able to publish their research plus market their skills on the open academic market.

This study also deals with a broadly based specific chronological analysis of how various factors and business affected the historical perspective of Black education. Not only are these factors and barriers discussed but also are personalities, dates, institutions, and particular events which have had some lasting effect on the development of Black education.

In order to have performed a study such as this, it was necessary to look at the following:

1. Personal papers
2. Tax records
3. Plantation records
4. Congressional documents

5. Residential

6. Supreme Court

7. Public schools

8. Commission

9. Philanthropy

10. Speeches

11. Letters

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5. Residential documents
6. Supreme court cases and decisions
7. Public school board minutes
8. Commission minutes
9. Philanthropic records of foundations
10. Speeches
11. Letters
12. Periodicals
13. Trustee board minutes
14. Faculty minutes

Other resources include numerous miscellaneous documents from individual speeches to the minutes of various regional and national conventions pertinent to education and Black people.

The study was basically limited in that its scope was inclusive of Black higher education as a whole and not the specific discussion and analysis of one particular institution. It was felt that for my purposes, it was better to be broadly specific rather than to be totally specific. Moreover, it was believed that to look at the history of Black education in the broader scope of its total development would provide the reader with a much clearer view of the overall discussion of Black education.

On the whole, it is believed that the primary sources utilized were very beneficial in that it was possible to gain a much

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clearer idea of what actually happened and who was responsible for the various actions taken in the many decisions which were made. Moreover, use of the primary sources provided many different insights which compelled a re-analysis of many of the writers' views for the sake of scholarly clarity and accuracy.

Chapter One gives a discussion of the historical perspective of the Black College inclusive of the political ramifications pertaining to Black land grant colleges. Chapter Two deals with the Southern educational conferences which were mainly attended by White politicians, educators, and philanthropists who decided the structure, scope, and future of Black higher education which has been the primary factors of Black educational and scholarly restrictions.

Chapter Three is devoted to the processes of philanthropic accommodations and cooperation between the North and the South. Chapter Four provides a discussion of the separateness of Black education; that is, the meaning, idea, and intent of segregated education. Chapter Five provides a look at the Black scholars' relationship to that of the Black Community and how they have emerged as a concrete and viable force along the lines of achieving professional and scholastic legitimacy. Chapter Six gives trends and prospects for the Black college vis-a-vis the Black scholar. Finally, Chapter Seven discusses scientific and technical developments in the Black

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Upon careful analysis, any of these seven chapters can open new vistas for the serious-minded student of Black American education, who does not fear to tread the vast area of unresearched documents found in most, if not all, of the various Black institutions of higher learning in the United States. Also, in most communities where there are many individuals who were students at these Black colleges as far back as 1900, who can provide valuable insights into the many areas dealt with in this volume. This study was limited by the historical and philosophical discussion of various factors and personalities who contributed to the many occurrences and outcomes of what is referred to today as the Black college and/or university. The study of a specific institution and/or personality was not done here due to the fact that an expansive empirical analysis was not the writer's intent.

This study indicates that there is a peculiar relationship between the Black scholar and the White academic community regarding the acceptance of the legitimacy of Black scholars; discussion is devoted to the fact that Black scholars were never intended to be fully accepted into the larger academic community.

Further study and controlled statistical analysis should point out the various attitudes, feelings, and ideas many Americans,

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Black and White, have concerning the ability of a Black scholar to objectively indulge in the practice of scholarship. Much more insight can be provided as to why there is still a tremendous paucity of Black scholars in all areas of scholastic endeavor at the college and university level, as far as faculty rank, tenure, and research grants are concerned. A well structured longitudinal study might well provide us with valuable information from which a frontal attack upon this problem can be launched.

Finally, further study and statistical analysis of what actually occurred in specific cities and states, with chronological specificity, would be most helpful in explaining why those with sufficient economic and political power could decide how Black education would be structured and administered. Most students of Black educational history are aware of the beginnings of Black colleges but we now need to know more about the socio-economic impact which segregated education has had on this nation from an historical perspective. The findings documented in this study also need further study and investigation, for instance, into the political side of this question as it relates to local, state, and federal legislative discussions and acts which in the main, actually impeded rather than accelerated the growth and development of Black education.

Studies of the sort mentioned above are very crucial and necessary for the well being of the academic community and the

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society as a whole, if we intend to move responsibility toward making this society a truly open one with the notion that every individual, no matter what his limitations, can excel as far as his inclinations and abilities will allow within the confines of the American system of education.

CRITICAL PERSPECTIVE

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CHAPTER I

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE OF THE BLACK COLLEGE

Land Grant

America's colleges and universities founded for Black people have historically been the central institutions in an isolated system of education developed explicitly to serve the Black minority. This system of Black higher education was developed very late--almost a century after the United States declared its independence.¹

To give an accurate account of the history of Black colleges, it is necessary to discuss the organization of land-grant institutions in general, why they were organized, and what provisions were made concerning their financial support and operations.²

The most important event in higher education during the second American revolution occurred during the Civil War, although

¹The Carnegie Commission on Higher Education, From Isolation to Mainstream, Problems of the Colleges Founded for Negroes (New York: McGraw-Hill & Co., February, 1971), p. 5.

²Clyde L. Orr, An Analytical Study of the Conference of Presidents of Negro Land-Grant Colleges (Frankfort: Council on Cooperative College Projects, 1959), p. 8.

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³ Ibid., p.

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it is a clear illustration of the democratic pressure of the revolutionary period preceding the war. In December, 1857, Congressman Justin S. Morrill, of Vermont, introduced a bill to grant public lands for the establishment of colleges of agricultural and mechanical arts. He argued that Congress had the constitutional right to dispose of federal lands, pointing to the more than 25 million acres granted to the railroads, and to land grants for general education in all the new states.³

Up until June 30, 1857, the federal government had granted 67,736,572 acres of land to the states and territories for schools and universities. Although no one questioned the constitutionality of these grants, Morrill claimed that the advance of the nation depended on encouraging useful knowledge among farmers and mechanics to enlarge the nation's productive powers. He felt further that:

There is no class of our community of whom we may be so justly proud as our mechanics But they snatch their education, such as it is, from the crevices between labor and sleep Our country relies upon them to do the handiwork of the nation. Let us, then, furnish the means . . . to acquire culture, skill and efficiency.

We have schools to teach the art of man-slaying and to make masters of "deep-throated engines" of war; and shall we not have schools to teach men the way to feed, clothe, and enlighten the great brotherhood of man?⁴

³ Ibid., p. 8.

⁴ The Congressional Globe, Vol. 27, Part 2 (1858), pp. 1692-97.

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After considerable debate over amendments, a substitute bill which Morrill had presented for the one which came from the Committee on Public Lands was passed by a close 105 to 100 vote.

The Senate Committee on Public Lands reported a bill with no recommendation, and action was delayed on it until the spring of 1859. When it did come up for debate, the sectional interests were well illustrated by the arguments on the bill. Senator Henry M. Rice, of Minnesota, an independent, "stand on your own feet" type of Westerner, argued the constitutional issue and warned that giving one state income from the sale of lands in another would disturb the harmony now existing between them--a tragically amusing statement considering the strife that was already tearing the nation apart! Ignoring the fact that the federal government was already giving land for seminaries of higher learning to new states, including his own, Rice asked:

If we give lands to states for colleges . . . how long will it be before they will ask aid for every object, and come to rely entirely upon the General Government even for the expenses of their own, until they will have but a shadow of sovereignty left? . . . If you wish to establish agricultural colleges give to each man a college of his own in the shape of one hundred and sixty acres of land, where he and his children can learn to make it yield . . . but do not give lands to the states to enable them to educate the sons of the wealthy at the expense of the public. We want to fancy farmers; we want to fancy mechanics.⁵

⁵Ibid., Vol. 28, Part I (1859), pp. 711-718.

Senator James M. Watson

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Senator James M. Mason, of Virginia, took the aristocrat's view that public money as aid would corrupt the morals of those who received "alms" from the federal government. He presented the traditional states' rights position saying that the bill proposed:

Using the public lands as a means of controlling the policy of state legislatures. It is misusing the property of the country in such a mode as to bring the appropriate functions of the state . . . under the discretion of Congress by a controlling power; and it is doing it in the worst and most insidious form--by bribery.

Mason then predicted that the logic of the bill could eventually lead to the federal government's legislating what kind of schools states must have.

If you have the right to use the public property . . . to establish agricultural colleges, cannot you establish a school system in each state for general purposes of education? Would it not be in the power of a majority of Congress to fasten upon the southern states that peculiar system of free schools in the New England states which I believe would tend, I will not say to demoralize, but to destroy that peculiar character which I am happy to believe belongs to the great mass of the southern people.⁶

Mason's praise of Virginia's inadequate school system was immediately challenged by Senator James Harlan of Iowa:

It may be that it is a blessing to Virginia that she is now more largely represented by adult white people who are unable to read and write, in proportion to her population, than any other state in the Union; it is a blessing, however, that the people of my state do not covet.⁷

⁶Ibid., p. 720.

⁷Ibid., p. 774.

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He went on to give a Jacksonian version of political essayist Robert Coram's "Enlightenment Creed" that there would be no equal representation until farmers could get an education equal to that of lawyers and thus have the chance to be represented in government by farmers. Finally, he reminded the Virginia senator that the proposed law did not require Virginia to take advantage of the land grants if she did not wish to do so.

The bill finally passed the Senate by a vote of 25-22, eighteen of the nays emanating from Southern senators. President Buchanan vetoed it, largely on constitutional grounds, and Senator Morrill was unable to get Congress to override the veto.

After the election of President Lincoln, Morrill re-introduced his bill. It was first discussed in the Senate, with Senator Harlan's Committee on Public Lands according it the really only favorable committee report it ever received in either house. Although most of the arguments were on its constitutionality, the issue of land speculation was raised by senators from the Western states. Senator Harlan pointed out that more than a billion acres of land were in the public domain, and that the grants proposed for agricultural and mechanical arts colleges would be only ten million, less than 1 percent of the total. One of Harlan's speeches particularly exemplified the common-man spirit, when he challenged the consciences of the senators.

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2. Ibid., Vol.

3. Robert E. P.

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This body is a body of lawyers. There are very few gentlemen here who are not professional lawyers. Heretofore appropriations of land have been made for state universities. The proceeds of the sale of these lands have usually gone to educate the children of professional men--men who are able to defray the expense of the education of their children away from home, in classical studies and in the learned professions. Here . . . a proposition is made to make an appropriation of lands for the education of the children of the agriculturists of the nation, and it meets with strenuous opposition from a body of lawyers.⁸

The bill passed in the Senate 32-7. In the House of Representatives, the Committee on Public Lands brought an unfavorable report, but with very little debate, and with the favorable action of the Senate as an example, the bill was passed, 90 to 25. On July 2, 1862, President Lincoln signed it into law.

Perhaps one reason the bill passed was that many of the Southern opponents were no longer in Congress. Another reason was that the new version provided for the schools to teach military tactics and the Union needed military officers badly. Undoubtedly one factor involved in the passage, even in the consideration of the bill, was the political force of the farmer and industrial worker in a social revolutionary age.⁹

⁸Ibid., Vol. 32, Part 3 (1862), 2629.

⁹Robert E. Potter, The Stream of American Education (New York: American Book Company, 1967), p. 266.

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According to the Morrill Act of 1862, the federal government granted to the states 30,000 acres of land for each member of Congress, the income from the sale of which was to be invested in such manner as to:

Constitute a perpetual fund, the capital of which shall remain forever undiminished . . . and the interest of which shall be inviolably appropriated . . . to the endowment, support, and maintenance of at least one college where the leading object shall be without excluding other scientific and classical studies, and including military tactics, to teach such branches of learning as are related to agriculture and the mechanical arts in such a manner as the legislatures of the states may respectively prescribe, in order to promote the liberal and practical education of the industrial classes in the several pursuits and professions in life.¹⁰

This very significant gesture in federal aid to education virtually leaves all control to the state, requiring only that the interest on the fund be used to teach, in part, courses in agriculture, mechanical arts, and military tactics. The law expressly assigns the details of the colleges to the legislatures of the various states.

It would seem that the manner in which these financial grants were administered, that the danger of federal aid may be not too much control but too little, for many of the colleges which utilized the funds from these grants met only the letter of the law and not its

¹⁰The Congressional Globe, Vol. 32, Part 3 (1862), p. 2770.

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spirit. Where money was used by already existing colleges, the practical courses were limited as much as possible and denied places of importance in the college. In some colleges a single professorship covered all the agricultural, mechanical, and scientific studies. In others a single summer course met the technical requirements of the law. In some states the fund was mismanaged so that little interest accrued and that which did accrue was often misappropriated. The generally poor handling of the income resulted in these colleges soon being in such financial distress that Morrill, in 1890, had to persuade Congress to provide supplementary grants, a step that was in itself a significant precedent in the practice of federal aid to education.

Because of the unsettled conditions during the war, the development of the "land grant" colleges did not begin until later, the law thus provided for encouragement to the growth of state universities and the expansion of the curriculum in the direction of the practical and scientific courses in the period of conservative reaction which followed the war.¹¹

The passing of the first Morrill Act of 1862 was the culmination of the movement to extend higher education and to provide

¹¹Potter, The Stream of American Education, pp. 266-67.

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Under this Act the states were given two years to express their acceptance of its provisions. At least one college was to be established within five years by each state accepting it. In 1864 the Act was amended extending the period for its acceptance an additional two years, and, in 1866, a second amendment provided for another 3-year extension. This amendment also fixed the time for the establishment of the college by the state within a period of five years after the filing of its acceptance of the land grants. Within a period of eight years after the passage of the first act, 37 states had agreed to accept and carry out its provisions for the establishment of the new type of college.

After a state had accepted the act, the next step was to receive the land grants from the federal government, dispose of the land or scrip, and create an endowment fund for the support of the institutions. Some states sold their land for less than \$1.25 per acre and some received more than this amount. Therefore, the first Morrill Act was directly responsible for the creation of a nationwide system of colleges maintained by public taxation and designed to democratize higher education and provide scientific and practical knowledge to the great mass of people.

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Three Southern states (Alabama, Georgia, and North Carolina) organized both a White and Black college of agriculture and mechanic arts and divided the annual income from the endowment received under the first Morrill Act between the two institutions, the purpose being to provide the new type of education to both races. Subsequently separate Black land-grant colleges were organized in 14 other Southern states.¹²

The Establishment of the Black State Land-Grant Colleges

As these Black land grant colleges grew and definite programs of stable and well-organized curricula were developed, it became necessary to make new appeals for federal aid. Mr. Morrill, who had sponsored the first Morrill Act as a representative in the U.S. House of Representatives, had now become a U.S. Senator from Vermont. In 1890 he introduced his second land-grant bill in the Senate which provided for the appropriation of \$25,000 annually by the federal government from the proceeds of the sales of public lands for the support of the colleges. Under the terms of the measure the institutions were to receive \$15,000 in 1890 with an additional sum of

¹²U.S. Department of Interior, Office of Education, Survey of Land Grant Colleges and Universities (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1930), pp. 5-8.

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\$1,000 each succeeding year for 10 years when the annual appropriation was to amount at \$25,000. The law specifically provided that the federal funds were to be expended only for instruction in "agriculture, the mechanic arts, the English language and the various branches of mathematical, physical, natural and economic sciences with special reference to their application to the industries of life and to the facilities for such instruction."¹³

A particular feature of the bill was that there was to be no racial distinction between students in the college but that separate land-grant colleges for Negroes might be organized. The result of this provision was that Black land-grant colleges were established in all of the Southern states. The second Morrill Act, after being amended, unanimously passed the Senate in June, 1890, and the House of Representatives by a vote of 135 to 39 in August, 1890. It was signed in August of 1890 by President Benjamin Harrison.¹⁴

Additional financial support was given to the two Morrill acts from time to time by the passage of bills such as the Hatch Act¹⁵ and the Adams Act.¹⁶ These acts were intended to provide more federal support to the land grant institutions.

¹³Second Morrill Act, 1890. ¹⁴Ibid.

¹⁵The Hatch Act, 24, Stat. 440. USC Title 7, Sec. 361, Sub. a, et seq.

¹⁶The Adams Act, 34, Stat. 63.

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Even though the evolution of the idea of extending higher education had gained tremendous support, women had been entirely omitted from the scheme. A demand was soon made that they be included in the program of the land-grant colleges. As early as 1875 the Iowa State Agricultural College was offering courses in cooking and sewing with some lectures on the chemistry of food and nutrition. Later, a general demand was made that women be admitted on the same status as men, and that instruction be provided to prepare them for home and domestic duties.

The Smith-Lever Act of 1914¹⁷ brought millions of people into direct contact with the land grant colleges (Black and White) by providing extension work for the large number of people desirous of an education but unable to reside on a college campus. This program received financial support from the federal government. The Smith-Hughes Act of 1917 provided federal funds for training in agriculture and home economics under the terms of the original Smith-Lever Act. The States were required to match federal funds either from state funds, county funds, college funds, or through local contributions.¹⁸

¹⁷The Smith-Lever Act of 1914, USC Title 7. Sec. 341.

¹⁸Orr, An Analytical Study of the Conference on Presidents of Negro Land Grant Colleges, p. 11.

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Until 1956 there were 69 land-grant colleges and universities. These institutions included at least one college or university in each of the states and in Alaska, Hawaii, and Puerto Rico. In each of 18 states (Massachusetts and 17 Southern states) there were two institutions which participated in the land-grant funds; in each of 30 states and in Alaska, Hawaii, and Puerto Rico, there was one institution.¹⁹

The Establishment of Black Private Land Grant Colleges

In the beginning there was no thought of educating Black people; however, the necessity to do so was always present. During the early part of the seventeenth century, Europeans and Africans, caught in the tide of empire, were joined in a system of economic interdependency--a system which would inevitably require that Africans would have to be educated and would aspire to become a part of society that would encompass the two races.

Inherent in the circumstances under which the two races met was a contradictory motif that would render their relationship unstable for more than three years. Soon after the establishment of the slave regime in the American South, there were set in motion

¹⁹U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Education, Statistics of Land-Grant Colleges and Universities, June, 1955, p. 1.

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unintentional processes destined to introduce the first of the many educational opportunities that Black people were to have prior to the Civil War. While the underground railroad was operating against the institution of slavery, a hidden passage was being created within the system and with the unwitting approval of the master class--a passage through which many of the slaves could gain access to educative experiences and become leaders.

For purposes of the slave economy, no such passage should ever have come into existence. The plantation economy was intended as a completely rational institution in which the relationships between master and slave constituted a model much like that existing between plant and animal species occupying the same territory. These were to have been purely symbiotic relationships, in which each Black was to serve as a tool--was to have been used solely for the economic benefit and grandeur of his owner. It was intended, also, that the two races live in a system of economic interdependency devoid of personal sentiment and emotions. With slaves conceived of as tools and investments, the rational model required that master-class relations be structured almost solely along functional lines: the profitable purchase, production, and utilization of slave labor.

A few examples may suffice here. Historians have reported freely on the systems of liability insurance and slave care that were

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installed as means of protecting this capital. There were no gains without risky venture. After a trader had purchased slaves from African or distant parts of the Americas, death could deplete his number during the passage; pirates could seize his ships; or storms could wreck his cargo. Reports of the reality of these risks and indemnification for such losses are found in the journals and account books of some of the most active traders of the eighteenth century.²⁰ Risk continued on the plantation itself, causing definitive health practices to become standard managerial policies. Nothing illustrates these practices more clearly than the contents of the many plantation records now available to plantation historians. In an extensive survey of these records, Ulrich B. Phillips reported that the initial topic contained in them was usually about the care of the slaves.²¹ Some well organized plantations had their own hospitals, and there is some evidence that these health centers were more than mere names.²² William Massie not only recorded his slave population

²⁰The Journal of an African Slaver 1789-1829 (Worcester, Mass.: Antigenerian Society, 1930); Nicholas Owen, Journal of a Slave Dealer (London: George Routledge and Sons, 1930); and Wendell Holmes Stephenson, Isaac Franklin: Slave Trader and Planter of the Old South (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1938), pp. 40-41.

²¹Ulrich B. Phillips, American Negro Slavery (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1940), pp. 261-290-

²²William D. Postel, The Health of the Slaves on Southern Plantations (Baton Rouge, La.: Louisiana State University Press, 1951).

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each year but also closely observed their mortality and morbidity rates.²³ The managerial practices of Francis Terry Leake of Mississippi indicated a similar concern, and the notation he made in his diary on October 6, 1852, subtly reflected the institutionalization of certain health practices as related to slaves and plantations throughout the South.²⁴ Owners judiciously recorded health remedies, which were periodically published in the plantation-oriented press.

Another expression of rational business practice appeared in the attempts of planters to efficiently utilize their labor. A complex system of division of labor was instituted on every plantation. In particular, there was an attempt to assign labor according to age, sex, physical strength, appearance, and intelligence. Efforts were made to coordinate all roles to take advantage both of a slave's skills and of the nature of the seasons. All this was done in pursuit of the maximum production per unit of slave labor. Also, each master was expected to maintain absolute authority over his slaves. Sustained by law, his authority over them extended to the limits of life and death. Within these broad limits he was expected to require

²³William Massie Papers, 1838-1849, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, University of North Carolina Library.

²⁴Diary and Other Records of Francis Terry Leake, 1841-1862. 5 vols., Southern Historical Collections, University of North Carolina Library.

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and receive absolute obedience, loyalty, docility, diligence, and all other patterns of behavior considered essential for profitable production and the survival of the slave economy. The laws of every slave state supported the normative line which he could draw, and every slave was expected to fear the consequences of any deviation from the range of tolerance his master set.²⁵ These requirements, when executed to the letter of the slave laws, clearly defined classical capitalistic design. They also set a rigorous sociocultural matrix within which young Blacks were to be socialized and were to become personality types required by the rational order. It was indeed true that they set the unyielding slave regime that Frank Tannenbaum could contrast so sharply with the more lenient system in Latin America and the West Indies. They made possible the patterns of "infantile personality regression" that Roger Bastide attributed to the slave's socialization process, and they encouraged the development of the "Sambo" personality that Stanley M. Elkins says exists in the Black population today.²⁶

²⁵William B. Hesseltine, The South in American History (New York: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1943), pp. 39-40.

²⁶Frank Tannenbaum, Slave and Citizen (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1947); Stanley M. Elkins, Slavery: A Problem in American Institutional and Intellectual Life (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962), pp. 117, 128-133; and Roger Bastide, Sociologie et Psychoanalyse (Paris: Press Universitaires de France, 1950), pp. 241-243.

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But there were points at which the rational order was to betray the best intentions of those who created it. Because its rational functions could not adequately satisfy certain emotional needs of the slave-holding class, interracial permissiveness sprang up outside the official structures of that order. Within the boundaries of social tolerance etched by these patterns of permissiveness, many Blacks were able to gain closer personal contact with the slaveholding class, acquire some degree of literacy, develop an unplanned-for leadership structure, and thereby experience upward mobility within Southern society. As the South passed through various strategic stages in its history, the intensity of this interracial permissiveness waned and was almost extinguished.²⁷

To a very large degree, the so-called rational order relevant to the system of slavery spelled its defeat. Walter Firey remarked:

Man has the capacity to develop sentimental attachments to almost any object, and sentiment frequently influences behavior to such an extent that questions of unity are disregarded.²⁸

The inner workings of the slave system illuminated the above statement very well. Prior to the end of slavery, slave investment

²⁷ Henry Allen Bullock, A History of Negro Education in the South (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967), pp. 3-4.

²⁸ Walter Firey, "Sentiment and Symbolism as Ecological Variables," in R. W. O'Brien, C. C. Shrag, and W. T. Martin, Readings in General Sociology (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1964), pp. 103-108.

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practices had lost most of their rationality. At first there were only faint signs that this was occurring, that is, that the plantation order could become laden with emotion and sentiment. As early as the 1650's, a pretentious economy under the dominance of the official colonial class had centered in Virginia and slowly spread along the coast. This was an economy that was firmly anchored in large estates and the influence of the colonial leaders who owned them. There was Stag Park, patented by George Barrington, the governor of the Province of North Carolina; there was the estate of Samuel Ashe who was later elected governor of the state. Another sparkling showplace was Green Hill, owned by John Ashe who became a leader of the Southern Patriots against the British. Many of these estates became fabulous architectural showplaces, and most assuredly, glittering examples of the dominance of a colonial class.²⁹ Even the scheme of class dominance began to change in revolutionary fashion near the close of the seventeenth century, when plantation ownership passed mainly to more rough and ready hands, the use of plantation ownership as a symbol of "class" and power had already been set.³⁰

²⁹Bullard, A History of Negro Education in the South, p. 4.

³⁰W. J. Cash, The Mind of the South (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1946), p. 6.

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Individually, various members of the planter class trusted more and more of their economic future to their ownership of slaves. Men such as Guy M. Bryan of Texas, and James Crawford, a personal friend of Frances Terry Leake, ventured beyond the boundary of rational judgment. The wheeling-and-dealing activities characteristic of many slave owners of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries made it most difficult to determine whether the planters or their creditors owned the slaves and the plantations. Public anxiety about this was shown as early as 1738, when in a letter to the South Carolina Gazette a reader expressed that emotional slave buying "may prove the ruin of the province."³¹ The practice so prevalent among the slaveholding class, of placing the most intelligent and likely of the slave crop in personal service to the master rather than in productive service to help his economy obviously violated the rational model.

As if by stealth, sentimental attachments between masters and selected slaves was significantly widened. This change was due to the official sanctions of the society. All slaves could not be sufficiently utilized, as the slave system required, unless they were trained in ways which the system prohibited. As the power of individual planters expanded, many plantations tended to become

³¹Stephensen, Isaac Franklin, p. 292.

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self-sustaining worlds, and the slaves were trained for effective service to the rational order to have higher value. The food consumed, clothing worn, tools used, and houses inhabited were all produced by slave labor. This type of development cause in increase in the complexity of slave duties, and rising slave prices very quickly reflected this fact. A. T. Walker of North Carolina made over 25 per cent profit in his purchase and sale of Burell and Patrick, two slaves who were trained as artisans.³² On-the-job training programs developed within the formal structure in response to the rise in demand for and to the higher prices elicited in the markets where trained slaves were auctioned. Isaac Croom of Alabama trained his slaves in the construction crafts. His magnificent home, Magnolia Grove, stood as testimony of their building skills.³³ C. W. Tait and Thomas Blackshear of Texas provided opportunities for their slaves to learn a variety of skills. Many carpenters, blacksmiths, weavers, and seamstresses emerged from these training experiences.³⁴

³²Bullock, A History of Negro Education in the South, p.s. from A. T. Walker Account Book, 1851-1861, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina Library.

³³Birmingham News, May 8, 1847, as quoted in James B. Sellers, Slavery in Alabama (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1950), p. 27.

³⁴Abigail Curlee, "A History of Southern Plantations," Southwestern Historical Quarterly 26:261 (July 1922-April 1923).

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The inclination of certain owners to respond to the challenge offered by a slave's intelligence provided impetus to the invasion of plantation society by sentimentalism. Many slaveholders placed their slaves under the tutelage of master craftsmen. Henry Harris of Clarksdale, Mississippi, was sent by his master to an iron foundry in Tuscaloosa, Alabama, where he learned to mold iron. A slave named Gregory, who was reared in Charleston, South Carolina, was observed by his owner to have a love for tools. He was apprenticed to a master carpenter who taught him the skillful use of the hammer and saw.³⁵ Frederick L. Olmsted noticed instances such as these during his travels. Although the slave was intrusted with keys to all the store provisions of the plantations, he weighed and measured all the rations issued, supervised all the machines, and made all the machinery including the steam engine.³⁶ He acquired these skills when his master took him to a steam engine builder and paid \$500 to have him trained as a machinist. Records show that production was not always the aim of these training opportunities.³⁷ The wills of many owners

³⁵Orland K. Armstrong, Old Massa's People (Indianapolis: The Bobbs Merrill Co., Inc., 1951), p. 96.

³⁶Frederick L. Olmsted, A Journey in the Seaboard States, 1853-1854 (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1904), pp. 54-55.

³⁷John P. Curry, "Education in Colonial Georgia," Georgia Historical Quarterly, Vol. 16, p. 141 (June, 1923), 141.

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contained provision for the education of their slaves and occasionally for their manumission.³⁸

It was not long before the growing number of highly trained slaves became redundant, exceeding the capacity of many owners to involve them in their productive enterprises. Consequently, these servants were often maintained as status symbols for their owners, who frequently found it necessary to provide some means of holding and supporting them. Out of the pressure of circumstances came a policy of "hiring out" slaves to employers who needed them. Although this policy was legally forbidden by every slave state, it was practiced freely, and instances of prosecution for this violation were extremely rare.³⁹ Despite continued opposition, the practice of training slaves continued to make the plantation what Booker T. Washington termed an "industrial school."⁴⁰ What was to become one of the most controversial movements in the entire history of Black education was actually begun within a system officially committed to the policy that Black people should not be educated at all.

³⁸ Bullock, A History of Negro Education in the South, p. 6.

³⁹ V. Alton Moody, "Slavery on Louisiana Sugar Plantations," Louisiana Historical Quarterly (April, 1924), 1-112.

⁴⁰ Booker T. Washington, "Industrial Education for the Negro," in W. E. B. Dubois, The Negro Problem (New York: James Pott and Co., 1903), p. 11; and Booker T. Washington and W. E. B. Dubois, The Negro in the South (Philadelphia: George W. Jacobs and Co., 1907), p. 24.

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The information and permissiveness inherent in these practices reduced the vigors of plantation life and produced leadership within the Black population. It fostered a higher self-concept among the slaves and, because of the many manumissions which resulted, this led to the rise of an aggressive and mildly secure middle class within the free Black populace. Some of the slaves so favored by these educational opportunities managed to develop their own business enterprises. Lydia Maria Child, a former slave in South Carolina, cited one such example in her grandmother, whose talents had been observed and developed by her master.⁴¹ What was more important, however, was that the permissiveness contributed to the development of a group of skilled workers within the free Black and slave populations. This fact is clearly evidenced by the number who were employed in skilled occupations during 1848. Using the industrial census of Charleston, U. B. Phillips showed that free Black people were employed in all but eight of the fifty occupations composing the skilled group, and slaves were employed in all but thirteen.⁴² Black workers were fairly dominant as carpenters and joiners, barbers, hairdressers, and bakers. Slaves represented between 47 and 67 per cent of all such employed in the area.⁴³

⁴¹ See Lydia Maria Child, In The Life of a Slave Girl (Boston: Lee and Shepherd Publishers, 1861), p. 12.

⁴² Ulrich B. Phillips, "The Slave Labor in the Charleston District," Political Science Quarterly, Vol. 22 (1907), 434-435.

⁴³ Bullock, A History of the Negro in the South, p. 7.

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By the beginning of the nineteenth century, permissiveness had eroded the plantation society's rational policy, and new educational opportunities had been opened for a select group of slaves. As an expression of the emotional needs and rugged individualism of the planter class, the institution of slavery had become infected with a particular manner of indulgence that was eventually to result in an educated core of slaves who would supply the basic leadership on behalf of their own freedom.

It was also during this same period that household servants were placed in direct personal contact with slaveholders and, to a very large degree, these relationships took place in spite of the restriction of slave laws as they related to the social relations of Blacks and Whites. This situation became so commonplace until the unofficially relaxed socio-cultural situation became part and parcel of the system of slavery. For example, in the case of Michan V. Wyatt, evidence showed that Leah, his wife was severely attached to many of her slaves; she reared most of them in the household with her own children. In the case of Randall V. Lang, it is revealed that a male slave was born and reared within the family of its owner.⁴⁴ Many slaves actually slept in the same room with their masters in order to be on hand to cater to their every need. Specially selected slave

⁴⁴Sellers, Slavery in Alabama, p. 88.

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girls were the constant companions of mistresses, and in many cases were their same age; and servants were also available and inseparable from their masters--these servants indulged their masters as a very special kind of luxury. Even though a case can hardly be built for slavery as being that of a mild institution, it was, moreover, an ex-slave from the Bryant Watkins' Plantation in Alabama who reflected:

Then there were the special privileges that made it so worthwhile being a servant on the old plantation.⁴⁵

W. Austin Steward, a slave for twenty-one years, recalled in 1859 that the slaves of Colonel Alexander were always better fed, better clad, and had greater privileges than any he knew in the Old Dominion. "And, of course," he added, "the patrol had long had an eye on them, anxious to flog some of those 'pampered niggers' who were spoiled by the indulges of a weak owner."⁴⁶

Historians have not been reluctant to underrate the socio-historical significance of these patterns of master-slave relationships. Such relationships were more than instances of sheer physical proximity and the availability of slaves for exploitation by their masters; they carried a degree of personal intimacy that extended beyond the level of blood mixture and miscegenation into the area of

⁴⁵Armstrong, Old Massa's People, p. 34.

⁴⁶Austin Steward, Twenty-One Years a Slave and Forty Years Freeman (Rochester: Ailings and Cory, 1859), p. 28.

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cultural diffusion and acculturation. They constituted a way of life that transformed many Black children into personality types which to a very large degree, modified that of their masters. There was a closeness of mind involved in them and a social nearness which helped give some of these children a special self-image--a feeling of worth and superiority. Slaves who belonged to wealthy owners felt more superior to their lesser slave brethren. From these exalted attitudes of one group of slaves to another, these slaves established within their own subculture a tradition and an attitude of in-group snobbishness not only toward their fellow slaves but toward the poorer white people also.

In many instances behavioral mimicry and internalization was so great, on the part of the slaves, that many slaves were more similar to their masters than their masters were to themselves. There were actual cases in which some, influenced by persistent intimacy with their owners and their families, became very much like the quality folk with whom they lived. For example, Julie, the slave nurse in the family of William Alexander Hoke, was reared like the other girls of the Hoke family. She was married to a mulatto male from the same plantation, and the ceremony was held in the Episcopal Church "in a big white-style wedding."⁴⁷ Accepted as a member of the

⁴⁷William Alexander Hoke Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina Library, from Bullock, A History of Negro Education in the South, p. 9.

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Julie embarrassed the family and fell from grace when she later shouted in a Black church.

Neatness and manner of dress, and elegance of appearance soon found their way into the servants' personal value systems. Some of the slaves learned from their mistresses and masters that their advice on such matters as dress and social etiquette was welcomed as part of their duty as servants. Assimilation was so complete, in many instances, that a given slave--or slaves--could pass for White under the banner of master-class demeanor unless betrayed by his complexion or someone's knowledge of his condition of servitude. A mulatto slave woman who had been purchased at Louisville and who worked on the Affleck Plantation in Texas ran away to the nearby town of Brenham where she registered as a White woman. After receiving positive treatment usually reserved for aristocratic Southern White women, she was apprehended by her master and summarily returned to the bondage from which she had temporarily escaped. However, she never divested herself of her aristocratic demeanor. Even though she was later sold to another family and married their servant, she was subsequently freed and lived to serve her former master as hostess at her residence in Mississippi.⁴⁸ It should be clear by now that this

⁴⁸Thomas Affleck Papers, 1847, 1866, Rosenberg Library Archives, Galveston, Texas, from Bullock, A History of Negro Education in the South, p.8.

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Gradually and inevitably, the paternalistic indulgence of their masters encouraged literacy among the slaves, contrary to the implied assumptions of Stanley Elkins and Roger Bastide, personality is derived, not from that of a one-way impact of a cultural setting upon the individual, who passively reflects its imprint, but rather from the interaction between the child and those who teach him. Many of the favored slaves internalized feelings of sameness vis-a-vis their masters. They reasoned that being able to read and write made them such and they made positive use of all the opportunities necessary for attaining literacy that the system afforded them. A house servant learned through necessity how to distinguish among the different newspapers his master ordered him to select, and slaves who served as foremen had to be literate enough to keep a daily log or record. More generally, however, some slave children gained literacy through play schools which developed from the social relations slaves had with their owners and their children. Even though they began as tools of play, these schools were often taken quite seriously by both teacher and pupil. Such was the case of the Mississippi plantation when a planter's son aspired to make scholars from his father's slaves. Five of these slaves became ministers. Letitia Burwell

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in recalling her life as a slave remarked that she and her sister operated one of these "schools," and she emphasized the reward her father gave them for teaching arithmetic to the slave boys he was training as mechanics.⁴⁹ Richard Sinquefield experienced similar educational advantages through the literary enthusiasm of the White children with whom he played, and so did Frederick Douglass.⁵⁰

As the spread of antislavery literature among the slaves grew more threatening, the plantation owners grew bitter, thus the teaching of slaves to read and write moved underground. In fact, a play school for teaching slaves operated within the household of the Honorable John Fonchereau Grimke, Judge of the Supreme Court of South Carolina. His daughters, Sarah and Angelina, delighted in teaching slave children at night against legal opposition. In describing how she operated her school Sarah reported lightly: "The light was put out, the keyhole secured, and flat on our stomachs before the fire, with spelling books in our hands, we defied the laws of South Carolina."⁵¹

⁴⁹ Letitia Burwell, A Girl's Life in Virginia Before the War (Nashville: American Methodist Episcopal Sunday School Union, 1906), pp. 7-22.

⁵⁰ Richard A. Sinquefield, Life and Times of Rev. Richard A. Sinquefield, 1832-1908 (Nashville: Sunday School Union, 1909), pp. 7-8.

⁵¹ The Experiences of Thomas H. Jones (Worcester, Mass.: Henry J. Rowland, 1857), pp. 13-15.

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The spirit of defiance expressed by these children spread to the slaves. Thomas H. Jones pursued the freedom of self through a spelling book which became his constant companion.⁵²

The literary zeal of Frederick Douglass was nourished in this way. He kept crumbs of bread with which he bribed hungry White boys into giving him lessons from Webster's Spelling Book.⁵³ Thus the boy who would become one of slavery's most bitter and eloquent enemies was not denied his destiny. Historical literature is replete with cases of slaves who struggled to gain literacy in this way.⁵⁴ In the experience of slaves it was inevitable that they would learn even against the most extreme odds.

As the various patterns of interracial permissiveness gained a foothold outside the official structure of the planter-dominated society, those persons who were anxious to establish schools for Black people became more determined and convinced that their cause was indeed a noble one. Mainly motivated by the need to make their slaves more obedient, many plantation owners pushed by the desire to

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Benjamin Quarles, Frederick Douglass (Washington: Associated Publishers, Inc., 1948), pp. 6-7; also F. M. Holland, Frederick Douglass (New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1891), p. 15.

⁵⁴ The Annual Report of the American Foreign Anti-Slavery-Society (New York: May 7, 1850), p. 128; Carter G. Woodson, Education of the Negro Prior to 1861 (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1915), p. 207.

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control their slaves established Sunday schools, and very often required the reading of the Bible as part of a home-study program.⁵⁵

There were attempts to institute these activities as part of the official order. In spite of the overall fear that literacy would expose the slaves to abolitionist literature and stimulate revolt within the ranks of slavery, there arose a group of Southern religious leaders who insisted that, instead, literacy was the potential savior of the slave system. None of these was more persistent than the Reverend George F. Pierce, Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South.⁵⁶ On March 27, 1863, Bishop Pierce entered a very strong plea in the interest of the toleration of literacy among the slaves. Even this declaration of sentiment came later, it nevertheless indicates the sentiment of Whites regarding the literacy of slaves which had developed before the Civil War.

Long before this conversion, however, signs that informal permissiveness would result in formal education for Blacks in the South were already abundant. The foreign mission that sprang up around slavery never dissipated; they were allowed to form the nucleus of a movement for formal schooling among free Blacks and slaves.

⁵⁵ Nehemiah Adams, A Southside View of Slavery (Boston: T. R. Marvin Saborn, Carter and Maine, 1855), pp. 31-32.

⁵⁶ George C. Smith, Life and Times of George F. Pierce (Macon, Ga.: NP, 1888), p. 474-475.

