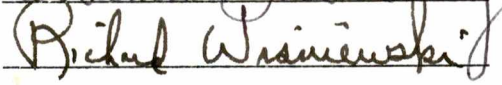


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**THE DEBATE OVER AFRICAN-AMERICAN
INDUSTRIAL EDUCATION, 1901-1914: A POST-REVISIONIST
HISTORICAL CASE STUDY**

**A Dissertation Presented for the
Doctor of Education Degree
The University of Tennessee, Knoxville**

**Thomas Kirkman Jones
May 1993**

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DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my parents
Thomas Henderson Jones
and
Ruth Parks Jones
who have given me invaluable educational opportunities
and to my aunts,
Mary Catherine Parks Hall
and
Louise Jones Steel,
who encouraged me to be curious about the unfamiliar.

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ABSTRACT

This investigation presents a post-revisionist interpretation of the debate over African-American Industrial education in the early twentieth century. Building on the excessively laudatory accounts of the traditional/liberal interpretation and the narrow ideological bias of the New Left revisionist historians, it establishes an historical perspective which transcends the limitations of both schools of thought.

Primary sources for this study were the seventeen years of published Proceedings of the Conference for Education in the South (1898-1914), which establish the Progressives' rationale for African-American Industrial Education. Also included are the editorial positions and general reactions of three Midwestern black newspapers to this special curriculum for African Americans during the period of the campaign for an educational awakening in the South, the southern education movement, 1901-1914. The respective newspapers in this study are the conservative Freeman of Indianapolis, and the radical Cleveland Gazette and Chicago Broad Ax.

Contrary to radical revisionist interpretation, this study concludes that staunch defenders of black rights did not view industrial education as part of a conspiracy to re-enslave African Americans. The antagonism of The Broad Ax and The Gazette was directed against Booker T. Washington, the foremost black proponent

of industrial education, but not against the industrial curriculum *per se*. It was Washington's accommodation of racism and his failure to aggressively defend African-American civil and political rights, not his cause, industrial education, that engendered the hostility of The Broad Ax and The Gazette.

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Chapter I

Introduction

The context for this dissertation is the continuing dialogue among historians about industrial education for African-Americans in the New South, the most controversial issue in the historiography of black education over the past twenty years. In general, historians of American education have viewed the policy of industrial education for African-Americans as either part of a broader altruistic endeavor to triumph over ignorance, or as a conspiracy to limit African-Americans and ensure their subservience in a racist order. Both of these interpretations imply that African-Americans were merely acted upon and deny their role as historical actors. It is the intent of this study to build upon both the historiography of the traditional liberal perspective, as well as the revisionist interpretations of the New Left historians of recent decades. The Post-revisionist view posited here builds on earlier scholarship with the aim of constructing new interpretations. This approach to the study of African-American responses to industrial education allows other voices to be heard in addition to the excesses of celebrative history or the more recent clamor of New Left interpretations.

This investigation explores opinions on African-American industrial education on the eve of the great black exodus. The study

examines the historical context of black industrial education during the period corresponding to the southern education movement. Included is a review of the Progressives' rationale for the industrial emphasis in African-American education as revealed in the Proceedings of the Capon Springs Conference for Christian Education in the South (1898-1900), later known as the Conference for Education in the South (1901-1914).

A major purpose of this study is to examine and analyze the extent to which three representative black midwestern newspapers supported or rejected industrial education for African-Americans during the period of the southern education movement, 1901-1914. The Chicago Broad Ax, The Gazette of Cleveland and The Freeman of Indianapolis were among the few black newspapers in the Midwest that were in continuous publication during this period of educational reform for white and black Americans in the southern states. In some cases, their circulation extended far beyond their immediate locales and had readerships in other sections, especially the South, where the vast majority of African-Americans lived. Although black midwestern newspapers were subject to many of the same influences that black publications in other parts of the country experienced, they were removed from the intense racism of the former Confederate states. The Midwest during the early years of this century had a relatively small African-American population. However, black newspapers published outside the South were considerably more successful than their southern counterparts.

Emma Lou Thornbrough has studied the African-American press at the turn of the century. She offers several reasons for the greater success of non-southern black publications. For example, literacy was much higher among northern African-Americans and they were more urban, which allowed for a more accessible readership. At the same time the southern black population was mainly rural and scattered. Although small, the African-American population outside the South, only 10% in 1910, had some political power during a period when African-Americans in the South were increasingly denied the vote.¹

One of the most durable examples of black journalism was the Cleveland Gazette. Founded in 1883, The Gazette did not cease publication until 1945. Its editor, H. C. Smith, was active in Ohio politics and was a member of the state legislature. The Freeman of Indianapolis was begun in 1885. The illustrated publication claimed to have the largest circulation of any black newspaper. In 1925, after the death of its editor and proprietor, George L. Knox, The Freeman was no longer published. The Chicago Broad Ax had a relatively small circulation, but it was one of only three black newspapers that survived beyond 1909 in a city that was sometimes called the graveyard of African-American journalism. It began publication in 1895 in Salt Lake City, Utah, but was published in

¹Emma Lou Thornbrough, "American Negro Newspapers, 1880-1914," Business History 40, no. 4 (1966): 472.

Chicago from 1899 until its demise in 1927.² Under the editorship of Julius Taylor, the Chicago Broad Ax presented the most radical political and social views of the three newspapers in this study. The years of this investigation immediately preceded the northward and western migration of African Americans from the South. Chicago, Cleveland and to a lesser extent Indianapolis were about to become significant centers of America's black population.

Historiography is concerned with both interpretation and resource methodology. The interpretive strategies of schools of thought are inseparable from historical methodology. This introduction includes a review of the laudatory and the revisionist interpretations of the southern education movement's recommendation for black industrial education. Also included is the particular research exploration undertaken in this study. Finally, there is the discussion of a post-revisionist interpretation and how this historical case study relates to historiography.

The Historiography of the Southern Education Movement

The Celebrative/Liberal Interpretation

The second volume of Charles Dabney's Universal Education in the South is a celebration of the southern education movement and

²Ibid., 472, 471, 473.

the seventeen convocations of the Conference for Education in the South from 1898 to 1914. For Dabney, the promotion of education was a valiant struggle against the forces of ignorance, and the success of their reforms was a triumph over adversity. Dabney applauded the industrial curriculum as especially appropriate for African-Americans. For the most part, African-American education was not an area of great concern to celebrative historians of the liberal tradition. Just as America's majority population neglected the social, political and economic rights of African-Americans, the historiography of the first half of this century reflects limited interest in black education.

The educational philosophy of Booker T. Washington dominated black education during the years of the southern education movement 1901-1914, the period of this study. The progressive educational reformers considered black industrial education to be a significant aspect of a noble crusade. The liberal tradition that characterized most of the historiography of education in the first half of this century did not seriously challenge the traditional prescription of industrial education for the vast majority of African-Americans. However, the increasing sensitivity to the issue of race that was spawned by the civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s, also engendered a radical response to laudatory historiography and a rejection of the traditional liberal perspective.

The Revisionist Historical Interpretation

New Left historians of education, often called radical revisionists, have viewed the black industrial curriculum as part of a conspiracy to limit African-Americans' participation in the intellectual and economic sectors of American society while restricting their social mobility and political rights. They found racist and class bias reproduced in virtually all contact between black and white Americans. They saw the dominant racist mindset replicated throughout social, political and economic structures. They viewed the southern education movement as part of a determined effort to impose racist social control that would instruct African-Americans in the values considered essential by the white power structure, namely reverence for work, frugality, and "morality."

Black revisionist historian, James D. Anderson, maintains that leaders of the southern education movement considered an economically efficient agriculture complemented by political stability as necessary for national industrial growth. In the South, agricultural prosperity was inextricably bound to the black laborer, on whose productivity rested the economic success of the region. Black industrial education was embraced as ". . . a vehicle to hold blacks to rural southern society."³ Anderson maintains that northern

³James D. Anderson, "Northern Foundations and the Shaping of Southern Black Rural Education 1902-1935," History of Education Quarterly 18 (Winter 1978): 375.

philanthropists worked in collusion with southern white leaders to promote the Hampton-Tuskegee model in order to build a strong southern economy on the backs of a docile, submissive, non-political and cheap labor force. This exploitation was to be promoted under the guise of helping African-Americans fit their environment. In The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935, Anderson treats the complex issue of competing educational ideologies.⁴ He concludes that northern philanthropists and industrialists, along with southern business interests and educational leaders, promoted industrial education as a means to maintain the caste system and social order essential to white supremacy in the South.⁵ Anderson claims that the lack of black control over black schools resulted in a second class education. "This system of second class education for blacks did not just happen," he insists; "it was the logical outgrowth of a social ideology designed to adjust black southerners to racially qualified forms of political and economic subordination."⁶ According to Anderson, this social ideology of oppression was central to the motivation of the northern philanthropists. Northern reformers, often white supremacists, were not perturbed by southern racism *per se*.⁷

⁴ _____, The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935 (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1988), 80.

⁵Ibid., 145.

⁶Ibid., 3.

⁷Ibid., 92.

Donald Spivey, author of Schooling for the New Slavery: Black Industrial Education, contends that the history of African-Americans is essentially a labor history and that the formal cessation of the "peculiar institution" did not signal an end to the exploitation of black labor.⁸ For Spivey, industrial education worked hand-in-hand with a new form of slavery consisting of sharecropping, debt peonage and convict leasing enforced by a racist system.⁹ Clarence Karier, a revisionist educational historian, also rejects the liberal interpretation of the black educational experience. He maintains that white philanthropic support for black education was not humanitarian in intent, but rather a vehicle for social control and repression.¹⁰ David Southern, a New Left historian, virulently attacks Progressivism writ large. He claims that Progressives, while professing a concern for social justice and the brotherhood of humankind, avoided meaningful consideration of the race problem because they considered African-Americans "a perpetual lower caste which blighted the promise of American life."¹¹

⁸Donald Spivey, Schooling for the New Slavery: Black Industrial Education, 1868-1915 (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1978), ix-x.

⁹Ibid., 23.

¹⁰Clarence Karier, "American Educational History: A Perspective," unpublished paper presented at the annual meeting of the Southern History of Education Society, (Atlanta, November 12, 1971), 6.

¹¹David W. Southern, The Malignant Heritage: Yankee Progressives and the Negro Question 1901-1914 (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1968), 53.

The New Left revisionist perspective has consistently focused on racism when addressing issues concerning the educational history of African-Americans. Indeed, the era of the southern educational awakening was characterized by an extremely racist rhetoric and the brutalization of African-Americans. Provocative revisionist scholarship has added considerably to the understanding of the educational past of black Americans. Its primary focus has been on the issues of racial oppression and economic exploitation. Its ideological perspective is obvious. In 1971, Clarence Karier commented that if the historian starts with the assumption that present society is, in fact, racist, fundamentally materialistic and institutionally structured to protect vested interests, then his view of the past is necessarily different from liberal historical interpretation.¹²

Less Ideological Historical Interpretations

Other views afford a more dispassionate perspective that is more considerate of social complexities. In the opinion of Henry Allen Bullock, the emphasis on industrial education for African-Americans was a type of interracial accommodation, the "Great Detour" by which the southern caste system was not threatened and at least some "formal" education was afforded African-Americans.¹³

¹²Karier, 6.

¹³Henry Allen Bullock, A History of Negro Education in the South (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1967), 60.

Clinton B. Allison, an historian of Southern Education, views the white leadership of the southern education movement as paternalistic members of a privileged class whose motives included "Christian idealism and the wealthy's sense of *Noblesse Oblige* . They accepted the conventional wisdom of their class and time."¹⁴ Their conventional wisdom was predicated on more than three centuries of black subservience.

Writing nearly sixty years ago, Horace Mann Bond decried the "perpetuation of inequality" regarding the inferior distribution of public school funds to black institutions. However, he lauded the accomplishments of Booker T. Washington. Bond declared that "In many respects, Washington the educator, was hardly superior to Washington, the realistic student of applied social psychology."¹⁵ He avowed that in part it was Washington's personality, as well as his broad educational and political theories, that ". . . became the symbol of the negro¹⁶ [sic] race where that symbol had been an unintelligent slave, a ludicrous minstrel, a discontented scholar, or at least, a

¹⁴Clinton B. Allison, "The Conference for Education in the South: An Exercise in *Noblesse Oblige*," The Journal of Thought, 16 (Summer 1981): 52-53.

¹⁵Horace Mann Bond, The Education of the Negro in the American Social Order, (New York, New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc. 1934) 122.

¹⁶The racial term, Negro, sometimes spelled with a small "n," appears frequently in historical literature of the period including the Proceedings of the Conference for Education in the South. Even more offensive terminology with reference to African Americans is cited in this study. The author is very aware that such terminology is offensive to African-Americans; however, these references are retained in order to preserve the authenticity of the texts and their possible intent.

discontented misfit with the pretension of scholarship."¹⁷ Bond identified the prime objective of the Hampton-Tuskegee model to be "the development of attitudes and habits of industry and honesty and the disciplining of youth through institutional activities"¹⁸

Although Bond considered these efforts virtuous, later historians would consider them to have abetted a conspiracy to suppress and subordinate African-Americans.

Implicit in the New Left's displeasure with a special, industrial education for African-Americans is the notion that, as a consequence, African-Americans were condemned to pursue only the more humble vocations as prescribed by an essentially malevolent white power structure. However, many of the promoters of southern educational reform viewed industrial education not as an end in itself, but rather as an means of developing character and moral qualities. They assumed that these virtues would aid the social and economic, if not the political advance, of African-Americans. The New Left revisionists assumed that southern racism was reproduced in all aspects of accommodation between the races and that industrial education in and of itself was a racist agenda designed to victimize African-Americans.

Michael B. Katz, a leading revisionist, has observed that revisionist historians have difficulty in coming to terms with

¹⁷Bond, 123.

¹⁸Ibid.

benevolence. Certainly many, if not most proponents of black industrial education perceived this special schooling to be ultimately beneficial for a people in need of uplift. According to Katz, in earlier times, historians were able to accept benevolence as the expression of deeply felt ideals, often stemming from religious belief. Katz concludes that although it is difficult to accept such explanations at face value one should note that ". . . interpretations which only acknowledge motives of social control or which reduce all benevolent activity to neurosis, remain unsatisfactory."¹⁹ He adds that revisionist historians lack an understanding of how activity is integrated with the psychology of the individual and the sociology of ideas in his time.²⁰ Donald R. Warren has noted that history has a temporal quality. A particular present will provoke particular questions about the past.²¹ The political and racial climate of America in the 1960s and 1970s and the historian's disposition to identify the relevance of the past to the present encouraged the New Left's narrow hypothesis of racist exploitation and conspiracy.

¹⁹Michael B. Katz, review of Roots of Crisis: American Education in the Twentieth Century, by Clarence Karier *et al*, in Harvard Educational Review, 43 (1976): 438.

²⁰*Ibid.*

²¹Donald R. Warren, "A Past for the Present," History, Education and Public Policy, Donald R. Warren ed. (Berkeley: McCutchan Publishing Corporation, 1978), 3.

Post-Revisionist Historical Interpretation

The New Left perspective, like the traditional inspirational history it seeks to replace, is based on what Carl Kaestle has termed conflict theory, an interpretation which views conflict as the essence of development.²² Both perspectives are insufficient and ignore what Maxine Greene has called the "raggedness of things."²³ While both interpretations contribute to an understanding of the past, they impose an ideological orientation that precludes a more disinterested account.

A post-revisionist perspective on the southern education movement and black industrial education should not be an apology for racism, nor should it deny that social control was a significant factor in educational policy. A new perspective should be cognizant of the Progressives' rationale for African-American industrial education, and it should inquire into the motives of leaders of the southern education movement. A Post-revisionist investigation should include the reaction of those affected by the industrial education curriculum, the African-American community. With these considerations in mind, this study examines the rationale for the Progressives' advocacy of industrial education for African-

²²Carl F. Kaestle, "Conflict and Consensus Revisited: Notes toward a Reinterpretation of American Educational History," Harvard Educational Review 46 (August 1976): 390.

²³Maxine Greene, "Identities and Contours: An Approach to Educational History," History, Education and Public Policy, Donald R. Warren ed. (Berkeley: McCutchan Publishing Corporation, 1978), 306.

Americans, and determines to what extent and how consistently The Broad Ax, The Gazette and The Freeman supported or rejected black industrial education during the period immediately preceding the great northward migration of African-Americans. Detailed investigation of the views of the black press concerning African-American industrial education is missing from both celebratory and revisionist scholarship. With the inclusion of the response of black editors, essayists and reporters to the industrial curriculum, this study establishes its particular methodology and interpretive strategies.

A Methodological Note

Among the primary sources of this study are microfilm copies of the weekly editions of the Cleveland Gazette for the years 1901-1914, which were viewed at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville. Microfilm copies of the weekly editions of the Chicago Broad Ax and Indianapolis Freeman for the same period were utilized at the Strozier Library of Florida State University in Tallahassee. In each of the three newspapers, during the period from 1901-1914, I looked for articles, editorials, letters to the editor, etc. related to the topic of industrial education. In doing so, it became apparent in each of the respective publications, that Booker T. Washington and his institute at Tuskegee were more popular topics than industrial education *per se*. This finding was especially significant in determining the direction of this investigation and its conclusions.

The Indianapolis Freeman considered itself "The Peer of Negro Journals." The self-described "National Illustrated Colored Newspaper" claimed to have a circulation in all the United States and its territories.²⁴ The Cleveland Gazette, like The Freeman was for the most part, staunchly Republican. The Gazette's editor, H. C. Smith, was active in Ohio Republican politics and served in the state legislature.²⁵ Unlike The Freeman, the Cleveland newspaper voiced radical demands for social and political justice for African-Americans. The Chicago Broad Ax was Democratic in its political perspective, and its editor, Julius Taylor, espoused populist views. The Broad Ax sometimes presented non-conventional positions.

A second primary source is the Proceedings of the annual Capon Springs Conference for Christian Education in the South 1898-1900 and its successor, the Conference for Education in the South 1901-1914. The Proceedings were found at the Kefauver Special Collections Library of the University of Tennessee at Knoxville. I reviewed the Proceedings in search of speeches delivered on the topic of black industrial education. Photocopies were made of the documents that pertained to industrial education and to Booker T. Washington. Themes from the photocopies of the Proceedings and each of the newspapers were identified and used to form the basis

²⁴Indianapolis Freeman, 23 August 1913.

²⁵Luther P. Jackson, Jr., "The Mission of Black Newsmen," in The Black American Reference Book, Mabel M. Smythe, ed. (Engelwood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall Inc., 1976), 850.

of images that were used in analyzing the attitudes of contemporaries toward Washington and industrial education.

Among the more significant secondary sources consulted is Emma Lou Thornbrough's article, "American Negro Newspapers, 1880-1914." Thornbrough provides much information regarding the history of the black press in general, and interesting accounts of the format, finances and editorial positions of the more enduring and successful African-American newspapers. The Negro Press in the U.S.A. by Frederick G. Detweiler, published in 1922, offers an in-depth study of African-American newspapers and periodicals. Particular attention is given to the black press's role in causes ranging from the abolition of slavery to the demand for civil and political rights in the early twentieth century. In addition, Detweiler provides an interesting overview of the favorite themes and the varied aspects of African-American life as presented in the black press. August Meier's Negro Thought in America, 1880-1915: Racial Ideologies in the Age of Booker T. Washington is a comprehensive study of the political, economic and social aspects of the African-American experience. Meier examines the respective educational philosophies of Booker T. Washington and W.E.B. DuBois. His study is helpful in understanding the educational debate regarding the schooling of African-Americans during the period of this investigation.

The most comprehensive treatment of the Southern Education movement is Charles W. Dabney's second volume of Universal

Education in the South. Dabney profiles prominent leaders of the southern educational awakening. He gives a state by state account of the campaign for educational reforms and provides information about the private and public sources that financed them. Dabney's work complements the primary sources found in the Proceedings and is an expansion of the Progressives' rationale for educational revival and their recommendation of industrial/vocational schooling for African-Americans. Universal Education in the South is a prime example of the celebrative perspective which characterized liberal/traditional historiography.