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It was as early as 1620, during the beginning of the slave trade, that English clergymen expressed an interest in the extension of religious training to those "in bondage beyond the seas and had made some progress in this direction."⁵⁷ A century later, some Presbyterians took even more adventuresome advances in the direction of developing religious leadership among Black people by making formal training directly available to them. Hugh Bryan, a wealthy and deeply religious Presbyterian opened a Black school in 1740, in Charleston, South Carolina. In Virginia other schools had opened by 1755 where Presbyterians were teaching slaves to read and spell.⁵⁸ This movement was extended to college training for selected Blacks. Anxious to determine whether or not a Black was capable of acquiring a college education, Presbyterians selected John Chavis of North Carolina as an experimental subject and sent him to Princeton University. After graduation, Chavis became a leading teacher in the

⁵⁷ Paul Monroe, A Cyclopedia of Education (New York: The Mac Millan Company, 1913), p. 405, and C. C. Jones, The Religious Instruction of the Negro in the United States as quoted in W. P. Harrison, The Gospel Among Slaves (Nashville: Publishing House of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1893), pp. 38-39.

⁵⁸ Luther P. Jackson, "Religious Development of Negroes in Virginia," Journal of Negro Education 16:174 (January, 1931); John Rankin, Letters on American Slavery (Boston: Garrison and Knapp, 1833), p. 31; Charles C. Jones, A Catechism of Scripture and Doctrine Practice for Familial and Sabbath Schools Designed Also for the Oral Instruction of Colored Persons (Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publications, 1853). "Note though planned for oral instruction, Jones' Catechism was used by slaves who were learning to read secretly.

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South. Once his school was established, however, Chavis was forced to make it available only to White children. He can rightfully be classified as the first Negro to act as headmaster of White Southern children of aristocratic parentage. Many of Chavis' students became great leaders in government and politics. And although Black children were denied access to his scholarship, he did prove that Blacks were capable of acquiring a college education which for them could be profitable.⁵⁹

Educational work among the slaves was considerably augmented by other religious groups. Dr. Thomas Bray of England, organizing the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel near the opening of the eighteenth century, raised funds, hired teachers, and established schools for slaves and Indians in Charleston, S.C., Savannah, and other parts of Georgia.⁶⁰ The Southern Quakers soon joined Dr. Bray's associates in providing the rudiments of an educational system under the slave regime. Beginning merely as a missionary gesture aimed at improving the conditions of the slave under bondage, the friends soon moved to a more liberal position of absolute adherence to the philosophy of radical abolitionism. The years between 1664

⁵⁹ Bullock, A History of Negro Education in the South, p. 12.

⁶⁰ Edgar Legare Pennington, Thomas Bray's Associates and their Work Among Negroes (Worcester: The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, 1939).

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and 1785 marked the period of their most aggressive campaign. Their first school was established in Virginia, where they began with 108 pupils who stood at a variety of academic levels. They founded a second school at Gravelly Run and by 1808 had instituted a trustee system by which slaves could receive individualized instruction on a familial basis, followed by eventual manumission.⁶¹

The educational opportunities, similar to the others which had developed prior to the Civil War, were neither available to all the slaves nor firmly established as an acceptable part of the official Southern society. They were privileges principally gained by house slaves still under the regime or by the free Blacks who had escaped it.

Out of this indulgence and stealth there had developed for Blacks a greater trend toward freedom and a leadership that would keep the trend alive, though not always in great force. A free Black population was permitted to develop beyond the walls that held the slaves. Between 1790 and 1860, this population had increased at rates significantly higher than the slave population. It expanded from 32,523 or 4.7 per cent of the total Black population in the South in 1790, to 258,346 or 6.3 per cent in 1860.⁶² Most of this

⁶¹Woodson, Education of the Negro, pp. 113-114.

⁶²Bureau of the Census, Negro Population: 1790-1915 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1918), pp. 53-57.

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increase was concentrated in those areas of the South where informal patterns of interracial permissiveness had been the most prevalent. Considerable interbreeding between the master and slave classes had resulted in a sizable mulatto population that included many who had apparently gained their manumission through the conscience of their White parentage. Some had been freed through master-class indulgence, and, of course, intermarriage between free Blacks had resulted in free births. Notwithstanding its source of origin, however, the free Black population of the South came to constitute a threat to the region's official and traditional way of life.

Of even greater threat was the literate and articulate Black leadership that educational and social permissiveness had allowed to develop. This leadership was sometimes bold and crude, at other times more sophisticated and subtly cunning. At times it was able to keep the official society off balance and on a collision course with the antislavery sentiments that were developing both within and outside the South. For example, Blacks in Charleston, after reading the antislavery debates of the Missouri Compromise, became incensed by the attacks upon slavery that it implied and revolted in an effort to effectuate the institution's extermination. They found their leader in Denmark Vesey, an educated Black who had brought with him his ideas of freedom from Santo Domingo. They struck against their

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masters in the bloody insurrection of 1822. Although their attempt was crushed, there were others who had also gained some rudiments of education and who were also quite instrumental in striking down the walls of slavery. David Walker, a Black religious fanatic, who had managed to gain a very high degree of literacy under slavery, emerged from the free Black population of Wilmington, North Carolina, to use his knowledge and influence against slavery. Walker published his Appeal in 1829 and through it all urged all slaves of the South to rise up against their masters. In a very subdued and prophetic manner, he made this promise to those of his people still in bondage:

For although the destruction of the oppressors, God may not effect by the oppressed, yet the Lord our God will bring other destruction upon them, for not infrequently will he cause them to rise up against the others, to be split, divided, and oppress each other, and sometimes to open hostilities with sword in hand.⁶³

Copies of the appeal were widely and illegally distributed among the slaves, causing an increase in the spirit of revolt. This was evidenced by Governor John Forsyth's communication to the Georgia legislature in which he charged the seriousness of the insurrectionary movement to the distribution of this type of literature.⁶⁴ Two years after its distribution, even though no plausible evidence of

⁶³David Walker's Appeal as quoted in Carter G. Woodson, The Negro in Our History (Washington, D.C.: The Associated Publishers, 1922), p. 93.

⁶⁴Herbert Aptheker, "Militant Abolitionists," Journal of Negro History, XXVI (October, 1941), 445-465.

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connection has been found, to date, Nat Turner, the mystical and illiterate slave rebel of Virginia, led his renowned insurrection against the slave masters of Henrico County, Virginia. Despite the very formal and stringent measures instituted by the plantation owners, the flames of slave insurrection persisted, kept alive by various appeals that were sent into the South by educated Blacks who had since abandoned the area.

It would not be incorrect to say that probably the heaviest blow struck against slavery by slaves emanated from those slaves who had escaped from the South to the North to join the antislavery movement. Through their personal narratives, the leaders of this movement found readymade materials for their propaganda machines. William Wells Brown, Thomas H. Jones, Lunceford Lane, Frederick Douglass, Austin Steward, and the Reverend Richard Anderson Sinquefield are examples of those who had acquired their education while slaves and had escaped to serve the antislavery movement. The works these men published through the antislavery press and the speeches they made from the antislavery platform were used not only as dramatic proof that Blacks could learn but also as a vivid dramatization of the evils of slavery that was more graphic than any other type of antislavery literature. The activities of these Black leaders make one conclusion eminently clear: many opportunities for the personal

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emancipation of Blacks had come into being as early as 1860 with the unintentional help of those who dominated Southern society at that time.

With the advent of the Civil War, Black people's educational opportunities moved into a new cycle. A series of historical events began to push them from underground and to establish them as an official part of the new order imposed upon the South after its military defeat.

Historically speaking, to reflect back over these decades, it is very clear that the trends of change were operative in the South as early as the middle of the nineteenth (19th) century. By this time the official system of slavery had been invaded by unofficial socio-sexual permissiveness which had substantially weakened the formal order of slavery and rendered it invulnerable to the pressures of a war in the making. Out of the rationality of societal organization had come an incompatibility between North and South that would cause violent ideological and physical conflict between the North and the South.

Because both regions had divergent courses of socio-economic development, the bases for interregional cooperation had been dissipated at the level of equalitarianism. Also, the credit system upon which the South's agrarian economy had rested, was the result of

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Northern industrial profits, causing the major portion of the plantation class to strongly resent this notion of dependency. The system of forced and cheap slave labor, which was quite important to the health and sustenance of the Southern economy, had caused the nation's onslaught of European immigration to cautiously and intentionally not settle in the South--they alternatively settled in the North, East, Middle West and the West: the westward direction of national expansion. These newcomers were, therefore, continuing to inflate the population of the free states and to concomitantly create an imbalance in congressional representation which was unfavorable to slavery. In general, the needs of the South were radically different from those of the North; and its national political influence had not been strong enough to force through congress legislation favorable and gainful to its agrarian economy. Thus lacking the political power to effect relief, the South turned to the force of arms.

However, when the Civil War did occur the ideological conflict between the South's rational economic policy and the emotional need of the slaveholding class backfired even further. The strong strands of individualism and informal character of the South, which had softly developed outside of its official structure, had weakened the society for the ordeal that lay ahead. Southerners had lived and existed relatively free of governmental interference except for the

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responsibility of paying taxes--which they felt essential for the sustenance of minimal public functions. They also found it difficult to accept the idea that any government, at home or abroad, had the right to invade their social life or to regulate their economic interests. This attitude, of course, strengthened public suspicions of every step taken by the confederacy toward organization for war through the extension of its power.⁶⁵ Moreover, despite the government's reluctance to cut into the people's customary liberties, the pressure of the war made curtailment necessary, and triggered the undisciplined individualism of Southern society.

When the official Southern society lost its control over Black people an entire new course of problems arose. Without any intentional relation to education, the sequence began with a large-scale movement of the slaves away from the plantations and toward areas which symbolized larger margins of freedom. The Emancipation Proclamation which was finalized on January 1, 1863, simply added momentum to a tide of bondsmen already in motion. There were literally hordes of slaves wandering from town to town searching for a place to settle. "When the ship, John Adams, anchored at one of the

⁶⁵ Francis Butler Simkins, The South Old and New (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1951), p. 148. Charles W. Ramsdell, "The Confederate Government and the Railroads," American Historical Review, XXII (July, 1917), 794-810; Lawrence Henry Gipson, "The Collapse of the Confederacy," Mississippi Valley Historical Review, IV (March, 1918), 437-458.

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⁶⁷ Vincent Colyer
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plantations, Blacks rushed along carrying every conceivable thing on their heads that could possibly be placed there."⁶⁶ Vincent Colyer, describing the refugee situation in North Carolina, reported that slaves from neighboring plantations fled in groups of 100 at a time.⁶⁷ By the summer of 1865, masses of Black people had migrated from the farms to the cities. More than twenty thousand had reached Washington, D.C.; the great exodus had reached the plantations of Mississippi; and all the larger cities of the South had been overrun by deserting Blacks, who were seeking the protection of invading Union forces.

These enormous concentrations of refugees caused severe problems that the Union forces did not anticipate and thus, were not prepared to handle. The problem was basically that of finding support for the destitute and hungry masses who had been uprooted by the change. As a result of emancipation, the slaves could no longer depend on their former owners. Ironically, the law that freed the slaves of irresponsibility--also freed the slave owners of responsibility. The problem of support was made even more acute by the condition of the refugees themselves. All who had left the plantations

⁶⁶ Elizabeth H. Botume, First Days Among the Contraband (Boston: Lee and Shepard Publishers, 1893), p. 15.

⁶⁷ Vincent Colyer, Brief Report of the Services Rendered by the Freed People of the United States Army in North Carolina, 1862 (New York: 1864), p. 34; and Allan Nevins, The Emergence of Modern America, 1865-1878 (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1927), p. 9.

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were not prepared for the ordeals of freedom that they were to face. Many of the slaves were virtually helpless--either too old or too young to care for themselves. Also, many were physically disabled, and even those able to work were so disoriented by their newly-won freedom that they, too, required emergency care.

The problem, to a very large degree, provided the basis for its own solution--the stimulus that would call forth leaders who would foster the organization of activities against it, either because of the compulsions of their official responsibilities or because of the compulsions of the dictates of their moral conscience. In fact, both of these forces went into operation at approximately the same time. The confusion resulting from the concentration of refugees within Union lines made some kind of official action essential to the successful prosecution of the war. And, also, without its blessing was the depth of misery which the sheer concentration of deprived masses brought into bold relief. The concentration generated a philanthropic concern that probably would not have developed so rapidly had those sharing a common misery remained scattered and uncounted.

Organization for the emergency grew informally and outside the more rational provisions of military design. Admittedly, however, the initial leadership in planning for the security of the

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refugees came from the Union military structure. Union generals faced the problem in its immediacy since it hampered their military operations, and they sought rather diligently to remove this obstacle by stimulating the more advantaged sector of the public to accept the responsibility for meeting the pressing needs of the recently freed slaves. Apparently they did this well, through a series of emotional appeals. On February 6, 1862, when the emergency was in its earliest stage, General W. T. Sherman issued a declaration from Hilton Head, advising that the condition of the Blacks in the vast area of his command called for immediate action on the part of "a highly favored and philanthropic people." Planting the idea from which a new educational movement for Blacks would develop, he added:

To relieve the government of a burden that may hereafter become unsupportable, and to enable the Blacks to support and govern themselves in the absence of their disloyal guardians, a suitable system of cultivation and instruction must be combined with one providing for physical wants.⁶⁸

Even though many such appeals would be voiced by Union generals, this one alone was sufficient to arouse public conscience deeply enough to stimulate the development of an extensive emergency organization outside the military regime that was imposed upon a defeated South.

⁶⁸Elizabeth Botume, First Days Amongst the Contrabands (Boston: Lee and Shepard Publishers, 1893), p. 15.

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Knowledge of the various appeals to aid the freedmen generated to various areas of the North. Many people who had been formally indifferent to the cause of antislavery allowed themselves to become actively involved in fighting the conditions created by the emergency.⁶⁹ Benevolent societies developed in quick succession to form a complex of freedmen's associations that reached such cities as Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Cincinnati, and Chicago in 1862-1863. The functions they carried out so well consisted mainly of providing clothing, food, money, religious leaders, and teachers for the refugees. Although these groups were non-sectarian, they were joined by church organizations that were to extend the program to include the freedmen's school system then in its germinal stage. Leading the entire group of these religious organizations was the American Missionary Association, which had been incorporated in 1849 for the purpose of operating Christian missions and educational institutions at home and abroad. The Baptist Church, North, was another of the many religious units that entered the field of freedmen's relief at this time. Its Home Mission Society, later to create many colleges for Black people, was established in 1832 in order to preach

⁶⁹ Luther P. Jackson, "The Educational Efforts of the Freedmen's Bureau and Freedmen Aid Societies in South Carolina, 1862-1872," Journal of Negro History, VIII (January, 1923), 1-40; and A.D. Mayo, "The Work of Certain Northern Churches in the Education of the Freedmen," Report of the Commissioner of Education for the Year of 1902 (Washington, D.C., 1903), pp. 285-314.

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the gospel in destitute regions. This society also entered upon the difficult problem of supplying trained leaders for work among the refugees. Joined by the Freedmen's Aid Society and the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, it helped dispense a great deal of money and supplies through the Union Army.

Also assisting were those Black people who had received special training within the institution of slavery. Town life afforded many employment opportunities to those who had acquired the skills demanded by urban economics, and towns had long been a refuge for the free or manumitted Black who had managed to forge ahead. The seamstress of the Hull family of Athens, Georgia, moved with her daughter into the Hull family household and took in enough sewing to support her family.⁷⁰ Throughout the South there were Blacks who supported themselves and at times their former masters by the small businesses they had learned to organize and manage. Their economic independence had become a badge of freedom; it heralded the emergence of a middle class around whom an even greater drive toward self-respect and individual emancipation was to be developed.

Nevertheless, those Northern missionaries, who had worked among the freedmen, held a strong conviction that emergency measures were not sufficient to solve this problem. They believed that some

⁷⁰ Mildred Thompson, Reconstruction in Georgia (New York: Columbia University Press, 1915), pp. 56-57.

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type of permanent plan should be installed and made an official part of the new order. They felt that this plan should be a school system based on that of New England. Almost working independently of each other, though with the informal blessing of Union generals, these missionaries had attempted the educative process at the formal level and had found it more in keeping with their missionary zeal. Consequently, they constantly worked with Union generals to include formal education in a reform plan that would create a medium through which Blacks could pass from legal to natural equality of citizenship. Their opportunity came when faults of the emergency program reached the point of public concern: some elements of corruption had seeped into the program, and local officials, misusing the residual authority left them by military defeat, had not always dealt justly with their freedmen.

Nowhere were these faults more clearly exposed than in the report made to the Secretary of War by the American Freedmen's Inquiry Commission.⁷¹ As public awareness became more enlightened, more definite steps were taken by the Union government to revise the program's structure and harness its functions. The Commission had

⁷¹Preliminary Report Touching on the Conditions and Management of Emancipated Refugees, made to the Secretary of War by the American Freedmen's Inquiry Commission, June 30, 1863 (New York: John F. Trow, Printer, 1863), pp. 23-24.

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recommended the creation of an agency that would centralize the responsibility for care of the freedmen. Discussion of this recommendation took place in and out of Congress, and definite proposals were not made from January 12, 1863, to March 5, 1865. Congress passed an act creating such an agency one month before the close of the war. The agency was the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands--commonly known as the Freedmen's Bureau.⁷²

The historical significance of this action was twofold. First, it did alleviate some of the faults of the relief program; it made the care of freedmen part of the official structure by which Southern society was then being controlled. It, more specifically, committed the United States to the job of caring for the Freedmen's Bureau, in the business of protecting Blacks against treatment by local officials. It located the Bureau within the War Department and accorded it the responsibility of supervising all subjects relating to refugees and freedmen of the rebel states. General Oliver O. Howard, the first commissioner appointed by the President, immediately mapped a program aimed at securing "health care and legal rights for refugees"

⁷²For a complete description of the Freedmen's Bureau, see Paul S. Pierce, The Freedmen's Bureau (Iowa City, University of Iowa Press, 1904).

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and at providing them with "the foundation of education."⁷³ And so special care for Blacks passed from missionary organizations into federal authority and to the official social structure then composing the federal military commands in the South.

What was the social character of the missionaries into whose hands the destiny of the former slaves had fallen? Were they opportunists, or were they religious leaders seriously committed to the cause of their spiritual persuasion? These questions cannot be sloughed off, but must be confronted because of the many charges and countercharges that have since found their way into historical literature. Traditionalists, such as U. B. Phillips, presented Northern missionaries and others who worked among the freedmen as persons aiming to humiliate Southern White people by placing them at the mercy of their former slaves.⁷⁴ The traditionalists charged these Northern missionaries with imposing goals that ranged far beyond the freedmen's aspirations and with engaging in activities that actually blocked adjustments which the South either had instituted through its own initiative or would have done so without outside interference.⁷⁵

⁷³For an extensive traditionalist historical point of view, see John Eaton, Report of the Superintendent of Freedmen, 1864 (Washington, D.C.: NP, 1865), pp. 86-87.

⁷⁴Ulrich B. Phillips, American Negro Slavery (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1940).

⁷⁵Other very good examples of the traditionalists' interpretations of the Reconstruction period may be found in William A.

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Historical records do, however, support revisionist interpretations.⁷⁶

There is also evidence that the activities of Union generals and Northern Missionaries were quite consistent with their expressed intentions. When in 1862 General Ulysses S. Grant appointed one of his chaplains, the Rev. John Eaton, "to superintend the colored people" throughout the area of his command, the chaplain immediately took on the job of building a school system for those placed in his care. His system became the largest and most effective in the military district of the South.⁷⁷

Dunning, Reconstruction: Political and Economic (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1907); James F. Rhodes, History of the United States (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1906), Vol. VIII; Claud G. Bowers, The Tragic Era (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1929); the traditionalist interpretation of the "unsavory" impact of radical Reconstruction upon education is well presented in Wallace Knight, The Influence of Reconstruction of Education in the South (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University Press, 1913).

⁷⁶Revisionists' views are well chronicled by such writers as W. E. B. Dubois, "Reconstruction and its Benefits," American Historical Review, XV (July, 1910), 781-799; Horace Mann Bond, "Social and Economic Forces in Alabama Reconstruction," Journal of Negro History, XVIII (July, 1938), 290-348. Vernon L. Wharton, The Negro in Mississippi, 1865-1890 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1947); Guion G. Johnson, "Southern Paternalism Toward Negroes After Emancipation," Journal of Southern History, XVIII (November, 1957), 483-509; John Hope Franklin, Reconstruction After the Civil War (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961).

⁷⁷John Eaton, Report of the Superintendent of Freedmen, 1864 (Washington, D.C., 1865), pp. 86-87; and Ullin W. Leavell, Philanthropy in Negro Education (Nashville: George Peabody College for Teachers, 1930), pp. 28-29.

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The direct responsibility for establishing the freedmen's educational system in the South was to rest with the strongly motivated individuals who made up the active groups of the benevolent and religious groups of the North.

They were by moral orientation and training peculiarly prepared to shoulder the responsibility. They were devout Christians. The spiritual aspiration that sustained their missionary zeal also kept their antislavery beliefs alive to the extent that teaching Black people to read and understand the Bible was absolutely essential to their religious and moral development. These individuals were largely trained in New England colleges and universities and were probably some of the best trained of the nation's then small supply of common school teachers. They had interpreted the Emancipation Proclamation in terms of what it was supposed to mean--the freedom of Black people to determine their own destinies--and the freedom to participate in a free society like other people.

For these interested and concerned Northern teachers, societal norms had structured no sharp and unfavorable image of Black people in their minds. Their faith in the educability of their Black charges was generally unbiased by their previous conditions of servitude. With an abundant amount of zeal, they often wrote as did Sarah G. Stanley, a teacher of the American Missionary Association:

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The progress of the scholars is in all cases creditable and in some remarkable How richly God has endowed them, and how beautifully their natures would have expanded under a tender and gentle culture.⁷⁸

Moreover, the basic aspiration of Northern teachers was to effect the freedmen's transition to the state of absolute freedom through an educational institution of the only kind they knew--that of the New England style.⁷⁹

As the opportunities for formal education appeared on the horizon of the free world that began to open before them, the freedmen placed more pressure upon their supporters for the establishment of schools.

The foundation for a freedmen's school system was strong, with strong and obvious motivations had come White and Black teachers whose past deeds in the area of Black education left no question of their sincerity.

Every human experience rests upon some previous experience, and every possibility for tomorrow is contingent to some other possibility which was realized yesterday. Human possibility is created at the intersection of time, place and circumstance. Manipulate any one of these variables and the life chances of any given individual will be changed.

⁷⁸Henry L. Swint, The Northern Teachers in the South, 1862-1870 (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1941), p. 40.

⁷⁹Bullock, A History of Negro Education in the South, p. 24.

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The great benefactors of society are so often the visionaries who have the peculiar perceptivity to see beyond the exigencies of the present that is here, and to address the future that is to be. Human society is dynamic; it is never a static accomplishment capable of complete realization in a lifetime or a generation. Rather it is always in process--always different from what it was; yet never what it will be. To integrate the social flux, men who care about the refinement of human experience create institutions and monuments to themselves sometimes, but history has a manner of dealing with what is culturally fraudulent. The true objective of an institution should be to strengthen the fabric of society, to enhance the quality of the life experience of the individual, and to project the values of the culture out of which it arises. The function of an institution is to relate discrete social experiences in such manner as to infuse life with a quality of meaning which accentuates its social value. Hence, an institution is a social instrument directed toward the enhancement of the individual human experience to the ultimate benefit of the whole society. It is created as a response to a need that is felt to be fundamental, and its singularity is that it transcends time and circumstance, addressing itself to successive generations of men and women.

The Black college is such an institution. Born of the turmoil of a war which made Black men free with an imperfect freedom,

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established in a social environment hostile to its presence and committed to its destruction, the Black college has survived to become one of the singular assets of the Black community and a unique, valuable, contributing component in the educational confines of America.

The origin and development of institutions of higher education for Black people is directly related to the existence of slavery from 1660 to 1865, and to the caste system that replaced it, as well as to the widespread existence of racial prejudices on the campuses of Northern universities and colleges prior to the 1950's. It has thus been part and parcel of what Gunnar Myrdal has analyzed as "an American dilemma."⁸⁰

After the founding of common schools for Blacks through the Freedmen's Bureau, it was not long before the need for higher education among freedmen became evident. The supply of Northern White teachers was inadequate and even the number then available could not be expected to last. The Freedmen's Bureau influenced the establishment of normal schools where Blacks could learn the simplest elements of the teaching arts. Schools of this class came into existence at Norfolk, Charleston, New Orleans, and Nashville.

⁸⁰St. Clair Drake, "The Black University in the American Social Order," Daedalus (Summer 1971), 833-892.

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Within thirty-five years after the end of the war, the African Methodist Episcopal Church was operating three institutions in addition to Lincoln University in Pennsylvania, founded in 1854, and Wilberforce University in Ohio, founded in 1856. Also founded under the auspices of the African Methodist Episcopal Church was Allen University in South Carolina, Paul Quinn College in North Carolina, and Morris Brown College in Atlanta, Georgia. The Black Baptists had established Benedict College in South Carolina, while Livingstone College in North Carolina was being supported by the African Methodist Episcopal Church, Zion.

At the turn of the nineteenth century, in addition to the institutions controlled by Black denominations, White church boards were operating twenty institutions that granted degrees. Those that proved to have the greatest potential for growth were three supported by the American Missionary Association (Congregationalist): Fisk in Tennessee, Talladega in Alabama, and Atlanta University, as well as two other Atlanta schools, Clark (Methodist Episcopal) and the Atlanta Baptist College (renamed Morehouse College later). Most of these church institutions received some support from the Freedmen's Bureau, which also established Howard University in 1868 as a school open to all races; it was named after the Union General, Oliver O. Howard. The following schools in Atlanta, Clark, Morris Brown,

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Morehouse and Spelman, later became known as the Atlanta University Complex. By 1900, Arkansas, Virginia, Georgia, and Mississippi were each supporting one degree-granting institution for Black people-- thus keeping them away from White state colleges while at the same time exerting control over the scope and content of Black higher education. The legislatures that held the purse strings were frankly racist. The thirty-one Southern institutions of higher education for Blacks had a combined enrollment of about 750 students pursuing degrees in 1900, and had graduated close to 1,500 individuals since the freeing of the slaves. These were only slightly half of the Black college graduates in existence; however, during this time, some Northern White schools had hesitantly and reluctantly embarked upon a policy of highly selective admission of a few Blacks.

The Founding of Hampton Institute and Howard University

However, by the time Atlanta University (founded in 1867) had gained its legal status as an institution of higher learning, the American Missionary Association had already turned its attention to more extensive operations in this field. It had envisioned the

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Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute of Virginia.⁸¹ Inspiration to found the institute reached as far back as the time when the Union Army advanced upon Richmond and first made contact with the pitiable conditions suffered by the slaves whom it liberated. General Samuel C. Armstrong was later sent to Hampton as a representative of the Freedmen's Bureau to relieve the situation and adjust the difficulties that had developed there between the races. Finding an assortment of Blacks there who were basically wards of the government, he set about organizing the people into an effective community. His first step was to create a program whereby Black teachers and leaders might be properly trained.⁸²

In 1867, the American Missionary Association purchased "Little Scotland," a small plantation of 125 acres on the Hampton River, as a site for the school. From a manual labor school that he had been operating in the Hawaiian Islands, General Armstrong cut the pattern for the institute. He wanted to make Blacks of service to themselves and Whites, to dignify human labor by reinforcing it with intelligence, to develop a sense of responsibility within each pupil by giving him specific tasks to perform and to saturate the entire program with useful forms of manual training. Under Armstrong's leadership

⁸¹Cornelius Heatwole, A History of Education in Virginia (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1916), pp. 349-353.

⁸²Bullock, A History of Negro Education in the South, p. 32.

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Hampton Institute opened in 1868 with two teachers and fifteen pupils; and two years later, the Virginia legislature granted it a charter. With support from the Freedmen's Bureau and from Northern philanthropists who virtually fell in love with the experiment, Hampton became the other side of an educational dilemma that was to face Black leaders for more than half a century. It introduced the idea of vocational education for Blacks and attributed to this type of training a value superior to that offered by the liberal arts colleges that were also being established at this time. Those interested in the advancement of Black education would be placed in conflict by the two styles of training; they would debate the merits of one against the other and find that accepting either would rob them of some advantage which the other offered.

During this same period, the Methodist Episcopal Church also moved into the field of producing leadership in establishing colleges for freedmen in the other strategic areas of the South. It founded Walden College, which later became Meharry Medical College, at Nashville in 1865 and had already created Claflin University at Orangeburg, South Carolina, shortly after the Civil War. These moves merely foreshadowed the great work in the education of Blacks that was still to be done by this religious organization.

Although most of these colleges were offering high school work, one was specifically structured and established mainly for the purpose



of catering to those who had been prepared for collegiate and professional training. This was Howard University at Washington, D.C., an institution conceived at an assembly of the Monthly Concert of Prayer for Missions held at the First Congregational Church in Washington on November 19, 1866. On the following evening, ten persons assembled at the home of H. A. Brewster and unanimously voted to establish an institution of higher learning in that city. It was first decided that the school should be named the Howard Theological Seminary in honor of General O. O. Howard, but in January, 1867, the idea was enlarged, and the name was changed to Howard University, an institution whose doors would be open to all races and to members of both sexes. Application for a charter was made to the United States Congress in February of that year and was approved by President Andrew Johnson the following month.⁸²

Gradually the university took shape. The normal and preparatory department opened on May 1, 1867, with four White girls as students. They were children of the trustees. The Reverend Edward F. Williams, a graduate of Yale College and Princeton Seminary, was appointed Principal. Although the university began operation in a leased frame structure, the incorporators soon secured 150 acres of

⁸²Bullock, A History of Negro Education in the South, p. 34.

land for \$150,000. With the aid of the Freedmen's Bureau and other sources of income, dormitories were built, and the plant was rendered free of debt by 1869. The theological department began operating the following September. November saw the establishment of a medical department, the beginning of a pharmacy department, and the opening of a general (freedmen's) hospital. The law department opened in January, 1869 with six students. Five years after the first students were admitted, the university had developed nine departments: normal and preparatory, music, theology, military, industrial, commercial college, law and medicine.⁸³ Thus when General Howard assumed his position as the first president of the institution, the main divisions of a germinal university were available to him for future development.

The Transition in Black Education

In the early 1870's a system of free public schools was being established in the various Southern states. Conditions were being

⁸³The National Freedman, I (August, 1865), 214; I (September, 1865), 2616; II (February, 1866), 53. Freedmen's Record, I (June, 1865), 93. The American Missionary, IX (January, 1865), 6. The National Freedman, II (February, 1866), 156-169; and Report of the Board of Education for Freedmen, p. 7. Myron W. Adams, A History of Atlanta University, 1865-1929 (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1916), pp. 349-353. Miles M. Fisher, Virginia Union and Sons of Her

readied for the development of a socio-political detour which would force Blacks who had been advancing toward equal educational and social opportunities to accept a segregated school system as well as a socially restricted society. Moreover, from the period of the 1860's to the late 1960's Blacks were forced to postpone most, if not all, of their desires for a free and open society. This period in the history of Black socio-educational progress completely overthrew all of the rights and privileges gained by Black people during reconstruction--more specifically it introduced a policy of racial segregation, and developed an educational system intentionally designed to perpetuate a segregated social order. This was indeed one of the most important periods in the history of Black education.

The opposition of Southern Whites to the political and social equality of Black people was not crushed by the influence of congressional reconstruction. Disapproval of Blacks as provided through federal and state legislation persisted in the minds of many Whites. The more sensitive element of the White population felt that Southern rule had actually passed into the hands of Blacks and their Northern supporters. Many complaints were registered along these lines with the joint congressional investigating committee inquiring into the

Achievement (Richmond: privately printed, 1924), pp. 17-24. Benjamin Brawley, History of Morehouse College (Atlanta: Morehouse College, 1917). Facts concerning Howard University from The Howard University Bulletin, XXXII (September, 1958), 1-5.

condition of affairs in the Southern states. Criticizing the theory expressed in such grievances, the committee reminded Congress of the so-called danger:

The complaint . . . goes to the foundation of reconstruction and republican government. It is that minority, differing in opinion from the majority, are not permitted, on questions affecting the majority, to govern according to their own will.⁸⁴

In fact, overt opposition to the reconstructed government was already in existence, under the system which Congress had imposed upon the South. Moreover, since the various constitutional amendments and congressional acts prohibited organized government from limiting the political and social privileges of Blacks, the limitation was rigorously imposed by the voluntary associations that constituted the South's ever-present elements of racial hatred and violence. Foremost among these was the Ku Klux Klan, a secret order organized in 1865 by a group of White men at Pulaski, Tennessee. Through the usage of hooded masks, the Klan played up the fears and superstitions of Blacks--and succeeded in becoming one of the most socio-politically dreaded organizations in America. The Klan became its own judge and jury by incorporating the ideals of an estralegalized and violent South--which empowered the Klan to defend the Union and the Constitution thereby insuring the superiority of the White race.

⁸⁴Report of the Joint Select Committee (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1872), p. 245.

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Established government appeared too weak or unconcerned to cope with these instances of organized violence and intimidation. General Alfred H. Terry reported for Alabama in 1870 that life and property in many localities were insecure. Crimes were frequent, and the civil authorities were utterly powerless to prevent or punish those who broke the law. General Alvin Gillem of Mississippi reported that the great defeat in the administration of justice was not in the courts, since once offenders were taken into custody punishment usually followed. The difficulty was in identifying and arresting criminals. Crimes were usually committed (at night) by the Ku Klux Klan and under the cover of a disguise.⁸⁵

A Change in Southern Politics

As the tide of undercover violence arose in the South, Black people's future in the realm of national politics gradually deteriorated. Problems of greater national scope plagued the Republican

⁸⁵Report of the Joint Select Committee (Washington, D.C., Government Printing Office, 1872), p. 245. Robert Selph Henry, The Story of Reconstruction (New York: Peter Smith, 1951). For details concerning the Ku Klux Klan and Post Reconstruction, see Henry Steele Commager, Documents of American History (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1949); also, Edward McPherson, The Political History of the United States of America During the Period of Reconstruction (Washington, D.C.: Phillip and Solomon, 1871). J. W. Alvord, Fifth Semi-Annual Report on Schools for Freedmen (Washington,

administration, and it was pressured into leaving the South free to handle the question of Blacks in its own way.

Meanwhile the image of Democrats changed from that of "traitors" to "patriots." This, coupled with increased competition between the parties, caused both the Republicans and Democrats to seek the support of Southern Whites. Rutherford B. Hayes made his famous compromise with the South: to give the Southern people free and complete protection of their rights.⁸⁶

Out of these developments in national and state politics came the famous compromise of 1877 which restored the South to parity with other sections and freed it from Northern intervention in Southern race relations.⁸⁷ It was very clear by this time that despite the fact that the South had lost the war, it had, indeed, won the peace. During the two decades that followed, conservatives, Southern radicals, and liberals vied with each other for regional support. This required

D.C., 1868); Claud G. Bowers, The Tragic Era (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1929). W. E. B. DuBois, Black Reconstruction (Philadelphia: Albert Snifer Publishers, 1935).

⁸⁶ For an extended discussion of this era of Black, Southern and American history as it relates to Blacks, see Rayford W. Logan, The Negro in American Life and Thought: The Nadir, 1877-1901 (New York: The Dial Press, Inc., 1945), pp. 10-14.

⁸⁷ A very detailed and complexly detailed discussion is provided by C. Vann Woodward, Reunion and Reaction (Boston: Little Brown and Company, 1951), pp. 3-21.

that each exert some effort to win the Black vote, and this condition maintained a balance in race relations at the point which segregation had developed during Reconstruction.⁸⁸

The trend away from Republicanism continued with even greater vigor in the South. One by one the Southern political groups whose competition had been able to maintain a balance in race relations lost their influence, and the will to subjugate Black people gradually emerged into the open and eventually found its way into the legal and formalized social structure of the nation.

The Legal Containment of Black People's Civil Liberties

In addition to the abandonment of Blacks by the federal government was the institution of a process of legal attrition that was to leave the race in a position of status just above slavery and far short of full citizenship. The congressional power and influence behind Black people's civil liberties was to be nullified; the liberties guaranteed them by the Fourteenth Amendment were to be eroded; and their entire lives were to be curtailed by a system of segregation

⁸⁸For a penetrating account of racism with political overtones, see, C. Vann Woodward, The Strange Career of Jim Crow (New York: Oxford University Press, 1955), pp. 26-47.

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sanctioned by legal authority. The process began with a series of civil rights decisions rendered by the Supreme Court of the United States from 1873 to 1893. First, the citizenship of Blacks was re-defined as a result of the decision handed down in the Slaughter House Cases of 1873.⁸⁹ It was in these cases that Justice Samuel F. Miller and a majority of the court rendered the privileges and immunities clauses of the Fourteenth Amendment meaningless by holding that it was never the purpose of the Amendment to federalize the privileges and immunities of state citizenship and to transfer their custody to the federal courts.⁹⁰ The court set a precedent in this decision, coining a judicial precedent that separated citizenship as granted by the federal government from that within a particular state.⁹¹ The court reasoned that privileges of state citizenship rested for their security and protection and were not embraced by the Fourteenth Amendment.

Subsequent court decisions exposed Black people to the discriminatory will of private individuals who were not acting as agents of the state. This trend as expressed on the national level is best

⁸⁹Slaughter House Cases, 16 Wall 36 (1873).

⁹⁰For a full analysis of judicial attrition and the nullification of the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment, see Robert J. Harris, The Quest for Equality (Baton Rouge, La.: Louisiana State University Press, 1960), pp. 82-108.

⁹¹Henry Steele Commager, Documents of American History (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1963), pp. 71-75.

indicated by such cases as U.S. v. Reese, U.S. v. Cruikshank, and Hall v. De Cuir.⁹² On March 27, 1876, the court ruled in the Reese case that municipal election inspectors in Kentucky could not be indicted for refusing to receive and count a vote cast by William Garver, a citizen of African descent. The court held that Congress had not prescribed by "appropriate legislation" punishment for the said offense. "To limit the Statute in the manner now asked for," stated Chief Justice Morrison B. Waite, "would be to make a new law, not to enforce an old one."⁹³ Clearly reflecting the Slaughter House ruling, the court, deciding in the case of U.S. v. Cruikshank,⁹⁴ also refused to punish private persons who had broken up a meeting of Black persons. According to the highest tribunal, interference by private individuals could not be a crime when such a meeting was held for some purposes connected with national citizenship.

The Supreme Court's decisions in the Civil Rights cases of 1883 struck down all the legal defenses that had been available to Blacks in their fight against discrimination. These decisions nullified completely the Civil Rights Acts which prohibited discrimination in places of public accommodation and which had imposed penalties

⁹²U.S. v. Reese, 236 Ed., S63, S66 (1876).

⁹³U.S. v. Cruikshank, 236 Ed., 588 (1876).

⁹⁴Hall v. DeCuir, 246 Ed., 5470878.

directly against persons guilty of such discriminations regardless of whether the state was in any way involved.⁹⁵ The acts were declared unconstitutional because, in the opinion of the court they were not authorized by the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Amendments.

The final links in the chain of containment were forged through the series of statutes, ordinances, and customs enacted to control the most personal aspects of the lives of Blacks. This action was basic. It laid the foundation for a biracial society, separating Whites and Blacks in distinct castes. Provision was made for the separation of the races on all public occasions where people gather; intermarriage involving Whites and Blacks was prohibited; and a special place in the economic order was assigned to Black workers.⁹⁶

The walls of caste were raised higher and higher by law and custom. Within the first decade of the Twentieth Century the South had further elaborated its laws requiring separation of the races in various forms of transportation. Between 1911 and 1914 many Southern states passed ordinances segregating residential areas, and the custom of selling agricultural land to Blacks within specific areas of the South became a standard legal and real estate practice. The crop

⁹⁵Albert B. Blaustein and Clarence Clyde Ferguson, Desegregation and the Law (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1957), p. 92.