James D. Anderson's The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935 and his "Northern Foundations and the Shaping of Southern Black Rural Education 1902-1935," present the revisionist position that provoked this investigation. The ideas of David B. Tyack in "Ways of Seeing: An Essay on the History of Compulsory Schooling," and Carl Kaestle's "Conflict and Consensus Revisited: Notes Toward a Reinterpretation of American Educational History," contributed to the theoretical framework of this investigation. This study seeks to avoid reductionist explanations and confront historical ambiguities in an effort to develop new interpretations. This research will demonstrate that within the black community, there were spokespersons who reacted favorably to industrial education, yet fiercely defended the civil rights of African-Americans.

In "The Travail of Black Land-Grant Schools in the South, 1890-1917," John R. Wennersten documents the independence of black educators in their defiance of southern legislatures. Wennersten points out that in reality, among these black institutions, the academic emphasis was more literary than industrial and agricultural.²⁶ This investigation will build on revisionist interpretation as did Wennersten. It will show how African-Americans were historical actors and that their ideas would be ambiguous within the revisionist perspective. The post-revisionist perspective of this study considers these ambiguities to be a point of departure for the development of a more complex interpretation that transcends the limitations of both the traditional and revisionist points of view. A more detailed record of secondary sources is undertaken in Chapter II, where the historical context of this study is presented.

²⁶John R. Wennersten, "The Travail of Black Land-Grant Schols in the South, 1890-1917," Agricultural History, Vol. 65, no. 2 (1991): 57.

Chapter II

Historical Context

Introduction

Analyses of black education must be related to the broader social, political and economic realities of the African-American experience. As enslaved people, African-Americans had been almost exclusively relegated to vocations requiring physical labor and manual skills. Planters and most other southern whites, saw little if any, need for the intellectual development of individuals, who were classified by law as property, and destined to be "hewers of wood and drawers of water." In a society where black literacy was viewed as a threat to the established order, exposure to liberal education was beyond the experience of the vast majority of African-Americans.

For the purposes of this study, the historical context includes an account of African-American education since Reconstruction and a review of the debate among black leaders at the turn of the century, concerning the most appropriate education for African-Americans. A discussion of Booker T. Washington's advocacy of industrial education and W. E. B. DuBois' insistence on liberal education as an educational option for black students will contrast the two principal positions in this regard. In addition, there is a discussion of the promotion of education for social

efficiency and the emphasis on practical, vocational training for an industrial age.

The African-American Experience in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries

The emancipation of African-Americans engendered interest in black education, particularly during the period of Congressional Reconstruction. Northern churches, missionary societies and benevolent organizations sent teachers as well as funds to educate southern African-Americans.¹ From 1865 to 1872, the federal government's Freedman's Bureau began more than 4,000 primary schools, which provided training for nearly a quarter of a million African-Americans.² By the time of the end of Reconstruction and the withdrawal of Union troops in 1877, the federal government no longer funded black education in the South. Philanthropic organizations such as the Peabody Education Fund and the Slater Fund, assumed much of the responsibility for financing the education of African-Americans in the region.³

The proliferation of black schools coincided with increasing southern white racism and resentment of the federally-imposed

¹Henry S. Ashmore, The Negro and the Schools (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 1954), 8-9.

²Merle Curti and Roderick Nash, Philanthropy in the Shaping of Higher Education (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1965), 170.

³Henry Allen Bullock, A History of Negro Education in the South: from 1619 to the Present (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1967), 118.

reconstruction of the South. After the withdrawal of federal troops from the South, so-called Redeemer state and local regimes succeeded in re-establishing an order based on white supremacy. The late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were an era when African-Americans experienced the continuing erosion of their civil rights as they were legally relegated to marginal participation in American society. Rayford Logan, a prominent black historian, has called the early part of this same period the nadir of the African-American experience in post-Civil War America.⁴ The violence and threats inflicted upon African-Americans by the Ku Klux Klan and other vigilante groups in this period are legend. In the twenty-one year period between 1882 and 1903, some 1,985 African-Americans were lynched in the South.⁵ Southern states held constitutional conventions for the purpose of disenfranchising black voters, and by 1910, the movement was virtually complete throughout the former Confederacy.⁶ Poll taxes, grandfather clauses, and literacy tests were complemented by Jim Crow laws, and resulted in a markedly separate existence for black Americans. In 1896, the U.S. Supreme Court's decision in *Plessy v. Ferguson* legitimized southern racial

⁴Rayford W. Logan, The Negro in American Life and Thought: The Nadir, 1877-1901 (New York: Dial Press, 1954), 53-54.

⁵James Elbert Cutler, Lynch Law: An Investigation into the History of Lynching in the United States (New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1905; Negro Universities Press, 1969), 179.

⁶John Samuel Ezell, The South Since 1865, (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1964), 183.

policy and legalized racial segregation allowing for "separate but equal facilities." Southern racial policies had triumphed. The former defenders of the African-American--the federal government and the Republican party--had acquiesced to white supremacy and had abandoned southern African-Americans.⁷

Henry W. Grady, editor of The Atlanta Constitution, and a promoter of the "New South," expressed the sentiment of many, if not most, late nineteenth century whites as he avowed,

The supremacy of the white race of the South must be maintained forever, and the domination of the Negro race at all points and at all hazards--because the white race is the superior race. This is the declaration of no new truth. It has abided forever in the marrow of our bones, and shall run forever with the blood that feeds Anglo-Saxon hearts.⁸

Some years later the words of a former governor of South Carolina, D. H. Chamberlain, illustrate the pervasive racism of the era. In a 1904 correspondence he attacked the concept of racial equality:

. . . perhaps our first practical aim should be to undo, so far as possible, what we have heretofore done for the negro since his emancipation--namely the inspiring in him the hope or dream of sharing with the white race a social or political equality; for whoever will lay aside wishes and fancies and look only at realities will see that these

⁷I. A. Newby, Jim Crow's Defense: Anti-Negro Thought in America 1900-1930 (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1965), 13.

⁸Joel Chandler Harris, The Life of Henry W. Grady (New York: Cassell Publishing Company, 1890), 100.

things are impossibilities with any measurable range of time, if ever.⁹

Social Darwinism

Rigid segregation of the races and the denial of civil rights to African-Americans were central to the white South's efforts to relegate African-Americans to a subservient status. The institution of racial segregation was part of a complex ideology of white supremacy based on the assumption that the African-American was inherently inferior. Among the numerous justifications it offered for the alleged inferiority of African-Americans were Providential condemnation as recorded in the Bible and a pseudo-scientific application of Darwin's theory, by which the black race was viewed as lower on the scale of evolution, and only partially developed. Thus, racial segregation could be rationalized as the realization of both natural and divine law.¹⁰ In 1906, The Color Line, by Professor William B. Smith of Tulane University, presented the extreme social Darwinian view in his celebration of the alleged failure of the African-American in the struggle for existence. In 1915, D. W. Griffith's "Birth of a Nation," a classic of the American cinema, depicted African-Americans as social inferiors who in essence were responsible for the internecine slaughter of the Civil War. The fire

⁹Ezell, 118.

¹⁰Ibid., 187.

of black phobia was fueled by the widely held view among white Americans that African-Americans were a degenerate race.¹¹

The 1900 census reveals that of the nearly nine million African-Americans in the United States, seven-eighths of them resided in the former Confederate states.¹² Despite the generally oppressive realities they encountered, there were some improvements in the quality of life for African-Americans. Life expectancy, as predicted at time of birth for black males in 1905, was 29.6 years, compared to 47.6 years for white males. By 1914 the estimates had increased to 37.5 years and 52.7 years, respectively.¹³ The black literacy rate for individuals ten years or older, had risen from 30 percent in 1880 to 56 percent in 1900; it advanced to 70 percent in 1910.¹⁴ The percentage of African-Americans between the ages of five and twenty who were enrolled in school in 1900, was 31 percent, but by 1910, it had increased to 44.7 percent.¹⁵ At the turn of the century, close to ninety percent of

¹¹George M. Fredrickson, The Black Image in the White Mind: The Debate on Afro-American Character and Destiny, 1817-1914 (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1971), 256.

¹²United States, Bureau of the Census, Negro Population in the United States 1790-1915, William Loren Katz, gen. ed. (New York: Arno Press and the New York Times, 1968), 33.

¹³United States Bureau of the Census, Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970 (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1975), 1, 55.

¹⁴Negro Population in the United States, 404-05.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, 377.

all gainfully employed southern African-Americans worked in domestic service or in agriculture, primarily as sharecroppers.¹⁶

**An Appropriate Education for African-Americans:
Booker T. Washington v. W. E. B. DuBois**

The high percentage of African-Americans engaged in relatively unskilled vocations reflected not only the limitations of their educational opportunity, but the Jim Crow distribution of labor. The most heated debate among the proponents of industrial versus liberal education for African-Americans occurred during this period. The educational philosophies of two prominent black educators, Booker T. Washington and W. E. B. DuBois, have often been used to symbolize antagonistic perspectives on the subject of black education. Their respective points of view on education reflect their rival political, social and economic stances in general, and their interpretation of the status and role of African-Americans in particular.

Booker T. Washington

Booker T. Washington believed that with proper values and vocational and industrial skills, African-Americans could improve their condition by relying heavily on self-help. He was a graduate of

¹⁶Rayford W. Logan, The Negro in the United States: A Brief History (Princeton, New Jersey: D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1957), 57.

an industrial curriculum, having been trained at Virginia's Hampton Institute under the tutelage of its director, Samuel Chapman Armstrong. At Hampton, Washington learned a system of values based on a commitment to the virtue of work and its positive, moral uplift. His attitudes were predicated on the assumption that America was a society of merit.¹⁷ He viewed his personal experience as being exemplary in this regard, as he had risen from the ranks of an enslaved person to become a leader of his race and one who was respected by the white establishment.

Washington viewed the post-emancipation condition of his race as disadvantaged and in particular need of education. He claimed that his advocacy of training in manual labor skills for African-Americans did not mean that they were to have a peculiar education simply because they were black, but instead he advocated "the same for the German, for the Jew, or for the Frenchman, if he were in the same stage of development as the masses of the Negroes."¹⁸ Washington believed that material gain would lead to the upward mobility of his race and their acceptance by white society. In Washington's view access to a better quality of life for the vast majority of African-Americans was to be found through industrial education. He saw this special education as providing the

¹⁷Henry J. Perkins, The Imperfect Panacea: American Faith in Education, 1865-1965 (New York: Random House, 1968), 49-50.

¹⁸Booker T. Washington, Working with the Hands (New York: Doubleday, Page and Company, 1904), 64.

best means for African-Americans to realize their potential, given the realities of their condition at that time.

Washington's faith in industrial education and his belief in the educative value of work, no matter how lowly, won for him the respect of the white economic power structure. Under his direction, Tuskegee Institute in Alabama benefited greatly from white philanthropy. It was Washington's apparent acceptance of political inequality that caused his critics to brand him as an accommodator who had betrayed his race. Perhaps the controversial nature of Washington's views are best seen in his most famous speech which he delivered in Atlanta at the Cotton States and International Exposition in 1895. He down-played black aspirations for political power and civil rights stating that, "The wisest among my race understand that the agitation of questions of social equality is extremist folly."¹⁹ He proposed economic cooperation between the races, assured southern whites that African-Americans would be patient in resolving the race problem and, in essence, condoned racial segregation. He comforted whites by assuring them that, "In all things that are purely social we can be as separate as the five fingers, yet one as the hand in all things essential to human progress."²⁰

¹⁹Booker T. Washington, Up from Slavery (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, 1901), 161.

²⁰Ibid., 160.

In the years following the Atlanta speech, Washington's prominence increased greatly as did the influence of the so-called "Tuskegee Machine," an extensive network of influential educators, politicians and editors who promoted the cause of industrial education as well as the gradualist and conciliatory ideology that Washington espoused in Atlanta. Washington became the most famous African-American of his era. He enjoyed great popularity among some African-Americans, who saw in him the embodiment of personal success and triumph over the limitations of an oppressive order. His speech in Atlanta reinforced his powerful hegemony and established him as the leader of his race in the minds of many white and black Americans. However, Washington was greatly criticized by others, as is discussed in Chapter V.

W. E. B. DuBois

In his classic work, The Souls of Black Folk, W. E. B. DuBois considered Washington's "Atlanta Compromise Speech" to be "by all odds the most notable thing in Mr. Washington's career."²¹ For proponents of black civil rights, the Tuskegeean had betrayed his race with his surrender of the demand for social and political rights. For a radical such as DuBois, Washington had condoned racism and accepted the relegation of African-Americans to subservience.

²¹W. E. B. DuBois, The Souls of Black Folk (Chicago: A. C. McClung, 1903; Kraus Thomson Organization Limited, 1973), 42.

DuBois was the first African-American to receive a Ph.D. from Harvard University. During his ninety-three year life, he achieved considerable success as an educator, editor and author, and became the most notable antagonist of Booker T. Washington's educational philosophy. DuBois envisioned a "Talented Tenth" of liberally educated African-Americans as the race's main resource for uplift. In DuBois' opinion, an elite college-educated black intelligentsia could best assure the betterment of the race and ensure the protection of its civil rights. He opposed the popular notion that industrial education was the best training for African-Americans. On the contrary, he viewed it as training for servitude. DuBois championed the ideal of the traditional university and defended black institutions of liberal education such as Fisk, Howard and Atlanta. With reference to those who established such centers of higher learning in the post Civil War South he stated,

They were right when they sought to found a new educational system upon the University: where, forsooth, shall we ground knowledge save on the broadest and deepest knowledge? The roots of a tree, rather than the leaves, are the sources of its life; and from the dawn of history, from Academus to Cambridge, the culture of the University has been the broad foundation-stone on which is built the kindergarten's A B C.²²

DuBois was a persistent propagandist for civil rights and was a founder of the Niagara Movement, which was composed of black and white opponents of racism. He also played a prominent role in its

²²Ibid., 83.

successor organization, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. As editor of that organization's journal, Crisis, he attacked white racism in American society and called for political activism among African-Americans. Whereas Booker T. Washington accepted the *status quo* of segregation and the accommodation of white racial attitudes, DuBois challenged the restrictions of caste. Expressing the conflicting dualism of the African-American experience, he commented,

One ever feels his two-ness - an American, a Negro, two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder.²³

Southern Education at the Turn of the Century

The dichotomy in southern public education of the period is seen in the racial segregation of the school population and in the increasing emphasis on a special, industrial education for African-Americans. *Plessy v. Ferguson* affected education, as well as other spheres of human experience. The net result of racial segregation was unequal and inferior treatment for African-Americans. Louis Harlan's account of public education in southern seaboard states from 1900 to 1915, documents the discrepancy between white and black school funds and the marked differences of the quality of education in rural as opposed to urban areas. Public funding of

²³Ibid., 3.

education was further complicated by the poverty of the southern states and the lack of a strong tradition of support for formal education for the mass of southern people, regardless of race. In the states that Harlan studied, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia, a region that comprised only one-tenth of the U. S. population at the time, there resided one-fourth of the nation's illiterates, persons ten years of age or older who could not read in the year 1900.²⁴

At the same time, the ascendancy of industrial education for African-Americans was reaching its greatest height. Henry Allen Bullock, in his Bancroft award-winning history of black education, has labeled the industrial emphasis as the "Great Detour." He considers it to be "the most important change in the entire history of the Negro American."²⁵ According to Bullock, institutions of liberal education offered a hidden passage out of a system that restricted African-Americans to a limited, marginal participation in society. The wide-spread advocacy of an industrial/vocational curriculum was the result of political and legal conflict that was to lead eventually to a new pattern of racial accommodation.²⁶

²⁴Louis R. Harlan, Separate and Unequal: Public School Campaigns and Racism in the Southern Seaboard States 1901-1915 (New York: Atheneum, 1969), 11.

²⁵Bullock, 60.

²⁶Ibid.

**The Era of Southern Educational Reform:
The Southern Education Movement (1901-1914)**

For the first decade and a half of this century, the southern education movement was a major impetus for the extension of educational opportunity in the South. A corps of northern and southern white Progressives of upper middle and upper class backgrounds were the engineers of a region-wide crusade to popularize the cause of education. They promoted a system of tax-supported, free schooling for all southern children. Dewey Grantham, an historian of southern progressivism, observed that, "No aspect of social reform in the South during the Progressive era touched the lives of more of the region's inhabitants than the great educational awakening soon after the turn of the century."²⁷ The southern education movement received its formal recognition in 1901 with the creation of the Southern Education Board, a propaganda and policy-making organization of the crusade for expanded educational opportunity in the region. One year later, in 1902, the General Education Board was created to finance education primarily by means of the largesse of northern philanthropy.

²⁷Dewey W. Grantham, Southern Progressivism: The Reconciliation of Progress and Tradition, (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1983), 246.

A Response to Industrialism: Practical Vocational Training

The promotion of industrial/vocational education was an increasingly popular cause in educational reform, generally in the latter half of the nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries. Lawrence A. Cremin identified the industrial/vocational emphasis as a major expression of "the progressive impulse in education."²⁸ Government, industrialists, and labor unions, as well as industrial educators, had significant roles in the popularization and acceptance of the industrial component of American education. The Morrill Act of 1862 designated public lands for the establishment of land-grant colleges that would offer instruction in agricultural and engineering education.²⁹ Victor Della Vos's model of industrial education from the Russian Imperial Technical School at the 1876 Philadelphia Centennial Exposition, provoked considerable interest in innovative industrial curricula in America.³⁰ Cremin has noted that the effect of the Russian method was such that "American education was never

²⁸Lawrence A. Cremin, The Transformation of the School: Progressivism in Education, 1876-1957 (New York: Alfred A Knopf, 1961; Vintage Books, 1964), 2.

²⁹Richard B. Morris, Encyclopaedia of American History (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers 1953), 557.

³⁰Della Vos developed instruction shops which preceded construction shops; students were permitted to work in construction shops only after having completed the requirements of the instruction shops. (Charles A Bennett, History of Manual and Industrial Education, 1870-1917. (Peoria, Illinois: Charles A. Bennett Co., Inc. Publishers, 1937), 15-16.

the same thereafter.³¹ In the late nineteenth century, John O. Runkle, president of Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and Calvin M. Woodward, dean of the O'Fallon Polytechnic Institute of Washington University of Saint Louis, Missouri, promoted industrial education that emphasized manual training. They sought a practical curriculum that would develop competent occupational skills.³² Woodward faulted American education for emphasizing traditional liberal studies, while ignoring the occupational training needs of the masses.

. . . So long as we endeavor to train up all our youth to become philosophers or philologists or doctors of something, those who did not look forward to such careers saw little or nothing of either pleasure or profit in continued study, and so dropped out to join the great army of those fitted for--nothing!³³

In the first decade of this century, the National Association of Manufacturers ardently supported the need for industrial or trade schools that offered a practical education. Organized labor was for several years divided on the issue, as certain factions were unsure as to how involved unions were to be in the actual running of the schools, and whether or not the institution of apprenticeships should be abandoned. But, by 1910, the American Federation of Labor

³¹Cremin, 25.

³²Herbert Kliebard, The Struggle for the American Curriculum, 1893-1953 (Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1986), 130.

³³Calvin M. Woodward, The Manual Training School (Boston: D.C. Heath & Co., 1887; Arno Press & The New York Times, 1969), 225.

supported vocational education.³⁴ Charles A. Bennett, an industrial education historian, has noted that leaders in industrial education of the period were endeavoring to find common ground between manufacturers and labor leaders so that a program of state and federal aid might be realized.³⁵

The National Society for the Promotion of Industrial Education, was founded in 1906. The society lobbied state and federal governments and was in large part responsible for the passage of the Smith-Lever Bill in 1914, which provided for a system of agriculture extension centers coordinated by the Department of Agriculture and land-grant colleges.³⁶ The Smith-Hughes Act, enacted in 1917, some three years after the period of this study, was also a prime objective of the Society for the Promotion of Industrial Education. Smith-Hughes provided federal grants-in-aid which were to be matched by contributions from the individual states in order to promote education in agriculture and the trades.³⁷ The enactment of the Smith-Hughes bill was the realization of a contention which had emerged toward the end of the nineteenth century, namely, that industrial education should be

³⁴Cremin, 41.