⁹⁶Bullock, A History of Negro Education in the South, p. 72.

lien laws, passed in 1865, were still operational at the turn of the century. These laws lingered and persisted in legalizing the continual dependency of sharecropper upon planter. As sharecropping became the basic pattern of Southern agriculture, many Blacks and poor Whites were forced, without choice, into this service. Gradually as the Black's place was further defined in the South, it became very clear that the two races were destined to live in two separate worlds for many years to come.⁹⁷

The Advance of Black Education

It was under the impact of new constitutional interpretations and statutory laws, that racial segregation became institutionalized and served to provide a special mold according to which Black education was to be shaped for almost one hundred years. The segregated society of the South limited Black education to a special type which was considered suitable for their status, it solidified the support of Black schools more in the willingness of financially influential White citizens to provide for them. Most important of all, it directed the development of Black children out of the mainstream of

⁹⁷ Henry Allen Bullock, "Urbanism and Race Relations," in Rupert B. Vance and Nicholas J. Demerath, The Urban South (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1954), p. 208.

American culture. If there is any period which can be regarded as the beginning of what is commonly called Black education, this is it.

The period began with the serious barriers to the education of Blacks that the Whites had restored, and it became quite apparent that these barriers had to be removed if Blacks were to receive any education at all at public expense. There still existed many Whites who opposed any type of education for the ex-slave. Some feared that education would evoke more interference from the federal government. Others felt that it would make Black people unfit for the place to which they had been assigned. There were many Southern Whites who felt that since Blacks paid few taxes, to make education available to them at public expense would entail the exploitation of Whites for the educational benefits of Blacks.⁹⁸ Also, the attitudes of Southern paternalism had eroded. Most whites had begun to view Blacks as strangers to whom they owed no obligations. George W. Cable wrote in 1885 concerning Southern sentiments to the extent that he reminded the nation that foremost among all Southern beliefs was the idea that Blacks were by necessity outsiders; that the South had to stabilize its laws, mores and conduct in the conviction that the "man of African tincture was, by nature unalterably, an alien."⁹⁹

⁹⁸T. M. Logan, "The Opposition in the South to the Free School System," Journal of Social Science, IX (January 1878), 92-94.

⁹⁹George W. Cable, "The Freedmen's Case in Equality," The Century Magazine, XXIX (January, 1885), 410-411.

Inherent in the very nature of this form of opposition to Black people and their education, were subtle hints as to how the opposition could be softened and how something could be salvaged for the freedmen. There was the hint that any movement to educate Blacks had to consider the Southern view. It had to place the blame for Southern disorganization at his door; it had to place the obligation to change upon his shoulders; and it had to prove that a particular kind of education could be of decided advantage to both races, especially the Whites.¹⁰⁰

The last period of the nineteenth century saw Southern and Northern leaders picking up various hints and advocating a separate education for Black people. In 1872, before the National Education Association, Joseph Hodgson, Superintendent of Public Instruction in Alabama, took the lead in his speech--after citing the "alarming" percentage of illiteracy found in the population of the Gulf Coast States, the Superintendent warned the association that governmental control would mainly shift to the hands of an untutored electorate that was predominantly Black if serious steps were not taken to extend education to both groups.¹⁰¹

¹⁰⁰ Bullock, A History of Negro Education in the South, p. 75.

¹⁰¹ Addresses and Journal of Proceedings of the National Education Association (Albany: 1872), p. 278; also, see Addresses and Journal of Proceedings of the National Educational Association (Albany: 1872), p. 278.

Five years later, The Nation extended this view by basing the total solution of "the race problem" on the education of Black people for the intelligent use of the ballot. It criticized the tendency of Black people to commonly vote on political questions, and attributed such collective behavior to mass ignorance rather than common aspiration. The constant persistence of such views eventually paid off, and many people who had most bitterly opposed the education of Blacks reluctantly admitted that there was possibly some wisdom in a policy of training the freedmen for their "place in the lower categories of life."¹⁰²

¹⁰²Bullock, A History of Negro Education in the South, p. 76.

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CHAPTER II

THE SOUTHERN EDUCATION CONFERENCES

The idea of having separate education extended to Black people received part of its advocacy from General Samuel C. Armstrong, an officer of Black troops during the Civil War, who also founded the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute for Black youths in 1868, under the auspices of the American Missionary Association. Accepting wholeheartedly the Southern way of life and its belief in the natural inferiority of Black people, General Armstrong outlined the South's chief educational obligation in a speech before the National Education Association in 1872. He appealed for training schools to meet the overwhelming demands for Black teachers that private and public sources of education had already created. He based the advisability of meeting such a need on several grounds--all of which were acceptable to the South; he contended that the South could not, in its present economic condition, provide these teachers without admitting Blacks to its schools with higher grades. The appropriate point of cooperation between Northern aid and Southern needs, he felt, was in the normal schools. That this education should be special, he based

on a concept of racial difference. Speaking of Blacks, General Armstrong argued that they were "capable of acquiring knowledge to any degree, and to a certain age, at least, with about the same facility as White children." However, he felt that Blacks lacked the power to assimilate and digest knowledge. He further wrote that Blacks matured sooner than Whites, but this did not necessarily steady his mental development. Armstrong said, "He is a child of the tropics, and the differentiation of races goes deeper than skin." General Armstrong cited a great and growing demand for Black teachers and reminded the association that these teachers were not only best to elevate their own race, but were far less obnoxious to Southern White men than White teachers.¹

It was less than two decades later that a more clearly structured system of specially segregated education for Blacks began to challenge the liberal idea and method of education which Northern missionaries had established throughout the South. Again the South adopted General Armstrong as its chief ideologist. His theory of Black education had matured by 1890, and it had attracted many sympathizers and disciples for the movement he had begun at Hampton, and was later to start at Tuskegee Institute under the leadership of Booker T. Washington.

¹Proceedings of the National Education Association (Albany: 1872), pp. 175-176.

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At the first Mohonk Conference in 1890, held in Ulster County, New York, he was sure that the moral uplifting of Black people could be accomplished through labor. He saw hard work, in its largest sense, as being one of the most vital factors in Christian civilization: "Of the Negro, I think this labor doctrine is true."² Armstrong felt that Blacks had been forced to work all their lives. This had developed in them a profound dislike for labor. They had to be given the idea of the dignity of labor. This, he thought, could be done through the industrial system, which made various opportunities available to Blacks in the agricultural, mechanical, and household industries. It was felt that not only would the opportunities enable Black people to be self-supporting, but they would make them available to the service-oriented industry, thus rendering the South a labor force of great potential wealth. Reflecting upon the result of the Hampton system, he added:

An able-bodied student represents a capital of perhaps a thousand dollars. We propose to treble that. When they learn to trade, they are worth three-fold more in the labor market.³

There were, of course, mixed reactions to the Armstrong philosophy of Black education. Many educators outrightly rejected

²Isabel C. Barrows, ed., First Mohonk Conference on the Negro Question, June, 1890 [held at Lake Mohonk, Ulster County, New York, June 4, 5, 6] (Boston: H. G. Ellis Co., 1890), p. 12.

³Ibid., p. 14.

the idea altogether, embracing a very firm attitude in the opposite direction. Others accepted the theory of industrial education but made it second only to important considerations of a more liberal and classical education. However, on the whole, educators of both races and from all regions agreed in the feeling that Blacks should be trained in a manner consistent with their position in American life and that this should be mainly industrial in nature.

Among those who rejected Armstrong's idea was United States Commissioner of Education, William T. Harris. In his appearance before the First Mohonk Conference, Harris made a special plea for normal schools in which Black teachers could be trained, but he seriously differed with General Armstrong as to what this training should be: "Education, intellectual and moral," he told the conference, "is the only means yet discovered that is always sure to help people to help themselves." Claiming industrial education to be merely economical in nature, the Commissioner urged that "intellectual education" could prevent Black people from reverting to their former stage of spiritual life."⁴ Because a segregated way of life had robbed Black people of the more uplifting aspects of social contacts with Whites, Harris believed that intellectual education could achieve a great deal toward helping Black people enter the mainstream of American life.

⁴The Journal of Education, XLII (November, 1895), p. 332.

By 1895, Harris had become even more convinced of the efficacy of his idea. In an address before students at Atlanta University, he lauded the accomplishments in higher education for Blacks being carried at that institution. He added this philosophical note:

As our civilization is largely derived from the Greeks and Romans, and as Negroes of America are to share it with the Anglo-Saxon, it is very important that the bright minds among them would get acquainted with it, as others have done, through the study of Latin and Greek. This is the more necessary, since, with the advance of civilization and the development of machinery, the proportion of manual laborers in every community is steadily diminishing, while the proportion of the directors of labor and other brain workers is correspondingly increasing.⁵

There was, of course, further opposition to the idea of industrial education. It came from those educators who felt that industry was the one aspect of American life with which American Blacks were probably more familiar than Whites. Judge A. W. Tourgee expressed such a view in his response to the appeal of General Armstrong at the Mohonk Conference. Since many of the educators at the Conference had referred to the Black peoples' industrial inefficiency, the judge expressed surprise that no one had mentioned the industrial excellence of Black people. "I have always been less impressed," he confessed, "with the industrial needs of the colored man than his industrial achievements."⁶

⁵Ibid., p. 337.

⁶Barrows, First Mohonk Conference, p. 24.

Another educator sharing this view was Professor William E. Hutchins of Biddle University. Even though Hutchins accepted the idea of industrial education, he felt that there were obvious reasons why the emphasis should be on education rather than on industrial. To clarify this point, he added: "If there is an industry in the South, the Negroes have it. What they want is education. What can you teach colored women about washing clothes?"⁷

However, Armstrong soon found an efficient apostle, whose doctrine was to become a most influential one--to be spread to all areas of the United States in the person of Booker Taliaferro Washington, who, during the Civil War, had managed to acquire some rudiments of education in a night school at Malden, West Virginia, and had entered Hampton Institute in 1872.⁸ After having matriculated at Hampton until 1875, and later at Wayland Seminary in Washington, D.C., Washington became General Armstrong's secretary. Hampton Institute influenced Washington greatly, for he wrote the following in relation to his tenure there:

The great and prevailing idea that seemed to take possession of every one was to prepare himself to lift up the people at his home. No one seemed to think of himself. And the officers and teachers, what a rare set of human beings they were! They worked for the

⁷ Ibid., p. 29.

⁸ See Booker T. Washington, Up From Slavery (New York: Doubleday, Page and Company, 1933), p. 62.

students night and day, in and out of season. They seemed happy only when they were helping students in some manner.⁹

Washington's belief in the Armstrong philosophy was very great indeed. In 1881, he was selected by the General, on the application of Lewis Adams and C. W. Campbell, to start in Tuskegee, a Black Normal School for which the Alabama legislature had appropriated \$2,000.00 for teachers' salaries. The school was to be modeled on the Hampton plan.¹⁰ It was in this manner that one of the most illustrious careers in the history of American education was begun. Thus, too, began one of the most unique educational experiments in the history of the Black man's long quest for control over his destiny.

Tuskegee Institute first began holding classes in a run-down shanty near a Black Methodist Church. Washington had learned from General Armstrong that education had to be related to the common needs of life. To be sure, Washington endeavored to make the school an integral part of the community in which it was located. Tuskegee became a success. Its graduates were trained farmers and mechanics as well as trained teachers.

In the summer of 1884, at Madison, Wisconsin, Washington spoke before the National Education Association, concerning the issue of

⁹Washington, Up From Slavery, p. 62.

¹⁰Encyclopedia Americana, XXVIII, 747-748.

race and the structure of his educational program as it related the problem of race in the United States. This program was structured upon two basic concepts: first, that the two races (Black and White) had to live together; second, that they could symbiotically coexist. He believed that Black people's home was permanently in the South and that the interest in one's race was inextricably bound to the other. He also contended that both races were struggling to adjust to the conditions produced by the war and that anything done for the Blacks would be of no real value if it also did not benefit the Whites who surrounded them. This confidence he placed in the tendency for racial groups to be useful to and dependent upon each other, was not an empty illusion. It was a result of Washington's fundamental belief in the inevitability of human progress. "Progress is the law of God," he said. "One might as well try to stop the progress of a mighty railroad train by throwing this body across the track as to try to arrest the ceaseless advance of humanity."¹¹

Washington's idealism exhibited at Madison was to make him the most dominant and outspoken figure in the area of Black education. Speaking before the Atlanta Exposition in 1895, in the same year and the same city in which William T. Harris had so convincingly extolled

¹¹Samuel R. Spencer Jr., Booker T. Washington and the Negro's Place in American Life (Boston: Little Brown and Company, 1955), pp. 91-93.

the virtues of classical education, Washington explained the basis on which Blacks and Whites could make peace with each other in the South.

Washington put his educational philosophy to work through the great Tuskegee Experiment. His overall basic aim was to train Black people to do better what they had always done. Consequently, his early efforts at Tuskegee involved studying the conditions under which Black people of Macon County and its surrounding areas lived. It was these conditions which helped shape the curriculum of the institute. One was the landlessness of the masses of Blacks who existed within the shadows of Tuskegee, along with the evils of sharecropping which permeated the Black family, leaving it morally weak and economically insecure.¹² Another condition was the aimless mobility of the Black population. The curriculum had to accommodate this problem. As Washington remarked: "Something must be done to stem the swelling tide which each year sweeps thousands of Black men and women and children from the sunlit monotony of the plantation to the sunless iniquity of the slums; from a drudging that is not quite cheerless to competition that is altogether merciless."¹³ Therefore, agriculture became a main course in the Institute's curriculum. The mission of the school

¹²Spencer, Booker T. Washington, pp. 56-57.

¹³Booker T. Washington, Tuskegee and Its People (New York: B. Appleton and Company, 1910), pp. 56-57.

was largely that of supplying well-equipped teachers for the various schools; it was also intended that the teachers be able and eager to teach gardening and carpentry as well as grammar and arithmetic.¹⁴

Washington found it necessary to dissuade the students' prejudices against industrial education. To many of them, education was something quite different from what they were receiving at Tuskegee: It was an escape from the world of work they had previously known. They interpreted education as an instrument designed to set them apart from the rest of the community rather than an influence designed to enable them to work closely with people.

Most of the prejudices students and parents had were eliminated through Washington's personal contacts with the students. These contacts began with the school's beginning. After giving an entrance examination in arithmetic, grammar, and history to the first thirty pupils enrolled there, he lined up the entire group for the first of the school's daily inspections. He called attention to missing buttons, grease spots, dirty collars, and other failures to meet the standard of neatness and cleanliness upon which he insisted.¹⁵

Among the many impressions which Booker T. Washington made upon the course of education for Blacks in the South, two stand out

¹⁴Ibid., pp. 56-57.

¹⁵Spencer, Booker T. Washington, pp. 64-65.

above the rest. First, his educational philosophy and practice allayed the fears of Southern Whites concerning Blacks and won the support of Whites of the North and South for the movement of public education. Because of the large numbers of Blacks in the various states of the South, many Whites of the area felt insecure in an atmosphere where Blacks were struggling for political control, social equality, and mixed schools. Washington assuaged these fears by accepting an educational test as a requirement for voting and implying that the ballot could be reserved for a few "intelligent" Negroes. He accepted racial segregation as a system with which Blacks could expect to live for many years, and he showed evidence of structuring an educational plan that was an adjustment to it rather than a source of conflict with it. The separate or mixed school question he readily dismissed as a problem carrying its own solution. Responding to a railroad official who raised this question with him in Colorado, Washington said:

As a rule, colored people in the Northern states are opposed to any plans for separate schools, and I think their feelings in the matter deserve consideration. The real objection to separate schools, from their point of view, is that they do not feel that they are compelled to go to one school rather than the other. It seems as if it was taking away part of their freedom. This feeling is likely to be all the stronger where the matter is made a subject of public agitation. On the other hand, my experience is that if this matter is left to the discretion of the school officials, it usually settles itself. As the colored people usually live together there will naturally be schools in which colored

students are in the majority. In that case, the process of separation takes place naturally and without the necessity of changing the constitution. If you make it a constitutional question, the colored people are going to be opposed to it. If you leave it simply an administrative question, which it really is, the matter will very likely settle itself.¹⁶

Those Whites who lived near Tuskegee and observed all the effects of Washington's handiwork gradually fell under the spell of Washington's convincing plan. They initially observed with mistrusting curiosity. They later permitted and even praised the results of his efforts. Later, Southern Whites contributed funds to the school in order that the work might move rapidly toward what they had been led to believe it could become. Public school superintendents, finding this kind of tolerance with regard to the education of Blacks, reconcentrated their efforts to build schools for Blacks at public expense. Northern philanthropists who came to know Washington, regarded him as a counselor for their interests in the development of Southern education. His influence led John D. Rockefeller to establish the General Education Board in 1902, stimulated the establishment of the Anna T. Jeanes Fund, and played a part in the creation of the Phelps-Stokes Fund and the Rosenwald Rural-School Program. Not only were these funds crucial in assisting the Tuskegee extension

¹⁶ Emmett J. Scott and Lyman Beecher Stowe, Booker T. Washington (New York: Doubleday, Page and Company, 1916), pp. 42-43.

program, but they also practically affected every branch of Black education in the South.¹⁷

The second and greatest Washington influence probably rested with the weight he extended to the movement of "special education." He left little doubt in the minds of a large number of educators and philanthropists that Blacks required a particular kind of education for their condition. Washington seemed to have looked forward to a totally biracial society of benevolent coexistence with Whites. He chose to educate Blacks within the framework of a racial division of labor that had always existed in the South. Although he did not advocate industrial education for every Black to the exclusion of the professions and other branches of learning, he did imply that the sole excuse for these latter branches was in the existence of the segregated communities where Blacks were forced to live.¹⁸ His emphasis upon the "industrial" hit Black radical leaders with a very heavy force. With the radical interests championed by W. E. B. DuBois, there was a running verbal battle between Washington and the "classical" education leaders for a long period of time. In the end, both the industrial schools such as Hampton and Tuskegee, and the liberal arts schools like Atlanta and Fisk universities were engaged in the

¹⁸ Washington, Tuskegee, pp. 9-10.

task of "Negro education." The two types of schools educated Black youth from different classes within the same caste system.

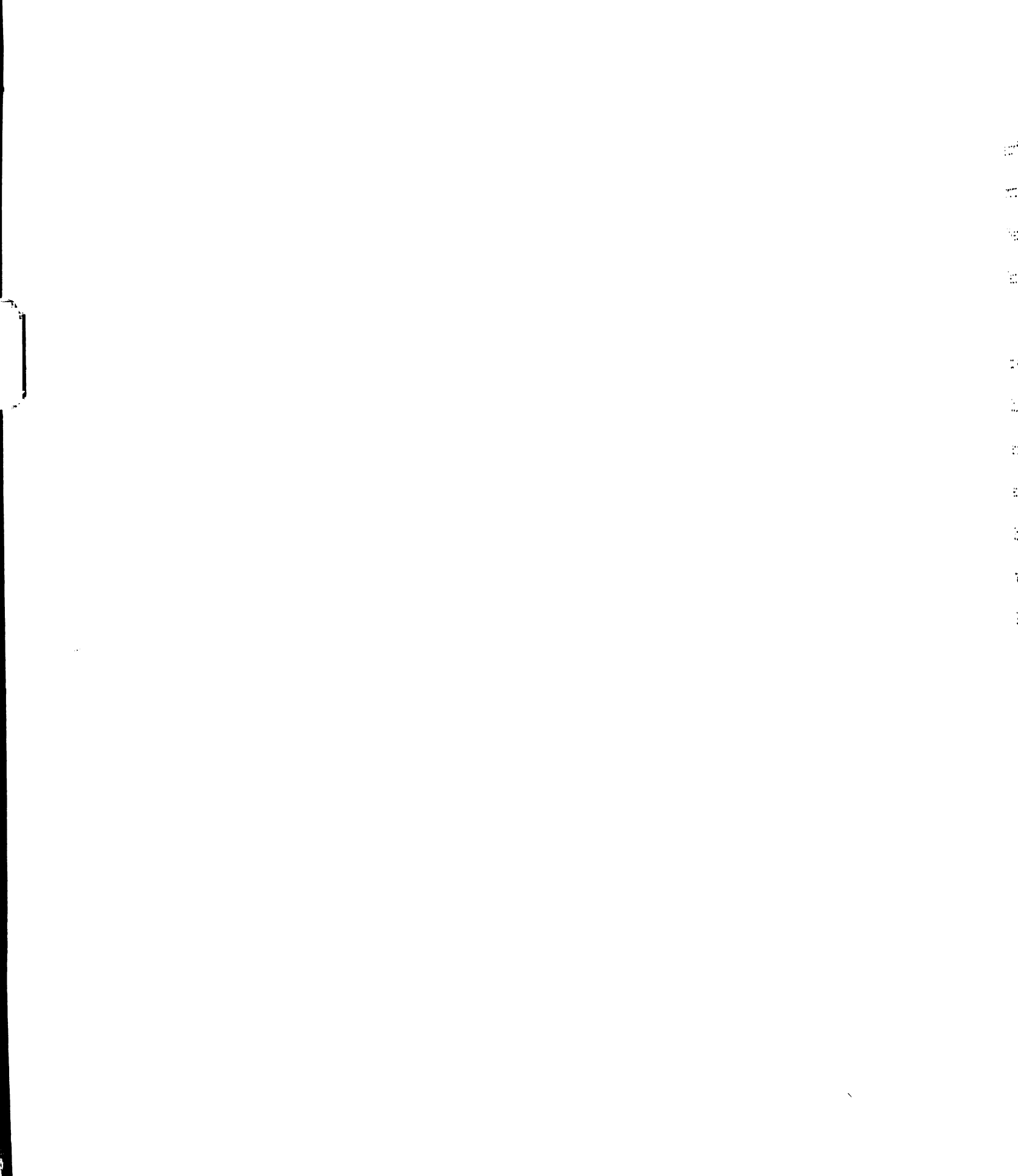
The Capon Springs Conference

The idea of a special kind of education for Blacks, advocated by a few individual educators from the North and South, eventually spread to become the basic ideology of the Black school system. Northern and Southern leaders, realizing that an equalitarian approach to the development of educational opportunities for the Black American was not acceptable to White Southerners, joined forces to save for the former slaves what could be salvaged. At the close of the nineteenth century an organization which came to be known as the Conference for Education in the South, and which was to meet annually seventeen consecutive times in all, came into being under their leadership. In creating this organization, they accepted the caste system imposed by the South and built within it an educational structure of their own.

This method of interracial accommodation continued to develop and to produce the kind of leadership that was essential for the establishment of the method as an intentional and acceptable function of Southern society. This method was a compromise--a route over which the Black man's developing educational opportunities could be carefully directed by a dedicated leadership. Since the South would not

accept any other kind of Black education, especially education aimed at developing Blacks for general participation in Southern society, leaders struck a compromise with the South and settled for a special kind of education that would prepare Blacks for the caste system prescribed for them by White Southerners. As it turned out, the leaders were men with common educational ideals who were capable of identifying the main problem of Black education and building an organization designed to overcome such problems. The ideas generated by the Conference for Education gave a new impetus to universal education in the former Confederacy and laid the foundation for Black education as we have come to know it.

As the minds of Northern and Southern leaders had convened to effect the political compromise of 1877, so did they also meet to effect the educational compromise that materialized two decades later when an Episcopal clergyman from Massachusetts met a former Confederate soldier from West Virginia. The clergyman was Dr. Edward Abbott of Cambridge, who had become dedicated to public service in the field of education through attending the Mohonk Conference on Indian Affairs and International Arbitration in 1890. The soldier was Captain William H. Sale, who operated a resort hotel at Capon Springs, West Virginia. Eight years later, while making an extended tour through the South, observing schools and learning their needs, Dr. Abbott stopped at Capon Springs and proposed to Captain Sale that the latter convene



a conference on Southern education at his hotel. His proposal was prompted by the successes of other conferences at Lake Mohonk. Sale liked the idea and authorized Dr. Abbott to form a committee to select the persons to be invited and to arrange the program.¹⁹

On the advice of his committee, Dr. Abbott arranged a program to explore two basic questions relevant to public education in the South: how could the public school system in the South be improved and made more effective, and was it feasible to introduce industrial education? The first Capon Springs Conference for Education in the South opened on June 29, 1898, and began seeking solutions for the many educational problems that were plaguing the South. Northern and Southern leaders, in what they thought to be one final and benevolent effort to achieve interracial peace, began to establish a common ground on which they could structure a new type of education for Blacks.

The very nature of the participants of the Conference made the situation ripe for ideological compromise. Among the founders of this conference were educators who were acceptable to both the North and South. The founders had the trust and confidence of White Southerners because of the work they had done with Black schools, which they

¹⁹For an extensive description of the initial phases of this movement, see Charles Dabney, Universal Education in the South (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1936).

headed. They were Hollis Burke Frissell, White, President of Hampton Institute; and the Reverend A. B. Hunter, also White, President of St. Augustine's College at Raleigh, North Carolina. (St. Augustine's had already won some acclaim for the training of teachers for the state's Black schools.) Present also were the heads of other institutions whose ideas were compatible with the prevailing Southern philosophy as far as education of Black teachers and learners were concerned. They included Dr. D. J. Satterfield of Scotia Seminary in Concord, North Carolina; Professor Charles F. Meserve of Shaw University at Raleigh, North Carolina; Dr. Julius D. Dreher of Roanoke College in Roanoke, Virginia; President Wilbur F. Thirkfield of Gammon Theological Seminary at Atlanta; and the Reverend George F. Fairchild of Berea College in Kentucky. All of these were White men concerned about the education of Blacks. Thirty-six persons in all attended the first Capon Conference--among them were fourteen ministers of seven denominations and nine presidents of separate colleges for both races in the South. Coming from thirteen different states, including the District of Columbia, these men represented the types of leaders with whom Southerners felt they could be comfortable. The conferees were not divided at all; on educational issues concerning Blacks, they all adhered to Southern racial ideology.²⁰ As was to be expected,

²⁰Proceedings of the First Capon Springs Conference for Education in the South (Capon Springs, West Virginia, 1898), pp. 3-13.

they all met on common ground concerning Blacks and even drew ideologically closer to each other in their notions toward race as the conference continued. At the very beginning they began an earnest search for issues of race that were common to all of them; they emerged from their first engagement agreeing on several points. Because they had been concerned with Black education, their discussions naturally dealt with this issue. Despite some controversies, their sessions set the pace for a common view that the South had not been that harsh to Blacks and that Blacks had not been so bad for the South.

Frissell summarized the issue by insisting that Whites and Blacks could live together in the South and contended that slavery proved that peaceful relations could exist in the South.

The Reverend D. J. Satterfield, reemphasized the mutual aid that this new movement offered both races by defining the mission of the conference as that of cooperating with the benefactors of education to the end of making education successful in the South. In speaking of cooperation among schools, Reverend A. B. Hunter finalized the union between Northern and Southern members of the Conference by advising the group that their charge was to combine elements of the democratic spirit of New England with the manners of the South.

Speakers at later conferences emphasized a common interest in the matter of education and the mutual benefit that could accrue to

both Whites and Blacks as a result of it. J. L. M. Curry greatly pleased the Southerners when he added:

I shall not stultify myself by any fresh, argument in favor of Black education, but I must be pardoned for emphasizing the fact that there is greater need for the education of other races. The White people are to be the leaders, to take the initiative, to have the direct control in all matters, pertaining to civilization and the highest interest in our beloved land. History demonstrates that the Caucasian will rule.²¹

He believed that White supremacy should mean friendship rather than hostility toward Black people.²²

William H. Baldwin, Jr., who was later to become a powerful factor in both the work of the Conference and that of Tuskegee, shared Curry's view and added to it a brutal definition of the Black's role in a society of White supremacy. When speaking of education for citizenship, he reported to the second conference: "In the Negro is the opportunity for the South."²³

Thus near the close of the nineteenth century, Northern educators had made a crucial decision. They had decided to sell the idea of Black education to White Southerners by sacrificing the principle of racial equality. They also had decided that the best way to assure the sale was to emphasize its value to the purchaser. At the

²¹Proceedings of the Second Capon Springs Conference for Education in the South (Capon Springs, West Virginia, 1899), p. 28.

²²Ibid., p. 72.

²³Dabney, Universal Education, p. 11.

close of the third conference at Capon Springs, it was agreed by all members that the best way to provide training for Blacks was to first provide adequate schools and training for the neglected Whites.

Separate schools, there must be, they decided, but the schools would have to be provided for in one body of laws, and the system supported by taxes paid by all of the people.²⁴ Therefore, this organization of educators gambled on the assumption that their stand in favor of White supremacy would remove the last barrier to universal education in the South and would salvage for Blacks, whatever vestiges of freedom the movement of Southern restoration had left.

It must be noted that all Southerners did not accept this point of view. Many of them were still haunted by the bitter memories of radical reconstruction; some of them feared that the Southern educational movement was another Northern attempt to force social equality upon the South. However, where White educational leaders of the new movement encountered this fear, they always countered it with the assurance that the plan sought to preserve rather than destroy the Southern way of life. When a reporter asked Walter Hines Page, a founder of the Southern Education Board, if there was not a "nigger in the woodpile," his reply was: "You will find when the woodpile is turned over not a nigger, but an educated white boy. He is the fellow we are after. We want to train both the White boy and the Black boy,

²⁴Bullock, A History of Negro Education in the South, p. 93.

but we must train the White boy first, because we cannot do anything for the Negro boy until his White friend is convinced of his responsibility to him."²⁵ The Governor of Georgia was reported to have responded to the new educational effort by saying, "We can attend to the education of the darkey in the South without the aid of these Yankees and give them the education that they must need. I do not believe in the higher education of the darkey. He must be taught the fine arts, he is aducated above his caste, and it makes him unhappy."²⁶ Leaders of the movement again responded to criticism with words arranged to be reassuring to the South, but they spoke them with Southern voices. The Review of the Reviews attempted to imply general Southern acceptance when it said concerning the fourth convocation:

While most newspapers have shown an intelligent understanding and appreciation of the purposes of the educational conference held at Winston-Salem in April, the impression has to some extent been created that it was made up in the main of a company of visitors from the North whose particular interest South of the Mason and Dixon line lay in the highest education for the Negro race. The great majority of the members of the conference were in fact, Southern educators, most of them concerned with the instruction of White pupils.²⁷

Through the invitation of the New York Herald, governors of several Southern states were asked to express their views on the

²⁵ Columbia State Journal, April 24, 1903, as quoted in Dabney, p. 46.

²⁶ Atlanta Journal, April 24, 1901, as quoted in Dabney, p. 46.

²⁷ Review of Reviews, XXIV (June, 1901), p. 645.

movement. Governor Charles B. Aycock of North Carolina responded through a letter to the paper saying: "The Fourth Annual Conference for Education in the South will be of great benefit. We know more of the Northern view and the visitors know more than ever the opinions of each other."²⁸

Although trading was slow, there gradually appeared evidence that the South was buying the educational product which the North was exporting. The Reverend C. K. Nelson, Bishop of Georgia, on noticing the change, told the Conference of 1899, "We rejoice rightly over the disappearance of sectional lines, and that the great question of moral and social deviation accompanying education has come to be universally regarded as paramount to all other considerations."²⁹ That the educational ideals pursued by the Conference had at least become a part of the South's thinking was made apparent in the expressions of Governor A. J. Montagne of Virginia before the sixth conference at Richmond. In his address of welcome, the governor accepted the concept of universal education for the South. "The education of our people," he said, "is the supreme task of statesmanship, as it is the masses of the people. Political despotism carries with it academic

²⁸New York Herald, April 27, 1901.

²⁹Proceedings of the Second Capon Springs Conference, p. 9.

despotism."³⁰ As the Southern Education Board, the executive branch of the Conference, progressed in its influence, the movement grew until it finally became one of the most powerful organizations in the South. By the opening of the twentieth century, therefore, the North had once more invaded the South, but this time on more friendly terms.

After gaining the support of the Southern people, members of the Conference for Education in the South turned their attention to conditions specifically relating to the schools. First to claim their attention was the lack of standardization which characterized the schools with which they were to work. Some of the difficulties growing out of these conditions naturally pertained to Blacks themselves. Black people's position in Southern society had given a peculiar shape to their aspirations, often stimulating an ambition which exceeded their reach. As a result of their experiences following emancipation, many Blacks had been led to believe that education and politics were the chief means by which they could gain respect in the new social order. As their opportunity for political participation dissolved under the heat of disfranchisement, their confidence in education as a social ladder grew stronger. Books, grades, and degrees became the real symbols of an educated person, and knowledge, all too often, was pushed into the background. The tradition of superficiality in matters of education--having college degrees without

³⁰Proceedings of the Second Capon Springs Conference, p. 9.

corresponding qualifications--was deeply planted into their subcultures. Those educators who had migrated South adopted the task of uprooting this tradition in order to realize their goals. Since Black people's hopes had been raised beyond the opportunities that Southerners were willing to give them, leaders of the conference felt that they were inclined to neglect fundamentals for values which at that time were highly superficial. It was against this type of racial psychology that Booker T. Washington and others spoke and acted.

The spirit of the times, moreover, made it "open season" on Northern philanthropy. Every possible scheme for educating Blacks made its way North to elicit the good graces of the benevolent societies.

Because of their experiences with Black students and their respective institutions, the educators agreed during the early phases of their work that the Blacks' capacity for higher education had been aptly demonstrated. These educators were elated that many Southern Whites had gained equal confidence in the academic ability of Blacks. D. J. Satterfield informed the conference: "The county examiners often tell us that they have no better qualified teachers to examine than our Scotia students."³¹ Dr. Thirkfield of Atlanta University also took the view that Blacks were capable of acquiring higher

³¹Proceedings of the First Capon Springs Conference, p. 32.

education. He warned those who doubted his views that judgment on this question could not be based solely upon mental capacity as it was expressed through the participation of the individual in his environment and civilization. Implying that limited participation had inhibited the full development of the Blacks' potential, he reminded the Conference that people had "learned to distinguish between the intellectual capacity, with which God has endowed every race, and the mental and moral acquirements, which are the outcome of civilization and environment."³²

As time progressed, the confidence the educators had in the Black man's mental capacity became restricted to the ideals of special education around which they were planning to structure his future. The idea of accepting a segregated society had already begun in the South; the leaders agreed that institutions of higher learning were essential to the development of the leadership within the race. There was the feeling that Black people did not have access to mass systems of cultural diffusion--libraries, the press, and learned classes--as did Whites. They were shut off from higher fellowship in the civil, political, and religious life of the White man and were even isolated in their schools and churches. Thus, the educators concurred that they should train their own leadership. Moreover with the wealth, political power, and vivic affairs in the hands of those

³²Ibid., pp. 17-19.

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who proposed to have Blacks remain a subjected people, Blacks were virtually hopeless without educated leaders. Therefore, it was decided that various Black colleges should be made strong for the purpose of training ministers, physicians, and lawyers. These educational institutions would be deeded the charge of developing a strong core of professionals who would be responsible for lifting the moral and physical standards of the race. It should be indicated for the honesty of these planners that they did not endeavor to sell Black people short on purpose. They simply attempted to fit training to needs--i.e., individual needs. It was this factor which prompted President Horace Bumstead of Atlanta University to say, "We have too long made the mistake of regarding the race as a homogeneous mass instead of recognizing the diversity of its different classes."³³ With reference to individual differences, the Northern educators emerged from their early deliberations with the common agreement that the Black college was to be preserved for the mentally elite. As President Bumstead saw it, "The masses may not be able to go to college, but they may send their representative to college, and when he comes home they may be wise by proxy."³⁴

³³Proceedings of the Third Capon Springs Conference for Education (Capon Springs, West Virginia, 1900), p. 55.

³⁴Ibid., p. 60.

To be sure, the problem of providing an education for the Black masses persisted. What type of education should be provided for them? Industrial education emerged as an emphatic retort. This answer was practically foreordained, for the leadership of the Conference was made up of men who had long been converted to this educational ideology. Robert Ogden, who evolved as a very strong leader of the Conference, had a very influential part in the idea of industrial education from the beginning. Ogden and Armstrong were very warm and personal friends. It was in the parlor of Ogden's Brooklyn residence in 1866 or 1867 that a group of men gathered to consider General Armstrong's plan for an industrial institute for emancipated slaves. Hampton Institute was conceived as a result of this meeting and Robert Ogden was associated with Hampton for forty-five years, serving as a trustee, financial supporter, and finally as the head of its board of trustees.³⁵

William Henry Baldwin, Jr., also became a leading exponent of Black industrial education. Baldwin moved South as a businessman, being very conscious of the enormous profit to be derived from the capitalistic exploitation of Black labor. He felt that Black labor was necessary for the efficient operation of his railroad, because he demanded thousands of Black workers--but needed them trained. Baldwin was convinced that the prosperity of the South, including his

³⁵Dabney, Universal Education, pp. 26-27.

railroad, depended upon the productive ability of the indigenous population; he also felt that the prime sources of this ability was and always would be the Black laborer. Baldwin was even more closely tied than Ogden to the concept of industrial education. It was at the express request of Booker T. Washington that Baldwin gained first-hand familiarity with Tuskegee Institute and later became one of its trustees.³⁶

The Mohonk and Capon Conferences were greatly influenced by the devotees and advocates of industrial education. One of these persons was Captain Charles F. Vawter, who became part of the Southern education movement at its third conference and remained to win status as one of its main supporters. It was he who presented the first dramatic appeal for the devotion of some interest to the education of the Whites. His interest in industrial education had been of long standing. Having developed a strong appreciation for labor and discipline as a result of his agricultural and military experiences, he forfeited his professorship at Emory and Henry colleges and became superintendent of the Miller Manual Labor School, founded for orphans in Albermarle County, Virginia, in 1878. It was at Miller that Vawter took advantage of the opportunity to structure a school which would train the mind and hand simultaneously. Even though the school emphasized the vocational and industrial needs of White people, its

³⁶Ibid., pp. 149-150.

founder nevertheless manifested a strong interest in the vocational education of Black people.

It was mainly through the influence of such personalities as Baldwin, Armstrong, Washington, and Vawter that the various conferences made three distinct decisions with regard to industrial education for Blacks: 1) It was agreed at the first conference that the conditions under which the masses of Blacks lived made industrial education an essential part of their school curriculum; 2) Slavery, it was believed, had shaped within their minds some undesirable attitudes that this type of education could remove. This condition of servitude had made them believe that work was for the bondman and leisure was for the free. Whites, the educators thought, shared this attitude; 3) It was also believed that this negative attitude had been reinforced under the influence of Northern teachers who, it was alleged, led the Blacks to believe that through books they could enjoy the fruits of a literary education like White men. Therefore, there was a consensus expressed at the second conference that the Black had been educated from his natural environment and that his education should concern those fields available and natural to him. This was a very key decision, since it marked the formulation of the concept of "Negro education."

Another strategic decision which emerged during the third conference, was the acceptance of the idea that the Blacks' industrial

education should be channeled toward increasing the labor value of his group. To the minds of all Southern people, this meant that Black people would be accorded socio-economic and political recognition in direct proportion to his so-called economic value. Moved by this concept, Baldwin cried out in his advice to Blacks: "Face the music, avoid social questions; leave politics alone; continue to be patient; live moral lives; live simply; learn to work and to work intelligently; . . . learn that it is a mistake to be educated out of your environment."³⁷ These ideals very quickly became a part of the ideology of common schools. Industrial departments sprang up wherever there were Black schools large enough to have a plot of land for a farm or a small room for a shop and kitchen. These small departments were used to draw more money from the purses of charitable organizations than any other element of the Black school program, barring the singing of Negro spirituals. Although they may not have intended it, the architects of this program designed a structure of education that encouraged the very academic adulteration against which they had spoken so vehemently in earlier conferences. All that was needed in order to complete the job was a crew of construction engineers properly trained to erect the building.³⁸

³⁷Proceedings of the Second Capon Springs Conference, pp. 75-85.

³⁸Bullock, A History of Negro Education in the South, p. 102.