³⁵Charles A. Bennett, History of Manual and Industrial Education, 1870-1917 (Peoria, Illinois: Charles A. Bennett Publications, 1937), 526.

³⁶Ibid., 137-139.

³⁷Morris, 275 & 277.

aimed at training skilled workers as a key national resource.³⁸ African-American education in particular was greatly effected by the industrial/vocational curriculum. The two premiere black institutions with industrial emphasis, Hampton Institute founded in 1870 and Tuskegee in 1881, were already well-established schools, as the industrial education movement continued to prosper in the early decades of this century. The educational reformers of the southern education movement and their prescription of African-American industrial education were in accord with an even greater cause that promoted practical training for an industrial age. Hampton and Tuskegee served as models for black industrial education and were the most popular subjects of articles related to industrial education in the three newspapers of this study.

The great majority of northern and southern educational reformers advocated the Hampton-Tuskegee model and the educational philosophy of its respective leaders, Samuel Chapman Armstrong and Booker T. Washington. These proponents of black industrial education viewed vocational efficiency as a prerequisite to political privilege. Edgar G. Murphy, a leading advocate of southern educational reform, argued:

We should insist for all races upon the priority of industrial efficiency in relation to political privilege. We should strenuously oppose any suffrage regulation anywhere that was based upon purely racial discrimination . . . It is

³⁸Bernice M. Fisher, Industrial Education: American Ideals and Institutions (Madison, Milwaukee and London: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1967), 12.

increasingly necessary for White men as well as Negroes, for Filipinos as well as for Americans, that there should be a clearer understanding of the relation between social efficiency and political power. Political power is . . . An instrument of damage save as it is wielded by trained citizens.³⁹

Charles W. Dabney, an educational reformer and President of The University of Tennessee, 1887-1904, was also a leader and foremost chronicler of the southern education movement. In 1901, he addressed a gathering of southern educational crusaders in Winston-Salem, North Carolina on the subject of the education of African-Americans. He noted that "He [the African-American] is in the South to stay--he is a necessity for Southern agriculture and industry--and the Southern people must educate him and so elevate him or he will drag them down." Dabney called for "justice and common sense in the education of the negroes." He told the conferees ". . . We must adapt our instruction to his needs, and above all, give him that agricultural and industrial training which will prepare him to be a self-supporting citizen."⁴⁰

³⁹Edgar G. Murphy quoted in Charles W. Dabney, Universal Education in the South, vol. 2 (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1936), 72.

⁴⁰Charles William Dabney, "The Public School Problem in the South," Proceedings of the Fourth Conference for Education in the South, (Winston-Salem, North Carolina: 1901), 60-61.

Education for Social Efficiency

The southern educational reformers saw industrial education for the masses, both black and white, as the best training for social efficiency. Indeed, the southern educational crusaders were voicing a popular response to the problem of mass education. Herbert Kliebard has said that the educational philosophy of social efficiency was the dominant response to American industrialism.⁴¹ In 1905, J. E. Russell, Dean of Teachers College, faulted the American educational system for its heavy emphasis on liberal education and neglect of vocational training for the masses. He stated, "No other great nation that I know of thinks it worth while to train everybody for everything--and nothing!--and to do it at public expense."⁴² Unfortunately, the type of industrial education that was being promoted for black Americans was not designed to stay abreast of technological innovations and train workers in the skills needed for an increasingly complex and specialized work force. A half century ago, Merle Curti noted, in an analysis of Booker T. Washington, that the leaders of the industrial education movement ignored the fact that the technical basis of industry was rapidly

⁴¹Herbert Kliebard, The Struggle for the American Curriculum, 1893-1958 (Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1986), 89.

⁴²J.E. Russell, "The Trend in American Education," Educational Review, XXXII (January 1906), 35.

shifting from that of the skilled artisan to machine production.⁴³ As early as 1921, economist Paul H. Douglas pointed out that the very sort of craft-oriented instruction encouraged by the Smith-Hughes Act had already been left behind by the onrush of technological advance.⁴⁴ In a commencement address at Howard University in 1930, W. E. B. DuBois noted that the failure of black industrial education was caused by changes in the world that the industrial school did not foresee. The industrial school at the turn of the century assumed that industrial technique, even if not absolutely fixed and permanent, was at least permanent enough for training students in its pursuit and for use as a basis of broader education.⁴⁵

The southern education movement occurred at a time when educators were promoting education for social efficiency, regardless of race. Given the social, political and economic realities of the times, the limitations on black education were obvious. African-Americans were experiencing an increasingly segregated existence. They had witnessed a diminution of their political and civil rights and were victims of white racism. African-American industrial education was to fulfill the

⁴³Merle Curti, The Social Ideas of American Educators (New York: Charles Scribners' Sons, 1935), 307.

⁴⁴Paul H. Douglas as cited in Lawrence A. Cremin's The Transformation of the School: Progressivism in American Education, 1876-1957 (New York: Random House, 1961), 57.

⁴⁵DuBois, 66.

compensatory function that social Darwinist educational reformers advocated. Black and white educational reformers advocated an industrial curriculum for African-Americans that stressed social efficiency and those values deemed essential for individual and racial uplift.

Chapter III

The Progressives' Rationale for African-American Industrial Education: Popular Perceptions of African-Americans as Revealed in the Proceedings of the Conference for Education in the South

Introduction

In order to ascertain the degree to which black newspapers were in accord with the southern education movement's recommendation for black industrial education, one should have a detailed understanding of the Progressives' educational philosophy and their perceptions of African-Americans. A primary source for understanding the characteristic attitudes of these educational reformers may be found in the papers of the Conference for Education in the South. African-American Industrial Education was not necessarily the primary interest of the conferees, but it was among the major issues considered at the annual convocations. The conference Proceedings include numerous addresses on the subject. There was some variety of opinion regarding what type of education was most appropriate for African-Americans. In general, the all-white leadership favored a special, industrial education that stressed manual skills and inculcation of the industrial ethic. The addresses reveal the educational reformers' rationale for a special education for African-Americans.

Among the important ventures of the campaign for southern education were seventeen annual meetings of northern and southern educational promoters. The first three convocations (1898-1900) were called the Capon Springs [West Virginia] Conference for Christian Education in the South. From 1901 through 1914 the yearly gatherings were held at various localities throughout the southern states and were known as the Conference for Education in the South. Although in the latter years, the Conference population and leadership became more distinctively southern in regional representation, there were numerous northern philanthropists, businessmen, educational and religious leaders who were active and influential participants. Southern religious, educational and political leaders joined with them in an effort to engender an educational awakening in a region which for numerous reasons lagged behind other parts of the nation in public education.

The Conference extolled the value of increased educational opportunity as a primary means of developing the economic as well as the intellectual potential of the southern population. The conferees considered their endeavor a noble cause, a crusade against ignorance. They were imbued with a "New South" mentality and confident that education would ensure prosperity. Referring to the promising future that beckoned to the region, Robert C. Ogden, philanthropist and long-time president of the Conference, confidently asserted, "Within our own hands we hold both the power and the prophecy for its realization. Popular education--mental,

moral, industrial--is the solvent."¹ The Conference served as a forum for the discussion and promotion of educational theory and policy that characterized much of southern education in the early twentieth century.

The Conference was concerned with both the mental capacity of African-Americans and an appropriate value laden education for them. The Proceedings reveal the rationale for recommending industrial training as the education most appropriate for African-Americans. Several images that frequently appear or are strongly implied in the Proceedings are indicative of the elite corps of educational reformers' perceptions of African-Americans: the white man's burden, child-like beings, inefficient laborers, and leaders of their people.

African-Americans: The White Man's Burden

In 1908, Episcopal Bishop T. D. Bratton of Mississippi addressed the eleventh Conference for Education in the South on the subject of "The Christian South and Negro Education." Bratton nostalgically referred to the era of slavery as a period when there existed an "implicit trust" between slaves and the so-called better class of slave owners. In this harmonious interracial relationship of the old regime, according to Bratton, the master served as the

¹Robert C. Ogden, "Introductory Remarks," in the Proceedings of the Third Capon Springs Conference for Christian Education in the South, Held in Capon Springs, West Virginia June 27-30, 1900, ed. A.B. Hunter, 28.

"shepherd of the plantation flock;" his mission was to lead his black slaves along the path of civilization. However, Congressional Reconstruction and northern intrusions had devastated what was once a "close and sympathetic" relationship. Describing the result of this "cataclysm" as social anarchy, Bratton suggested that the present challenge was to guide the African-American in the proper direction again, this time by means of Christian education.² Such an undertaking was to be the special responsibility of the South, a region which he described as the most representative of native born, Anglo-Saxon America. According to Bratton, the South had a sacred trust:

It is not by accident that the negro is in our midst, that Anglo-Saxon America of today has inherited the problem, greater than that of our fathers, of the negro's relation to his white neighbor. It is not by accident that he has learned from the whites the ambition to rise, and the aspiration to higher life, intellectual and moral. These are the outcome not of accident, but of divine providence.³

² T. D. Bratton, in the Proceedings of the Eleventh Conference for Education in the South, Held in Memphis, Tennessee April 22-24, 1908, Wickliffe Rose, chairman of the Executive Committee of the Conference for Education in the South, (Memphis, TN: Press of S. C. Toof and Co., 1908), 84-85.

³Ibid., 87.

⁴In 1882 John F. Slater, a Connecticut textile industrialist, founded and endowed with \$1,000,000. the fund that bears his name. Between 1882 and 1911 the fund assisted black public and private schools in their teacher-training programs. Beginning in 1911, it supported country training schools and over the following decade assisted more than a hundred such institutions.