As the Conference studied the Black teaching corps in the South, it was found to be deficient on several counts. From the point of view of qualifications, the Conference found "teachers without pedagogy." This problem had a history--a history that helped shape the attitudes toward it. When the first schools for freedmen were opened, they were largely staffed by New England missionaries who, having much religious zeal and a firm liberal arts training, proceeded to teach Black children and even adults as they had been taught. Curricula and method were New England in nature. But the newer group of educators who had come South and instituted the Conference method of dealing with educational problems envisaged a more "practical" education for Blacks and considered the older method inadequate in the light of the circumstances under which the race had to live. They knew that the freedmen's schools had grown much more rapidly than the supply of teachers, and they also recalled too many instances in which the qualifications of those who were taught were limited to the ability to read and demonstrate the bare rudiments of learning.³⁹ Many of these individual educators had been involved in efforts to correct the problem. Hollis Burke Frissell, relating his experiences, reminded the Conference as early as its first meeting that during the period from 1869 to 1881, Northern charity had

³⁹ L. P. Jackson, "The Educational Efforts of the Freedmen's Aid Societies in South Carolina: 1862-1872," Journal of Negro History, VIII (January, 1923), pp. 1-40.

established Negro schools like Hampton, Tillotson College, Fish University and Tuskegee Institute for the purpose of training "young men and women who should make the common schools not only centers of intellectual training, but of morality, thrift, agriculture, and home life also."⁴⁰ He added that Hampton graduates had made some decided progress along these lines. The problem as he saw it was the small number of teachers available to the large number of schools that needed them. In his report to the third conference, the Reverend G. S. Dickerman emphasized the same need. "In most regions of the South," he contended, "no one is competent to teach. Superintendents report this as their biggest problem."⁴¹ Teachers and superintendents in four or five different states reported to Dickerman that appointments to teach were often sold for cash, awarded for political services, or bestowed for even more objectionable ends.⁴² Some superintendents accounted for this laxity on the grounds that Negro teachers were so scarce that they had to take what they could get, by any method that worked. Others dismissed the entire question by accusing conference leaders of expecting too much of Negroes or of measuring members of the race by "White standards."⁴³ However, these excuses

⁴⁰Proceedings of the First Capon Springs Conference, p. 5.

⁴¹Proceedings of the Third Capon Springs Conference, p. 17.

⁴²Proceedings of the First Capon Springs Conference, p. 31.

⁴³Ibid., pp. 7-8.

and accusations were not acceptable to the Conference. Its leaders believed that people could not be elevated any higher than the prevailing expectations for them. They decided that in matters like these the denominational schools had a special mission, that they were the chief hope of that time, and that there was a bitter need for additional institutions to share the burden. The future of Negro education in the South was properly viewed as being directly related to the training of teachers.

Many factors had contributed to the problem of Black education. Whites were larger as a group and very powerful in number, wealth, education, and experience. They controlled the government, the schools, mores, customs, and folkways. It was felt by the Conference that no plan for improvement of Black people could be considered without the cooperation of the White group.

Many causes contributed to the complication of race relations in the South. The historical position of Black people as slaves had a direct effect on the mental attitude, not only in the South, but, to some extent, in the North. The Civil War and reconstruction days created feelings and misunderstandings that included the entire country. In recent years after the Civil War, the extension of economic and social power to the masses of White people in the South negatively inflated their egos upon which the civic and educational interests of Blacks were dependent. This extension of power to the

Whites added to the difficulty of distinguishing the irritations of racism from the clashes of economic interests.

But, however much the White and Black millions may differ, however serious may be the problems of housing, and education developed incurred by Black people, it has become known by now that the economic future of the South has suffered greatly because of the inadequate training of the Black as well as the White laborer of that section of the country. The fertile soil, the magnificent forests, the extensive mineral resources, and the unharnessed waterfalls were never properly utilized because of the inadequately trained minds of both White and Black men. The extent to which White men realized the economic importance of Black labor is indicated below through an open letter by the Southern University Race Commission. This letter has been called, the most clear-cut statement in favor of the education of Black people that has been issued by any body of Southern White men:

The solution of all human problems ultimately rests upon rightly directed education. In its last analysis education simply means bringing forth all the native capacities of the individual for the benefit both of himself and of society. It is axiomatic that a developed plant, animal, or man is far more valuable to society than an underdeveloped one. It is likewise obvious that ignorance is the most fruitful source of human ills. Furthermore it is as true in a social as in a physical sense that a chain is no stronger than its weakest link. The good results thus far obtained, as shown by the Negro's progress within recent years,

prompt the commission to urge the extension of his educational opportunities.

The inadequate provision for the education of the Negro is more than an injustice to him; it is an injury to the White man. The South can not realize its destiny if one-third of its population is undeveloped and inefficient. For our common welfare, we must strive to cure disease wherever we find it, strengthen whatever is weak, and develop all that is undeveloped. The initial steps for increasing the efficiency and usefulness of the Negro race must necessarily be taken in the school-room. There can be no denying that more and more better schools with better trained and better paid teachers, more adequate supervision, and longer terms are needed for the Blacks as well as the Whites. The Negro schools are, of course, parts of the school system of their respective states, and as such share in the progress and prosperity of their state systems. Our appeal is for a larger share for the Negro on the ground of the common welfare and common justice. He is the weakest link in our civilization, and our welfare is indissolubly bound up with his.

Many means are open to the college man of the South for arousing greater public interest in this matter and for promoting a more vigorous public effort to this end. A right attitude in this, as in all other important public questions, is a condition precedent to success. For this reason the commission addresses to Southern college men this special appeal.⁴⁴

The leaders in the movement for Black educational development defined problems and developed a course of action. They wasted no time realizing that all the difficulties experienced by Southern schools, by Black schools in general, resulted from a lack of coordination in the total educational effort. Therefore, beginning with

⁴⁴ Department of the Interior, Bureau of Education Bulletin, 1916, no. 38. Negro Education: A Study of the Private and Higher Schools for Colored People in the United States, I (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1917), p. 5.

their early convocations, they started to design schemes which promised to bring all the schools of the South under central control. This was the control of a minister without portfolio.

The Conference was vested with no legal authority by any Southern state, and yet it wielded an influence as if it were so vested. Its leaders made their impact upon the total educational system of the South through indirect methods. They first created a means by which they could observe what was occurring. Later, they developed almost absolute control over those charitable funds that tended to flow southward for educational purposes, and they institutionalized their efforts by creating a permanent team whose responsibilities were basically to represent them in the field and execute their policies.

When the Second Conference for Education convened at the Capon Springs Hotel on June 20, 1899, a clear definition of its policies was stated, and an organization to implement this definition was created. The leadership of those whose educational ideas had begun to dominate the Conference was given official sanction. J. L. M. Curry, agent of the Peabody and Slater boards, sat as president; Robert C. Ogden, businessman from New York presided as vice-president; and the Reverend A. B. Hunter of St. Augustine's College served as secretary-treasurer. A committee specifically appointed to formulate

conference objectives presented and secured the adoption of the following resolutions:

- 1) That the Executive Committee be authorized . . . to employ an agent of this conference, who will work under the direction of Dr. Curry, its president, whose chief duty will be to study conditions in detail, and to ascertain such facts with respect to Southern education, both public and private, as will make more clear what methods and agencies are to be encouraged and what to be avoided or reformed, and will secure better harmony in all educational work carried on in the South. Such agent will report to the Executive Committee from time to time, and the committee will make annual reports to the conference.
- 2) That the conference recognizes the discernment and wisdom of the pleas that have been made in its sessions for the encouragement of secondary schools and the colleges, and that it recommends the subject as one urgently appealing on the one hand to counties and particular localities, and on the other hand to framers of the educational system and policies of the states.
- 3) That in the development of industrial education upon the lines now well established by noteworthy models, the conference recognizes a basis for hearty and united cooperation on the part of all friends of Southern education, and further recognizes a hopeful means toward the better working out of existing social, economic, and racial problems . . .
- 4) That the conference gives grateful endorsement to the wise and helpful administration of the Slater and Peabody funds; that it pays tribute to the rare comprehension and high devotion with which Dr. Curry performs the duties and exercises the discretion developing upon him under those trusts; that it appreciates the urgency of the need for a general committee of direction, in harmony or in conjunction with the management of those funds, to guard against the hazard, and in some cases, harmful use of money contributed at the North for Negro education; and further that we commend the work of teachers' institutes

at the South as promoted by Dr. Curry, and appeal for the improvement of all possible means of the lot of the young women teachers of the common schools.⁴⁵

The Conference further extended its organization toward the implementation of its objectives through appointing as its field agent the Reverend G. S. Dickerman.⁴⁶ It also selected a committee for the purpose of inquiring into the fraudulent solicitation of funds that had been going on in the interest of Black education. This committee reported at the Third Conference, charging that these solicitations were undermining public confidence and recommending that a special committee be created to serve as a bureau of information on the subject. The bureau's duty was to investigate all schools planning to educate Blacks. Included in the recommendation was the suggestion that the public be notified of the Conference action and that all persons be asked to consult this bureau before giving aid to unknown parties.

By the opening of the twentieth century, the organization of the Conference as the dominant educational force in the South was complete. In its convocation of April, 1901, the Fourth Conference accepted a resolution to appoint an executive board of seven, who would be fully authorized and empowered to conduct a campaign for free schools for all the people by supplying literature to the press,

⁴⁵Ibid., p. 28.

⁴⁶Ibid., pp. 9-13.

by participating in educational meetings, and by general correspondence.

In this way the Conference for Education in the South became the most influential educational force in the history of the region. It spanned the entire policy-making realm of Southern education. Philanthropists consulted its boards before making contributions to Black schools. School officials sought counsel from its agents on such matters as selecting teachers, building schools, or planning curricula; and legislatures were even more greatly inclined to appropriate funds for educational purposes on the basis of its recommendations.

Did this coalition between the North and South really matter? Did the social and political structure of the South alter its course because dedicated men had labored to this end? Answers to these questions were supplied by the various conferences themselves. Although some changes in the public attitude concerning Black education began to appear after the first group of educational missionaries convened at Lexington, Kentucky, on May 2, 1906, it was at this point that the real impact of the Southern educational movement was felt. At this meeting of hundreds of school officials from all over the South, leaders of the new educational movement were given a good opportunity to assess the results of their work. They could see the progress they had finally made toward the solution of their problems.

Although Black people were rarely consulted on the plans that created so many changes, they shared some benefits. As funds increased for White schools, racial differentials in expenditure became smaller. In a few states the school terms for the races became equal. In most states they remained unequal even until the late 1960's. Manual arts, domestic science, and other forms of industrial education were taught in both White and Black schools, but the Black teacher was expected to follow this type of curriculum more assiduously. Her students were thought to need the training more. As time passed, this type of education became solely a Black school interest. Some normal schools for Blacks were established out of newly acquired public funds, and many such schools already established were strengthened.

The Southern Education Board, at its May 28, 1914, meeting resolved to close its work and transfer its functions to the General Education Board. Thus came to an end the key force in the South's educational renaissance. The war to make the South accept the educational responsibilities of Blacks had been won. But the peace that ensued had made education universal for Whites and special for Blacks. The aim for equality of educational opportunity in the South, like his aims for political and social equality, had been sacrificed in the interests of peace.

CHAPTER III
SOUTHERN COOPERATION AND NORTHERN LIBERAL
PHILANTHROPIC ACCOMMODATION

Despite the effectiveness of the massive educational program launched by the Conference for Education in the South, there remained a major problem--particularly as related to Black schools. The program had been projected far beyond the range of funds then available to the Conference. The organization's influence, though significant, was not strong enough to open the public purse to the extent necessary in order to meet the needs of all schools. Consequently, another source of financial support had to be found before the program of Black education could move ahead.

Support was found. It came not so much out of the Southern paternalism and noblesse oblige to which C. Vann Woodward attributed the philanthropic movement, but mainly from the historical process that made it necessary.¹ The industrial boom that caused the national government to abandon Blacks to the will of the Southern people

¹C. Vann Woodward, Origins of the New South (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1951), p. 401.

operated, as if by benevolent design, to create an industrial class whose philanthropy the leaders of the Conference for Education in the South could stimulate.

At the close of the nineteenth century an economic revolution had started in the United States. The large populations that had moved westward after the Homestead Act of 1862 and the pacification of the Indians were bound into a single economy by the cementing force of the extension of the railroad. The process of urbanization which had started on the Atlantic Seaboard, moved westward to cause development of gateway cities such as Chicago, Cleveland, and St. Louis along the inland waterways until, interspersed with small regional communities, the American inland-industrial empire had come of age. Opening up incredible resources and vast markets for manufactured goods, these opportunities challenged the imagination and ingenuity of a select group of men who developed large fortunes that were to support Black education.

Thus, when the educational program for Black people had been designed, industrial America had already produced the philanthropists who could afford to finance it. Andrew Carnegie, whose philanthropy was to provide libraries for Black colleges had made his start during this period. Having come to this country in 1848 from Scotland, he had a million-dollar steel plant in operation by 1875 and was well on his way toward building the fortune that would make his philanthropy

possible. John D. Rockefeller, a twenty-year old bookkeeper, had resigned his \$50-a-month job in the summer of 1859 to take his first steps toward becoming America's foremost industrial pioneer and most generous philanthropist. Seven years later "his Cleveland refinery had begun to expand with explosive force. The industrialist had begun a career that would make him the oil magnate of all the world, savior of a large portion of the South's free public school system, and patron saint of the Black college."²

George F. Peabody had already applied his ingenuity to the development of America's industrial class with surprising results. Moving with his poverty-stricken parents from his native South to Brooklyn, New York, after the Civil War, Peabody had moved from errand boy in a mercantile house to partner in an investment business. By 1867 he had built a vast fortune, created an intricate network of relationships with large industrial firms, and established a special fund for the advancement of education of his textile properties about the time that Carnegie was building his first steel plant. Less than one decade later Slater was to create a fund for industrial education among the freedmen of the South. Julius Rosenwald, although of a slightly later period of American industrialization, is also one of

²Albert L. Carr, John D. Rockefeller's Secret Weapon (New York: McGraw Hill Book Company, 1962), p. 18.

this group. The fortune that fed his wide philanthropy started with his modest investments in Sears, Roebuck and Company during 1895.

Of equal significance is the fact that those who were to trigger the great philanthropic movement were also products of the industrial class. While Rockefeller was on the rise, Robert C. Ogden, who was to guide this philanthropy in Black education was establishing himself as an important retail merchant through a partnership with John Wanamaker. William Henry Baldwin, also to become a source of influence among the potential philanthropists, had begun a career with the Union Pacific Railroad and the Southern Railway Company.

It should be noted that these men constituted an industrial class whose business methods were not wholly acceptable to the American public. Greatly influenced by the Social Darwinists and particularly by Herbert Spencer, these individuals molded an ideology of rugged individualism in order to justify the methods which made possible their success. The ideas of Henry Demarest Lloyd heavily contributed to the development of this conflict. Through published articles in the Atlantic Monthly during 1881, Lloyd characterized the Standard Oil Company, for example, as an unscrupulous monopoly and aroused the country against the industrial class and its business

methods.³ The Sherman Antitrust Act of 1890 cause problems for the undisciplined industrialists, by 1898 the labor movement had advanced to the point whereby organized laborers had begun seriously to challenge the exclusive control of management over labor policy.

To a class burdened with the threats of rebellion against its mannerisms, the South offered a very convenient means of relief. Southern laborers were not strongly organized; there was relative industrial calm between labor and industry; and the mushrooming population of the area offered a very convenient source of cheap labor. Due to the fact, that its tax base had been largely untouched, the South was a very good base for charitable expressions that would serve to possibly repair the image of the industrial class then being threatened by class conflicts in the North. The South presented Northern industrialists with a very good opportunity to regain public acceptance while remaining loyal to the idea of rugged individualism. The industrialists understood very well that charitable contributions to the institutional life of the South could enable Southerners to help themselves, increase the value of labor, and open greater consumer markets for manufactured goods. Most important of all, the South's educational leadership had passed to those who related to the industrial class--to a breed of men who not only spoke the language,

³ Henry D. Lloyd, Wealth Against Commonwealth (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1929), p. 38.

but also shared its basic aspirations. Thus when Ogden and his associates began their campaign to secure funds for the support of Southern education, they found eager persons prepared to give their money, who were also sorely in need of an opportunity to show their humanitarianism and to preserve the dignity of their class.

Special Funds for Special Education

The specific type of humanitarianism that Northern industrialists intended to direct toward the South was the type to assure the preservation of educational opportunities for Black Americans. Different than the religious and benevolent groups which sponsored the freedmen's movement for education, the various funds established by the industrial philanthropists were not utilized to launch a crusade of racial equality. The industrialists were very aloof from the racial conflicts in the South, thus they accepted the Southern racial and educational situation in terms of its being the best policy for the South. Rockefeller and other potential donors visited the Fourth Conference in Winston-Salem, North Carolina, when Ogden ran his special train to the South--the attitudes of the philanthropists did not change the direction of Black education which their advisers had previously determined.

The Peabody fund, having first been established, set the tone for noninvolvement in racial matters. Its aim was to keep the social peace while simultaneously adhering to the racial status quo.⁴ The fund was to provide financial assistance to those states that had suffered the ravages of Civil War. Its aim was not to particularly help Black people educationally, even though the scope of its provisions made such assistance permissible.

This permissive quality was quite evident in the letter that Robert C. Winthrop read the fifteen trustees he invited to assemble at Washington, D.C. at the request of the donor. In his letter, Mr. Peabody told the trustees: "I will give you . . . the sum of one million dollars to be used by you and applied to your discretion for the promotion and encouragement of intellectual, moral, and industrial education among the young of the more destitute portions of the Southern and Southwestern states of our Union; my purpose being that the benefit intended shall be distributed among the entire population without other distinction than needs and opportunities of usefulness to them."⁵

The elasticity of Mr. Peabody's provisions extended to the trustees of the fund an opportunity to financially support Black

⁴Southern Education Foundation: Biennial Report for 1950-51; 1951-52, pp. 1-2.

⁵Letter from George T. Peabody to Robert C. Winthrop, et al., February 7, 1867.

education within the socioeconomic framework of Southern society. Since the trustees' actions were expected to provide the greatest good for the greatest number, much latitude was left for diplomatic strategy in the very delicate area of race relations. The trustees, moreover, took advantage of the freedom inherent to their trust and directed their efforts toward the task of providing separate schools for both races. Consequently, they established the policy of withholding financial aid from those states which had not provided for segregated schools, they worked exclusively with other philanthropic funds and movements which tended to recognize separate schools as a desirable manner by which the races should be educated.

Closely following the organization of the Southern Education Board, a much more powerful fund, offering many discretionary powers, was created for the general support of Southern education. Robert Ogden's influence with the Rockefeller interests reaped its reward when during the period of 1902-09, the philanthropist placed \$53,000,000 with the General Education Board and accompanied the gift with suggestions that portions of it be used to meet the special needs of education in the South. With the combination of these two boards through an interlocking directorate, the financial strength necessary for carrying on the new educational movement in the South was virtually assured. Similar to the Peabody fund, the Rockefeller

provisions were sufficiently unstructured to allow Black people to share in the blessings of the fund.⁶

Black colleges were as financially deprived as public elementary and secondary schools. The support given by the denominational societies had begun to erode the educational aspirations which Northern missionaries had inspired the establishment of, what many felt, too many colleges. This enthusiasm, moreover, had resulted in the creation of an educational base too broad to be supported by the subsequent flow of funds in the Black educational movement. Equipment was inadequate and outmoded as a result of the pressure of numbers, the weight of persistent use, and the infrequency of replacement and repair. Many of these college instructors were very poorly trained, and there was little hope that the public school would be better staffed by the graduates who managed to complete courses prescribed by these institutions.

Realizing that the improvement of Black colleges would not be considered a responsibility of the South, the textile manufacturer, John F. Slater of Norwich, Connecticut, established the Slater Fund for such support in 1882:

It has pleased God to grant me prosperity in my business,
and to put into my power to apply to charitable uses a

⁶For a very detailed description of the Peabody Rockefeller funds in the Modern Education Board, see Southern Education Foundation: Biennial Report for 1950-51 - 1951-52, pp. 26-30.

sum of money so considerable as to require the counsel of wise men for the administration of it.

It is my desire at this time to appropriate to such uses the sum of one million dollars (\$1,000,000.00); and I hereby invite you to procure a charter of incorporation under which a charitable fund may be held exempt from taxation and under which you shall organize; and I intend that the corporation as soon as formed shall receive this sum in trust to apply the income of it according to the instructions contained in this letter.

The general object which I desire to have exclusively pursued is the uplifting of the lately emancipated population in the Southern states and their posterity, by conferring on them the blessings of Christian education. The disabilities formerly suffered by these people, and their singular patience and fidelity in the great crisis of the nation, establish a just claim on my sympathy and good will of humane and patriotic men. I cannot but feel the compassion that is due in view of their prevailing ignorance which exists by no fault of their own.⁷

Since most Blacks lived in rural areas and since there was **not** much interest in their education anyway, schools for their **children** naturally suffered most from official neglect. It was thus in **the** interest of relieving this suffering and making those schools **more** useful to the people who depended upon them that Dr. Hollis **Burke** Frissell of Hampton Institute and Dr. Booker T. Washington of Tuskegee Institute approached Miss Anna T. Jeanes, a Quaker **phil-anthropist** of Philadelphia. They sought financial assistance in the

⁷Letter from John F. Slater to Rutherford B. Hayes et al., March 4, 1882.

development of rural school programs that had been started by their respective institutions.⁸

The two educators had ample reason to believe that the Quaker philanthropist would favorably respond to their request. The Friends had maintained a traditional interest in the education of Black people--an interest which extended back to the Civil War. Miss Jeanes had also shown a deep concern for American charitable and educational institutions and had liberally contributed to their support. She had made her first gift to Black education in 1905 under the encouragement of Mr. George Peabody, who was treasurer of the General Education Board at that time. She had sent a check for \$200,000 to the Board, designating that the money be spent under the direction of Dr. Frissell and Dr. Washington in a program of assisting Black rural schools.

Miss Jeanes apparently liked the work of both Hampton and Tuskegee and showed an even greater interest in the rural schools and communities which surrounded them. She gave Dr. Frissell a check for \$10,000 which was used for the salaries of teachers in extension work and gave a like amount to Washington, who used it to build rural schoolhouses in the communities that surrounded Tuskegee. Not long before her death, the Quaker philanthropist donated one million dollars

⁸The Negro Rural School Fund, Inc. (Anna T. Jeanes Foundation, 1907-1933, Washington, D.C., 1933), pp. 7-10.

to the rural school effort. She requested that the two educators administer the fund and expend it for the purpose of assisting the "rural schools of the Southern U.S. community," where lived the great mass of Blacks to whom these schools were alone available. The fund's deed of trust was drawn on April 22, 1907, and incorporation occurred seven months later. Thus came into existence the Negro Rural School Fund.⁹

Similar to others that had preceded it on the Southern educational scene, the Rural School Fund carried its own inclination toward the job by nourishing the concept of special education. In 1908 the board of trustees formulated a three-step policy in keeping with this idea: 1) that the general education situation be studied carefully, 2) that any work undertaken should be with the entire approval and cooperation of the local school officials, and 3) that so far as possible the fund should be used to help provide opportunities for effective training for rural life among Southern Negroes.¹⁰ It was one year later, that the trustees created an organization to stabilize the execution of these policies. At a meeting of its executive

⁹ Ibid., pp. 8-10; Benjamin Brawley, Doctor Dillard and the Leagues Fund (New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1930), pp. 56-57. Minutes of the Board of Trustees, and Executive Committee of the Negro Rural School Fund, Inc., New York City, 1908.

¹⁰ Arthur D. Wright and Edward E. Redcory, The Negro Rural School Fund, Inc. (Washington, D.C.: The Negro Rural School Fund Inc., 1933), p. 11.

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committee of July 1, 1909, Booker T. Washington, the chairman, suggested the possibility of gathering facts in order to ascertain whether Blacks were indeed receiving a fair share of the funds for their education, and of publishing the facts in a kindly manner to induce school authorities to be fairer in the distribution of funds. Chairman Washington made two other suggestions: 1) that Dr. James Hardy Dillard of Tulane University, who had been selected as president of the fund, be given an assistant whose duty would be to go among the people and to urge them to raise money for their own schools, and 2) that a suitable Southern White man be employed to influence public sentiment in favor of Black education. With B. C. Caldwell appointed as field agent for the fund, these suggestions went into operation December 16, 1909, thus firmly placing the Jeanes Rural School Fund under White control.¹¹

Greater and probably more extensive aid in the education of Blacks was later given by the philanthropist, Julius Rosenwald; his interest in the general welfare of the race was broader in scope than that of any other individual donor. As early as 1910 Mr. Rosenwald played a very crucial role in the betterment of the conditions under which Blacks lived in the United States. He became a trustee of

¹¹ Minutes of the Board of Trustees and Executive Committee of the Negro Rural School Fund, Inc., New York City, July 1, 1909.

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Tuskegee Institute, maintained sympathetic contact with Booker T. Washington, and aided the institute and its program materially by making gifts in behalf of the rural school movement. Funds provided by this philanthropist made possible the erection of sixteen (16) YMCA buildings and one YWCA for Blacks. These Rosenwald Funds also stimulated other gifts to similar projects in many cities of both North and South, and also supported a large Black housing project in Chicago.¹²

It was not until 1917 that Mr. Rosenwald brought into existence a foundation that was destined to attract more money to the cause of Black education than any single philanthropic enterprise up to this time. On October 30 of that year, the Julius Rosenwald Fund was incorporated as a nonprofit enterprise under the laws of the State of Illinois. Although its broad chartered purpose was stated as providing for "the well-being of mankind," the Fund more specifically aimed to stimulate more equitable opportunities for Blacks in a Democracy that had fallen woefully short of its promises. It did not aim to do the entire job but to enable Whites and Blacks to become accustomed in doing it themselves. Backed by approximately forty million dollars, which the cash value of the fund exceeded at one time, Mr. Rosenwald and the directors of his trust directed their

¹²Edwin R. Embree, Julius Rosenwald Fund: Review of the Two-Year Period, 1938-1940 (Chicago, 1940), p. 8.

attention first toward building rural schools, later toward the support of high schools and colleges, and finally toward the provisions of fellowships to enable Blacks and Whites of unusual promise to advance their careers.¹³ No other foundation up to this point in the history of Black education had provided a more benevolent mode of assistance for Black people.

By the third decade of the twentieth century, a complete financial structure for educating Blacks had been formed. Adequate support for building those rural schools that envisioned training young Black people for a rural life had been assured. More uniform standards and closer supervision of these schools had been provided, and the South's fears that these changes would lead to social equality between the races had been reduced by placing supervision of the work ultimately in the hands of White school officials. The private Black colleges that had received the blessings of the Southern Education Board, but whose future was still uncertain, had been given greater economic security, and had even learned that this security increased in proportion to the emphasis then placed upon industrial education. Although its more permanent endowment was still to come, the Hampton-Tuskegee pattern had become set as the ideal type for the Black school, giving shape to the physical, administrative, and institutional growth of the entire Black educational complex.

Financing Black Rural Schools
and Colleges: The Special
Educational Program

Consistent with their respective purposes, the various funds persistently supported those special educational activities of Black schools that had been specified as essential to and compatible with White Southern purpose. There was the immediate problem of keeping the schools open. The Peabody Fund was the first to deal with this situation. During the first year of its activity, the board of directors made arrangements in North Carolina and Georgia for the expenditure of \$4,000 in support of schools "for Black children."¹⁴ The aid given was significantly conducive to the maintenance of schools that would have closed prematurely. It not only retained the teachers for another year, but extended the terms to nine months. The Black schools of Virginia were similarly aided the following year. In 1870, the Fund completely supported all primary school pupils in Mobile, Alabama. During the same year the schools of Huntsville, Alabama, were given \$2,000 in support of \$2,000 pupils, among whom were 1,200 Black children. In his annual report to the trustees on February 15, 1870, the general agent, Dr. Barnabas Sears, of the

¹⁴Minutes of the Seventh Meeting of Peabody Fund Trustees, Newport, Rhode Island, July 1, 1869.

Fund, announced that \$16,000 had been designated for Black education during that year.¹⁵

By the following year a definite scale of assistance to public schools of different sizes was made known to the public. In the explanation accompanying the scale, the Peabody trustees made a distinction between grants to White schools and to Black schools. Black schools were to receive aid at a rate based upon two-thirds of the scale. The general agent instituted this policy on the grounds that "it costs less to maintain schools for the colored children than for the White." The fund gave \$3,100 to Richmond for local school aid of a Black Normal school, \$1,500 to promote public schools for both races; and the remaining \$800 to the White normal school of that city. The Black school of each ward of Norfolk, Virginia, was granted \$500 by the fund, although maintenance had already been provided by a city ordinance. A school for Whites with 150 pupils and one for Blacks with 200 were maintained in Branford, South Carolina, through grants of \$50 and \$100 respectively. And the Black school of Montecello, Florida, was given a grant of \$200, although there were 100 pupils under two teachers in the school.¹⁶ It nevertheless appears that

¹⁵Proceedings of the Peabody Fund Trustees, February 15, 1870. Also see, Ullin W. Leavell, Philanthropy in Negro Education (Nashville, Tenn.: George Peabody College for Teachers, 1930), pp. 84-85.

¹⁶Proceedings of the Peabody Fund Trustees, February 15, 1870.

grants were made more regularly according to need than according to the scale the trustees had worked out. Nevertheless, the trustees of the Peabody Fund directed their activities among Black schools in keeping with the philosophy of racial segregation.

During the 1880's, the Fund shifted its interest from the problem of maintaining schools to that of developing teachers. Its biracial policy, however, was continued. It assisted Black teacher training activities in the Negro Normal School at Lynchburg, Virginia (now Virginia Union College) and it provided scholarships for students in the teacher-training program of several Black colleges. Through a Peabody Grant, South Carolina supported ten students at Hampton Institute that year, and similar grants made it possible for the State of Georgia to give Black students \$1,000 scholarships through Atlanta University. The Peabody Normal School of Louisiana was granted \$1,300. Twelve institutes for Black teachers were held in Tennessee during that year. When the public school system of the South appeared to be assured, the Fund turned its major attention to the establishment of normal schools. In 1911, the support of the various state agents whom it had maintained was taken over by the General Education Board. And in 1914, when a final distribution of the Peabody Fund was made, its last direct activity in the field of Black education occurred. It assigned \$350,000 to the Slater Fund because the latter was solely devoted to the support of school for

Blacks.¹⁷ It was in this manner that the influence of George T. Peabody continued to work as a focal part of the financial resources that were being created in the interest of Black education.

Whereas the Peabody Fund assisted the Black school program incidental to its support of the public schools in general, the Slater Fund, from its very beginning, boldly entered in the matter of creating special educational opportunities for Black people. Its role in the complex undertaking of aiding Black schools pointed more in the direction of providing the race with opportunities for training of the higher level. The fund supported colleges in order that they might develop teachers for the complement of county training schools which it was seeking to build. More specifically, it first provided substantial support for Black colleges which had been established for religious groups; it later financed the building of secondary schools at strategic points in the rural South.¹⁸

The implementation of Mr. Slater's benevolent objective of uplifting the lately emancipated population of the Southern states was made possible by a corps of dedicated men who successively accepted the responsibility of directing the work of the Fund. They were Southern men like Dr. Atticus Green Haygood of Atlanta, Georgia,

¹⁷Proceedings of the Sixtieth Annual Meeting of the Trustees of the Peabody Fund, New York, 1914.

¹⁸Henry Allen Bullock, A History of Negro Education in the South (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1967), pp. 129-130.

who was elected the first director of the Fund in 1882; Dr. J. L. M. Curry of Alabama, who became the second agent of the Fund; and Dr. James Hardy Dillard, president of the Jeanes Fund and Father of the county training school idea.¹⁹ It was this idea that became the Slater Fund's shining example of philanthropy in public education.

Through the leadership of various members of the board of trustees, the Slater Fund initially focused its energies toward the task of aiding worthy Black colleges whose survival depended upon additional aid. Dr. Curry succeeded in convincing the trustees that they should select for support a few institutions which "would seem to justify special cultivation." Because of the brilliant example that Hampton and Tuskegee had set in the field of industrial education, these institutions received the largest gifts from the Fund.²⁰ Other Black colleges also claimed the Fund's attention. In observing the work of colleges such as Spelman, Claflin, and Toungaloo, the trustees saw a blessing that was touching too few. They recognized that these institutions were serving only 45,000 Black people. Their facilities had to be increased and their coverage widened, the trustees felt, if millions of Blacks were to be uplifted by their own

¹⁹Letter from Mr. John F. Slater to Mr. Rutherford B. Hayes et al., Norwich, Connecticut, March 4, 1882.

²⁰Will W. Alexander, The Slater and Jeanes Funds: An Educator's Approach to a Difficult Social Problem, an address delivered at Hampton Institute, Va., April 27, 1933, pp. 4-6.

schools. During the first year of operation, therefore, the Slater Fund contributed over \$16,000 to twelve of these colleges. By 1901, appropriations had increased approximately three times that amount for eight colleges.²¹ Over half the appropriations were assigned to Hampton and Tuskegee.

Less than five years later, a definite policy was crystalized. Contributions to Black colleges were made mainly through the process of paying the salaries of those employed in the fields of teacher training and industrial education. During the school year 1905-06, the Fund contributed \$40,000 for eighteen Black colleges scattered throughout the South. The money was spent primarily for the establishment and maintenance of industrial departments. This was true for colleges originally established as liberal arts institutions. Shaw University, originally established for the training of ministers, teachers and later doctors, spent over half of its \$2,500 appropriation to pay the salaries of teachers of cooking and sewing, although a budget of \$1,200 was provided for teachers of the normal department. Tougaloo University, a similar institution, spent all of its \$3,600 appropriation for teachers in its industrial department. Claflin University used \$3,900 of its \$5,000 appropriation to support teachers of industrial courses. This institution was attempting to teach courses

²¹Proceedings of the Trustees of the John F. Slater Fund, 1901.

in blacksmithing, carpentry, printing, tailoring, machine shop, brick-laying, and painting. Straight University of New Orleans spent two-thirds of its budget of \$1,500 for the support of industrial education, and Paine College used its \$150 grant to pay a teacher of carpentry.²² For twenty-nine years the Slater Fund confined its work to colleges making it possible for these institutions to maintain a foundation upon which a system of secondary education for Black people could be established.

The work of the Rosenwald Fund permeated the educational experiences of Black people more deeply than that of any other fund. The greatest individual influence in Mr. Rosenwald's first philanthropies for Black education was his personal acquaintance with Dr. Booker T. Washington. After several contacts, Dr. Washington invited Mr. Rosenwald to visit Tuskegee Institute. Mr. Rosenwald went in the fall of 1911.²³ On February 12, 1912, Mr. Rosenwald was elected a member of the Board of Trustees of Tuskegee. He manifested his appreciation by offering to give to Tuskegee Institute the sum of \$5,000 per year for five years on the condition that other gifts be

²²Proceedings of the Trustees of the John F. Slater Fund, 1905-1906.

²³Jesse Brundage Sears, "Philanthropy in the History of American Higher Education," in United States Bureau of Education, Bulletin (1922), No. 26, pp. 31-52.

secured to make a total of \$50,000 per year of additional money for the school.²⁴

When the Rosenwald Fund was reorganized in 1928, efforts were made to enlarge the program in order to aid Black colleges. The charter and constitution of the Fund provided that the "entire fund in the hands of the board, be expended within twenty-five years" after the founder's death. The trustees were further permitted at their discretion to use amounts from the principal of the fund.

An additional grant was made to the Fund by Mr. Rosenwald at this time, bringing the market value of the Fund close to \$22,000,000. In the letter of committal Mr. Rosenwald gave expression to the most modern thought in educational philanthropy in the following words:

I am not in sympathy with this policy of perpetuating endowments and believe that more good can be accomplished by expending funds, as trustees find opportunities for constructive work than by storing up large sums of money for long periods of time. By adopting a policy of using the fund within this generation, we may avoid those tendencies toward bureaucracy and a formal or perpetuatory attitude toward the work which almost inevitably develop in organizations which prolong their existence indefinitely. Coming generations can be relied upon to provide for their own needs as they arise.²⁵

From the aforementioned \$22,000,000, a special attempt was made to develop four "university centers" for the education of

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Letter from Mr. Julius Rosenwald to The Board of Trustees of the Rosenwald Fund, April 30, 1928.

professional personnel and other Black leaders. A total of \$1-1/2 million was contributed to university centers in Washington, Atlanta, Nashville, and New Orleans. The Washington Center was dominated by Howard University. The Atlantic Center was composed of a complex of colleges that included Atlanta University, Morehouse, Clark, and Spelman colleges, and Gammon Theological Seminary. The Nashville Center included mainly Fisk University and the Meharry Medical College; Straight College and the old New Orleans University originally composed the New Orleans Center. They eventually merged to form Dillard University, named in the memory of the dedicated work of Dr. James Hardy Dillard.²⁶

Other Black colleges, mainly those under private auspices, were aided by the Fund. Grants were made to a number of them to maintain summer institutes for teachers, preachers, and agricultural workers. Nevertheless the Julius Rosenwald Fund never faltered in its effort to "maintain a few institutions of the finest standard." Dillard University was given \$60,000 toward financing a new administration and classroom building. This facility was occupied in the autumn of 1935 as Rosenwald Hall. The massive gleaming white structure majestically standing against a spacious green background along

²⁶ Audit Report of the Julius Rosenwald Fund, for the years 1927-28 and 1928-29.

New Orleans' Gentilly Boulevard is a fitting symbol of Dr. Rosenwald's effective philanthropy.

By 1933 the trustees of the Rosenwald Fund began to express their philosophy of education in a way that was to influence the teachers in schools receiving the benefits of their philanthropy. The influence was directed toward both public schools and colleges. As it became evident that no longer was it necessary to provide special opportunities for this neglected group, the Fund resorted to efforts designed to incorporate all citizens into the general stream of American life. It shifted its emphasis to an active program in the field of race relations. At the close of its work in 1948 every facet of Negro life had been touched by the benevolence of Julius Rosenwald. Out of the total course of events came the education of Black people at the hands of the various philanthropic funds. It was due to the heavy investment of philanthropic funds that education became a way and means of entering the mainstream of American society.

CHAPTER IV

SEPARATE BLACK EDUCATION

Near the end of the nineteenth century, the future of Black people within the social structure of American life had been settled for the next fifty years. It was very clear that the so-called Black ballot had virtually no influence at all; that the two racial groups would constitute distinct socio-racial caste groupings, neither entering into the domain of the other; that White and Black children would be trained in two different kinds of schools--and two distinct socio-cultural worlds; and that Whites and Blacks, even though obligated to the same patriotic symbols, would become two vastly different kinds of people.

It must always be said that this settlement was not one of vengeance but rather one of compromise. Blacks had responded to the disenfranchisement with verbal protests, but had accepted inferior educational and social opportunities as a consolation. They had agreed to align their educational aims to the standards defined in terms of their own limited life sphere rather than aspiring to becoming equal to their White counterparts. Having been defeated in their

efforts to become full Americans, they had settled for a chance to become different. In a successful attempt to save Black schools, Northern Whites had designed educational opportunities for Black people which were directly attuned to the conditions prescribed by the segregated order. These Northerners had gained substantial financial support from private philanthropy and had influenced the South to give public support to Black schools under these compromise conditions.

It was this detour which determined special education the priority in Black people's extended struggle to gain educational opportunities. Special education for Blacks was more than a series of public schools and colleges. It was, in fact, more than the system of industrial education to which most of the public schools were thriving at that time. It was a way of life to which Blacks were exposed for the purpose of perpetuating their condition of caste, and the schools were to serve merely as the formal channel of this educative process.

Thus it was concluded that the traditions of the South would be maintained through a biracial caste-like arrangement of the two groups. Black people were to be socially, educationally, and politically isolated from Whites by means of a rigid socio-segregated society; they were residentially segregated; they were to be limited to special occupational pursuits by means of job restrictions; they were

to be specifically forced into behavior becoming to a Negro through a rigid code of interracial etiquette; and they were to be reinforced in their obedience to the Southern system of caste rules through formal schooling. The point at which this biracial society began forming a way of life for Blacks, tailoring them into a particular social type, and utilizing the schools to serve the ends of segregation marks the real beginning of Black education as a traditional American institution.