George Peabody, a wealthy merchant and financier, established the Peabody Education Fund to promote intellectual, moral and industrial education in the South and Southwest. Between 1882 and 1914 the fund provided more than \$3.5 million dollars for the promotion of education in the South. John Hope Franklin, From Slavery to

At the Second Capon Springs Conference in 1899, J. L. M. Curry defined the role of white Americans in the education of subservient peoples. Curry, a former Confederate officer and an administrator of both the John F. Slater and Peabody Funds⁴ for black education, was also an official of numerous educational conferences. He stated that ". . . white people are to be the leaders, to take the initiative, to have the directive control in all matters pertaining to civilization . . . History demonstrates that the Caucasian will rule."⁵ Curry decried the "mobocracy" of those who sought to terrorize African-Americans and prevent their uplift. Likewise, he condemned those "wild enthusiasts of the negro race" who were impatient for advancement. He asserted that white supremacy did not mean hostility toward the African-American, but friendship. Black education--moral, intellectual, industrial and civic--was to lessen the increasing cleavage between the races that had characterized the post-Civil War South. Curry suggested that the task of educating dependent peoples would increasingly be demanded of white Americans as the result of America's recent colonial acquisitions from Spain, which included relations with "half-civilized islanders."⁶

Freedom, (New York, New York: Alfred A. Knopf 1947), 378-379.

⁵J. L. M. Curry, "Education in the Southern States," in the Proceedings of the Second Capon Springs Conference for Christian Education in the South. Held in Capon Springs, West Virginia June 20-22, 1899, ed. A.B. Hunter, 28.

⁶Ibid., 30.

The fiscal responsibility for black education was viewed as a particularly burdensome aspect of the white commitment to African-Americans. Chancellor Robert B. Fulton, of the University of Mississippi, told conferees in 1902 that greater local taxation was needed to provide a more equitable distribution of educational funds. Fulton considered Mississippi's large and densely concentrated black population as posing a particular problem for the white citizens of his state. He charged that at present many predominantly black counties were drawing more from the state treasury's school fund than they contributed to it. Assuring his audience that Mississippi would continue to support the public education of African-Americans, he stated, "We of Mississippi are merely the sons of Georgia and North Carolina and Virginia and we are trying to meet these problems in the same spirit in which they are so nobly met in these older States"⁷

Hoke Smith, governor of Georgia, also addressed the Conference in 1902 on the topic of the cost of black education:

Ninety-five percent of the taxes in the South are paid by the white man. Over \$100,000,000 has been spent by the South for the education of negroes. The white men have been in control in every state throughout the South, and yet, after paying the school taxes, they have with equal justice distributed it to

⁷Robert B. Fulton, "Mississippi's Increasing Colored Population," in the Proceedings of the Fifth Conference for Education in the South, Held in Athens, GA April 24-26, 1902, (Knoxville, TN: Guat-Ogden Co., Printers and Binders), 91.

black and white. Do not misunderstand me. We are not entitled to a particle of praise for it. I simply mention it to show the burden we have carried and how we have acted. Could we be so blind, we in the southern section, as to wish fully half our population to grow up in ignorance?⁸

A decade later, Dr. W. D. Weatherford of the International Committee of the Y. M. C. A. urged the fifteenth Conference for Education in the South to take greater responsibility for black education. He called for increased public funding for black schools and pointed out inequities between the respective allocations for white and black education. Citing discrimination in one unnamed southern state, he reported that \$12.62 was spent annually on every white child enrolled in school and only \$1.71 on every black school child.⁹ Weatherford challenged his audience to commit themselves wholeheartedly to the solution of the "so-called Negro problem." He maintained, ". . . It is not the Negro of the South who is on trial . . . "but the educated white man."¹⁰ In his opinion the supreme race question was whether or not southern whites, ". . . members of a more advanced race, with our boasted culture and our claim of a larger Christian vision, will be able by our treatment of the Negro to

⁸Hoke Smith, "Popular Education as the Primary Policy of the South," in the Proceedings of the Fifth Conference in the South, Held in Athens, GA April 24-26, 1902, (Knoxville, TN: Guat-Ogden Co., Printers and Binders), 48.

⁹W. D. Weatherford, "Negro Training in the South," in the Proceedings of the Eleventh Conference for Education in the South, Held in Memphis, Tennessee April 22-24, 1908, Wickliffe Rose, chairman of the Executive Committee of the Conference for Education in the South, (Memphis, TN: Press of S. C. Toof and Co., 1908), 164.

¹⁰Ibid., 173.

prove to the world that we have the greater advancement and that pure Christian spirit."¹¹

African-Americans: Child-like Beings

Social Darwinism is a recurring theme in most of the conference speeches that addressed the subject of African-American education. Perhaps most white southerners considered the very core of the race question to be a problem of the coexistence of two races in markedly different stages of development. The perceived cultural immaturity of the African-American was frequently offered as justification of the need for an industrial education emphasizing manual skills. William H. Baldwin, a railroad magnate and philanthropist, spoke to the second Capon Springs Conference on "The Present Problem of Negro Education: Industrial Education." In his opinion, such training was especially appropriate for a people who were transplanted involuntarily to America, and who only a few generations ago were "in various stages of barbarism."¹² In 1901, George T. Winston, President of the North Carolina College of Agriculture and Mechanical Arts, stated that "the negro is yet a child, grownup in body and physical passions, weak in

¹¹Ibid.

¹²William H. Baldwin, "The Present Problem of Negro Education, Industrial Education," in the Proceedings of the Second Capon Springs Conference for Christian Education in the South. Held in Capon Springs, West Virginia June 20-22, 1899, ed. A.B. Hunter, 67.

judgment, foresight, self-control and character, It will take several centuries yet to make him a man.¹³

Walter B. Hill, Chancellor of the University of Georgia, 1899-1905, told conferees at the Sixth Conference in Richmond, Virginia that it was folly to consider a liberal arts education appropriate for African-Americans. He criticized the policy of trying ". . . To insert into the mind of the negro race, as by a surgical operation, the culture by which the Anglo-Saxon race had been preparing through long centuries of growth."¹⁴ Such endeavors were in his opinion major blunders of the Reconstruction period. The then President of Tulane University, Edward A. Alderman, spoke to the fifth Conference in 1902 on the subject of "The Child and the State." On the issue of black education, he stressed the need for a "sensible" plan, by which he meant the Hampton-Tuskegee model. According to Alderman, industrial education was a necessary stage in the progress of a people or a race and it was unwise to assume that African-Americans could side step the evolutionary apprenticeship required of all peoples. Alderman stated:

¹³George T. Winston, "Industrial Training in Relation to the Negro Problem," in the Proceedings of the Fourth Conference for Education in the South, Held in Winston-Salem, North Carolina April 18-20, 1901 (Harrisburg, PA: Mount Pleasant Press, J. Horace McFarland Co.), 106.

¹⁴Walter B. Hill, "Negro Education in the South," in the Proceedings of the Sixth Conference for Education in the South, Held in Charlottesville, Virginia April 22-24, 1903 (New York: The Committee on Publication of the Conference for Education in the South, 1903), 209.

But we must use common sense in the education of the negro. We must recognize in all its relations that momentous fact that the negro is a child-race, at least two thousand years behind the Anglo-Saxon in its development, and that like all other races it must work out its own salvation by practicing the industrial arts, and becoming independent and self-supporting.¹⁵

T. D. Bratton, Episcopal Bishop of Mississippi, spoke to the Eleventh Conference in 1908. He advocated setting no limits on the educational opportunities for African-Americans and considered them capable of intellectual development; however, he concluded that ". . . The vast majority are children intellectually, and little short of savage morally."¹⁶

African-Americans: Inefficient Workers

For many white southerners, one of the major consequences of the social, political and economic disruption following the Civil War was the problem of a large African-American population that was viewed as lacking in training and work skills. At the turn of the century, nearly ninety percent the nation's almost eight million African-Americans lived in the South.¹⁷ Some southern whites

¹⁵Edwin A. Alderman, "The Child and the State," in the Proceedings of the Fifth Conference in the South, Held in Athens, Georgia April 24-26, 1902, (Knoxville, TN: Guat-Ogden Co., Printers and Binders), 62.

¹⁶Bratton, 87.

¹⁷Negro Population in the United States 1790-1915, William Loren Katz, gen. ed. (New York: Arno Press and the New York Times, 1968), 33.

considered slavery to have served as a type of tutelage that prepared African-Americans for needed roles in society. Under slavery, the argument went, they not only learned specific skills that were exploited by their owners, but also learned discipline, gained respect for authority and developed a sense of Christian morality. Many white people believed that without the control of slavery African-Americans had become degenerate and were adrift.

Among those speaking to the conferees in 1901 was George T. Winston of the North Carolina College of Agriculture and Mechanical Arts. He addressed the issue of "Industrial Training in Relation to the Negro Problem," and he contended, that "The negro problem in the South is at bottom industrial The New South is struggling with the industrial inefficiency of negro freedom."¹⁸ Winston argued that after emancipation, the most intelligent and capable African-Americans, those whom he considered the best element of the race, no longer pursued industrial vocations preparing them to be blacksmiths, wheelwrights, carpenters, and dressmakers. As a result, there existed a crisis in the work force as the vast majority of younger African-Americans were "untrained, unrestrained and semi-savage." He noted that in North Carolina before 1870, black people accounted for seventy-five percent of the skilled labor force

¹⁸George T. Winston, "Industrial Training in Relation to the Negro Problem," in the Proceedings of the Fourth Conference for Education in the South, Held in Winston-Salem, North Carolina April 18-20, 1901 (Harrisburg, PA: Mount Pleasant Press, J. Horace McFarland Co.),103.

where slavery had prevailed.¹⁹ Winston considered the decline in black skilled labor "to be a very potent factor in promoting the estrangement of the two races."²⁰ According to Winston, this situation could be corrected if black education were to abandon the classical, liberal arts curriculum and instead emphasize industrial skills. In his words, "The saw and the plane and the anvil must take the place of history and geography. The race needs handicraft far more than headcraft."²¹ Winston concluded that African-Americans were essentially responsible for the increase in racial tensions:

But there is now a growing chasm between the races, forbidding the whites to use authority, discipline and sympathy in training the blacks, and forbidding the blacks to rise by white aid, through docility, obedience, zeal and fidelity. Nothing will bring the races together again but industrial skill and efficiency on the part of the negro.²²

Mrs. George P. Barnum of Savannah Georgia addressed the last of the Conferences held at Capon Springs on the so-called mistakes of post-bellum black education. She considered an academic education impractical and ill-suited for the realities African-Americans were to experience. She maintained that African-Americans had no need to learn of Shakespeare or calculus, ". . . coming as they did by myriads from hovels and alleys and waste

¹⁹Ibid., 104.