Separate Education Based on Color

At the beginning there was the creation of a new sociocultural setting through which the basic elements of Black education could be informally transmitted and logically instituted. This was to be a private world of color within which the life of every Black person was to be rigidly regulated and to whose limitations the Black schools were to be firmly anchored. This was a world in which the races were to be symbolically organized in all things economic but, as Booker T. Washington had proposed, as separate as the fingers on the hand in all things social.

Strategically located in the Blacks' private world of color and skillfully designed to inculcate those values which would

adequately adjust Black people to their conditions of caste were the Black schools, public and private. By the first decade of the twentieth century, these schools had become definite institutions of Black education. Despite various degrees of racist indifference and due to the generosity of philanthropic agencies every Black rural and urban community could lay claim to some type of organized educational institution.

Setting the pace and characterizing the entire Black educational structure at the public school level were the county training schools that were developed through the generosity of the John F. Slater fund. Beginning with four of these schools in 1911, the Southern states, under the leadership and financial support of the fund, had developed to 355 by 1928. By this time, 14,092 Black students inhabiting the various counties of the South were receiving secondary education from 2,379 teachers in these schools.²⁷ Thus there was hardly a Southern Black community in which a county training school was not operating when the 1933-1934 school year began.

The Slater Fund was administered to Black education through a period of fifty years. This fund has greatly contributed to Black

²⁷ Edward F. Redcay, County Training Schools and Public Secondary Education for Negroes in the South (Washington, D.C.: John F. Slater Fund, 1935), p. 42.

education at all levels.²⁸ They facilitated the establishment of public high schools for Black students by financially cooperating with all local agencies willing to share the initial expenditures and continue the support. They took the larger elementary schools of rural areas where the Black population was dense and combined them into the largest educational movement which the South had ever experienced. They designed a curriculum that placed emphasis on rural life and established "Smith-Hughes teachers."²⁹

Characteristically located in the open country of a Southern county whose population was predominantly Black, the county training school developed a community-centered program aimed directly at the task of assisting rural Blacks to improve their living conditions within the structure of a segregated society. No action was taken toward the tenant farmer; however, an occasional diplomatic move was made to secure the permission of the landlord to provide some modicum of education for his tenants. Caste regulations were intentionally left undisturbed and influential Whites who feared that the program would threaten the status quo were encouraged to cooperate through an appeal to their self-interest. Local and national philanthropic

²⁸ Dwight Oliver Wendell Holmes, The Evolution of the Negro College (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1934), p. 1965.

²⁹ Wilson Gee, The Social Economics of Agriculture (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1932), pp. 469-530.

agents occasionally succeeded in getting them to believe that the school's program would make Blacks more economically useful to them. As the White South gained confidence in the movement, the schools moved solidly under the captivity of the segregated order.³⁰

Industrial education was the core of the county training school's program. Farmers were encouraged to buy farm equipment collectively; the schools served as custodians of this equipment and the students used it in their studies. In 1929 farmers who came under the school's influence were encouraged to drop cash crops such as cotton and tobacco and to farm crops such as wheat, vegetables, and livestock.³¹ The agents whom the various state departments of education had supplied for Black rural communities furnished the leadership in efforts designed to train Blacks to live at home and like it.³²

Following the methods that had been created earlier by the Jeanes teachers, these agricultural leaders taught the people to can fruits and vegetables, to butcher livestock, plant gardens, whitewash cabins, and even make household furniture out of discarded apple boxes and orange crates. Most of this was adult education but some attempt

³⁰For a complete discussion of segregated education see Charles S. Johnson, Patterns of Negro Segregation (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1943), pp. 12-25.

³¹Redcay, County Training Schools, 45-49.

³²A. Bullock, History of Negro Education in the South, pp. 158-159.

was made to integrate it with the students' courses just as the Jeanes Plan had specified. Abstract mathematics was replaced by exercises in bookkeeping related to farming and farm products. World geography and history were replaced by a study of the local environment.³³

Long before the county training schools were conceived, a thread of Black colleges and universities was woven into the fabric of South's Black belt. These, too, were the product of philanthropic generosity and inevitably became captives of the South's program to educate Blacks for their caste assignments. Thirty of these institutions were established during the first decade after the Civil War, and others appeared gradually after that time until, by the middle of this century, 112 such institutions had been established for the Blacks in the South.

It must be constantly borne in mind that in any consideration of the Black college that at the beginning of the Civil War Blacks began to receive some measure of a college education. The attainment of any institution of learning for Blacks, including the higher institutions, must be measured from that point. The cultural and academic level of the other American colleges were far different from that of

³³Irving A. Derbigny, General Education in the Negro College (Stanford University: Stanford University Press, 1947), pp. 47-73.

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With the exception of teachers' colleges, the colleges for Blacks constitute the youngest group of institutions of higher learning in America. Nine American colleges, beginning with Harvard in 1636, were founded during the colonial period and more than five hundred came into existence by the end of 1860.³⁵ The Black college, on the other hand, is in the main an outcome of the Civil War and emancipation. The first one founded has been in existence, therefore, less than eighty years. This span may be considered as covering four distinct periods. The first period extends approximately from 1860 to 1885, thus, covering the first twenty-five years following the beginning of the Civil War. During this time the Union army, Northern benevolent societies and denominational bodies, the Black church, and the Freedmens Bureau were busily engaged in attempting to extend to Blacks not only material aid but the beginnings of educational opportunity. From these initial efforts there emerged a class of schools engaged in providing the rudiments of learning for Blacks.

That many mistakes were made in projecting the education of Blacks during this period cannot be denied. That the correction of

³⁴ Holmes, The Evolution of the Negro College, p. 8.

³⁵ Donald G. Tewksbury, The Founding of American Colleges and Universities before the Civil War.

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these mistakes is a slow and expensive process is equally true. However, when the thoughtful student of the times considers the appalling nature of the tasks that faced those who undertook the business of relief in the South during the period of the Civil War and that immediately followed its close, the extensive territory to be covered, the vast number of Freedmen pleading for relief and enlightenment, the chaotic economic and social conditions prevailing in that region, and the difference in the attitudes of the White people of the two sections toward the education of Blacks we must realize that there was little opportunity for the formulation of any comprehensive scheme of relief.

The need for Black education was immediate and necessary. As a result, almost every religious sect and many other philanthropic organizations were aroused to the highest pitch of missionary zeal by the tremendous moral forces resulting from the slavery agitation and the war, rushed to the South to administer aid to the Freedmen wherever the need seemed greatest and in whatever manner it could be most speedily administered.³⁶

First, one of the unfavorable results of this situation and the attendant emergency measures was the duplication of effort in some places with the consequent neglect in other less favored localities.

³⁶Thomas Jesse Jones, Negro Education: A Study of the Private and Higher Schools for Colored People in the United States (U.S. Bureau of Education, Bulletin No. 38, 1916), pp. 299-300.

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Another was that with so many agencies working with frenzied zeal, often spurred on by denominational motives of conquest, there was little inclination to study the situation carefully and to apply aid in accordance with the findings. Also there was an overemphasis of the classical type of education for a people just emerging from slavery. Under such conditions it was probably impossible for the work to have been carried on in any other way that would have brought such positive results.

After about 1885, although very inadequate, a number of these schools were fairly well organized. A few students who were enrolled studied subjects that were considered above the secondary level at that time which followed, in general, the pattern of the classical academies and colleges in which had been trained the White teachers from the North who, in the main, constituted the faculties of Black schools attempting college work.³⁷ This group of students, preparing mainly for the Christian ministry and for teaching, furnished the leadership of the next generation. Some of the graduates of these schools supplemented their training by attending Northern colleges, and thereby served as a link between the two fields of educational endeavor. A few Black students took their entire college course in

³⁷ Annual Report of the United States Commissioner of Education, 1889-1890, II, 1083. The John F. Slater Fund, Proceedings of the Trustees, 1886, p. 41.

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Northern schools. Due to the fact that it was the expressed plan of missionary bodies to help Blacks help themselves. This period is characterized by the addition of Black people to the faculties of the group of schools in which they had been educated, thus constituting the feeble beginnings of a Black college-teacher class of professional educators. The schools supported by the Black church denominations, of course, maintained Black faculties from the first.

It was after 1882 that the problem of the place of industrial education in the Black colleges was definitely raised, largely perhaps, as a result of the inclination of the trustees of the John F. Slater Fund, which was founded in that year, to favor those schools which gave such training as part of the curricula.³⁸

Similar to the Black public schools, the colleges were strategically located. There was hardly a Black community in the South that did not come under the influence of one or more of them. Organized originally for liberal arts purposes, the Black college slowly instituted industrial education as one of its basic functions. Shops, kitchens, and sewing rooms were added as laboratories for the students, and some of the institutions that had been most dedicated to the liberal arts program advertised rather freely the emphasis they were professing to place upon the manual arts. Hampton and Tuskegee had set the pattern, and those colleges that showed the most vivid signs of

³⁸The Slater Fund, p. 28.

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of following this pattern were given the greatest share of the money which had begun to flow South and into the Black schools at the opening of the twentieth century. A system of Black land-grant colleges grew out of some of the older normal schools, and teaching the manual arts became a public compulsion with this group.³⁹

Although some of the reconstruction governments established systems of public schools open to both races, the reaction which followed resulted in the establishment of a dual system of education by segregating the races in the schools.⁴⁰

Despite all of the planning which had gone into the idea of separate Black education, it was very clear that some of its by-products would contradict its aims and rise to threaten the separate social system it was engineered to preserve. There were no indications that neither the Restoration that followed the collapse of congressional Reconstruction nor the marriage between North and South that was consummated at Capon Springs would be able to survive the tensions of history. These indications particularly appeared in the public schools and colleges themselves. Apparently neither the schools nor the segregated

³⁹For a detailed account of Hampton and Tuskegee see Francis G. Peabody, Education for Life: The Story of Hampton Institute (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1905).

⁴⁰Albert Bushnell Hart, The Southern South.

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communities were to serve the caste order without creating some dissatisfaction with it. Both were to vacillate between two different types of services to two different types of masters.

During the early part of the 1870's when the South's public school movement was in its infancy, the signs of vacillation were quite subtle and very obviously unconscious. Nevertheless, the seeds of growing dissatisfaction with the situation were first planted by the public compulsion to make the curriculum of Black schools basically similar to that of other schools. Administrators of the public school system could not ignore the literary aspect of education. The classical academic tradition that had been inherited from England proved to be extremely viable. It considered to be the required foundation for all types of formal education. Thus, when schools were thought of, whether for Blacks or Whites, the literary tradition readily came to mind. Consequently, school superintendents of the various systems looked for literary training in the teachers they sought to employ, and lamented the absence of this orientation in many who applied.

In 1870 the school examiners of Jones County, North Carolina, complained that both Black and White applicants for teaching certificates were so wanting in fitness that some regard for efficiency had to be sacrificed. Nevertheless, no certificate was issued to any

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applicant until they had passed a tolerably fair examination in arithmetic.⁴¹ Commenting on the qualities he looked for in teachers, Josiah H. Shinn, superintendent of public instruction for Arkansas, mentioned scholarship as one of the first requirements for certification. He expected his teachers of geography, for example, not only to treat the earth as a home for man but also to correlate the instruction with subject matter drawn from the allied disciplines such as botany, geology, and mineralogy.⁴² In all the examinations administered to Blacks who sought to qualify for a teaching position, competency in English, mathematics, geography, and spelling was given close scrutiny. Very interestingly no test of the teacher's skill in industrial arts was ever recorded.

Throughout the South, as for the rest of the nation, basic academics composed the basic character of education for Blacks. In an attempt to keep faith with the industrial education movement, some courses in the manual arts were offered, but these were basically supplementary, acting in no important sense as a focal point of the curriculum.

Different educational movements came later in an attempt to revive the industrial emphasis; however, these were directed more toward

⁴¹Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction for the State of Arkansas, 1893-1894.

⁴²Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction for the State of Arkansas, 1893-1894.

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the larger community than toward the school and its pupils. The Jeanes teachers, those teachers from the North sponsored by the Anna T. Jeanes Fund, made valiant attempts to get local teachers, particularly those in rural areas, to organize their courses of study around the everyday life and practical needs of the Black community. All of these attempts were a means of making favorable impressions upon visiting school officials whose influence with philanthropic agencies could stimulate more money for the various schools.

Due to the fact that the society had been so rigidly segregated Blacks found it necessary that they provide for themselves those institutions whose services were not available to them through the larger society. Therefore the importance which these institutions assumed in the Black community life spotlighted the need to make certain types of professional training available to the population. Black schools had to be staffed with teachers, and these teachers had to be trained. The summer institutes held for Black teachers did not prove capable of meeting the demand. Gradually and with the help of philanthropic foundations Black colleges organized normal academic departments. By the 1920's practically all Black colleges were in the business of training teachers.⁴³

⁴³Bullock, A History of Negro Education in the South, pp. 162-163.

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The pulpits of churches had to be filled with intelligent leadership, for Black people, finding themselves surrounded by a hostile world, once again turned to a religious faith. These churches rapidly multiplied and with the schools became the most powerful influence in Black community life.

Although it has been reported that the Black church functioned in the interest of the caste system for many years, there is no denying that it nourished some serious threats against the system. It cried out for and elicited a leadership whose training exceeded the limits of industrial education. Almost all the private colleges for Blacks were training students in the divinity before the close of the century. What the South did not know at this time was that out of one of these colleges would come the minister, Martin Luther King, whose leadership sparked the social revolt of the 1960's.⁴⁴

The demand for business enterprises within the Black community did falter despite the unfortunate experiences which had been accumulated around the banks and fraternal orders which Blacks had attempted to operate. As time passed the need for these kinds of service institutions grew larger. Financial enterprises, insurance companies, and

⁴⁴W. E. B. DuBois, Some Efforts of American Negroes for their Own Social Betterment, Report and Proceedings of the Third Conference for the Study of Negro Problems, held at Atlanta University, May 25-26, 1898, pp. 42-95.

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even newspaper establishments eventually won sufficient support to maintain a strong position in such southern cities as Durham, Richmond, and Atlanta. Although these enterprises shared minutely in the purchasing power of Blacks, they were profitable enough to sustain a small proprietary class within the group. Gradually, physicians, dentists, preachers, teachers, and undertakers developed into a small professional class. These two classes--proprietary and professional--constituted the upper crust of a world that had turned Black. It was the children of this class who were to demand higher and professional education; it was this class that was to gain power and supply the force of discontent out of which the protest movement of the 1960's was to grow.

During the school year 1899-1900, Tuskegee Institute offered six different curricula to 1,231 students. The curricula were liberal arts, industrial, agricultural, biblical, nursing, and musical. It was through these courses that Tuskegee correlated the literary and the industrial to furnish men and women for leadership in the various phases of Black community life. Tuskegee had begun to train teachers for the Black public schools.

During the school year 1903-1904 North Carolina Agricultural and Mechanical College for the Colored Race evoked a similar inclination toward the literary and teacher-training functions. This

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Many Black colleges forged ahead in the literary field by accepting a teacher-training and liberal arts responsibility early. These are best represented by the many normal institutes established for the training of Black teachers throughout the South, and by the several liberal arts colleges that operated within the tradition of Talladega, Fisk, or the Atlanta University group. Begun mainly as preparatory schools, these institutions later evolved into four-year colleges, which would supply public school teachers, doctors, lawyers, businessmen, and college teachers for Black America. While the theological departments of these colleges were beginning to turn toward the production of a formally trained Black clergy by the opening of the twentieth century, Howard University at Washington, D.C., had begun to produce a corps of doctors and nurses.⁴⁵

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⁴⁵Ibid., pp. 165-166.

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Setting the pace and characterizing the entire Black educational structure at the public school level were the county training schools that were organized through the generosity of the John F. Slater Fund. Beginning with four of these schools in 1911, the Southern states, under the leadership and financial support of the Fund, had developed 355 schools by 1928. By this time, 14,092 Black children living in the various counties of the South were receiving secondary education from 2,379 teachers in these schools. Thus, in 1933-34 there was hardly a Black southern community in which a county training school was not operating when the 1933-1934 school year began.⁴⁶

Another view of the enormous influence of John F. Slater will show that the trustees of the Fund he began virtually captured the Black public schools of the South. They facilitated the establishment of public high schools for Black children by financially cooperating with all local agencies willing to share the initial expenditures and

⁴⁶ John F. Slater Fund, Occasional Papers, No. IV, p. 2.

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Fund received the cooperation of other foundations in developing the county training schools.⁴⁷

Following the methods which had been earlier developed by the Jeanes teachers,⁴⁸ agricultural leaders taught Black farmers to can fruits and vegetables, to butcher livestock, plant gardens, whitewash cabins, and even make household furniture out of discarded apple boxes and orange crates. Most of this was adult education, yet attempts were made to integrate it with the students' courses just as the Jeanes plan had specified. The development of Miss Jeanes' idea for Black education resulted in her giving an endowment of one million dollars to assist village and rural schools.⁴⁹ Abstract mathematics was replaced with exercises in bookkeeping related to farming and farm products. World geography and history were replaced by studies of the local environment.

⁴⁷ John F. Slater Fund, Occasional Papers, No. IV, p. 2. Also see the John F. Slater Fund, Proceedings and Reports, 1972, p. 11.

⁴⁸ Jeanes teachers were teachers trained in rural schools with support from the Anna T. Jeanes funds. See B. C. Caldwell, "The Work of the Jeanes and Slater Funds," in Annals of The American Academy of Political and Social Science (1913), No. 44.

⁴⁹ Thomas Jesse Jones, United States Bureau of Education Bulletin (1966), No. 38, p. 165. Also see, B. C. Caldwell, "The Work of the Jeanes and Slater Funds," in Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science (1913), No. 49, p. 174.

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The aim of the Jeanes Fund was to provide for:

- 1) The appointment by the County Superintendent of teachers to do industrial work in rural schools, under the direction of the County Superintendent.
- 2) The appointment of special teachers to do extension work using central schools as the base of operations.
- 3) The appointment of county agents to improve rural homes and schools and to create public sentiment for better Negro schools.⁵⁰

The Jeanes Board assisted from time to time other educational endeavors in the area of Black education. However its policy was centered upon rural schools through support of supervising teachers. Special grants were made to building construction, traveling expenses to conferences, support of summer schools for Negro teachers, and toward equipment for certain rural schools.⁵¹

Long before the county training schools were conceived a thread of Black colleges and universities were woven into the fabric of the South's Black belt. These were the product of philanthropic

⁵⁰The Anna T. Jeanes Fund, Report (1914), p. 9.

⁵¹Statistical data from the Jeanes Fund Office (1912-1970).

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Dwight Oliver Wendell Holmes in The Evolution of the Negro College discloses an interesting spectrum of motivations which express the social consensus for the establishment of Black colleges in the first place.

First, the Negro having been rescued from the hell of slavery and two and a half centuries of unrequited toil, was worthy of everything the nation could bestow upon him by way of recompense Second, it was the plain duty of a Christian nation to discharge this obligation to the freedmen promptly by providing them with the same means of mental and moral development that has proved effective in the advance of White people. Third, the Negro possessed the same mental capacity as the White man, his apparent mental inferiority being due to the debasing effect of slavery. Fourth, without education, the Negro would rapidly degenerate and become a national menace . . . to the entire nation.⁵³

⁵²See Department of the Interior, Bureau of Education, Bulletin, 1916, No. 39, Negro Education: A Study of the Private and Higher Schools for Colored People in the United States, Vol. 2 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1917).

⁵³Dwight O. W. Holmes, The Evolution of the Negro College (New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1934), pp. 68-69.

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The South's system of Black education was completed by 1933. The Slater Fund and other similar philanthropic agencies inspired the creation and development of secondary schools for Blacks, and practically any Black child in the South could receive at least two years of high school training at public expense without having to travel too far to receive it. Higher education had also been made available to Blacks, and the Black South had begun to feel the effects of its influence. Even though they did not attack the question of race and caste, the private colleges, with their greater freedom, did venture in this direction. They endeavored to elevate Blacks by pressing against the extreme end of the range of tolerance set by the various philanthropic agencies that gave them support and by the state officials who gave them their rating.⁵⁴

⁵⁴ Bullock, A History of Negro Education in the South, p. 160; also see, W. E. DuBois, "The College-Bred Negro," in The Atlanta University Publications (New York: Arno Press, 1968), pp. 48-49. Horace Mann Bond, The Education of the Negro in the American Social Order (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1934), p. 57; Kelley Miller, "Howard: The National Negro University," in Alain Locke, The New Negro (New York: Arno Press, 1968), p. 321. Some interesting sidelights in the development of Black colleges are: 1) Lincoln University in Pennsylvania was founded by the Presbyterians. Wilberforce was founded by the Methodist Episcopal Church; but was purchased by the African Methodist Episcopal in 1862. 2) The American Missionary Association established or played a vital role in the establishment of many of the best known Black colleges, including Fisk, LeMoyne, Hampton, Tougaloo, and Talladega.

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A System of Education in Subtle Rebellion

In view of the time and effort which had been expended into developing the Black educational movement, it was very clear from the beginning that various by-products of the movement would contradict its aims and move to threaten the social system it was designed to preserve. There were various indications that neither the period of growth and progress which followed the end of congressional reconstruction nor political, educational, and philanthropic alliance of the North and South which was consummated at Capon Springs would be able to survive the forces of American history. These forces appeared in the public schools and colleges themselves. It was time that neither the schools nor the segregated communities were to serve the caste order without causing some degree of dissatisfaction. Both were to vacillate between very different types of services to two different types of services.

Another force that inclined Black schools away from the industrial and nearer the conventional curriculum was the Black community in which the Black school was firmly anchored. Given that these communities constituted a separate part of a biracial society, Blacks found it necessary to provide those institutions for themselves whose services were not available to them through the larger community complex. Moreover the importance which these institutions assumed in

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Black community life spotlighted the need to make certain types of professional training available to them. It was necessary for these schools to be staffed with teachers and it was necessary that these teachers receive training. Even the summer institutes provided for Black teachers were not capable of meeting the demand. Gradually with the help of philanthropic foundations Black colleges organized normal departments. By the 1920's practically all of these colleges were training teachers.⁵⁵

The revival around the turn of the century was motivated not solely by emotionalism although these needs still prevailed in all their dynamic force; it was also a result of the necessity to provide some source of mutual aid for the depressed Black population. Not all the churches were involved, and most of those that were tended to center in the larger urban areas. But as early as 1897, Black churches in some Southern cities had accumulated 30,000 active members and \$1,542,460 in real estate value. They had aggregated an annual income of \$157,678 by that time and were putting forth some effort to protect

⁵⁵ Some of the more readily accessible sources for detailed information on Black higher education during the formative period are: W. E. B. DuBois, ed., The College-Bred Negro (Atlanta University Press, 1900); Edwin R. Embree and Julia Waxman, Investment in People: The Story of the Julius Rosenwald Fund (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1949); Horace Mann Bond, "The Negro Scholar and Professional in America," in John P. Davis, ed., The American Negro Reference Book (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1966), pp. 548-589; Virgil A. Clift, "Educating the American Negro," in Davis, ed., American Negro Reference Book, pp. 360-395; and St. Clair Drake, "Negro Americans and

Blacks against their many frustrations. Twenty-seven of these churches were spending \$8,907 annually for charitable purposes and had established mission units in the slums of these cities. Several were working with homes for the aged, orphanages, and other welfare institutions at that time, and some had even ventured to extend help to needy families through a system of home visits.⁵⁶

The demand for business enterprises within the Black community did not falter despite the negative experiences which accumulated around the banks and fraternal orders that Blacks attempted to operate. As time progressed the necessity for these types of service institutions grew larger, thus causing a rather complete set to come into existing. There first appeared eating, drinking, tonsorial, medical, recreational, and other places which offered services of a highly personalized nature. They were seldom attractive or fiscally well maintained; however, their monopolistic tendency to draw patronage encouraged the development of other types of institutions. Financial institutions, insurance companies, and even newspaper establishments eventually won sufficient support to maintain a strong position in

the African Interest," in Davis, ed., American Negro Reference Book, pp. 662-705.

⁵⁶ John C. Rose, "Negro Suffrage: The Constitutional Point of View," The American Political Science Review, 1:17-43 (November, 1906). Also see Bureau of the Census, Characteristics of Population, Part II, 1950 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1952).

such Southern cities as Durham, Richmond, and Atlanta. Even though these enterprises shared minutely in the Blacks' small purchasing power, they were profitable enough to sustain a small proprietary class within the race. Gradually dentists, physicians, preachers, teachers, and undertakers developed into a small professional class. The two classes--proprietary and profession--constituted the upper crust of a world that had turned Black. It was the children of this class who were to demand higher and professional education; it was this class that was to gain power steadily and supply the force of discontent out of which the protest movements of later years were to grow.⁵⁷

Therefore, the many daily needs of the segregated Black community justified giving young Blacks higher and professional training. Southern Whites realized that if the segregated system was to work, Black schools, particularly the colleges, would have to teach courses in business, economics, journalism, medicine, teacher training, and theology. Some educators, both Black and White, had anticipated this possibility when they contended, as did William T. Harris, in 1890,

⁵⁷ For a penetrating discussion of the Black middle and professional classes, see Patricia Roberts Harris, "The Negro College and Its Community," Daedalus, Vol. 100, No. 3 (Summer 1971), pp. 720-731. Harold Cruse, The Crisis of the Negro Intellectual (New York: William Morrow and Company, 1967), p. 5. E. Franklin Frazier, "The Negro Middle Class and Desegregation," Crosscurrents, Summer, 1957, pp. 213-224; Frazier, Black Bourgeoisie (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1957), p. 174.

that Blacks needed a more classical education, which would provide them with more trained leadership.⁵⁸

The Black colleges responded to this need with great realism; they speedily inclined their programs toward literary and professional fields. Hampton, Arkansas A & M, Prairie View Normal and Industrial, and Alabama Agricultural and Mechanical College were especially founded for the purpose of giving industrial training. Along with eight other institutions which appeared in 1897, they helped form a core around which the land grant system for Blacks was built. Nevertheless, these agricultural and mechanical colleges very quickly became teacher-training institutions whose actual curricular emphasis was far more literary than it was industrial.⁵⁹

So it happened that Black education, instead of being specialized along industrial lines, became somewhat of a duplication of the education which was offered to White children. It was separate; it was judged in terms of the value scale held for

⁵⁸Speech given by William T. Harris at the First Mohonk Conference, June 4, 5, 6, Lake Mohonk, Ulster County, New York.

⁵⁹Bullock, A History of Negro Education in the South, p. 165. See S. H. Clair Drake, "The Black University in the American Social Order," Daedalus, Vol. 100, No. 3 (Summer, 1971), pp. 833-893.

Blacks; and it symbolized America's dual standard of academic competency. Nevertheless, it was to be the stuff from which revolutions are made.⁶⁰

⁶⁰Bullock, A History of Negro Education in the South, p. 116; Elias Blake, Jr., "Background Paper on the Traditionally Negro College," The Congressional Record (May 11, 1970), p. E4091.

CHAPTER V
THE BLACK COLLEGE'S RELATIONSHIP
TO THE BLACK COMMUNITY

And so they did begin. The founded colleges, and up from the colleges shot normal schools, and out from the normal schools went teachers, and around the normal teachers clustered other teachers to teach the public schools; the college trained in Greek and Latin and mathematics, 2,000 men; and these men trained full 50,000 others in morals and manners, and they in turn taught thrift and the alphabet to nine millions of men, who today hold \$300,000,000 of property. It was a miracle--the most wonderful peace-battle of the 19th century, and yet today men smile at it, and in fine superiority tell us that it was all a strange mistake.¹

One of the most important issues of the twentieth century will be to keep the Black college alive and viable. It has been the feeling of many Blacks and Whites, that if this can be done, it will indeed be a miracle for some men are still "smiling in fine superiority," convinced more than ever that Black education has indeed been "a strange mistake," and continues to be so. Was it? Is it? Can it survive? Shall it survive? And in what form, if any? These are the questions before this generation of Americans--a generation already

¹Booker T. Washington and W. E. B. DuBois, The Negro Problem (New York: James Pott and Co., 1963), pp. 46-47.

burdened with a pandorian agenda of war and peace, the misassignment of roles, the pollution of the environment, the increase in crime, the decline of religion, the new morality, the old Establishment, sexual inversion, academic inversion, and the virulence of racism--the last mentioned having a critical relationship to the survival of the Black college and any of the values associated with it.²

For most of their existence, Black colleges have served higher education within the context of a social structure built upon concepts of racial dualism, racial segregation, white supremacy, and racial inferiority of Black people. Some of the Black colleges, specifically most of the private colleges, were not founded on these principles. They were, indeed, founded on the hope that former slaves were going to become an integral part of American society. Nonetheless their development through the years was conditioned by the country's racist policies. They suffer the legacy of those policies today as they face the future. State-supported colleges were founded on the principle that the state was obliged to support something for Blacks which it also supported for Whites, but with the understanding that whatever it supported for Blacks would be inferior to that which was supported for Whites.³

²C. Eric Lincoln, "The Negro Colleges and Cultural Change," Daedalus, Vol. 100, No. 3, pp. 603-629.

³Vivian W. Henderson, "Negro Colleges Face the Future," Daedalus (Vol. 100, No. 3, Summer, 1971), pp. 630-645. See, The New

The social context within which Black colleges have operated has been altered. The courts have engendered national policy committed to racial desegregation in education as well as other aspects of society.⁴

It is significant that while Northern philanthropy was not entirely oblivious of Southern objections to Black education, other factors including White and Black religious interests combined to overcome the deflective intent of those objections. For example, a review of the statements of the founders and of the literature, the public addresses, and the sermons of the time quite clearly shows that however wide-ranging were the doctrinal, political, theological, or racial differences of the various groups participating in the founding of Black colleges, they were all agreed in at least one interest. Whatever else the Black college was to be, it was to be an agency of moral uplift for Black people. The American culture was in tacit agreement with itself that Blacks were the subjects of a certain

New South and Higher Education: A Symposium and Ceremonies Held in Connection with the Inauguration of Luther Hilton Foster, Fourth President of Tuskegee Institute (1954), pp. 22-23.

⁴For information on legal action involving desegregated education for Blacks see the following: Cumming v. Richmond County Board of Education, 175 U.S. 528 (1899). Berea College v. Kentucky, 211 U.S. 45 (1908). A. Miller, "Racial Discrimination and Private Schools," Minnesota Law Review, 41 (1957), 145-158., Gong Lum v. Rice, 275 U.S. 78 (1927). Missouri et al. Grimes v. Canada, 305 U.S. 337 (1938); Siphel v. Oklahoma State Regents, 332 U.S. 631 (1958); Sweatt v. Painter, 339 U.S. 629 (1950); McLaurin v. Oklahoma State Regents, 339 U.S. 637 (1950). See also Univ. of Maryland v. Mirny, 169 Md. 478, 182 Atl. 590 (1936). Brown v. Board of Education, 347 U.S. 483 (1954).

depravity. Two and a half centuries of the White man's moral example had accomplished imperfectly reliable patterns of moral behavior or understanding toward people of mixed ancestry as American Blacks are. In brief, Black people were thought to be morally deficient, ignorant, and unaware of their deficiencies. To be sure, so long as they were chattel, their moral behavior was the responsibility of their White masters, and while every master would agree that the morality of his slaves should be encouraged, few believed it a critical factor in the ongoing life of the plantation. The prevailing view was that it was the nature of Black people to lie, steal, cheat, fornicate, and to avoid work whenever possible. To be indifferent to all Black people was popularly thought of as being of sudden passions, short memory, and a forgiving nature--being especially prone to forgive himself. Hence, the White man's burden was in large part a surrogate responsibility for Blacks' inherent incapacity to measure up to the moral requirements of a civilized society. In slavery, the master was ultimately responsible for his slave in the same manner as he was responsible for his dog or his mule, and the moral behavior of slaves were viewed with the same tolerance as that of animals or small children.

Moreover, the sudden emancipation of four million Black "children" who were expected to function as equals in the larger society created a perceived threat to organized society and to established

social expectations and obligations. The Black college was thrust into the role of creating moral awareness and exercising moral control over all those within its jurisdiction--a role which has been continually identified with its *raison d'etre*. The presidents, both White and Black, of the early Black colleges were, for the most part, ministers and were invariably imbued with a strong sense of Black people's moral precariousness. In those colleges controlled by White churches, the sense of Black moral vulnerability was the chief reason for the retention of White administrators long after any serious questions of the readiness and the availability of Black administrators with the requisite professional qualifications could be raised.⁵

Thousands of White teachers from New England and elsewhere in the North went South to staff the colleges and secondary schools and academies which sprang into existence after the war. Most of them were missionary-minded. The South was the new frontier--a home frontier, on which the fight against paganism, heathenism, moral indigence, and consummate ignorance could be resumed. Some paid with their lives for their zeal, and, many suffered unimaginable indignities and hardships, because the White South was hard set against the "academic" education of Blacks and it never dropped the notion that the idea of

⁵Lincoln, "The Negro Colleges and Cultural Change," pp. 609-611.

Black moral instruction was a matter of Southern White responsibility. The White South contended that it had the understanding, the know how--and the means to make the Blacks conform. That education--higher, lower, or whatever kind--would not improve the morals of Blacks, but would only increase his native cunning thereby extending the limits of his natural ability.⁶

Black Higher Education: The
Washington-DuBois Controversy

Despite the feelings of the South, it should be clearly explained that Black people's uplift was not the exclusive concern of Northern liberals. Blacks themselves, specifically that core that Washington had in mind when he referred to "the wisest among my race,"⁷ and perhaps DuBois' Talented Tenth, had decided misgivings concerning their moral adequacy or at least that of the Black masses. Blacks had very little opportunity, if any, for a realistic evaluation of themselves against the idealized White overculture which everywhere engulfed and stifled them. Besides, they were constantly reminded of their shortcomings, real and imagined, by the White man,

⁶Ibid., pp. 611-612.

⁷From a speech given by Booker T. Washington at the Atlanta Exposition, 1896.

whose own perspectives were seriously distorted by his momentary political ascendancy, which was too easy to confuse with an inherent godliness. Then, too, Blacks were the subjects of a highly selective religious indoctrination which enlisted God, the Bible, and the White man's assurance of manifest destiny in the insidious clouding of the Black man's claims to humanity. The Black who was so lowly even in the White man's eyes, was determined to "rise," but in the realities of the moral situation in which he found himself, he may have already been well above the heap. Ironically, the truth could be known only through education and because the truth was a body of information external to the experience of slavery, it was far beyond the freedman's existing tools of measurement and analysis. Blacks would have to be educated before they could possess any defensible notion of who they were and whether they were moral or not.⁸

A major role of the Black college, then, was to insure the moral acceptability of the Black vanguard which would in turn leaven the Black masses with teachers and clergymen, and at industrial schools such as Hampton and Tuskegee, with farmers and artisans who by precept and example would lift Blacks by their bootstraps.

In a frenzy of racial annoyance, John C. Calhoun of South Carolina offered the confession that "if a Negro could be found who could parse Greek or explain Euclid, I should be constrained to think that

⁸Lincoln, "Negro Colleges and Cultural Change," p. 616.

he had human possibilities."⁹ Calhoun's snide benevolence was no more than an exercise in racist rhetoric. Of course, during this period, it was simply felony for Black people to learn to read and write, and a public whipping was among the penalties provided for anyone who undertook to teach them. However the day did come when the Black college taught students the parsing of Greek and the explanation of Euclid. Eventually, the relevance of a classical curriculum to fundamental needs of the Black estate would be aired in the now famous debate between Booker T. Washington and W. E. B. DuBois. That famous controversy was historically necessary for the establishment of an educational perspective for Black leadership. After all, with Black people having so recently emerged from slavery, the Black experience in education was, to say the least, not extensive, and what kind of educational system would prove most functional to what ends in the short run, and in the long run, was conjectural and problematical. Both Washington and DuBois endorsed the importance of moral uplift in Black education, though not with the same emphasis. A posture of moral concern in education would be inevitable in a strategy of meekness, and such a posture would likely be exaggerated in selling a bootstrap philosophy. Said Washington:

⁹ Horace Mann Bond, The Education of the Negro in the American Social Order (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1934), p. 57.

The very best that one can render to what is called the higher education is to teach the present generation to provide a material or industrial foundation. On such a foundation as this will grow habits of thrift, a love of work, economy, ownership of property, bank accounts. Out of it in the future will grow practical education, professional education and positions of public responsibility. Out of it will grow moral and religious strength One farm bought, one house kept One sermon well preached . . . one life cleanly lived--these will tell more in our favor than all the abstract eloquence that can be summoned to plead our cause.¹⁰

The sentiments of Washington did not radically differ from the prevailing notions of the day. They represent a fair restatement of the Protestant ethic which shaped and conditioned most American thinking for most of our history. Hard work, thrift, money, and morals are inevitably linked, and, for Washington, moral respectability for the race was the first order of business. This could be accomplished only through hard work--work with the hands--in the fields, in the shops, in the kitchens. Most important, was the day-to-day level of visible achievement which could be measured by the Negro-watchers, North and South, whose skepticism Washington felt it necessary to allay. He reminded his critics:

There is still doubt, as to the ability of the Negro unguided, unsupported to hew his own path, and put into visible, tangible, indisputable form products and signs of civilization.¹¹

¹⁰ Washington and DuBois, The Negro Problem, pp. 10-29.

¹¹ Ibid., pp. 10-29.

Washington, most certainly, had little regard for civilization in the abstract. He saw life and education as being practical and realistic, for the purpose of his task was a very limited one. However, it was also present and real, and the lives and welfare of the people he sought to lead were irrevocably contingent to the realities of that limited, self-regulated universe. "Patiently, quietly, doggedly, persistently," he counseled, "we must reinforce argument with results Our pathway must be up through the soil, up through the swamps." If the Negro could earn respectability by minding his morals and doing his job well, however humble, tangible rewards would follow in due course.¹²

For DuBois, classical education for some was necessary to even a society of farmers and artisans, for somebody has to teach the teachers, and education is more than the knowledge of a trade. As a matter of fact, classical education reaches full flower only when the proletariat is sufficiently leavened to be "raised in morals and manners" as a prerequisite to successful vocational activity. Higher education, he felt, was not for everybody, but he did feel that it was crucial to racial progress and that it should encompass the whole man in the whole universe of mankind.

Men of America, the problem is plain before you. Here is a race transplanted through the criminal foolishness

¹²Lincoln, "Negro Colleges and Cultural Change," p. 614.

of your fathers. Whether you like it or not, the millions are here, and here they will remain. If you do not lift them up, they will pull you down Education must not simply teach work--it must teach life. The Talented Tenth of the Negro race must be made leaders of thought and missionaries of culture among their people. No others can do this work and Negro colleges must train men for it. The Negro race, like all other races, is going to be saved by its exceptional men.¹³

There were many who agreed with DuBois, but the question was asked then as it is now--Why a Negro college? To men who had any understanding of the meaning of being Black in a world of whiteness, it was a frivolous question, an asininity.¹⁴ Kelly Miller, a very distinguished dean at Howard University, suggested that "One might as well ask, or had better ask, the rationale of Jewish seminaries or Methodist colleges and universities. These racial and denominational schools impart to the membership of their community something which the general educational institution is wholly unable to inculcate."¹⁵

That something is what contemporary supporters of the still existing Black colleges are attempting to discover, re-identity,

¹³Washington and DuBois, The Negro Problem, pp. 10-29. W. E. B. DuBois, The Souls of Black Folk (1903), pp. 176-177. Charles H. Thompson, "The Extension of Citizenship," in The New South and Higher Education (Montgomery: The Parnzon Press, 1954), pp. 62-67.

¹⁴Lincoln, "Negro Colleges and Cultural Change-" p. 614.