²⁰Ibid., 105.

²¹Ibid.

²²Ibid.

fields and returning to them after seven or eight years spent in acquiring these expensive follies."²³ She deplored the lack of skilled African-Americans and recalled longingly a bygone era when black "laundresses, cooks, maids, butlers and mechanics abounded." She added, that before 1865, successive generations of "intelligent and conscientious masters and mistresses" had prepared African-Americans to be productive members of society.²⁴ She held white people responsible for the decline among skilled black workers and decried efforts to afford African-Americans a liberal education:

He [the African-American] has taken what was given him. We had no right to give him a senseless education that does not enable him to get his bread honestly and add his quota to the prosperity and civilization of the community and then blame him for the idleness, shiftlessness, poverty, theft, immorality, that make of him a menace to our future and a blot upon our civilization.²⁵

W. D. Weatherford of the Y. M. C. A., also spoke to the issue of the quality of black labor at the fifteenth Conference in 1912. He reported that a frequent complaint of white employers was that the black worker lacked ambition and initiative and preferred to work as little as possible. He argued that the most pressing need of the South was for a trained and efficient labor force without which the

²³Mrs. George Barnum, "On the Industrial Upbuilding of Southern Cities and Communities," in the Proceedings of the Third Capon Springs Conference for Christian Education in the South, Held in Capon Springs, West Virginia June 27-30, 1900, ed. A.B. Hunter, 61.

²⁴Ibid.

²⁵Ibid.

South's progress would be severely retarded. He added, "In as much as the Negro is almost our only source of labor, the only way to have an intelligent laboring class in the South is to give the Negro such training as will make him efficient."²⁶ For African-Americans, efficient training was to be attained through industrial education. Weatherford challenged the conferees to convince the white southerner of the interdependency of the two races and that black industrial training was the key to the prosperity of the region.²⁷

Weatherford cited examples of the implementation of a new curriculum in sixteen rural black schools in Henrico County, Virginia. The program was under the direction of a Jeanes Fund supervisor.²⁸ Six hours per week were set aside for training which included the following activities and supposed benefits:

The boys are taught shuck-mat making, raffia [palm fiber for mat-making], simple woodwork and in some places gardening. The girls are taught mat-making, sewing, cooking and other kindred subjects. The immediate outcome of such work is that every negro child learns how to do some particular piece of work, and to do it well. The effect is not simply economic, it is highly intellectual and moral. The average negro child has never

²⁶Weatherford, 162.

²⁷Ibid., 166.

²⁸The Anna T. Jeanes Fund for the Assistance of Negro Rural Schools in the South provided funds for teachers of industrial education in rural schools, assisted teachers with extension work, and appointed county agents to improve rural housing and generate interest in black education.

John Hope Franklin, From Slavery to Freedom, (New York, New York: Alfred A. Knopf 1947), 380.

been taught to do any one thing well and to be proud of such an accomplishment.²⁹

With reference to the black student, Weatherford added, ". . . He comes to feel that work is not only dignified but pleasurable. He has a new pride in his own ability, and has an ambition to accomplish further results."³⁰

African-Americans: Leaders of Their People

Not all conferees addressing the topic of African-American education advocated solely an industrial curriculum. A minority of the white educational reformers supported liberal education for African-Americans. In contrast to the demeaning rhetoric by Conference participants thus far cited, are the views of F. G. Woodworth, former President of Tugaloo University in Mississippi. He addressed the third Capon Springs Conference in 1900 and emphasized the need for the development of a leadership class among the black race. Woodworth believed that African-Americans should have access to "the higher learning" in order that a competent professional class might develop. These individuals who "pursued the higher walks of life" would in his opinion, serve as "stimuli to their fellows." Woodworth concluded "The largest progress of the race will come from leaderships [sic] of its own--from men who can

²⁹Weatherford, 168.

³⁰Ibid.

feel the heart throb of the race as we of the Anglo-Saxon race cannot. No savior of a race was ever from an alien race."³¹

President Horace Bumstead of Atlanta University addressed the same Capon Springs Conference on the topic of "The Practical Value of the Higher Education of the Negro." He called for a renewed emphasis on traditional college studies in black institutions. Bumstead considered it "idle" to believe that the race problem could be solved by any single form of education. Industrial education was not to be the panacea of the race problem. He commented that the benefits of a traditional college curriculum would be twofold, first, to the individual college-educated African-Americans and second, to their race.³² College-trained individuals would inspire the less educated and serve as positive role models. The higher learning should be accessible for talented African-Americans because, "The power of rational thought is one which the past history of the race has not tended to cultivate. Neither savagery in Africa nor slavery in America were favorable to it. As a slave the negro was trained not to think."³³ Bumstead argued that a free man must take the

³¹F. G. Woodworth, "Some Suggestions as to the Kind of Education Needed for the Negro Race," in the Proceedings of the Third Capon Springs Conference for Christian Education in the South, Held in Capon Springs, West Virginia June 27-30, 1900, ed. A.B. Hunter, 37.

³²Horace Bumstead, "The Practical Value of the Higher Education of the Negro," in the Proceedings of the Third Capon Springs Conference for Christian Education in the South, Held in Capon Springs, West Virginia June 27-30, 1900, ed. A.B. Hunter, 39.

³³*Ibid.*, 41.

responsibility for his life and work; consequently, the ability to think rationally is an absolute necessity. Exposure to higher education would engender the incentive to have a better material life and, therefore, encourage African-Americans to be more productive and less content with their humble economic status. The Mississippi educator concluded that the ". . . salvation of the negro race in this country lies with the exceptional man of that race."³⁴

The Proceedings of the first Conference convocation in 1898 also include the recommendation for expanded educational opportunity beyond the limitations of industrial schools. President Wilbur T. Thirkield of Gammon Theological Seminary in Atlanta, Georgia, delivered a talk on black education entitled "How Far Shall the Higher Education be Attempted?" In a preface to his address, Thirkield noted that there was no controversy concerning limitations to the type of education that white people might seek. "Our New England fathers, though tillers of the soil, set up the ideal in the founding of Harvard College in the wilderness," and he added that, "we all believe that the largest culture the world affords should be open to him."³⁵ Thirkield asked that ". . . we set no limits on any man or any race" and noted that "On the higher education the very existence of any education depends. No people will long

³⁴Ibid., 42.

³⁵Wilbur Thirkield, "How Far Shall the Higher Education Be Attempted," in the Proceedings of the First Capon Springs Conference for Christian Education in the South. Held in Capon Springs, West Virginia June 29-July 3, 1898, ed. A. B. Hunter, 17.

maintain common schools that does not possess and sustain colleges for the higher education."³⁶ He maintained that the development of leadership was especially important for African-Americans:

. . . since by decree [the African-American] is shut out from the higher fellowship in the civil, political and religious life of the white man, and is shut up to his own church and school, how imperative it is that he has as leaders those who have the strength and wisdom and self-control that come from the higher training. With the wealth, the political power, the civic affairs in the hands of those who propose to keep the negro under as a subject people, the future of the masses is hopeless without educated leaders.³⁷

Thirkield insisted that African-Americans needed their own leadership in order to prepare them for an era of inevitable competition with whites. He noted, "Someone is going to lead the black industrial forces. Shall it be one who has received the narrow industrial training alone; one who knows nothing of history or sociology, of economic science or political economy?"³⁸

Conclusion

There existed a predisposition on the part of many participants in the Conferences to view the African-American as a deficient being. As social Darwinists they considered the black race to be less developed than the white race, and, therefore, in need of

³⁶Ibid., 18-19.

³⁷Ibid., 18.

³⁸Ibid., 19.

special training. Recurrent images reveal white perceptions of African-Americans' need for uplift and betterment. Such a perceived challenge was inspiration for the reform-minded policy formulators who attended the Conference for Education in the South. They viewed their objectives as an integral part of a moral crusade, and while far from advocating the social equality of the races, they were hopeful that the situation of black Americans could be improved in a manner mutually beneficial to both races, while at the same time preserving the southern caste system.

In the final analysis, what is clear in the Conference recommendations is the white leadership's desire to encourage a type of education that would develop the labor skills of African-Americans. For most African-Americans, educational opportunities were to be found primarily, if not exclusively, in an industrial/vocational curriculum. Such training most closely approximated the skills that African-Americans had traditionally possessed, and they were also occupations that placed limitations on their status. This perception had an important influence on the recommendations of the Conference regarding an appropriate curriculum for African-Americans during the period. They had customarily been viewed as laborers, and cultural continuity had an important impact on the perceptions of white Progressives and consequently on the roles that African-Americans were allowed to assume.

The recommendations of the white progressive leadership of the Conference is representative of a "New South" mentality at the

turn of the century that encouraged industrialization and promoted the need for a trained and efficient black work force. The Hampton-Tuskegee example was a well-established reality and afforded educational leaders a model to be emulated.

The southern education movement occurred at a time when African-Americans were experiencing an increasingly segregated existence. They had witnessed a diminution of their political and civil rights, and were victims of white racism. African-American industrial education was to fulfill the compensatory function that social Darwinist educational reformers advocated. Black and white educators favored an industrial curriculum for African-Americans that stressed social efficiency and those values deemed essential for individual and racial uplift.