¹⁵Kelly Miller, "Howard: The National Negro University," in Alain Locke, The New Negro (New York: Arno Press, 1968), p. 321.

parallel, sell, or promulgate. For Dean Miller, that something was positive, patent, and critical: "But for the Black college, Black scholarship would decay, and Black leadership would be wanting in effectiveness and zeal. The Black college must furnish stimulus to hesitant Black scholarship, garner, treasure, and nourish group tradition, enlighten both races with a sense of the cultural worth and achievement of the constituency it represents, and supply the cultural guidance of the race."¹⁶

Viewed within the context of which it is a part, and with which it has had to contend, the question might be asked whether the Black college has reasonably fulfilled the challenge set before it. A hundred years have passed. They have been years of darkness. They were the years of the terrors of reconstruction--when Black citizenship was a travesty of civil justice and the efforts of Black men to participate responsibly in the political process evoked derision and anger and physical reprisal. They were years of light when schools such as Clark, Talladega, Atlanta University, Fisk, Howard, Hampton, and Tuskegee were created of the synthesis of White concern and Black determination.

Yet these were also years of promise--when Daniel Hale Williams, a Black physician, performed the first successful heart operation at

¹⁶Ibid., pp. 56-75.

Provident Hospital in Chicago; when William A. Hinton, a Black physician on the Harvard faculty, developed a standard test for syphilis; when the Black Tenth Cavalry rescued Theodore Roosevelt from certain defeat by Spanish forces in Cuba; when the National Negro Business League was organized in Boston; when Jack Johnson became heavyweight champion of the world; when W. C. Handy gave the blues to America; when Carter G. Woodson founded the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History; when George Washington Carver was hailed as "the greatest industrial chemist in the world"; when Eva B. Dykes at Radcliffe and Sadie T. Mossell at Pennsylvania, and Gorziana Simpson at the University of Chicago took the first Ph.D. degrees awarded to Black women; when the Harlem renaissance produced Claude McKay, Jean Toomer, Alain Locke, Langston Hughes, Conutee Cullen, and James Weldon Johnson; when Paul Robeson, Roland Hayes, and Marian Anderson interpreted for America and the world America's only indigenous music, the songs of the Black experience; and when the art of Henry of Tanner, Aaron Douglas, Richard Burthe, and Augusta Savage found its way into the distinctive collections of two continents.

It was from the accomplishments mentioned above that the "new Negro" was being created; it was through the literary efforts of this new breed, that America's Black people were to find a new conception of themselves and a deeper spiritual orientation.

Racism in Academia

The growth of American universities and the spread of graduate education based on the German model (beginning at Johns Hopkins in 1876) coincided with the defeat of Reconstruction and the triumph of social Darwinism as taught by Herbert Spencer, William Graham Sumner, and Lester Ward. Viewed in this context, it is not surprising that the first two generations of Black scholars worked in an atmosphere dominated by anti-Black thinking. From 1876, when Edward Bouchet, the first Black to receive a doctorate at an American university, was awarded a Ph.D. in physics at Yale, to the late 1920's, when the number of Black Ph.D.'s began to increase at a steady rate, American scholarship not only reflected the racial attitudes of the larger society, but actively propagated anti-Black views which strengthened public policy and private prejudice designed to trap Blacks in a position of social and economic inferiority. It is impossible to understand the development of Black scholarship if this background is ignored. Usually since these facts are ignored in the discussion of White academic history, it is useful to discuss them here.

The most effective ones in academe who were successful in imposing an attitude of anti-Black bias in scholarship were the historians William A. Dunning and John W. Burgess, whose writings on the Civil War and Reconstruction influenced an entire generation of

American historians and the shapers of national policy toward Blacks. It was largely through their efforts that it became the dominant view that slavery was a benign institution and Reconstruction a tragic error based on the mistaken idea that Blacks could enjoy the legal sanctions of the United States Constitution.¹⁷ Thus the oppressive racial policies of the South appeared to be vindicated by the best Northern scholarship (Burgess and Dunning were at Columbia University); if it was folly to extend the franchise and education to Blacks, then it was wisdom to enforce White supremacy and segregation, and acceptable to use Ku Klux Klan terrorism to "keep the Negro in his place."¹⁸

While the nation's leading historians were showing the "disaster" it had been during Reconstruction for Blacks to be granted minimal freedoms, a formidable body of purportedly "objective scholarship" was being produced in the emerging disciplines of sociology and psychology, under the strong influence of social Darwinism, to show that

¹⁷ John W. Burgess, The Civil War and The Constitution, 1859-1865 (New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1901), Political Science and Comparative Constitutional Law (Boston: Ginn & Co., 1891), Recent Changes in American Constitutional Theory (New York: Columbia University Press, 1923), Reconstruction and the Constitution (Westport, Conn.: Negro Universities Press, 1970). Also see, William A. Dunning, Essays on the Civil War and Reconstruction and Related Topics (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1898), Reconstruction, Political and Economic, 1865-1877 (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1907), Truth in History and Other Essays (Port Washington: Kennicott Press, 1965).

¹⁸ Michael R. Winston, "Through the Back Door: Academic Racism and the Negro Scholar in Historical Perspective," Daedalus, Vol. 100, No. 3 (Summer, 1971), pp. 678-719.

Blacks were innately incapable of rising above the status imposed by White terrorism."¹⁹ This work was very influential because it was considered "scientific" and enjoyed the support of the leading universities of the United States. Among the distinguished social science professors was G. Stanley Hall, who held the first Ph.D. in psychology in the United States, and had made an academic reputation as the founder of the psychology laboratory at Johns Hopkins (1883) and The American Journal of Psychology (1887). Hall used his academic authority in support of anti-Black propaganda while he was president of Clark University (1899-1919). In 1905, his article "A Few Results of Recent Scientific Study of the Negro in America," noted that a "new scientific study of the Negro has arisen and is fast developing established results which are slowly placing the problems of the future of this race upon a more solid and intelligent basis, and which seemed destined sooner or later to condition philanthropy and legislation, make sentiment more intelligent, and take the problem out of the hands of politicians, sentimentalist, or theorists, and place it where it belongs--with economists, anthropologists, and sociologists." What were these research findings which were to "condition philanthropy and legislation." First, that the "color

¹⁹For a very thorough discussion of Social Darwinism, see Richard Hofstadter, Social Darwinism in American Thought (Boston: Beacon Press, 1955), Chaps. 3, 4, and 9.

of the skin and the crookedness of the hair are the only outward signs of many far deeper differences, including cranial and thoracic capacity, proportions of body, nervous system, glands and secretions, vita sexualis, food, temperament, disposition, character, longevity, instincts, customs, emotional traits, and diseases." Speaking as the leading authority on psychology of his day, Hall associated the alleged peculiar emotional intensity of Negroes with unbridled sexuality, leading him to discuss the question of rape, lynching, and social control.

"During slavery regular hard work, temperance, of his white masters were potent restraints Now idleness, drink and a new sense of equality have destroyed these restraints of imperious lust, which in some cases is reinforced by the thought of generations of abuse of his own women by White men upon whom he would turn the tables. At any rate, the number, boldness, and barbarity of rapists, and the frequency of murder of their victims have increased till Whites in many parts of the South have told me that no woman of their race is safe anywhere alone day or night As a preventative of crime, lynching has something to be said for, but more to be said against it! This wild justice is brutalizing upon those who inflict it."²⁰

²⁰G. Stanley Hall, "A Few Results of Recent Scientific Study of the Negro in America," Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, 21 Ser., 19 (1905), 95-107. It is especially interesting to note that when Hall returned to the United States from Germany in 1872 he applied for a position on the faculty at Howard, saying that he had "strong preference" for the university. It is not known why he was not

The brutality and viciousness and ineducability attributed to Blacks by the psychologists were explained by appeals to anatomy and physiology--these disciplines were even more scientific. It was argued that Blacks were intellectually inferior to Whites and incapable of higher education because of a genetically determined arresting of development of the brain after puberty. The most influential academic statement of this view was Robert Bennett Bean, a professor of anatomy at the University of Virginia Medical School. The "Negro Brain" developed normally as far as perception, memory, and motor responses were concerned, but logical critical thinking or the comprehension of abstract ideas were beyond its grasp because of its arrested psychological development.²¹

The degree to which this point of view prevailed is illustrated by Albert Bushnell Hart, distinguished Harvard historian and influential figure in American scholarship. Hart wrote, for example, that

hired, but this change in point of view about Negroes may be an index of how powerful a change in public opinion had been wrought by the "New South" propagandists and their allies. See the facsimile of Hall's letter of March 16, 1872, in Walter Dyson, Howard University: The Capstone of Negro Education, A History, 1867-1940 (Washington, D.C.: Howard University, 1941). On page 104 of the Proceedings Hall writes: "For myself, an abolitionist both by conviction and descent, I wish to confess my error of opinion in those days." It seems from his comments, page 105, that Booker Washington influenced his change of mind.

²¹ Robert Bennett Bean, "Some Racial Peculiarities of the Negro Brain," American Journal of Anatomy, 5 (September 1906), pp. 353-432; Marion J. Mayo, The Mental Capacity of the American Negro (New York:

"the theory that the Negro mind ceases to develop after adolescence perhaps has something in it."²² What makes Hart's statement particularly interesting is that he served for twenty-three years on the board of trustees of Howard University,²³ and had thereby a powerful voice in shaping the opportunities for Black students and scholars. He was one of the Howard trustees in 1926 who opposed the appointment of a Negro president for the first time in its history.

An example of the sociological research sponsored by White universities was Howard W. Odum's Social and Mental Traits of the Negro: A Study in Race Traits, Tendencies, and Prospects, published in 1910 as volume 32 of the Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, edited by the faculty of political science of Columbia University. Odum, president of the American Sociological Society in 1930, and editor of Social Forces, 1922-1954, was one of the most influential

Science Press, 1913); and George Oscar Ferguson, The Psychology of the Negro: An Experimental Study (New York: Science Press, 1916).

²²Albert Bushnell Hart, The Southern South (New York: Appleton and Company, 1912), p. 104.

²³See Rayford W. Logan, Howard University: The First Hundred Years, 1867-1967 (New York: New York University Press, 1969), pp. 242-243, 309, 634. Even more perplexing is the fact that Hart made his 1912 statement after serving as adviser to W.E.B. DuBois during his graduate work at Harvard. Hart highly praised DuBois' work, and according to DuBois, who was always sensitive to any racial slight, he was "one of Hart's favorite pupils." See Francis L. Broderick, "The Academic Training of W.E.B. DuBois," Journal of Negro Education, 27 (Winter 1958), 10-16, and W.E.B. DuBois, Dusk of Dawn: An Essay Toward an Autobiography of a Race Concept (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1940), p. 38.

Southern liberals in academic life, serving as Professor and Head of the Sociology Department at the University of North Carolina, and Director of the Institute for Research in Social Science. In recognition of his work Howard conferred upon him an L.L.D. in 1939. In his Social and Mental Traits of the American Negro, Odum wrote a summary of his investigations, relating the proper education of the race to its genetic tendencies, which is worth quoting at length because it represents the opinion of probably the majority of American social scientists well into the 1930's and 1940's. "Inherited tendency," he said,²⁴

and environment of the race conditions, constitute a powerful influence in the education of the Negro child Back of the child, and affecting him both directly and indirectly, are the characteristics of the race. The Negro has little home conscience or love of home, no local attachment of the better sort He has no pride of ancestry, and he is not influenced by the lives of great men. The Negro has few ideals and perhaps no lasting adherence to an inspiration toward real worth. He has little conception of the meaning of virtue, truth, honor, manhood, integrity. He is shiftless, untidy, and indolent The Negro is improvident and extravagant, lazy rather than industrious, faithful in the performance of certain duties, without vindictiveness, he yet has a reasonable amount of physical endurance. But he lacks initiative; he is often dishonest and untruthful. He is over-religious

²⁴Howard W. Odum, American Sociology: The Story of Sociology in the United States through 1950 (New York: Longmans Green, 1951), pp. 154-155. Also see, Hart, The Southern South, pp. 10-11; Thomas F. Gossett, Race: The History of an Idea in America (New York: Schocken Books, 1965), pp. 253-286.

and superstitious. The Negro suspects his own race and the White race as well; his mind does not conceive of faith in humanity--he does not comprehend it One of the crying weaknesses of the Negro school is the lack of moral strength on the part of the women teachers. It is but natural that children accustomed to gross immoralities at home and sometimes seeing indications of the same tendency on the part of the teachers, should be greatly affected by it at school. Thus with mental stupidity and moral insensibility back of them the children are affected clearly, in practice and thought, in deeds and in speech.²⁵

Even more revealing of the dominant patterns of thought is Odum's view of the work of the Negro colleges:

The young educated Negroes are not a force for good in the community but for evil. The Negro quickly outgrows the influence and control of his instructors; especially has this been noted in cases where the [Northern] Whites have taught them They imitate the White and believe themselves thereby similar to them.²⁶

Odum's view of the problem of crime is interesting:

Nurtured with some hatred toward the Whites, taught no morals, with a fanatic religion, itself leading to erratic actions, with little regard for common decency, and bred in filth and adultery, the Negro is considered peculiarly liable to crime. The reformed Negro criminal is rarely seen, and it is well known that the Negro offender is not cured by the ordinary punishments.²⁷

²⁵Ibid., pp. 38-41.

²⁶Ibid., p. 41.

²⁷Ibid., p. 188.

The Emergence of Black Scholars

While these scholarly disquisitions were going on, Black people's quest for self-respect began to take a more lasting and concrete form. What was later to be termed the "New Negro" was being shaped, and through literary efforts of this new breed, America's Black people were to find a new conception of themselves and a deeper spiritual orientation. This new group aspired to reestablish the racial heritage of Black people, for they felt as Arthur A. Schomburg interpreted so clearly: "The Negro must remake his past in order to make his future." They wrote of African kings, Black warriors, Black leaders of slave rebellions, Black jockeys, and the problems of being Black.²⁸ The historical significance of this movement rests not solely upon the change in the intellectual convictions of Black people which their work symbolized. The change was then an attitude of compromise to one of challenge. It meant that Booker T. Washington's philosophy which had prevailed for more than a generation had been condemned and rejected by the Black masses.

The success of White supremacist propaganda during "The Hadir," 1877-1901 and after, was so great that the early efforts of Blacks to contribute to the growth of knowledge had been largely forgotten. As

²⁸Roi Ottley, Black Odyssey (London: John Murray, 1949), pp. 251-252.

early as 1787 Blacks in Philadelphia began organizing a society which embraced literary and other learned interests, and as many as forty-six groups were active before the Civil War. In such cities as New York, separate Black organizations were also formed because of the racial policy of White learned societies. For example, in 1834, the New York Zoological Institute announced that the "proprietors wish to be understood that the people of color are not permitted to enter except when in attendance upon children and families."²⁹

The earliest of Black scholars are very important in terms of illustrating the interest and seriousness Blacks had in learning and the means by which they cultivated a separate social life than for any residue of solid achievement in the advancement of knowledge. Probably the most important organization not related to a university was the American Negro Academy, established in Washington, D.C., in 1897 by the Reverend Alexander Crummell.³⁰

Crummell was respected by his contemporaries as "among the most scholarly Black men of the age,"³¹ which was based on his

²⁹Dorothy B. Porter, "The Organized Educational Activities of Negro Literary Societies, 1828-1846," Journal of Negro Education, 5 (October, 1936), pp. 565.

³⁰For a description of the American Negro Academy, see Mignon Miller, The American Negro Academy: An Intellectual Movement during the Era of Negro Disfranchisement 1897-1924, unpublished M.A. Thesis, in the Negro Collection of the Howard University Library.

³¹See William Simmons, Men of Mark, Eminent, Progressive and Rising (Cleveland: Newell & Co., 1887), pp. 530-535.

education in England with Bishop William Wilberforce, James A. Froude, and Thomas Babington Maccaulay, his essays and addresses published while a missionary in Africa, and the character of his ministry as rector of St. Luke's Episcopal Church in Washington.³²

The Academy had five stated purposes:

- 1) The promotion of literature, science, and art.
- 2) The culture of a form of intellectual taste.
- 3) The fostering of higher education.
- 4) The publication of scholarly work.
- 5) The defense of the Negro against vicious assaults.

The Academy published occasional papers in defense of Blacks and held regular meetings in Washington until the mid-1920's.³³ A typical product was the first paper, Kelly Miller's critique of Frederick L. Hoffman's, Race Traits and Tendencies of the American Negro, a book published under the auspices of the American Economic Association in 1896 which held that genetic inferiority of Blacks was responsible for Black social disorganization and concluded that the Black

³²See W. E. B. DuBois, "Of Alexander Crummell," in his Souls of Black Folk (Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co., 1903), pp. 215-227.

³³Winston, "Through the Back Door," Academic Racism and the Negro Scholar in Historical Perspective, Daedalus, Vol. 100, No. 3 (Summer, 1971), pp. 678-719.

population would be overwhelmed by disease and death, eventually disappearing altogether as an element in the American population. The Academy published many significant papers, among them were:

- 1) W. E. B. DuBois, "The Conservation of Races."
- 2) Alexander Crummell, "Civilization of the Primal Need of the Race."
- 3) Charles C. Cook, "A Comparative Study of Negro Problems."
- 4) William S. Scarborough, "The Educated Negro and His Mission."
- 5) Archibald H. Grimke, "The Ballotless Victim of One-Party Government."

During this same era in which the American Negro Academy was active, there emerged the first generation of Black Ph.D.'s, some of whom have made major contributions to American scholarship. For rather obvious reasons, the number was small. Between 1876 and 1914 only fourteen Blacks earned the Ph.D. Of this small group, two, W. E. B. DuBois and Carter G. Woodson, stand out as the most productive researchers and organizers of efforts to counter anti-Black scholarship.³⁴

³⁴For a full discussion of the educational background of these and other scholars see, Harry W. Greene, Holders of Doctorates among American Negroes (Boston: Meador Publishing Company, 1946).

W. E. B. DuBois was in many respects the most outstanding pioneer Black scholar in the United States, but a historian like George Washington Williams (History of the Negro Race in America, 2 volumes, 1882), although not as thoroughly or broadly trained, would also deserve the title "pioneer." After graduation from Fisk University (A.B. 1888), DuBois studied at Harvard (A.B. 1890, A.M. 1891, Ph.D. 1895) under Albert Bushnell Hart, Justin Winsor, William James, Josiah Royce, George Santayana, and F. W. Taussig and at the University of Berlin (1892-1894) under Gustav Schmoller, Adolph Wagner, and Heinrich von Treitschke.³⁵ He achieved a solid reputation in both history and the new discipline of sociology. In 1896, his doctoral dissertation, The Suppression of the African Slave Trade to the United States of America, 1638-1870, was published as volume one of the Harvard Historical Studies. The most important work of DuBois' early years as far as scholarship is concerned, however, was his study of Blacks in Philadelphia, which he worked on from August 1, 1896 to January 1, 1898. He was convinced that social reform would result from social science research. "The Negro Problem," he said, "was in my mind a matter of systematic investigation and intelligent understanding. The world was thinking wrong about race, because it did not know.

³⁵See Forest Holman, W. E. B. DuBois: The Intellectual as Master Propagandist, unpublished M.A. thesis, Michigan State University, 1971, pp. 11-13.

The ultimate evil was stupidity. The cure for it was knowledge based on scientific investigation."³⁶

DuBois' Philadelphia research was published as The Philadelphia Negro: A Social Study by the University of Pennsylvania in 1899. It was the first systematic study of a racial group in an American city, and in the opinion of later sociologists, a model of the kind of social research method many years later became standard in American universities.³⁷ Beyond its intrinsic value as a classic work of social research, The Philadelphia Negro represented a dedication to the concept of disinterested scholarship that was rare in those years, particularly when the subject involved race or class.³⁸

While engaged in his Philadelphia research, DuBois presented an ambitious plan of systematic study of the Black people throughout the United States to the forty-second meeting of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences in Philadelphia, November 19, 1897.

³⁶ Ibid., pp. 16-29.

³⁷ For a contemporary scholar's appraisal of The Philadelphia Negro, see E. Digby Baltzell's analytical introduction to the 1968 Schocken Books reprint. E. Franklin Frazier, whose own work The Negro Family in Chicago is very highly regarded, said of The Philadelphia Negro that "Nothing better has ever been done in the United States on a Negro community." See E. Franklin Frazier, "The Role of the Social Scientist in the Negro College," in Robert E. Martin, ed., The Civil War in Perspective: Papers contributed to the Twenty-Fourth Annual Conference of the Division of the Social Sciences, Howard University, 1961, pp. 9-18.

³⁸ Holman, "W. E. B. DuBois: The Intellectual as Master Propagandist," pp. 20-26.

At the center of his plan of higher Black education, he said:

and yet all candid people know there does not exist today in the center of Negro population a single first-class, fully equipped institution devoted to the higher education of Negroes, not more than three Negro institutions in all the South deserve the name of "college" at all, and yet what is a Negro college but a vast college settlement for the study of a particular set of peculiarly baffling problems? What more effective or suitable agency could be found in which to focus the scientific efforts of the great universities of the North and East, than an institution situated in the very heart of these social problems, and made the center of careful historical and statistical research? Without doubt the first effective step toward the solving of the Negro question will be the endowment of the Negro college which is not merely a teaching body, but a center of sociological research, in close connection and cooperation with Harvard, Columbia, Johns Hopkins, and the University of Pennsylvania.³⁹

Some may now smile knowingly at the almost pathetic hopefulness of the young DuBois that White scholars would cooperate with such an enterprise. His study of the Philadelphia Negro was so thorough that it has withstood the criticism of the last seventy years. Notwithstanding its effects, it was as complete a study as could have been undertaken at that time. It revealed the Negro group not as an inert, sick body of criminals but as the product of a long historic development.⁴⁰ Despite the resounding silence in response to his proposal,

³⁹ W. E. B. DuBois, Dusk at Dawn: An Essay Toward an Autobiography of a Race Concept (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1940), p. 38.

⁴⁰ Elliott M. Rudwick, W. E. B. DuBois, A Study in Minority Group Leadership (Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 1960), p. 36.

DuBois began what he later termed as his "real life's work," at Atlanta University where he was professor of history and sociology from 1896 to 1910. There he attempted to carry out his plan without the benefit or assistance of "the great Northern and Eastern universities. One of his first observations upon reaching Atlanta University was that slavery had made large numbers of Black people careless and dependent and that the poorer Negroes were taught during the reconstruction period that crooked politics represented a necessary source of income."⁴¹

The main significance of DuBois' work at Atlanta University, during the years 1897 to 1910, was the development of a program of study on the problems affecting Black Americans designed to stretch over the span of a century.⁴² This program sprang from a plan conceived by George Bradford of Boston, one of the trustees, to establish for Atlanta University a field of specialization comparable to the work Hampton and Tuskegee Institutes were doing in agriculture. Each year he convened a conference to discuss cooperative research studies of problems related to Blacks. The studies were organized in ten-year

⁴¹W. E. B. DuBois, Black Reconstruction in America: 1860-1880 (New York: The World Publishing Co., 1968), p. 121. Also see, W. E. B. DuBois, "The Spawn of Slavery," Missionary Review of the World, XXIV (October, 1901), 737.

⁴²W. E. B. DuBois, "My Evolving Program for Negro Freedom," in Rayford W. Logan (ed.), What the Negro Wants (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1944), p. 43. See DuBois, "The Spawn of Slavery," Missionary Review of the World, XXIV (October, 1901), 737.

cycles, so that there would be a systematic followup of changes in the social and economic status of rural as well as urban Blacks.⁴³ DuBois edited the Atlanta University Studies alone from 1897 to 1910, when he was assigned by Augustus Granville Dill. A listing of the ten-year cycle is as follows:

- 1) 1896--Mortality among Negroes
- 2) 1897--Social and Physical Conditions of Negroes in the Cities
- 3) 1898--Some Efforts of Negroes for Social Betterment
- 4) 1899--The Negro in Business
- 5) 1900--The College Bred Negro
- 6) 1901--The Negro Common School
- 7) 1902--The Negro Artisan
- 8) 1903--The Negro Church
- 9) 1904--Notes on Negro Crime
- 10) 1905--A Select Bibliography of the American Negro.⁴⁴

Two things should be noted. First, even after the Atlanta University Studies received well-deserved praise from some segments of the American academic community, neither financial assistance adequate to the task, nor cooperation were forthcoming from the foundations or the large universities. Second, despite the low level of

⁴³DuBois, "My Evolving Plan for Negro Freedom," p. 46.

⁴⁴Ibid., p. 65.

support, the Atlanta studies under DuBois' direction were careful research efforts, the first of their kind in any American university and obviously superior to the work supported at the time by White universities. Apart from the Annual Yearbook of The Journal of Negro Education, beginning in 1932, nothing comparable has been attempted since, an indictment of Black as well as White institutions. Moreover, prolonged residence in the South during the reign of terror that accompanied the movement to disenfranchise and segregate Blacks eroded DuBois' faith in the efficacy of social research as a means of achieving social reform. His contributions to scholarship at Atlanta are a monument to social science research.

In 1910, DuBois, with some reluctance, abandoned his professional career at Atlanta to become director of publicity of the NAACP and editor of its journal, The Crisis: A Record of the Darker Races, which he made into the most influential publication among Blacks, and the clearest, most uncompromising condemnation of American racism and Western imperialism for the twenty-two years of his editorship. "My career as a scientist," he said later, "was to be swallowed up in my role as master of propaganda."⁴⁵

⁴⁵W. E. B. DuBois, Dusk of Dawn: An Essay Toward an Autobiography of a Race Concept (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1940), p. 94. Also see, DuBois, Darkwater: Voices from Within the Veil (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Howe, 1920), p. 21.

Although DuBois returned to Atlanta University as professor of sociology, 1933-1944, after his break with the NAACP, the turbulent years of bitter political and social struggle presented a return to the conventions of his earlier "scientific" approach to scholarship. The historical works written by DuBois during this period, Black Reconstruction (1935) and Black Folk: Then and Now (1939), for example, were marked by advocacy and understandably impulse to "set the record straight." Keenly aware of the problem of tendentious writing, DuBois appended a chapter to his Black Reconstruction called "The Propaganda of History," which is not only a brilliant apologia, but also an invaluable source for understanding the preoccupation with race of the generation of Black scholars that followed in his footsteps. Demonstrating that White scholarship, when it regarded Black men, became deaf, dumb and blind," DuBois concluded that "in propaganda against the Negro since emancipation in this land, we face one of the most stupendous efforts the world ever saw to discredit human beings, an effort involving universities, history, science, social life, and religion."⁴⁶

DuBois' popularization of the idea of the Talented Tenth and the encouragement he gave in the pages of The Crisis to younger Negroes

⁴⁶Winston, "Through the Back Door: Academic Racism and the Negro Scholar in Historical Perspective," p. 692; DuBois, Black Reconstruction (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1935), pp. 726-727.

achieving intellectual distinction may have had a greater impact on American scholarship than his own careful research efforts of the period 1896-1910. His early books were probably not read widely by contemporary white scholars--I have found little evidence of it in their writings--but his inspiration of younger Blacks to undertake careers of scholarship despite awesome handicaps bore fruit in the lean years between World Wars I and II.

A near contemporary of DuBois, Carter G. Woodson (1875-1950) should be mentioned also as a major force in stimulating research among Blacks, particularly historical studies. Educated at Berea College (before the State of Kentucky made it illegal in 1906 for even a private college to have a biracial student body),⁴⁷ the University of Chicago, and Harvard (Ph.D., 1912), Woodson's career was a torturous and at times eccentric amalgam of scholarship and advocacy. He was at Howard University for only one year, 1919, as Dean of the School of Liberal Arts and head of the graduate faculty. After a dispute with the White president, J. Stanley Durkee, he withdrew from university teaching and spent the remaining thirty years in a lonely crusade to rescue the record of the Negro's past from oblivion. His own writings are rather sharply divided into scholarly efforts and energetic

⁴⁷ See Berea College v. Kentucky, 211 U.S. 26 (1908), in which the United States Supreme Court upheld Berea College v. Commonwealth, 123 Ky. App. Ct. 209 S.W. 623 (1906). Also see, Horace Mann Bond, The Education of the Negro in the American Social Order (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1934).

popularizations of Negro history for school children and general readers. Examples of the former are his superb Education of the Negro Prior to 1861 (1915), A Century of Negro Migration (1918), The History of the Negro Church (1921), and Free Negro Heads of Families in the United States, which he edited in 1925. Quite different in method and quality were the popular The Negro in Our History (1922) and Negro Makers of History (1928).

As Woodson grew older and more radically defiant, his popularization increasingly fell heir to many of the pitfalls of that genre of writing. As far as scholarship is concerned, perhaps his development of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, founded in Chicago in 1915, and of the Journal of Negro History, founded in 1916, was more significant than his individual contributions as a historian. Woodson announced in the first issue of the Journal of Negro History the path it would take:

Excepting what can be learned from current controversial literature, which either portrays the Negro as a persecuted saint or brands him as a leper of society, the people of this age are getting no information to show what the Negro has thought, and felt, and done The aim of the Association (for the Study of Negro Life and History) is to raise the funds to employ several investigators to collect all historical and sociological material bearing on the Negro, before it is lost to the World Our purpose then is not to drift into the discussion of the Negro problem. We shall aim to publish facts, believing that facts set forth will speak for themselves.

Almost singlehandedly, Woodson made the Journal of Negro History into one of the respected American historical journals, a remarkable achievement by any standard. Unfortunately, within a few years of his death it began a steady and tragic decline.⁴⁸

Between the years 1920 and 1945, there emerged a more broadly differentiated group of Black scholars, although the total number was still small.⁴⁹ Some sense of the numbers involved is suggested by the fact that between 1930 and 1943 a total of 317 Blacks had earned the Ph.D. By 1946, universities awarding the largest number were Chicago (40), Columbia (35), University of Pennsylvania (28), Harvard (25), Cornell (25), Ohio State (22), and Michigan (20). By 1943, 40 percent of the Ph.D.'s held by Blacks were in the social sciences and of those, 53 percent were in the fields of history and sociology. This increase was related to the social differentiation of the Black population, more specifically, the steady growth of the Black urban middle-class who were capable to sustain the investments of time and money required for graduate study.

⁴⁸Winston, "Through the Back Door: Academic Racism and the Negro Scholar in Historical Perspective," p. 693. For a thorough description of the work of Black scholarly historians see, Ernest Kaiser, "The History of Negro History," Negro Digest, XVII, No. 4 (February 1968), pp. 10-80.

⁴⁹Harry W. Green, "Sixty Years of Doctorates Conferred Upon Negroes," Journal of Negro Education, 6 (January 1937), pp. 30-37.

There was also the rapidly changing status of Black colleges. After the first World War there was increased pressure to upgrade Black colleges so that their faculties would more closely resemble regional and national standards. This in turn created a need for Ph.D.'s which had hardly existed before, when college presidents deemed the degree a luxury rather than an asset. Prior to the 1930's Black colleges in the South were largely unaccredited, however, the reasons for non-accreditation had little to do with the academic quality of those institutions. Before 1930 the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools simply refused to consider accreditation of Black colleges because such recognition and approval automatically meant membership in the Association. Membership also entailed the institution to representation at Association meetings. The majority of Association members refused to attend meetings attended by Blacks. After repeated protesting the Association agreed to review Black colleges only with the proviso that acceptable ratings would not entail nor guarantee admission to the Southern Association.⁵⁰ Only one institution was granted an "A" rating in 1930; as a result strong impetus was generated for other schools to upgrade their academic facilities, to add more Ph.D.'s to their faculties, and so on. It was this

⁵⁰For a very illuminating discussion of the above concerning Black college accreditation, see Charles H. Thompson, "Why a Class B College?" Journal of Negro Education, 2 (October 1933), pp. 427-431.

development along with various legal challenges to the gross disparities in what supposedly were separate but equal educational resources, accounted for the intense and sustained effort to upgrade Black colleges. As a result of the United States Supreme Court decision in Missouri ex rel. Gaines v. Canada (305 U.S. 337) in 1938, the working conditions of Black scholars were slightly improved--Black colleges were encouraged to develop graduate programs, and were also pressured and encouraged to more closely approximate the external conditions of White schools. As a consequence of these factors, the years 1930-1945 were extremely important and productive ones vis a vis the growth and development of Black colleges.

Fisk, Atlanta, and Howard gained tremendous notoriety during this period due to the work of actively engaged Black scholars. In 1936, more than 80 percent of all Black Ph.D.'s were teaching at Fisk, Atlanta, and Howard--Howard had by far the largest concentration of Black Ph.D.'s anywhere in the United States and the world for that matter.⁵¹

A change of policy on the part of Black colleges by the philanthropic foundations also signalled a "golden age of scholarship for

⁵¹ Greene, "Sixty Years of Doctorates Conferred Upon Negroes," p. 35. Also see Rayford W. Logan, Howard University: The First Hundred Years, 1867-1967 (New York: New York University Press, 1969); Walker Dyson, Howard University: The Capstone of Negro Education, A History, 1867-1940 (Washington, D.C.: Howard University, 1941).

many of these institutions.⁵² During the late 1920's two of the more powerful and influential foundations which had played a very crucial role in determining the fate of Black colleges, the Rosenwald Fund and the Rockefeller Foundation's General Education Board, developed a plan to create four Black centers of higher learning strategically located throughout the South; these institutions were deemed to be of the highest calibre which were thus able to offer professional careers to Black scholars of high repute and to prepare the future leaders of Black America. The Centers located in Tennessee (Fisk University and Meharry Medical College in Nashville), Louisiana (Dillard University and Flint Goodrich Hospital in New Orleans), Georgia (the Atlanta University system), and the District of Columbia (Howard University's four undergraduate colleges and the four professional schools).⁵³ Since White schools discriminated against Black scholars (only three Black Ph.D.'s were employed by White universities in 1936); the increased numbers of Black Ph.D.'s combined with the substantial change in the good fortune of the three leading Black institutions produced the first real opportunity for Black scholars to work in even, what was considered at that

⁵²A Discussion of the philanthropics related to Black education in Ullin W. Leavell, "Trends of Philanthropy in Negro Education," Journal of Negro Education, 2 (January 1933), pp. 38-52.

⁵³Edwin R. Embree, Julius Rosenwald Fund, Review of Two Decades, 1917-1936 (Chicago, 1936).

time, a second-rate university environment.⁵⁴ It appeared, at first, that Atlanta University, under president John Hope, would evolve as the principal center for Black scholarship in the humanities and social sciences due to the presence and influence of W. E. B. DuBois and the group of scholars recruited to Atlanta such as Mercer Cook (romance languages), Rayford W. Logan (history), Frank M. Snowden (classics), William H. Dean (economics), and Ira Reid (sociology). However, the death of President Hope in 1936, the absence of an adequate tenure system, retirement and pension benefits, and academic freedom, allied with the restrictive and discriminatory atmosphere of Georgia, caused Atlanta to appear less attractive than Howard, where President Mordecai Johnson had been successful in substantially augmenting financial support to assure a more diversified and intellectually diversified faculty than ever before in history.⁵⁵ Howard became the leading center of research and writing by Black scholars in the 1930's. The graduate faculty was composed of Ralph J. Bunche (political science), Charles Eaton Burch (English), E. Franklin Frazier (sociology), Abram L. Harris (economics), Ernest E. Just (zoology), Alain L. Locke

⁵⁴For an idea of the thrust upon Howard University, see Logan, Howard University, pp. 223-224, 257.

⁵⁵See Clarence A. Bacote, The Story of Atlanta University, A Century of Service: 1865-1965 (Atlanta: Atlanta University, 1969).

(philosophy), Charles H. Thompson (education), and Charles H. Wesley (history).

One general fact should be made at this point; even though there was a band of Black scholars, no school of Black scholarship was developed. Actually, these scholars were scientifically conservative and to a very large degree, reflected dominant/consensus trends of American scholarship. The point of essential difference with their White scholarly counterparts centered on the issue of race. The reacted en mass to the enormous body of scholarly literature designed to show that Blacks "had no history," had less intelligence than Whites, were uneducable, and so forth.

As Blacks moved to develop their feelings of worth through the works of Black historians, so did they attempt to explain themselves through the studies of their sociologists. As one examines the social science reports which were produced by Black scholars between 1920-1940, one sees, in many instances a Black life totally at the mercy of the world that surrounded it. The Black mind was compared to that of Locke's tabula rasa. This "guilt feeling" theory, so very characteristic of the works of these scholars, was quite clearly identified by William T. Fontaine in 1944. After reviewing an excellent example of these researches, Fontaine drew this conclusion about the Black scholar and his work: "Born and confined to a milieu within which struggle against out-group and counterance status has been waged for

generations, his action and thought have become interwoven with defense mechanisms."⁵⁶ Despite the inevitable bias of personal involvement, these scholars were successful in sharing the influence of certain environmental forces upon the existing disorganization of Black community life. Later, psychologists such as Kenneth Clark, Mamie Clark, and Eli S. Marks showed how segregation tended to distort the value judgments and self-conception of Blacks.⁵⁷

An important catalytic element in this period was the Journal of Negro Education founded by Charles H. Thompson in 1932. In its first issue, they stated that the Journal was intended to "stimulate the collection, and facilitate the dissemination of facts about the education of Blacks," to "present discussions involving critical appraisals of the proposals and practices relating to the education of Blacks," and finally, "to stimulate and sponsor investigations of problems incident to the education of Blacks."⁵⁸ Thompson also felt

⁵⁷ See Eli J. Marks, "Skin Color Judgments of Negro College Students, Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 38: 370-376 (1943); and Kenneth Clark and Mamie Clark, "Racial Identification and Preference in Negro Children," in Theodore Necomb and Eugene L. Hartley, eds., Readings in Social Psychology (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1947), pp. 169-178.

⁵⁸ It is felt by many that an indication of the need for The Journal of Negro Education was that two most influential policy-shaping studies of Black education had been done by Whites. Thomas Jesse Jones was felt by many Black scholars to be an enemy of the higher intellectual aspirations of the race. The studies were: Thomas Jesse Jones, Negro Education: A Study of the Private and

that "it should be pointed out that leadership in the investigation of the problems incident to the education of Blacks should be assumed to a greater extent by Black scholars. This had not been the case, because the average Black student who had taken research training, and a research degree, found that his research abilities were very often dissipated by the routine of "school keeping" and by the fact that there was no ready and sympathetic outlet for the publications of the results of his findings--and that it took an enormous amount of stimulation and self-motivation in order to surmount the discouragement engendered by this combination of circumstances.⁵⁹

Thompson, through thirty years of editing the Journal of Negro Education, not only provided a "ready and sympathetic outlet" for publications of research but made the Journal one of the most potent instruments for the critique of the public policy of racial discrimination. A case in point was on highlighting the inequities in support of White and Black education, which worsened in the first third of the twentieth century, and did not show improvement until the legal

Higher Schools for Colored People in the United States, 2 Vols. (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1917) and Arthur J. Klein, Survey of Negro Colleges and Universities (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1929). Also see, Walter Crosby Ellis, "Results of Surveys of Negro Colleges and Universities," Journal of Negro Education, 4 (October, 1935), pp. 476-481.

⁵⁹ Charles H. Thompson, "Why a Journal of Negro Education?," Journal of Negro Education, 1 (April 1932), p. 2.

contests of the 1930's. Thompson indicated that in those states adhering to separate school systems in 1900 the disparity of per capita educational expenditures for the two racial groups was 60 percent in favor of the Whites; by 1930 the disparity had increased to 253 percent.⁶⁰ Thompson's editorials were very skillful accounts of the changing tides of public policy and the internal development of Black institutions of higher learning. He was very critical of the low standards of most Black colleges; in 1946, he wrote that one half of the faculty in Black colleges were bereft of graduate training in their respective areas.⁶¹ He was equally as critical of the often whimsical management practices of the Black college presidents; he urged adoption of national standards of rank and tenure for faculties, something quite rare in most Black institutions until very recently.⁶² Probably the most significant contribution was the publication of the Annual Yearbook of the Journal, which included comprehensive studies of a wide range of problems related to Black life (Vol. 8 on "The Position of the Negro in the American Social Order" is a particularly distinguished

⁶⁰Charles H. Thompson, "Court Action: The Only Reasonable Alternative to Reducing The Abuses of the Negro Separate School," Journal of Negro Education, 4 (July 1935), pp. 419-434.

⁶¹Charles H. Thompson, "Editorial Comment," Journal of Negro Education, 16 (Winter 1947), pp. 1-9.

⁶²Charles H. Thompson, "Rank, Tenure, and Retirement of Teachers in Negro Colleges," Journal of Negro Education, 10 (April 1941), pp. 139-150.

example). The Journal was for many years the best source of information concerning the status of segregated schools and shifts in legal strategies designed to destroy segregation; it was common for the Journal to publish articles such as: "Types of Potentially Favorable Court Cases Relative to the Separate School," and "The Present Status of the Negro Separate School as Defined by Court Decisions." Thompson also published a steady stream of Research by Howard H. Long, Martin D. Jenkins on the issue of the intelligence of Blacks and on intelligence testing which exposed the empirical distortions of White psychologists and educators.⁶³ Due to the lack of adequate opportunity to publish articles in most of the leading journals, Black scholars often published articles in the Journal of Negro Education not directly related to "Negro Education," such as "Negro Character as Seen by White Authors," by Sterling A. Brown, the renowned Howard University literary critic, poet, and teacher. The Journal also published such articles as the 1946 study of "The Problem of Education in Dependent Territories," along with articles from Ralph E. Turner on Imperialism, the system of international trusteeship by Rayford W. Logan, and "Colonies and Moral Responsibility" by W. E. B. DuBois. Thompson also recognized the significance of "policy research," all of which was mostly done by Whites.

⁶³ See the 1934 Journal of Negro Education Yearbook, "The Physical and Mental Abilities of the American Negro," and the first ten volumes of the Journal of Negro Education.

In January 1936, the Journal published an important series of articles on the New Deal and question of race, social planning, economic development, communism, and socialism by W. E. B. DuBois, Norman Thomas, A. Philip Randolph, and Ralph J. Bunche. At Howard, Thompson, Bunche, Frazier, and Logan were very active in criticizing public policy as well as the strategies adopted by various Black groups.⁶⁴

The clearest example of the mobilization of policy research at this time was the Howard Law School, where Professors Charles H. Houston, William H. Hastie, James M. Nabrit, Leon A. Hanson, George E. C. Hayes, and their students such as Thurgood Marshall, Robert L. Carter, and Spottswood Robinson, III, pursued an unremitting attack on the legal foundations of segregation.⁶⁵ The Howard Law School's legal research on civil rights has had more impact on American Life than the research activities of any other Black scholars.

In relation to the work of the Howard legal scholars was the research and writings of a growing number of social scientists. There were such works as: Negro Labor in the United States, 1850-1925 (1927) and The Collapse of the Confederacy (1938) by Charles H. Wesley (at

⁶⁴See Ralph J. Bunche, "A Critical Analysis of the Tactics of Minority Groups," Journal of Negro Education, 4 (July 1935), pp. 308-320.

⁶⁵See Charles H. Thompson, "Progress in the Elimination of Discrimination in White and Negro Teachers' Salaries," Journal of Negro Education, 9 (January 1940), pp. 1-4.

Howard, 1913-1942). The Diplomatic Relations of the United States with Haiti, 1776-1891 (1891), The African Mandates in World Politics (1948), The Negro in American Life and Thought: The Nadir, 1877-1901 (1954) by Rayford W. Logan (at Virginia Union, 1925-1930; Atlanta, 1933-1935; and Howard since 1938); The Negro in the American Revolution (1961), and Lincoln and the Negro (1962) by Benjamin Quarles (at Dillard University, 1939-1953; Morgan State College since 1953); The Free Negro in North Carolina (1943), From Slavery to Freedom: A History of American Negroes (1947), and The Militant South, 1880-1861 (1956) by John Hope Franklin (at Fisk, 1936-1937; St. Augustine's College, -939-1943; North Carolina College for Negroes, 1956-1964; and the University of Chicago since 1964). Wesley, Logan, Quarles and Franklin have been the best known of the Black historians.

E. Franklin Frazier was the most distinguished Black scholar in Sociology. Research professor in the Department of Social Science at Fisk University, 1931-1934, and professor of sociology at Howard, 1934-1962. His articles and books have been regarded as major contributions to the "scientific" study of race relations, particularly that of the social process by which Negro social institutions developed and interacted with the larger American society. His notable works are: The Negro Family in Chicago (1932), The Negro Family in the United States (1939), Bourgeoisie Noire (1955), and Race and Culture Contacts in the Modern World (1957). Of all his Black contemporaries, Frazier

probably received the most recognition from his White colleagues as reflected in his election as president of the American Sociological Society in 1948, and Chief of the Division of Applied Sciences, UNESCO, Paris, 1951-1953.

The work in applied science by George Edmund Haynes and Charles J. Johnson and his associates at Fisk was also extremely important in ridding American scholarship of some of its racist excesses. Johnson was director of social science at Fisk from 1928 to 1948 when he became the university's first Black president. Johnson's research was much more collaborative than Frazier's at Howard. For many years his Race Relations Institutes were interracial vases in a Sahara of Southern bigotry and propaganda on race. Among his books were The Negro in American Civilization (1930), The Shadow of the Plantation (1934), The Collapse of Cotton Tenancy (1935), and Patterns of Negro Segregation (1943).⁶⁶

There were other Black sociologists writing articles and books yet few of them could find positions secure enough to provide resources for research. During the 1930's and 1940's philanthropic foundations were very reluctant to finance research by Black scholars, especially in the social sciences. It seemed that nearly all of the well-prepared Black social scientists had ideas which were simply too radical

⁶⁶Elmer A. Carter, "Charles J. Johnson," Opportunity: Journal of Negro Life, 15 (February 1937), pp. 5-17.

concerning questions of race. Money was given to Black institutions to maintain social peace; thus, vague programs for improving race relations were funded while serious research by competent Blacks was not financed. Ralph Bunche, who was at the time a young professor in the social science division at Howard, gave some revealing comments on the situation; he wrote:

Negro scholars even more completely than White are subject to the munificence of the controlling wealthy groups in the population. Negro institutions of higher learning, particularly, are the inevitable puppets of White philanthropy. Obviously, therefore, whatever reorganization and reorientation of "Negro Education" is to be contemplated, must meet the full approval of these controlling interests. It is hardly to be expected that under such conditions "Negro Education" could ever direct itself to really effective solutions for the problems of the masses of Negroes remain what they now are--a handy and docile labor supply from which additional profits can be wrung, some minute share of which will in turn find its way to the support of "Negro Education" Schools like Hampton and Tuskegee train Negroes in craftsmanship but make no effort to give them any industrial or social orientation In fact, most Negro schools tread very lightly in the purely academic fields of the social sciences. They cannot afford to take the risk of losing their financial support.⁶⁷

Black social scientists in the 1930's were regarded by the establishment contemporaries as "dangerous." This particular type of ambivalence and hostility is illustrated by the politics endemic to the organization and execution of the Carnegie Foundation's

⁶⁷ Ralph J. Bunche, "Education in Black and White," Journal of Negro Education, 5 (July 1936), p. 356.

comprehensive survey of the Black problem under the direction of Gunnar Myrdal.⁶⁸ A similarly painful story was the death of the Encyclopedia of the Negro, which was to be edited by W. E. B. DuBois and Guy B. Johnson, one of the most ambitious projects involving a substantial number of Black scholars, although White scholars such as Howard Odum, Robert E. Park, and Guy B. Johnson were involved, presumably to give "balance" to the encyclopedia. The project, conceived by DuBois as early as 1909, was formally incorporated in 1932 by James H. Dillard, W. E. B. DuBois, Charles S. Johnson, Mordecai W. Johnson, Waldo G. Leland, and Anson Phelps Stokes. After many years of work a Preparatory Volume of The Encyclopedia of the Negro appeared in 1946 with contributions by DuBois, Guy Johnson, L. D. Reddick, and Rayford W. Logan. Much controversy exists concerning the precise reason for the refusal of the foundations to support this project which included many of the most distinguished scholars on the subject; however, one White anthropologist has claimed that his word alone was sufficient to "kill the encyclopedia," some indication of how scholarship reflected race relations in general.⁶⁹

In spite of these obstacles the research output of Black scholars in the 1930's is appalling, especially when the number of

⁶⁸ See Gunnar Myrdal, An American Dilemma (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1944), p. 888.

⁶⁹ Winston, "Through the Back Door: Academic Racism and the Negro Scholar in Historical Perspective," p. 701.

Black Ph.D.'s at that time was very small indeed. In 1936, there were only nine Black Ph.D.'s in history, fifteen in sociology, and five in economics.⁷⁰ It is fair to say that as a group, Black scholars made a very large contribution to the rational analysis and study of race, and they can be considered as pioneers in interracial cooperation among scholars in meetings at Atlanta, Fisk, and Howard, and in such journals as Journal of Negro History, The Journal of Negro Education, and Phylon: The Atlanta University Review of Race and Culture. The studies of Ellis O. Knox also show that about 85 per cent of the 2,535 M.A. theses and 359 Ph.D. dissertations on Black subjects accepted by American universities were done by Blacks.⁷¹ This is some indication of how neglected the field was in those years, since Black graduate students and professors were greatly underrepresented in higher education.

Moreover, generally speaking, the isolation generated by racial and academic discrimination was a very powerful deterrent to sustained research and writing by Black scholars and the hardship on scientists was even greater than for those in the humanities or social sciences due to the expensiveness of laboratories.

⁷⁰Green, "Sixty Years of Doctorates Conferred Upon Negroes," p. 34.

⁷¹Ellis O. Knox, "The Negro as a Subject of University Research in 1946," Journal of Negro Education, 16 (Spring, 1947), pp. 180-189.

Racial discrimination played a very formidable role in preventing serious scholarly activity on the part of Black scholars. For example, in the South, Black scholars, for all practical purposes, were barred from libraries, from White university laboratories, and from meetings of local chapters of various professional and learned societies. In the North, meetings and dinners of national professional organizations were barred to Black members of which most were members of the Howard University faculty. In 1908, Alain Locke (Ph.D. 1918), Howard) wrote in the Twenty-Fifth Anniversary Report (June 1933): "One thing to be regretted has been the comparative isolation that separates Negro life and institutions from even academic and cultural interests at large; but I have done what I could in an interpretative way to bridge some of these barriers."⁷²

Until 1940, no amount of distinction in research was sufficient for a Black scholar to be offered the superior research advantages of White institutions, and they were as a result condemned to work in institutions which were largely unsympathetic to their work. As part of President Franklin D. Roosevelt's political program with respect to Blacks, the federal government's financial commitment to Howard University, especially its building program, tremendously increased under the leadership of Harold Ickes, Secretary of the Department of the Interior which was, at that time, responsible for the administering of

⁷¹Page 456 of the Report (Privately printed, 1933).

Howard's federal appropriations. Howard was considered a vital symbol of "Negro progress" under the New Deal, one which affected Roosevelt very little politically due to the fact that it did not alter federal policy on segregation. Roosevelt even personally dedicated Howard's new multi-million dollar chemistry building on October 26, 1936.⁷³

This was the first time that a Black institution had received more than a million dollars for a science facility. This building was considered for years to be the best available to Black scientists in universities. Science received a low priority in development plans and has only been in the last twenty years that a significant change in policy has occurred. It is quite interesting to note that American industry relaxed its color bars long before White universities. As early as 1940 there were three hundred Black research chemists in industry.⁷⁴

The best known Black industrial scientists have been James Parsons, director of research at the Durivon Company of Dayton, Ohio; Lloyd A. Hall, chief chemist of the Griffith Laboratories of Chicago; W. Lincoln Hankins of Bell Telephone Laboratories, and William G.

⁷³See Dyson, Howard University, p. 358.

⁷⁴Winston, "Through the Back Door: Academic Racism and the Negro Scholar in Historical Perspective," p. 705.

Haynes of the Union Pacific Railroad.⁷⁵ Charles R. Drew, the distinguished surgeon and serologist, remarked that Blacks who were employed in industrial research were especially fortunate because they did not "have to spend long years during their most creative period teaching in second-rate institutions, which for the most part, have been totally "equipped for the carrying-on of productive research."⁷⁶

However, it should be said in all fairness to Black colleges in the South, that until very recently, even in White Southern state universities, which had an overwhelming advantage over Black institutions in terms of financial support (though less than Northern or Western universities), achievements in scientific research has been low. Herman Branson commented in the early 1940's concerning White Southern institutions:

The sort of scientific training which our students must have cannot be provided by second-rate institutions, and it has been repeatedly shown that we have relatively few institutions in the South which could, by any stretch of the imagination be regarded as approaching the status of first-rate universities. It is doubtful, however, whether there is a single institution in the South that is giving adequate attention and support to the sciences . . . few people actually realize how expensive graduate work in the sciences must inevitably be.⁷⁷

⁷⁵See Herman Branson, "The Negro and Scientific Research," Negro History Bulletin, 15 (April, 1952), pp. 131-137, and Drew, "Negro Scholars," p. 142.

⁷⁶Drew, "Negro Scholars," p. 142.

⁷⁷Branson, "The Negro and Scientific Research," p. 133.

In some respects, at least, the lack of support for research in Black colleges has been a part of a regional pattern; however, that should not obscure the painful effects of racism. The Hatch Act of 1887 established programs of scientific investigation and experimentation in land grant colleges and universities to make them research centers, but for half a century not one state supporting Black land grant college established an experiment station for the use of Blacks.⁷⁸ It has been only in the last decade that Black land-grant institutions have received any funds from their states for research, despite the fact that the second Morrill Act of 1890 required that where racially separate institutions were maintained "the funds received in such state or territory were to be equitably divided."⁷⁹ The grave disparities in support from state as well as federal sources are shocking. The National Science Foundation has reported that in 1968 the White land grant colleges in states where there are dual institutions received \$200 million from various federal agencies, roughly eleven times the amount (about \$18 million) awarded to Black land grant colleges. For example, Clemson of South Carolina received \$5.8 million from the federal government while the Black counterpart, South Carolina State,

⁷⁸See John W. Davis, "The Negro Land-Grant College," Journal of Negro Education, 2 (July, 1933), 312-328.

⁷⁹See Herbert O. Reid and James M. Nabrit, Jr., "Remedies Under Statutes Granting Federal Aid to Land Grant Colleges," Journal of Negro Education, 17 (Summer, 1948), pp. 410-425.

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received \$490,000.⁸⁰ The Civil Rights Digest (Spring, 1970) exposes the continuation of the long history of discrimination in this area with the following comparisons:

The University of Georgia, with 10 times the enrollment of Fort Valley State College received nearly 24 times as much federal aid. The University of Florida with less than five times the enrollment of Florida A & M, received 24 times as much federal aid. Virginia Polytechnic Institute, with only 1-1/2 times the enrollment of Virginia State, received five times as much federal aid, Texas more than eight times, for White Schools. In no case was there an equitable distribution of funds based on enrollment.⁸¹

It is not surprising at all, in view of these gross inequities, that state-supported Black schools are forced to commit practically all of their resources to teaching, and very little research, if any. Private Black colleges in the South are even more hard pressed for funds as the costs of instruction have risen faster than their sources of support. Earl J. McGrath stated that in 1959-1961, Black institutions spent \$15 per student for organized research, while the average of all higher institutions of education in the United States was \$301 per student, or twenty times as much. More specifically, in 1959-1960, Black colleges and universities accounted for 1.91 per cent of the

⁸⁰William Payne, "Forgotten . . . But Not Gone: The Negro Land Grant Colleges," Civil Rights Digest, 3 (Spring 1970), 15.

⁸¹Ibid., p. 15.

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total expenditures in higher education, but only thirteen hundredths of 1.0 per cent of the billion dollars spent that year for research.⁸²

Charles H. Thompson wrote that far too many administrators of Black colleges "mistake omnipotence for omniscience," and "assume that because final authority rests with them, ultimate wisdom does also," and, finally, "confuse educational dictatorship with educational leadership."⁸³ Franklin Frazier flatly and unequivocally stated that the failure of Black scholars to more productively study major problems in the social sciences was partly the fault of what he called the "ignorant administration of Black schools which have refused the intelligent proposals of Black scholars." As long as twenty-five years ago, he wrote:

I pointed out that urbanization had changed the entire relationship of Blacks to American society and that comprehensive and fundamental research should be done on Negroes in cities. But those Negroes who have controlled the destiny of Negro intellectuals ignored this and even today no Negro college or university is concerned with this fundamental problem.⁸⁴

⁸²Earl J. McGrath, The Predominantly Negro Colleges and Universities in Transition (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1965), p. 108.

⁸³Charles H. Thompson, "Control and Administration of the Negro College," Journal of Educational Sociology, 19 (April 1946), p. 494. For a very candid explanation of Black colleges and their financial plight, see "An Interview with Benjamin Payton," Black Enterprise, 3, No. 2 (September 1972), pp. 33-37; "Federal Aid to Black Colleges," Black Enterprise, 3, No. 2 (September 1972), pp. 38-45.

⁸⁴E. Franklin Frazier, "The Failure of the Negro Intellectual," Negro Digest, IV (February 1962), 32-33.

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Similarly the shortsightedness of these institutions in not supporting a Black university press is startling and appalling. In the period of Howard University's greatest period of research productivity, White university presses or private publishers were relied upon for publication rights. The deceptively named "Negro Universities Press" is unrelated to Negro institutions and is a subsidiary of Greenwood Press.⁸⁵

⁸⁵Winston, "Through the Back Door: Academic Racism and the Negro Scholar in Historical Perspective," p. 707.

CHAPTER VI
THE BLACK COLLEGE: TRENDS AND PROSPECTS
FOR THE BLACK SCHOLAR

Social and political changes in American society have had a very great effect and impact upon the financial situations of Black colleges. Changes in the overall status of Black Americans spurred by urbanization, the gradual acquisition of political leverage, and the altered position of the United States as a world power, have had a profound impact on Black scholars and their opportunities for optimum growth and development. After the Second World War, the gathering momentum of the movement to desegregate higher education gradually eliminated the cause for the upsurge in quality segregated separate but equal education. Given that in 1946 Robert Maynard Hutchins reported strong opposition to the appointment of Blacks to the faculty of the University of Chicago, regarded as a "liberal" university, there was nevertheless a slow erosion of racial barriers in higher education.¹

¹Horace Mann Bond, "The Negro Scholar and Professional in America," John P. Davis, ed., American Negro Reference Book (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1966), p. 554.

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Some of the first Blacks to break the barriers of academic racism were considered top scholars, such as: Allison Davis who left Dillard University in New Orleans for the University of Chicago, Abram L. Harris who left Howard University for Brooklyn College. The supply was meager yet token integration was sufficient to slowly evoke the small but productive clusters of Black scholars. Racial discrimination had caused a situation wherein superior men were consigned to schools inferior in facilities and encouragement of research, no matter how laudable their various commitments were to provide a good education to Black undergraduates. By the latter part of the 1950's and 1960's token desegregation had been accelerated by the impact of the "Black Revolution," especially the Black Studies explosion, which forced Black colleges into the "Black brain drain." There are many indications that the leading institutions of the "segregation era" have become enfeebled. The once high quality of journals like the Journal of Negro History, the Journal of Negro Education, and Phylon has declined precipitively in recent years and not a single Black institution now publishes a really first-class scholarly journal. A number of distinguished scholars remained in Black institutions during this period, yet in virtually every instance their retirement left their departments minus the status of recognized scholars and many younger men and women scholars were recruited to White institutions.

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There has been a countermovement away from tokenism. High levels of racial tension in society have usually produced an acute awareness of the difficulty of existing in a "dual society," that is, the White world and the separate Black social world. The conflict between racial and national loyalties has been a persistent theme. As far back as 1897 W. E. B. DuBois queried:

What after all, am I? Am I an American or am I a Negro? Can I be both? Or is it my duty to cease to be a Negro as soon as possible and be an American? If I strive as a Negro am I not perpetuating the very cleft that threatens and separates Black and White America? . . . It is such incessant self-questioning and the hesitation that arises from it, that is making the present period a time of vacillation and contradiction for the American Negro; combined race responsibility is shirked, race enterprises languish, and the best blood, the best talent, the best energy of the Negro people cannot be marshalled to do the bidding of the race. They stand back to make room for every rascal and demagogue who chooses to cloak his selfish devilry under the veil of race pride? . . . Have we in America a distinct mission as a race . . . or is self obliteration the highest end to which Negro blood dare aspire?²

The sudden appearance of Black awareness on Black college campuses in the last 10 years is by far the most dramatic change in the institutional way of life for many faculty and students. As much a commitment to a way of life and a cluster of values as a point of view, Black awareness is the most widespread attempt to choose an intellectual and cultural position designed to overcome the vicious heritage

²W. E. B. DuBois, The Conservation of Races (Washington, D.C.: The American Negro Academy, 1897), p. 11.

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of racism in America. Due to the powerful psychological dimension to the movement and its virtual total rejection by Whites, it has been a source of discomfort to the leadership of Black colleges, who understand how very dependent they are upon White sources for financial support. Much different than their predecessors, young Black academics reject White definitions of their situation. There is a growing attitude which is challenging not only the methods of scholarship, but also its values and objectives as defined by White scholars. Many Black scholarly conservatives who are alarmed about this movement seem to have forgotten the scandal of how American scholarship has rarely lived up to its ideals of objectivity or neutrality in matters relating to race. Unfortunately it is too late in the day and the record too blemished to feign horror at the idea that scholarship is impossible in an atmosphere overwhelmed by political and social struggle. There are increasing numbers of young Black professors who view their main goals as contributing to the liberation of their people rather than acceptance by White scholars in their disciplines.

There are many different opinions today concerning two very crucial questions. Whether racial justice is possible in the United States, and whether it is possible to pursue Black scholarship without ignoring and destroying all standards. There also exists very real and different opinions as to what Black colleges should be; some are of the opinion that they should become centers of social and

ideological thought for the liberation of oppressed minorities, others feel that a Black college's real contribution should be on the level of research and writing. One of the primary advocates for Black consciousness and intellectual awareness, Nathan Hare, has written that, "The Black scholar can no longer afford to ape the allegedly 'value free' approach of White scholarship. He must absolutely reject the idea that it is not 'professional' ever to become emotional, that it is somehow improper to be 'bitter' as a Black man, that emotion and reason are mutually exclusive The Black scholar must develop new and appropriate norms and values, new institutional structures, and in order to be effective in this regard, he must also develop and be guided by a new ideology."³

As of yet no single Black college has moved to support the concept of "Black scholarship" for a number of reasons. Aside from the racial issue, many are doubtful as to whether anything even resembling scholarship as understood in the United States can be produced by researchers whose work is dominated by an ideology. The work of White scholars on race reviewed earlier in this work was most definitely dominated by an ideology. White bigotry and supremacy, and no one, can argue who has taken the effort to study G. Stanley Hall or Howard Odum or Arthur Jensen. Yet for all that, not a single institution

³Nathan Hare, "The Challenges of a Black Soldier," The Black Scholar, 1 (December 1969), 61-62.

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outside the South with the exception of Princeton under the presidency of Woodrow Wilson, ever made a clear commitment to White supremacy as an ideology guiding institutional development. Nevertheless, it is likely that an increasing segment of Black social scientists are frustrated and tired of the ambiguities, evasions, and hypocrisies which are an endemic element of the present academic situation.

It is quite possible that there will be more adherents to a type of cultural nationalism in Black educational institutions rather than to that of a serious effort to launch a meaningful revolution in theory or fact from the nation's Black colleges. Similar to all deeply regarded social movements, such a nationalism has an enormous potential for destroying any real possibility of effectuating genuinely critical and analytical centers of scholarship. The shrill stridency of many of the propagandists of Blackness seems to confirm Ralph Ellison's prophetic dismay with Americans (White and Black) who have an appetite for "that intellectual abandon that lack restraint, which seizes those who regard Blackness as an absolute and who see in it a release from the complications of the real world."⁴

Finally it remains to be proven whether Black consciousness will be another of the tragic detours taken by Black educators and

⁴Ralph Ellison, Shadow and Act (New York: Random House, Inc., 1964), p. 128.

intellectuals.⁵ Just as the earlier movements of moral uplift, character building, and industrial education were permeated by assumptions that Blacks were not ready for serious intellectual endeavors, there is a subtle and of course unarticulated racist assumption in some of the Black consciousness positions that critical reasoning is for Whites and visceral rage and reaction is for Blacks. It is not surprising that some Whites, inclusive of philanthropic foundations, support a position which confirms the hoary view of Blacks as surly savages incapable of genuine thought, research, or scholarship. Many Whites are apparently titillated by the spectacle of Black college teachers posturing as hysterical prophets of doom, the same as White audiences in New York once delighted in the anti-White plays of Leroi Jones (Amiri Imamn Baraka). Black studies programs, originally emerging from a legitimate need to correct the distortions and omissions of WASP curricula, have in many instances, become special colonies within White universities for the containment of angry Blacks--The Trojan Horse again. The foundations have been prepared so far to subsidize these programs, often on the most flimsiest grounds, and still persist in viewing Black universities as service schools which should not attempt to develop sound standards of intellectual achievement and

⁵ See Robert Allen, "Black Liberation and World Revolution," The Black Scholar, 3, No. 6 (February, 1972), pp. 15-23. Also, Solomon P. Gethers, "Black Nationalism and Human Liberation," The Black Scholar, 1, No. 7 (May, 1970), pp. 43-50.

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scholarship. Whether serious scholarship by Blacks will survive this decade depends, to a varying degree, upon the extent to which racism can be disentangled from the human purposes of education and scholarship.

For a long time the Black college has suffered the brunt of extreme criticism by diverse elements in our society for its alleged defaulting of its responsibilities to the broader needs of the Black community.⁶

Given the history of Black higher education, as has been discussed here, there are those who have argued that Black colleges have been too elitist and have not accorded proper deference to the opinions and judgments of the masses, while other critics have offered that Black colleges have failed to take the initiative in providing

⁶ Some of these critics are Nathan Hare, a Black sociologist and a leading Black intellectual in the Black Liberation struggle, he is now editor of The Black Scholar. Lionel Newsom, who is now president of Wilberforce University; William Carlson, an ex-White marine colonel whose interest in guerrilla warfare and counterinsurrectionary strategy led him to write a book on Black students; Christopher Jenks and David Riesman, two White scholars with respected establishment credentials; and Bernard Harletson, a Black professor at a White college. For further insight, see Nathan Hare's "Legacy of Paternalism," Saturday Review (July 20, 1968), "Behind Black College Revolt," Ebony (August 1967), and "Final Reflections on a Negro College: A Case Study," Negro Digest (March 1968); Riesman and Jencks, "The American Negro College," Harvard Educational Review, 37 (1967), 3-60; Carlson, Promise or Peril: The Black College Student in America (New York: W. W. Norton, 1970); Commission on Higher Education in the South, The Negro and Higher Education in the South (Atlanta: Southern Regional Education Board, 1967); Bernard Harletson, "Higher Education for Negroes," Atlantic Monthly (November, 1965).

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sufficient leadership and guidance to the Black community. Some have inveighed against Black colleges for their failure to approximate the role of major White institutions of higher learning, while others have vehemently denounced them for slavishly imitating such institutions. These allegations upon Black colleges do have some validity in fact. It is time that Black colleges totally fulfill their responsibilities to the Black community. However, much of the criticism suggests a profound ignorance as to the relationship between institutions of higher learning and their sponsoring groups in general and an even more distorted idea of the place of Black colleges in American society. Indeed, the critics are often inconsistent in criticizing Black colleges for not being "good" American colleges on the one hand and for not meeting their special responsibilities to the Black community on the other.⁷

Such severe criticisms and analyses are a function of the fact that much of the discussion of the role and responsibilities of Black colleges has rushed headlong toward evaluation before providing sufficient space to the socio-political context within which they are obliged to function. Fundamental and basic questions and the attendant implications for the performances of Black colleges go unanswered--

⁷The Riesman-Jencks and Harletson articles cited in the preceding note are replete with such inconsistencies.

questions such as: who decided that Black colleges should be established and what purposes did they have in mind.⁸ How did these purposes affect the recruitment of faculty and administrative personnel, the composition of the student body, and the structure of curricula.⁹ And, in turn, how have all of these factors, singly and cumulatively, influenced the historical relationship between the Black college and the larger Black community? It is not so much that those writing about Black colleges are unaware of the importance of these questions, for they are almost invariably alluded to in a predatory manner.

The fact of the matter is that since their inception Black colleges have had built-in antithetical goals and objectives. The White community, as is always the case with groups enjoying superordinate status in a society, has sought to maintain its position of dominance at the expense of Blacks, while the latter have sought to achieve equality.¹⁰ This assumption must be the focal point of any enlightened

⁸For a descriptive analysis of early Black education see, W. E. B. DuBois, "The Freedmen's Bureau," Atlantic Monthly, LXXXVII (1901), pp. 354-365. Paul S. Pierce, The Freedmen's Bureau (Iowa City: Iowa State University, 1904).

⁹See W. E. B. DuBois, Black Reconstruction in America: 1860-1880 (Cleveland: The World Publishing Company, 1935); John Hope Franklin, Reconstruction After the Civil War (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1961); David O. Holmes, The Evolution of the Negro College (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1934); Tilden J. LeMelle and Wibert J. Lemelle, The Black College (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1969).

¹⁰For a complete discussion of this idea see, Mark H. Jones, "A Frame of Reference for Black Politics," in Lenneal J. Henderson, ed.,

discussion of the success of the Black college in meeting its responsibility to the larger Black community.

It is my contention that when Black colleges were founded in the aftermath of emancipation their major responsibility was grounded in the condition of the Black community at that time.¹¹ They were responsible for developing a core of Blacks who could challenge and overcome immediate threats to the survival of the Black community while simultaneously fighting for equal status in American society. Contrary to popular sentiment, and in deference to what has been previously written, it is contended that Black colleges, collectively, met this responsibility and challenge. They were instrumental in developing among Blacks in North America all of the skills necessary not only to survive but also to build a Black nation as well. However, since the fulfillment of this responsibility has not brought about

Black Political Life in the United States: A Fist as the Pendulum (San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Company, 1973).

¹¹ See T. Thomas Fortune, Black and White: Land, Labor, and Politics in the South (New York: G. P. Putnam & Sons, 1884); Booker T. Washington, The Story of the Negro: The Rise of the Race from Slavery (New York: Harper & Row, 1940); Rayford W. Logan, Howard University: The First Hundred Years, 1867 (New York: New York University Press, 1969); Horace Mann Bond, Negro Education in Alabama: A Study in Cotton and Steel (New York: Octagon Press, 1969); "Social and Economic Forces in Alabama Reconstruction," Journal of Negro History, XXIII (July, 1938), 348; The Education of the Negro in the American Social Order (New York: Octagon Press, 1934), Carlton F. Tracy, Economic Influences upon Educational Progress in the United States, 1820-1850, published as Bulletin No. 221 of the University of Wisconsin, 1908.

equality of status as many Blacks have expected, but rather an increase in the tone of White oppression, Black colleges are now faced with new responsibilities to their communities. It is now their task to create a new political consciousness among Blacks that will lead to a commonly shared ideological network or world view which, in turn, will facilitate an understanding of the Black situation in an international context. Such an ideology would tend to diffuse its holders of the many counterrevolutionary values which now impede the Black struggle, define their friends and enemies, and order the priorities of the Black diaspora in America. This task requires a radical restructuring of Black colleges as we know them.¹²

The phrase "responsibility of the Black College to the larger Black community" should not be interpreted to mean two separate and distinct entities, even though much of the discussion about college-community relations suggests as much. The relationship, however, is a more organic one. The college, like other institutions, is established by the community to perform certain functions deemed essential to its survival. One must remember that the community is the sum total of the infinite patterns of goal directed activities of its members acting both as individuals and as constituents of groups and institutions. Thus, the college is simply one of many specialized

¹²See Gerald McWorter, "The Nature and Needs of the Black University," Negro Digest (March, 1968), pp. 27-52.

institutions having a number of community-defined functions, some primary, others secondary or tertiary. Thus the major responsibility of the college to the larger community is to perform well those primary functions for which it was established. If it fails to perform adequately its primary tasks then its involvement in secondary and tertiary matters will likely be inconsequential or even counterproductive.

In societies where sizeable minorities exist in more or less separate and identifiable communities and are singled out for deferential and unequal treatment by the dominant element, educational institutions serving the former will be characterized by dual and conflicting purposes. The dominant community, in the absence of genuine pluralism, will utilize its superior political power to influence the structure of these institutions such that they serve to reinforce the existing order, that is, their position of dominance at the expense of the minority community.¹³ The latter, on the other hand, will try to structure educational institutions serving them such that they are supportive of their struggle for liberation. These opposing forces may be referred to as the compradors who function at one pole and the liberation vehicle at the other.

¹³For a detailed description of the relationship between minority groups and the dominant group see C. Wright Mills, Power, Politics and People (New York: Ballantine Books, 1963), pp. 159-395. V. Aiken, Jr., Southern Politics (New York: Random House, 1949).

In societies wherein a group or groups are subjugated by others, there exist a number of individuals and institutions who are hired or who hire themselves to administer, contain, and control the members of the group being terminated. These people earn their livelihood by keeping the subjugated and oppressed in check as defined by the existing regime. These persons who are recruited from both the oppressed and oppressor communities include, among others, policemen, real estate brokers, slumlords, social workers, rapacious neighborhood merchants, loan sharks, and in some instances, teachers and clergymen. Most assuredly compradors, consistent with the will of the dominant community, tend to perform their roles in a fashion which maintains the subordinate status of the oppressed, though this is done not so much by centralized conspiratorial design as by a common perception of reality which dictates a network of normative assumptions concerning the nature and worth of minority group members and about the kind of treatment and respect to which they are entitled. Acceptance of these assumptions is reinforced by judicious manipulations by rewards and punishment by those elements with direct material interest in maintaining the status quo.

Liberation vehicle refers to institutions which accept as their primary function promoting and supporting those changes in the regime advocated by members of the oppressed community.

These conflicting purposes, as has already been asserted, are clearly evident in the history of Black colleges in the United States and herein lies much of the confusion and contradiction regarding their effectiveness in serving the larger Black community. When Black colleges were founded in the wake of the Civil War, the comprador syndrome was doubtless the dominant factor. To be sure, many of the founders and their philanthropic benefactors had benevolent intentions and it would be historically inaccurate to suggest that they were engaged solely in Machiavellian techniques to maintain White dominance. Nevertheless, it cannot be said that the White community was more concerned with making Blacks useful workers and consumers for American capitalism than it was with Black liberation. Black colleges were structured not only to work within the constraints of American capitalism and racism but to reinforce their legitimacy as well.¹⁴

Thus, efforts to assess the performance of Black colleges in meeting their responsibilities to their community must take into account the salient conditions of the Black community, the general goals toward which it tended, and the extent to which these goals challenged the power of establishment, for it is important to understand that the effectiveness of Black colleges in meeting their

¹⁴Mack H. Jones, "The Responsibility of the Black College to the Black Community: Then and Now," Daedalus, 3 (Summer, 1971), pp. 732-744.

responsibilities depended upon the interplay of these factors. The conditions of the Black community during the later decades of the nineteenth century when the first Black colleges were founded were dire indeed. Black people were largely illiterate, impoverished, political subjects without political rights, whose claim to citizenship and, indeed, membership in the human family were questioned by the society in which they lived. The notion that they were inherently inferior and therefore uneducable was widely accepted. The responsibility of the Black college was grounded in these abysmal conditions; it was charged with obviating them by serving as one of the primary vehicles for developing a cadre of Black leaders in all walks of life who could move the community in its chosen direction. That direction, historical evidence suggests, was toward equal status within American society, although there was measurable support for the concept of an independent Black society.¹⁵

In light of the historical circumstances, W. E. B. DuBois reduced the responsibilities of the Black college to the community to four basic missions. These missions, which may be utilized to assess their historical records are:

¹⁵Two very good primary sources along these lines are, A Documentary History of the Negro People in the United States, edited by Herbert Aptheker (New York: The Citadel Press, 1968); also, M. R. Delaney and Robert Campbell, Search for a Place (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1969).

1. Establishing the principle that higher education should be made available to Blacks.
2. Defending the principle of racial equality by combating national and international doctrines to the contrary.
3. Establishing freedom of Negro colleges to decide what they would teach and to whom it should be taught.
4. Promoting democracy and social power for Black people by working for enfranchisement and gradual acquisition of political power.¹⁶

On the other hand, conservative elements of the White philanthropic community had other ideas in mind. They stressed the acquisition of vocational skills at the expense of liberal education and under their influence curricula were studiously structured to omit courses and activities which dealt realistically with the Black predicament in America.¹⁷ The accommodationist philosophy of persons such as Booker T. Washington was warmly supported by the White

¹⁶W. E. B. DuBois, "The Cultural Mission of Atlanta University," Phylon 3 (1942), reprinted in Meyer Weinberg, ed., W. E. B. DuBois: A Reader (New York: Harper and Row, 1970).

¹⁷Ullin W. Leavell, Philanthropy in Negro Education (Nashville: George Peabody College for Teachers, 1930). For discussion of the philanthropic attitude toward Black education see, Proceedings of the Trustees of the Peabody Educational Fund (Boston: John Wilson & Co., 1875). Publications of the John F. Slater Fund, No. 3: "Education of the Negroes since 1860," Taber L. M. Curry, by the Trustees, Baltimore, 1894, Trustees of the John F. Slater Fund, Documents Relating to the Origin and Work of the Slater Trustees, Occasional Papers No. 1, 1894 (Baltimore: Published by the Fund, 1894). J. L. M. Curry, Papers, MS. Collection (Montgomery: State Department of Archives).

community, while that of his rivals was condemned.¹⁸ Every effort was made to insure that Black students acquired a political consciousness which would lead them to accept their subordinate position in society. The social sciences and humanities celebrated Euro-centric rather than Afro-centric points of view. It is reported that at one point Atlanta University, a school that leaned very heavily toward Black liberation under the leadership of White educator Dr. Horace Bumstead, was counseled to curtail its efforts to reflect the Black experience and to give more attention to "standard" European oriented subjects.¹⁹

By the mid-1950's Black colleges, in spite of these constraints had made tremendous progress in satisfying the responsibilities suggested by DuBois. As early as 1887, Atlanta University publicly challenged the comprador syndrome and continued throughout the next several decades to support the struggle for equal rights.²⁰ During the 1920's agitation on Black campuses for equal rights continued. Similarly, the

¹⁸See Booker T. Washington's Atlanta Exposition Speech, Atlanta, Georgia, 1896, Working with the Hands (New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1904).

¹⁹For a full discussion see W. E. B. DuBois, Dusk of Dawn (New York: Schocken Books, 1968), p. 67.

²⁰See Clarence Bacote, The Story of Atlanta University (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969), pp. 86-102. Also W. E. B. DuBois, "The Cultural Mission of Atlanta University," Phylon, 3 (1942), reprinted in Meyer Weinberg, ed., W. E. B. DuBois: A Reader (New York: Harper and Row, 1970).

civil rights movement of the 1950's and 1960's was largely a product of the ferment on Black campuses.

It is of course accurate to say that administrators of Black colleges publicly opposed the involvement of their schools in the struggle for liberation. However to judge the efforts of the colleges solely on the attitudes of their administrators is to commit the error of saying that administrators, not students, are in fact the colleges.

Thus to admit that Black colleges have met the responsibilities entrusted to them is not to exonerate contemporary successors from criticism, because the conditions under which Blacks live have changed, the responsibilities of the Black colleges have changed commensurately, yet Black colleges have not moved to meet these new responsibilities.

It is fair at this point to ask what happened to render obsolete the historical missions of Black colleges. Essentially it was the successful execution of a number of tasks implied in the earlier mission, the concomitant failure of these changes to bring about substantive changes in the Black predicament, the resulting heightened intensity of the Black struggle, and the repressive response by White America. Thus the new mission of the Black college is grounded in the synthesis of these developments. Let me elaborate.

To begin, propositions that Blacks are educable and that higher education should be made available to them have been firmly established

and doctrines of racial inferiority have been sufficiently debunked.²¹ Impediments to the franchise and formal political participation also have been largely overcome. However, the realization of these objectives has not led to substantive changes in the lives of Black people, but rather it has demonstrated that their oppression is not an aberration in the system but an essential condition of the system itself, and that therefore accession to Black demands for equal status beguiles radical structuring of America's socioeconomic and political systems--a restructuring which makes demands both materially and psychologically on every American subject and which has profound implications for the role of the United States as the enforcer of European hegemony over colored peoples of the world. Both the Black and white communities have begun to recognize these truths and to act accordingly. These reactions constitute the new conditions under which the Black community lives and structure the nature and content of the contemporary responsibilities of Black colleges to their communities.

²¹For full discussions refuting the question of academic inferiority see William H. Boyer and Paul Walsh, "Are Children Born Unequal?" Saturday Review (Oct. 19, 1968), pp. 61 ff. Wilbur B. Brookover, Edsel L. Erickson, and Lee M. Joiner, Self Concept and School Achievement, Vol. III (East Lansing, Michigan: Educational Publications Services, Michigan State University, 1967). A detailed presentation of the theory and research relevant to the development and effects of self-concept of ability, see Robert Faris, "The Ability Dimension in Human Society," American Sociological Review, 26 (December 1961), pp. 835-842. Major points of this article are that societies create their own intellectual ability levels and that the belief in fixed human abilities is impeding our cultural development.

The White community, both governments and individuals, has indicated that it lacks the will and resolve to restructure itself in a fashion consistent with Black demands. A series of euphemisms have been coined to enshroud this development in respectability--White backlash, silent majority, reverse racism, middle America, forgotten American, and so on. In the context of Black-White relations they all mean the same thing: stop you have gone far enough. You have become a threat to my superordinate position and if you do not desist I am prepared to visit severe punishment upon you, including the ultimate sanction, organized violence. As one Black college president said, this climate is tantamount to genocide.²² The blatant repression of Black people by law enforcement agencies in places such as Chicago,²³

²²"Atlanta University Position, Paper on Race and Violence, in the United States," read by President Thomas Jarrett at his press conference, May 25, 1970. See story in Atlanta Constitution, May 26, 1970.

²³Chicago police, according to a federal grand jury report, filed indistritminately into quarters occupied by members of the Black Panther Party killing two of the occupants. A New York Times editorial called it a police "shoot-in" rather than a shoot-out. See "Excerpts from Grand Jury's Report," New York Times, May 16, 1970; and editorial, ibid., May 18, 1970.

Augusta,²⁴ Orangeburg,²⁵ Jackson,²⁶ Houston,²⁷ and Detroit,²⁸ are cases in point.

Moreover the major responsibility of the Black college to the larger Black community is to interpret to Black people a view toward a university accepted perception of the Black predicament and providing a catalyst for serious discussion of the goals, both long and short term, of Black people and of the most expeditious means for their realization.

²⁴Police shot six unarmed Black males in the back during racial disturbances in Augusta, Georgia. See "3 Augusta Victims Not Rioters?," Atlanta Constitution, May 18, 1970, p. 4B.

²⁵Police wantonly fired into a crowd of fleeing Black students on the campus of South Carolina State College in February 1967, killing three and injuring twenty-seven others. Although nine highway patrolmen were charged in the deaths, they were quickly acquitted by a jury of their peers after deliberating ninety minutes. See New York Times, May 28, 1968, p. 1.

²⁶Highway patrolmen fired indiscriminately into a crowd of Black students on the Jackson State Campus killing two and injuring numerous others.

²⁷In May 1967 at Texas Southern University, Houston police fired hundreds of rounds into an occupied male dormitory before charging the building, arresting every male occupant, and maliciously destroying the students' personal effects for story and substantiating photographs. See The Informer (Houston, Texas, May 20, 1967); see also New York Times, May 18, 1967, and Houston Post, May 19, 1967.

²⁸During racial disturbances in Detroit in May 1967, a group of Black citizens were terrorized in a local motel before two were viciously slain by police authorities who were, of course, acquitted. See "Was Justice Done in the Algiers Motel Incident?," New York Times, March 1, 1970, p. 10E.

How does the Black college move to meet this responsibility? It must begin by accepting the Black predicament as the central concept around which everything else at the college revolves. As DuBois argued in 1933, "the Negro problem has got to be at the center of the Black college if it is to meet its responsibility to the Black community."²⁹

Starting with present conditions and using the facts and the knowledge of the present situation of American Negroes, the Negro university expands toward the possession and conquest of all knowledge. It seeks from a beginning of the history of the Negro in America and in Africa to interpret all history; from a beginning of social development among Negro slaves and freedmen in America and Negro tribes and kingdoms in Africa, to understand the social development of all mankind in all ages. It seeks to teach modern science of matter and life from the surroundings and habits of American Negroes and thus lead up to understanding of life and matter in the universe.³⁰

To meet the conditions implied by DuBois, Black colleges must radically restructure both curricular and extracurricular activities. Social sciences, humanities, and the arts, and educational curricula must be refashioned so that the beginning of all analysis is Africa and the problems of Black people living in America; all other knowledge must be interpreted from that basis. For example, the history of Black people would become part of the course, Western Civilization,

²⁹W. E. B. DuBois, "The Negro College," in Weinberg, ed., DuBois, p. 178.

³⁰Ibid., p. 181.

as the basis for historical analysis; political science courses would be concerned with acquiring and manipulating power to produce radical change rather than with maintaining a stable commonwealth, similarly, sciences and technical subjects would be taught in a political context growing out of the problems of Black people; extracurricular activities would be grounded in the experience of Black people with their struggles from slavery to the present being the focal point.

There are a number of Black institutions which have already begun to move in this direction. Malcolm X Liberation University located in Durham and Greensboro, North Carolina, The Center for Revolutionary Art and the Institute of the Black World based in Atlanta, Georgia, and the Center for African Education in Washington, D.C., are all moving toward this perspective. Yet it must be understood that these institutions are reaching only a small segment of students. However, on the other hand, Black colleges still train approximately one half of all Blacks who enter college, perhaps including a majority of prospective primary and secondary teachers who will, by and large, serve the Black community. The possibilities are great. Black colleges have the power to restructure the political consciousness of the Black student and ultimately of America. That is its primary responsibility to the larger Black community and America at large. If it meets its responsibilities such as working with community organization, participating in community politics, providing staff assistance for

community politics, providing staff assistance for community leaders-- the many problems faced by Black America will solve themselves. If the colleges do not meet their primary responsibility, their secondary involvement will be of small consequence.

The Black College and University

A great deal of attention has always been paid to quantitative analyses of the future of predominantly Black colleges.³¹ These analyses of student growth possibilities, of sources of income and how much of it is needed, of the probabilities of new sources developing are necessary and important. The quantitative data presented here are,

³¹ Elias Blake, Jr., "Future Leadership Roles for Predominantly Black Colleges and Universities in American Higher Education," Daedalus, 3 (Summer, 1971), pp. 745-777; Thomas Jesse Jones, Negro Education: A Study of the Private and Higher Schools for Colored People in United States, 2 Vols. (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1917); Commission on Higher Education in the South, The Negro and Higher Education in the South (Atlanta: Southern Regional Education Board, 1967); Bernard Harletson, "Higher Education for Negroes," Atlantic Monthly (November, 1965), pp. 15-21; Earl D. McGrath, The Predominantly Negro Colleges and Universities in Transition (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1965). For the impact of quantitative studies on Black education, see Walter Crosby Ellis, "Results of Surveys of Negro Colleges and Universities," Journal of Negro Education, 4 (October, 1935), 476-481; Ellis O. Knox, "The Negro as Subject of University Research in 1946," Journal of Negro Education, 16 (Spring 1947), 180-189; Samuel Nabrit and Julius Scott, Jr., Inventory of Academic Leadership (Atlanta: The Southern Fellowship Fund, 1970).

in a sense, introductory to the main theme of this section: a consideration of the future educational programs of Black colleges as it relates to faculty, students, and curricula. Looking back in retrospect, I have shown what the history of Black colleges has been as a result of that study. I am forwarding the assumption that as these schools move into the second hundred years their roles must become diversified in order to justify their existence and perpetuity. Black colleges will continue to be of extreme importance to America, yet in a different manner; they must move toward further development of their unique ability in training citizens to be supportive of a timely pluralistic society. Differences are beginning to gain a modicum of respect in America--thus it is important to understand that educational equity will, for some time to come, depend to a very large degree on the expansion of the sizes of Black colleges.

It is crucial, before dealing with the future role and scope of these colleges, to concretize and legitimize their importance. There is no doubt of their historical achievements, yet rarely is any attempt made to state exactly what this means in terms of late twentieth-century America.

Charles S. Johnson, in his study, The Negro College Graduate, found that the predominant contribution to the education of Black Americans in the period 1914-1936 was carried by the Black

colleges.³² The interaction between these college graduates plus thousands of others who completed high school on college campuses and in normal school and the development of literacy has not been properly detailed.³³ For example, from 1865 to 1930 a totally illiterate people advanced to slightly over 80 per cent literacy. Between 1890 and 1930 Black literacy increased 93.8 per cent compared to 32 per cent for the Southern region as a whole.³⁴

More recent estimates of a similar nature in 1968 indicate that thirty-two years later the pattern was virtually the same.³⁵

Furthermore, these graduates of Black colleges are representative of about 35 to 40 per cent of those who enter as freshmen,

³²For a full description and analysis of the Black college and its Black graduate see, W. E. B. DuBois, "The Negro College," in Weinberg, ed., DuBois, p. 178; Also "The College Bred Negro," Atlanta University Publication, 1900.

³³For a detailed description of Tuskegee Institute's contribution to Black literacy, see The President's Annual Reports, Tuskegee Institute Archives.

³⁴Bullock, A History of Negro Education in the South, pp. 171-172.

³⁵John Egerton, State Universities and Black Americans (SERS, May, 1969). Egerton found that 0.7 per cent of the baccalaureate degrees were earned by Blacks in thirty-nine of the one hundred largest state universities. Public institutions give 61 per cent of all degrees, 0.7 per cent of 636, 863 bachelor degrees awarded in America in 1968 is 4,458 degrees. He found that 1.2 per cent of the graduate and professional degrees given to Blacks, 1.2 per cent of 234,969 graduate degrees awarded in 1968 is 2,819 degrees. This data comes from Earned Degrees Conferred 1967-68, Part A. Summary Only (National Center for Educational Statistics, Department of Health, Education and Welfare).

indicating severe academic difficulties, since 50 to 55 per cent of those who enter college nationally are graduated. Looking at the entering freshman, one wonders if any other colleges could do as well.³⁶ In a sample of fourteen colleges, public and private, the median income was \$3,900 and from a third to half of the mothers and fathers were domestics and laborers with less than a high school education. Their freshman test performance was about one standard deviation below the norms for the nation, except for a nonverbal test on which they scored slightly above average.³⁷

In earlier decades students were poorer and even less well educated than in the late 1960's. Yet we find that 74 percent of a sample of 1,000 Black Americans with earned Ph.D.'s earned the baccalaureate degree in Black colleges. In a sampling of 110 Black state legislators across the nation, 64 per cent attended Black colleges. From a sample of eighty recent and current Black federal officials 64 per cent were graduates of Black colleges.³⁸

³⁶For a discussion of what some colleges are doing to improve their rates of attrition, see "The Future Role and Scope of Tuskegee Institute, A Report by a Panel of Advisors to the President of Tuskegee Institute," June 15, 1970.

³⁷Blake, "Future Leadership Roles for Predominantly Black Colleges and Universities in American Higher Education," p. 747.

³⁸Elias Blake, Jr., "Background Paper on the Traditionally Negro College," The Congressional Record (May 11, 1970), p. E4091. Also see Harry W. Greene, "Sixty Years of Doctorates Conferred Upon Negroes," Journal of Negro Education 6 (January, 1937), 30-37; Holders of Doctorates among American Negroes (Boston: Mentor Co., 1946).

Moreover, it is largely a question of socio-political policy and of morality when one is reminded of the fact that such schools are anachronisms.³⁹ These schools have historically supported a grave social responsibility for America. It is of questionable ethics for those who could have made different decisions in the past about allocating adequate resources to these schools to raise the issue of their survival.⁴⁰

In the coming decades, the magnitude of the numbers needed to provide equitable education for Black Americans makes the survival of the Black college most necessary. These schools are a source of spaces unlikely to be found elsewhere with the increasing competition for college placement among Whites.⁴¹

If 1.8 million nonwhites are to enroll in college by 1982, rapid expansion in the enrollment in Black colleges is a necessity.

³⁹For a discussion of the anachronistic nature of Black colleges see Riesman and Jencks, "The American Negro College," Harvard Educational Review, 37 (1967), 3-60; William Carson, Promise or Peril: The Black College Student in America (New York: W. W. Norton, 1970); also see W. E. B. DuBois, "The Cultural Mission of Atlanta University," Phylon, 3 (1942) reprinted in Meyer Weinberg, ed., W. E. B. DuBois: A Reader (New York: Harper and Row, 1970).

⁴⁰See Herbert O. Reid and James N. Nabrit, Jr., "Remedies Under Statutes Granting Federal Aid to Land Grant Colleges," Journal of Negro Education, 17 (Summer, 1948), 410-425; also, William Payne, "Forgotten . . . But Not Gone: The Negro Land Grant Colleges," Civil Rights Digest, 3 (January, 1970), 15.

⁴¹For a discussion of future plans for White student college enrollment see General Education for the Seventies: A Faculty Statement on Philosophy and Practice (Michigan State University, 1972).

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If their enrollment tripled to 480,000 by 1980 such a figure would be only 28 per cent of the total number of Black youth in college.⁴²

Thus it seems quite unrealistic to speak of a diminishing role for predominantly Black colleges.

Current constraints in higher education do not lead one to believe that rapid enrollment increases will occur at the needed magnitude. The current constraints are:

1) The Conservatism of College Faculties: The understanding and willingness of American college faculty to teach a significant minority of less well prepared Black youth is questionable.

2) The Junior College as an alternative! As of now the junior colleges' effect on racial academic equity is questionable. In 1967 freshmen comprised about 66 per cent of the full-time enrollment and sophomores 33 per cent Thus about two out of three freshmen, who enter two-year colleges in California, do not return for the second year.⁴³

⁴²Blake, "Background Paper on the Traditionally Negro College," The Congressional Record (May 11, 1970), p. E4093.

⁴³Robert H. Berls, "Highest Education Opportunity and Achievement in the United States," in Economics and Financing of Higher Education in the United States, Joint Economic Committee, Congress of the United States (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1969), pp. 164-165.

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- 3) Fifty-three per cent of the Black population still inhabits the Southern and border states.

One of the important questions is whether the quality of the desegregation process in the high schools is doing damage to the college aspirations of Black youth. Most certainly placing the future of Black seniors in the hands of nonchalant White counselors runs the risk of creating the familiar Northern pattern of dissolutionment of a college career and assignment to nonacademic ranks.⁴⁴

- 4) Competition for four-year and two-year college slots by a higher proportion of White high school seniors:

Large numbers will not be well prepared, thus, requiring special efforts inside the colleges similar to those in effect at Black colleges. Such a volative political issue is likely to create more rather than less conflict.

These four constraints point to the need for more rather than fewer colleges and universities functioning as predominantly Black colleges have done historically. Compensatory programs or specially

⁴⁴Phyllis Patterson, "An Assessment of Change in Achievement Motivation among Upward Bound Participants at the University of Maryland," The Journal of Negro Education, 4 (Fall, 1968), pp. 383-392; Edgar G. Epps, "Interpersonal Relations and Motivation: Implications for Teachers of Disadvantaged Students," The Journal of Negro Education, 1 (Winter 1970), pp. 14-26.

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designed first-year programs (after admission) seem to be the only practical and realistic alternatives. Historically, the development of "special programs" for new student population (vocational-technical high school of the past or community colleges of the present) has been ineffective for Black youth, mainly due to the negative commitment of educators who administer these systems which is always bolstered by the racial and class biases so prevalent in American life.⁴⁵

The need for more colleges would utilize the approach to higher education of Black colleges and the large number of enrollees anticipated would seem to demand a greater need for these colleges in the next thirty to fifty years. Predominantly large White institutions, whether in labor, business, politics, or education seem to naturally resist large intrusions of Blacks. This has been seen in unions, churches, and industries. Educators, it seems, are no different, given that they are also products of the racism in American life.

Thus a rational social policy should naturally build upon the strength and/or potential strength of its existing resources rather than gambling with the uncertain educational equity on new and untried developments. A strengthened future with substantial philanthropic and federal support is, therefore, the wisest and most prudently pragmatic

⁴⁵Blake, "Future Leadership Roles for Predominantly Black Colleges and Universities in American Higher Education," p. 748.

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national policy for the public and private sector to follow. It seems that it is indeed foolhardy to assume the success of predominantly White education in dealing with such a problem as this. It is very clear that the current conflicts on large White campuses with small numbers of Blacks cannot be expected to diminish with a sharp increase in numbers of more Blacks. It becomes even more logical to assume that the conflicts will move to even more fundamental issues depending upon whether or not, given standards for higher education versus larger numbers of Blacks ought to be enrolled and/or whether they can be admitted at all in increased numbers, assuming their unequal academic backgrounds.⁴⁶

Thus without rising enrollments in Black colleges supported with adequate fiscal resources for instruction, the constraints mentioned earlier could very well mean a sharp increase in the growth curve of Black college graduates which would be much too risky and injurious to the well-being of the American socio-economic order. In 1968, 7.6 million nonwhites between the ages of five and seventeen were in the total population; 6.2 million nonwhites were in the sub-standard public school system. As of September 1970, roughly 200,000

⁴⁶Preprimary Enrollment of Children Under Six, National Center on Educational Statistics and School Enrollment, October, 1968, U.S. Bureau of the Census, pp. 20, 90, 190, Table I.

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nonwhite potential college freshmen out of the 1969-1970 graduating classes did not attend college.⁴⁷ It is projected certain that three to four out of ten entrants into Black colleges will take degrees. We know nothing about Black students in nonblack colleges and their performances.⁴⁸

If there is a rational social policy toward predominantly Black colleges, then their importance should increase dramatically even if their share of the total Black enrollment decreases. Black colleges should become leaders of how one structures academic programs which accept and graduate very large numbers of high school graduates. Such a role as this is important and crucial if Black higher education is to survive.

Now the question becomes what type of stronger and well supported future will Black colleges have? A second question is how will the Black college sustain Black institutional life? Although these questions have been moot up to this point due to an absence of choices, when and if the choices become real, then there must be Black-run and controlled institutions in education, religion, business, industry, and politics. If we truly desire a diverse society, then there must be a significant number of Black colleges appropriately designed to meet the needs of whatever proportion of the 22 million Black Americans who will be desirous of such. Moreover it is doubtful as to whether there are

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many White or Black educators who envision first-rate, well-endowed universities dominated by Black faculty and administrators and enrolling large numbers of Black students.

The remainder of this chapter will deal with the issue of what type of future there is for Black colleges in terms of their various programs and the uniqueness of their direction. Given that the private and public sectors can insure the existence of all or none of the Black colleges now in existence, a combination of public and private resources over a decade can insure the future of Black colleges if the financial resources are equitably distributed. The private philanthropic sector could provide leadership by making Black colleges their major direction of support for a decade, with other sectors of higher education a lesser priority--given that they have access to larger sums of financial support.

A Practical Approach to Curricular Designs for Undergraduates

Much of American undergraduate education is irrational to today's students. Education for today's undergraduate should be so structured that academic weaknesses can be overcome before rigorous and intellectually demanding programs are undertaken. New undergraduate programs should be designed with challenging intellectual content,

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which would also develop language and writing skills. This can be done if proper attention is devoted to the proper sequencing of materials, teaching styles, and content of materials.

An example of such a course would be as follows: The materials would come from Thoreau's Civil Disobedience; "Credo" in The Last Days of Socrates; Adin Ballou in Leo Tolstoy's The Kingdom of God is Within You; Imamu Baraka's "What Does Non-Violence Mean?" from Home, a collection of essays; Ralph Ellison's "That Same Pain, That Same Pleasure" and "The World and the Jug" from Shadow and Act; Martin Luther King's "Letter from a Birmingham Jail"; and Gwendolyn Brooks's "A Bronzeville Mother Loiters in Mississippi; Meanwhile a Mississippi Mother Burns Bacon."⁴⁹

The theme of these materials is responsibility--that is, to the state (Thoreau, Socrates, Ballou)--and man's obligation to obey or disobey unjust laws (Baraka, King). Certainly one can see the attempt to immerse the student in language--language about important ideas, written by important intellectual figures, concerning issues of deep social concern. Even these materials can be boring and dried up with excessive pedantry and professional verbal overkill. A style of restraint is needed. Student reactions and ideas would be sought and

⁴⁹Blake, "Future Leadership Roles," p. 754.

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ideas would be sought and their personal experiences could be used to extend those of the intellectuals being studied.

Why would this be successful?

- 1) Good teachers teach ideas rather than grammar and paragraph structure. Theoretical English bores teachers and students resulting in mutual frustration.
- 2) Contemporary materials much of it by and from Black intellectuals would enhance the students breadth of intellectualism.
- 3) The teaching style would allow the validity of the student's experiences to help him understand himself.

New Types of Knowledge for the Black College

A college or university does more than create programs of instruction. These programs must be infused with the intellectual inputs of a faculty which is original and new. The choices that faculties make will determine the true greatness of any subject of Black colleges.

To approach conventional specialties in conventional ways is to be excellent with no distinctiveness. It extends the approach to

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intellectual life in America's university community which claims a kind of amorality and valueless search for truth. Where a choice is made not to deal with certain intellectual areas, a value has been expressed. The prestige associated with high accomplishments and accolades by peers accrues to the area of study. As it becomes important, other areas become less important. Black colleges must:

1. Create new areas of knowledge and an intellectual peerage among themselves that generates new questions about American culture and civilization as currently presented by American scholarship.
2. Approach science and technology from a new perspective, that of applied science and its relationship to solutions of societal problems.
3. Create the necessary rituals, celebrations, and traditions which signal respect for and preservation of the historical record and accomplishments of Black men in America in the area of both individual and mass cultural infusion.

The ideas below are ones which can be utilized in a college or university program of instruction. They are not programs which encompass the entire activity of a college or university. On the contrary, conventional curricula could very easily exist simultaneously with

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these kinds of academic activities. Student choices are free. This view maintains that for Black colleges and universities to exist for as long as America exists, they must continue to challenge and modify its intellectual mosaic and some of its assumptions about itself as a culture. In fact, the Black universities must create the need for its existence.

The areas of knowledge development have been divided into aesthetics, social-political institutions, and scientific-technical development. Most of the conventional academic disciplines can be classified herein. Hopefully, these classifications will generate new ideas for further study and scholarly research as it relates to the history and philosophy of Black higher education.

Aesthetics

The area of aesthetics generally encompasses the areas of music, literature, and art, also those areas which are included in general liberal arts programs. The focus in a predominantly Black college should be on American civilization.

The standard definition of aesthetics is "that area of philosophy dealing with the nature of the beautiful." The term as used here has emphasis on the excellent; it approaches the sublime.

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Art, music, and literature are expressions of societal values. There are very deep conflicts in American life concerning these issues which have clearly affected the intellectual life of the university. Psycho-pathology and mental aberration have been the main principles in the study of Black life, not beauty. The point to be made here is that there are many socio-cultural artifacts of an aesthetic nature which can be more positively useful and appreciated by Blacks. Black art, music, and literature can and must be accorded its rightful place.

The emphasis in the area of aesthetics should be on music. This is an area of undisputed Black ascendancy in American life. Some areas of further study and concern for music must be:

- 1) Better and more complex studies of Afro-American music.
- 2) Compositional extensions of the solo work of gifted jazz virtuosos: such as Charlie Parker, Dizzie Gillespie, John Coltrane, Miles Davis, and Carmen McRae. Gifted composers such as: Oliver Nelson, Quincy Jones, Isaac Hayes, and Ray Charles should be accorded academic study and research.
- 3) There should be greater in-depth studies and analysis of the socio-cultural influence of Afro-American music.
- 4) Study of the rituals and traditions endemic to the Black man's history in America should be investigated.

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- 5) Scientifically penetrating studies of the relationships before Afro-American speech and music should be investigated. Field studies are also needed in this area. If the studies are successful, they can open vistas for poets and writers for more culturally complex work. The idiomatic phrasings of Black music needs more analysis. Their widespread usage in American society needs more scholarly explanation.
- 6) The need to consciously and actively preserve manuscripts and musical sketches is crucial. It would be interesting for young Black scholars to investigate the number of honorary doctorates Duke Ellington has from Black colleges as opposed to White ones. The same would be true of Louis Armstrong, Cab Calloway, and Dinah Washington.

Why this area is called aesthetics is most clearly seen in 4 and 5. In a way, music most clearly illuminates the conflicts in cultural values that must be resolved if Black Americans are to be unrestricted personalities on their own terms. Clearly, musicians of standard training cannot hold to the conventional standards of excellence and embrace the work of some of the greatest Afro-American musicians as excellent. In this context one is raising the issue of values

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by which one judges art, music, and literature and how they enlarge life. That is the business of a university.⁵⁰

The Black college must develop the rituals which venerate greatness. There should be annual events which recognize excellence in the areas of research and scholarship. If there is true artistry in a Mahalia Jackson and Louis Armstrong (and there is), then some Black college should establish chairs in their honor. There should be a Langston Hughes prize for poetry, and a James Baldwin prize for literature. There should be an Ellington School of Music; or Count Basie. There should be Martin Luther King and/or Malcolm X prizes for oratory or speaker of the year awards for consistent platform brilliance. Through events such as these, Black colleges and universities would truly establish public traditions extending beyond the narrow confines of university scholars.

A much deeper and severe problem in American higher education is that its culturally based scholarship is oriented too far toward Greece, Rome, and Britain. I question whether or not these civilizations any longer enlighten youth about the incredibly complex American experience. It does not seek to explain the paradox of the Black Panthers, George Wallace, nor John Lindsay all taking the Declaration

⁵⁰Blake, *Future Leadership Roles for Predominantly Black Colleges and Universities in American Higher Education*, p. 762.

of Independence as source for the views. European civilizations, as I see it, are hard put to clarify the deep roots of racism in a country with supposedly protected personal freedoms and poverty in the midst of affluence when lesser nations have no slums, better systems of medical care, and social welfare programs. An American, whatever that is, is unlike traditional Western nation groups; he has often paid dearly for being Polish, Jewish, Italian, or Irish before becoming an American--even to forsaking his father's name.

The Black American, despite his ordeals, has not only survived, but has seen expression of his ability to survive in music, in speech, and in his dance. Witness the predominant modes of dancing for the last 20 years. The Black college must come to recognize the cultural legitimacy of these things through according them a central place in its curricular philosophy.

Jazz is the music of a people who have been told they are unworthy . . . feeling unworthy is fundamental to 20th century man who . . . is in danger of losing his old goals or has lost them already. But the music involves the discovery of one's worthiness from within. And it is thus an experience men⁵¹ of many races and many circumstances have responded to.

Black colleges are full of young people who still live the experience out of which jazz emanates. If they look closely at the

⁵¹ Martin Williams, The Jazz Tradition (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), pp. 7-8.

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dynamics of that experience, they may locate the key to the true direction of American civilization

Socio-Political Institutions

By conscious act, Black social scientists in Black colleges must set a moratorium on pathology. If the study of recent history is any precedent, that will continue to be done by White social scientists and even some Black ones.⁵² A good field of study might be an analysis of White men who spend their lives cataloguing the results of racism upon the lives of Black Americans. As implied under aesthetics, there is more to the lives of Black Americans than powerlessness, frustrations, illegitimacy, crime, and low educational achievement. The essential flaw in all of this research is that it gives no basis for what one must do to work on one's problems. The apex of negative research on Blacks was achieved in Kenneth Clark's Dark Ghetto. It maliciously dissected the largest and most complex urban community of Blacks in the world.

⁵²See B. J. Mason, "Brain Surbery to Control Behavior," Ebony, 4 (February, 1973), pp. 63-70; also, Laura Greene, "A Bad Luck Image in Film," Essence (May, 1973), p. 73; also, Arthur Jensen, "How Much Can We Boost I.Q. and Scholastic Achievement?," Harvard Educational Review, XXXIX (Winter, 1969), pp. 1-123.

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Clark averred that Blacks in Harlem had no leader, neither no strategies for change for which he was hopeful. The ghetto, because of its treatment by White America, is an enemy to the alternative of planning because it has "a primitive hostility to the creative use of human intelligence."⁵³

New areas of knowledge in Black colleges must proceed away from the Clark approach and look closely for patterns of strength, success, and survival, despite the fact that these patterns are not modal. To find solutions it makes sense to study solutions. To infer solutions from a study of pathology has failed again and again. Millions of Blacks in America are not suffering from pathology. Under the same conditions that destroy and demoralize their peers, they maintain their families, send their children to school, and these children do not drop out, they go to college. Solid hypotheses may be found in more thorough research of these areas as they relate to the mass movement of Blacks. Much research for new knowledge is needed in the following areas.

The Family

- 1) The resilience and detailed functioning of the extended family needs study.

⁵³ Kenneth Clark, Dark Ghetto (New York: Harper and Row, 1965), p. 212.

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- 2) The Black matriarchy needs more research. Many women, it seems, have been very successful in creating strong, resourceful males. How is this possible? What are the characteristics of the Black matriarchy?
- 3) What are the causes of activism in the Black family? We need to know much more than we do now about the development leadership qualities in the Black family.
- 4) When we look at families with similar characteristics and one is productive of school achievers and the other is not, what are the differences and causes? Primary and secondary teachers have many hypotheses but no theoretically empirical knowledge.

The Church

In recent years young Black intellectuals have viewed the church as a dysfunctional institution. Quite the contrary, it is a powerful force in the lives of Black people which the young Black intellectuals need for political power. Large independent Black churches deserve special scholarly attention. We need to know what are the mechanisms for holding the vast networks of classes, clubs, and teams together; how is leadership attained? What are the systems of reward in the month-to-month detail work so necessary in organizations of this type?

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One may learn a great deal concerning the motivational roots for a mass movement here. For example there are literally thousands of financially viable Black churches in America--yet no Black social scientist knows how or why these institutions manage to survive in terms of empirical research and analysis.⁵⁴

Education

Can successful Black youth be identified in high schools in terms of grades, when they are at the same time not "nice" in the conventional sense of being liked by their teachers? Here one is searching for the genesis of assertiveness combined with achievement. Where are highly successful all Black high schools in terms of dropouts, college-going rates, and gainful employment upon graduation? Are they all schools of middle-income Black families? A detailed study of low-income schools would be invaluable (of four schools): one in the urban North, one in the urban South, one in a small northern town, and one in the rural South. How do students perceive such schools? How do they perceive the elementary and junior high schools from which they came?

⁵⁴See Joseph R. Washington, Jr., Black Religion (Boston: The Beacon Press, 1964). See also, "The Black Church," The Black Scholar, 4 (December 1970), pp. 3-55.

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The long-range goal of such research is to begin to design and construct practical strategies which will serve to bolster and strengthen the internal institutional life of Black communities. In the long run, agents of change would work on two levels, the larger political level and the school-by-school neighborhood-by-neighborhood level. Social scientists cannot dictate how findings can be applied; however, the findings would at least deal in positive factors.⁵⁵

Politics

In this area there should be careful research into the trends of Blacks, political attitudes, institutional reactions to changes in location (schools, real estate, jobs, churches), the kinds of people who leave Black low-income concentrations for White middle-income concentrations, those who go to Black middle-income areas, and common special interests with other groups, and from these studies a series of probabilities could be developed. These would not be definitive but would most definitely elevate the level of dialogue above its current level. The models should be inclusive of what the cities will look like by the year 2000 versus maximum dispersal patterns. What are the legal alternatives to the current pattern of federal

⁵⁵For a discussion of education and culture in the Black Ghetto, see Helen Clegg, "The Ghetto Has Its Own Life Style," Lansing State Journal, May 13, 1971, p. A11.

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to state to city funding of transportation, education, and law enforcement? Can Black controlled nonprofit public corporation be set up and federally funded to independently deal with services such as transportation, housing codes, and garbage collection in the inner city?

On another level, extensive research should be done on the relationship between social science and solutions to human problems. Given the dynamic of socio-human relationships, the models for the Black social scientists should be community institutions such as schools and churches. Over a ten-year period skilled Black psychologists might very well modify one hundred schools and raise the standards of living thereto. None of these areas of research would be solely limited to Black scholars; however, the primary and initial relevance would be limited to them.

Scientific and Technical Development (Research)

There is a great need for basic research and study in the philosophy and ethics of science. Basic questions and theories need to be developed concerning the Western model of rationality. Man's intelligence has enabled him to reach any goal he so desires. It might very well be that man is on a course dictated by a rationality

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devoid of human qualities. Could it be true that the mind as master of the body makes mind the ultimate destroyer of the body?⁵⁶

For scholars wishing to pursue non-Western philosophical and scientific models significant ground can be broken. New cultural value systems can be studied and devised. A new generation of philosophers and scientists trained in Black colleges and universities under the influence of a new system of ethics which might signal a new history of the world and its survival.

On an operational level more data is needed on:

- 1) The eating patterns of young pregnant mothers, including the social philosophy of eating.
- 2) New means of diet therapy needs to be found concerning the diets of babies in view of infrequent prenatal care and insufficient funds.
- 3) Nutrition and health in the ghetto needs study and improvement through additives to popular foods. We need to know whether

⁵⁶ See Martin Heidegger, Existence and Being (Chicago: Henry Regnery and Co., 1949); Bertrand Russell, Human Society in Ethics and Politics (New York: Simon & Shuster, Inc., 1955); this book gives a penetrating analysis of the standards of morality, religion, politics, and urges a new evaluation of their function in today's chaotic world. Also, Jean Paul Sartre, Existentialism and Human Emotions (New York: Citadel Press, 1957); Kenneth E. Boulding, The Meaning of the 20th Century (New York: Harper & Row, 1965).

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or not chicken and barbecue places which pervade the ghetto are positive forces in nutrition without the necessity of having to change the diet.

4) Teams of engineer, construction experts, legal and union experts should concentrate on getting large numbers of workers trained in order for them to work on low-cost housing.

5) Architects, media experts, advertising experts, and educators need to work on designing new schools in order to maximize useful and positive sensory learning inputs.

As I view the history of Black higher education into the present nothing should preclude what any Black undergraduate learns under his professors in these areas which have been discussed. Granted that large numbers of students will ignore those areas of the college and university where these skills are to be learned, and also where the research is to be performed. However, the deeper issue is that the educative impact of knowing that Black men are in charge of areas of knowledge and research is to say the least gratifying and indeed positive. To be in the environment of a place where studies are being made by Black scholars will infuse Black youth with new visions of their roles in American life. The fact that the laboratory and source of invention is within the experiences and problems of Black

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Americans will silence forever the doubts and uncertainties of the validity of the Black experience.

The kinds of leadership and areas of study and research projected for predominantly Black colleges and universities must undoubtedly lead to a redirection of American civilization away from its predominantly White, Northern European orientation to a truly respectable multiracial, pluralistic civilization. Racism is a major flaw in the four-hundred year rise of American civilization. The human values expressed in America's ideals and their cultural extensions have excluded Black people and ultimately all nonwhites since its inception. The issue of Black people as people is still unresolved and a negative symptom of what the future may hold can be viewed in the populational patterns of the cities and suburbs in the North and South.

Thus a new mission holds forth for the Black college and university.⁵⁷ That mission is to enable the human and cultural values of this civilization to reflect a more positive attitude toward Black

⁵⁷For detailed discussions of the Black college and University reconsidered, see Gerald McWorter, "The Nature and Needs of the Black University," Negro Digest, 5 (March, 1968), pp. 4-13; Darwin Turner, "The Black University: A Practical Approach," Negro Digest, 4 (March, 1968), pp. 14-21; Vincent Harding, "Toward the Black University," Ebony, 10 (August, 1970), pp. 156-160; Benjamin Payton, "A Candid Look at Black Colleges and Where they are Going," An Interview, Black Enterprise, 2 (September, 1972), pp. 33-37. Milton R. Coleman, "A Cultural Approach to Education," Negro Digest, 5 (March, 1969), pp. 33-38.

Americans. Just as race has been a dominant factor in America's past and present--the Black college and university must seize the opportunity for the artistic, literary, and scientific contributions of Black intellectuals to be a dominant force for goodwill in its future. It is very clear that the future of man may very well rest on pluralistic America producing a generation of scholars and citizens capable of accepting the humanity of all people regardless of color. Black people are the best hope for influencing American civilization along a true path; their colleges and universities must begin the task of restructuring America as a positive influence in the civilization of mankind.

CONCLUSION

Most, if not all, Black colleges were founded after the Civil War, and the adoption of the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth amendments according citizenship to former slaves. The few Black colleges founded before the Civil War, owed their existence to the exclusionary practices of white institutions of higher learning and also to the failure of primary and secondary institutions to prepare Blacks for admission to the small number of white colleges that admitted literate Blacks. The Black college has always been a response to the peculiar relationship of the Black man to the total American community. In a society where Blacks have been historically discriminated against, it is remarkable that these institutions which were founded to provide higher education for the well being of Black people have indeed performed near miracles given their meager financial resources.

The most important role which the Black college has played, has been that of providing Blacks with the ability to ascend from the lowest to the highest rung of America's social and economic ladder. Although America has never been conspicuously hospitable to the

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intellectual and the academician, the presence of Blacks in responsible government, and private sector positions and university professorships are suggestive of the fact that Blacks are capable of extraordinary achievement. Black people have served as very positive and useful elements in combating the hopelessness and disparity of American racism. The characteristic of white hostility and ambivalence toward Black intellectuality has always been contributive of the low scales of pay for college teachers, the inability to publish, the grossly indecent respect shown by ignorant whites, and the high status accorded the businessman have all contributed in some degree to the frustrations and limitation placed upon the Black academician. The primacy of the Black college president and his business manager in college policy-making has been a constant reflection of the overall American hostility to the Black intellectual. It is ironic to note that even though the basic purpose of white philanthropists was to insure white middle and upper class Americans a permanent literate labor force-plus, also restricting on the surface, the overall literary and scholarly productivity of the Black intellectual that the Black scholar intellectual nevertheless persisted in providing and maintaining not only a concrete and viable intellectual diet for Black students but they were also in the forefront of the civil rights movement both theoretically and practically.

Thus when contrasted with the barriers of racist politics, exclusionary hiring practices, inordinate, and disproportional philanthropic contributions plus the dictatorialism of the Black college president--the Black academic has indeed succeeded at creating a tradition of excellence and success. To this end due to the discriminatory practices of white universities, professional associations, and scholarly journals, at least two organizations exist which have withstood the test of time as monuments to Black scholarship, they are as follows:

- a) the Association of Social and Behavioral Scientists
- b) the Association for the study of Afro-American life and history.

On the other hand, with notable exceptions in places such as Atlanta, Durham, and Birmingham, the Black businessman has never achieved in his community the reverence accorded to his white counterpart. The same has been true of the Black college, which has been a major Black community employer, and through its graduates, consistently adding to the professional labor market many who would otherwise have been prevented from doing so.

It was through the production of this constituency, that the Black college created the Black middle-class community. Whatever may have been the objective competence of the graduates of Black colleges when tested against median performances of white college graduates, the alumni of these Black colleges became the new Black bourgeoisie. The

creation and replenishment of an entire community has been the most significant role played by the Negro college.

Another unheralded but important contribution of the Black college was the provision of respectable elementary and college preparatory education. At best, privately endowed public education for Blacks led to the establishment of Normal and Industrial Schools. Many other educated Black Americans from the South secured their education at these Black college-related elementary and secondary normal schools. Although these schools are now largely defunct, there are still "laboratory" schools, maintained for the purpose of training teachers, but helpful also in providing Black middle-class children with higher quality education which is usually not available in the public school system.

Today, we find that the Black college is in the difficult position of deciding whether its continued existence is consonant with developments in the white and Black community. With the defeat of legal segregation in education, and with the establishment of community colleges, the role of the Black college has been the subject of severe reevaluation. One of the major concerns has been that of the service to the community which has been rendered by the Black college.

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