Chapter IV

Industrial Education as Presented in The Gazette, The Freeman and The Broad Ax (1901-1914)

The African-American press reflected a variety of opinion about black education during the period of the southern education movement (1901-1914). It is the purpose of this chapter to analyze the editorial comment and general coverage of the issue of African-American industrial education as revealed in three Midwestern black newspapers: The Cleveland Gazette, The Freeman of Indianapolis and the Chicago Broad Ax. Emma Lou Thornbrough, an historian of black journalism, identified Chicago, Cleveland and Indianapolis as the most important centers of black journalism in the Midwest during the period.¹ Although there were numerous African-American newspapers published during the period of this study, not all were in publication between 1901 and 1914. However, the respective weeklies of this investigation were in publication throughout the period of the southern education movement. How did these three newspapers react to the southern progressive educational reformers' consensus that industrial education was a necessary stage of development for the majority of African-Americans?

¹Emma Lou Thornbrough, "American Negro Newspapers, 1880-1914," Business History Review, XL (Winter 1966): 470.

Editorials, anonymously-authored articles, reprints from other publications and cartoons serve as the primary sources for this investigation. Each of the respective newspapers presented arguments in support of black industrial education as well as criticism of it. However, in general, the three publications did not dedicate extensive attention to industrial education. Local news, social and political coverage and biographical studies of race leaders were much more commonly included. Social news was the "bread and butter" of the black press during the early years of this century. Accounts of teas, parties, meetings and funerals of interest to the black community were a substantial part of the African-American press coverage in general and the newspapers of this investigation in particular.² Although supportive and critical reactions to industrial education may be found in all three newspapers, over the fourteen year period of this study, each respective publication presented what may be considered a consistent response to black industrial education. The Freeman was the most constant in its endorsement of the Hampton-Tuskegee model for black education. The Cleveland Gazette and the Chicago Broad Ax were less enthusiastic in their treatment of the industrial/vocational curriculum, but as a rule, did not reject industrial education for African-Americans.

²Luther P. Jackson, Jr., "The Mission of Black Newsmen," in The Black American Reference Book, Mabel M. Smythe, ed. (Engelwood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall Inc., 1976), 850.

Each issue of the three newspapers was usually four to eight pages in length. The newspapers frequently relied on preprinted material which was usually, but not always, from other black publications. Such articles or editorials were called "exchanges" and were often written by editors in other cities.³ Usually the reprints reflected a similar stance as that taken by the respective newspapers in which they reappeared. Therefore, in this chapter, reprints are typically viewed as an extension and amplification of the position of the three respective publications. Articles either original to the newspaper or reprinted from others were more common than any editorial *per se*. However, editorial comment was often clearly apparent within an article that ostensibly was a news report.

The Freeman described itself as a "National Illustrated Colored Newspaper." The masthead of the Indianapolis publication proudly proclaimed that it was, "the peer of Negro journals," [and that it was] "circulating in every state and territory of the United States, an accomplishment which cannot be claimed by any other Negro publication."⁴ Although the newspaper's editor and publisher, George L. Knox, claimed a "national circulation," The Freeman's total circulation never exceeded a few thousand.⁵ Knox was born a slave

³Ibid.

⁴Indianapolis Freeman, 23 August 1913.

⁵Luther P. Jackson, Jr., 850.

in rural Tennessee, but by the 1890's had become a prosperous Indianapolis barber. In 1892, Knox purchased the financially ailing Freeman from Edward E. Cooper, who established The Colored American in Washington D. C. in 1893. The newspaper under Knox became a fiercely pro-Republican organ.⁶

The Cleveland Gazette was founded in 1882 by Harry C. Smith only one year after he graduated from high school. Smith devoted nearly sixty years to publishing and editing The Gazette. He was a musician and composer of popular songs, as well as a politician, who was elected three times to the Ohio General Assembly. Although he was elected and served as a Republican during the years 1894-1898 and 1900-1902, by 1908 Smith had become disenchanted with the GOP's racial policies, and he became more politically independent.⁷

The Broad Ax was founded by Julius F. Taylor in 1895 in Salt Lake City, Utah, but beginning in 1899 it was published in Chicago. The most radical of the newspapers, The Broad Ax took pride in championing "the rights of the common people regardless of their color, nationality or complexion [sic]"⁸ In a seventh anniversary edition published in 1902, the newspaper declared itself to be "on the side of the masses and against the interests of the blood-sucking trusts, the gigantic monopolies, the money power, and the

⁶Willard B. Gatewood, Jr., "Edward E. Cooper, Black Journalist," Journalism Quarterly 55 (Summer 1978): 273.

⁷Luther P. Jackson, Jr., 850.

⁸Chicago Broad Ax, 27 December 1902.

plutocratic classes"⁹ Alan H. Spear, author of Black Chicago: The Making of a Negro Ghetto 1890-1920, suggests that editor Taylor's doctrine of economic radicalism was unusual among African-Americans of his time.¹⁰ Taylor was a Democrat and resented Booker T. Washington's involvement in Republican politics, and, until 1910, he was "perhaps the severest critic of Booker T. Washington in Chicago." Taylor explained his change of position to one more favorable toward Washington as the result of the latter's greater attention to educational concerns and lessened political involvement.¹¹ Other targets of Taylor's wrath were the black church and its ministry. Taylor was not only anticlerical but also a non-believer. In 1902 he asserted,

If we possessed the power, we would abolish or do away with Negro churches and establish in their stead ethical cultural societies . . . How long! How long! will the Negro continue to erect costly and expensive temples unto the Gods while his children are growing up in rags and tatters and ignorance, and while poverty and squalor surround him on every hand.¹²

Roi Ottley, biographer of Robert S. Abbott, who was founder of the Chicago Defender, stated that The Broad Ax achieved very little monetary success and was primarily a vehicle for its editor to

⁹Ibid.

¹⁰Alan H. Spear, Black Chicago: the Making of a Black Ghetto. 1890-1920 (Chicago & London: University of Chicago Press, 1967), 82.

¹¹Ibid.

¹²Chicago Broad Ax, January 25, 1902.

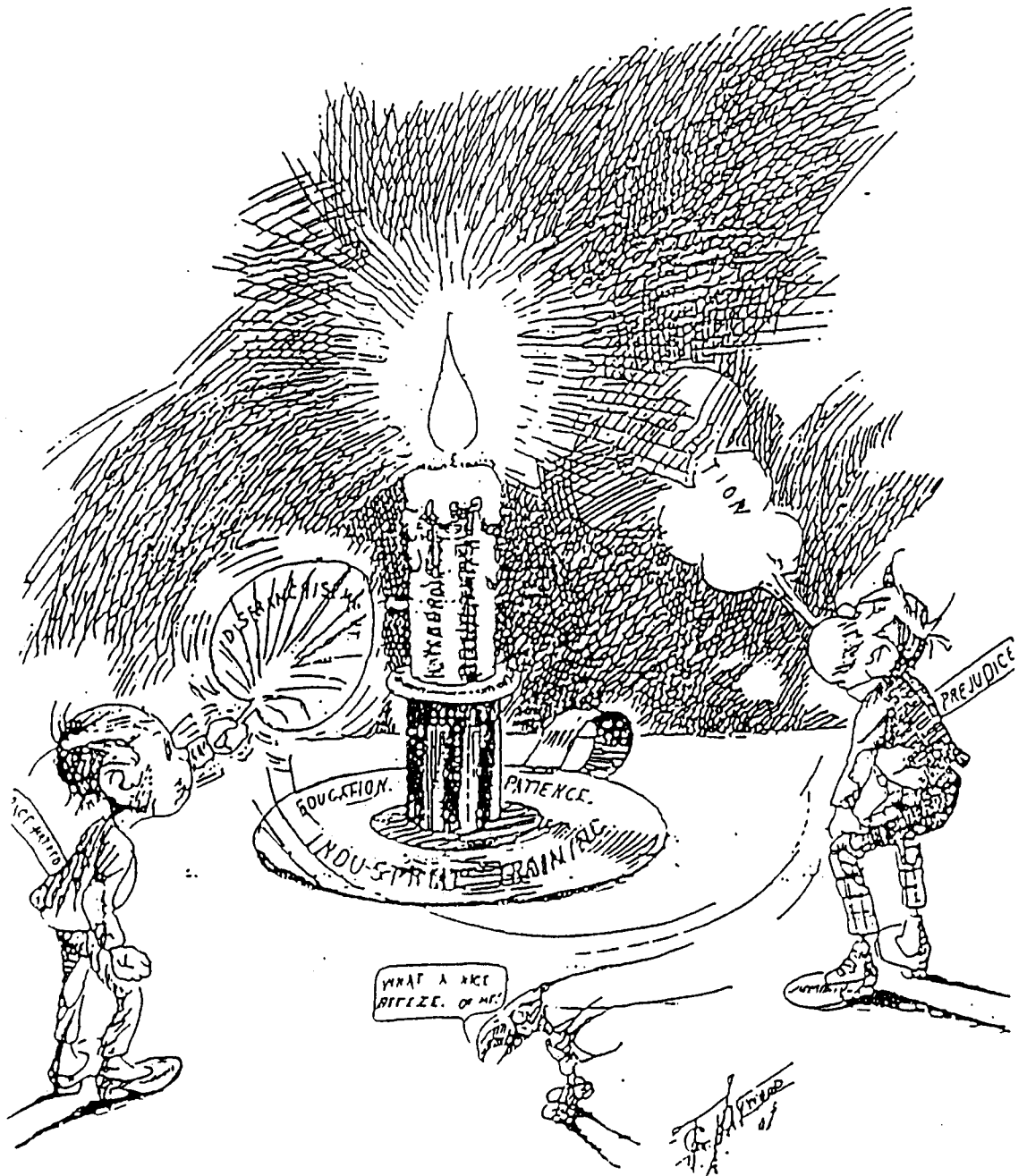
advance his own views and ambitions.¹³ He claimed that The Broad Ax was kept alive mainly by contributions and that in 1910 it "finally succumbed to Washington's blandishments"¹⁴

In reviewing the coverage of industrial education in the respective newspapers of this study, certain themes are apparent. Such themes are not necessarily to be found in each of the publications, but instead may appear disproportionately in one newspaper or another. As The Freeman treated the topic of industrial education more often than either The Gazette or The Broad Ax, one finds greater development of themes related to industrial education in The Freeman.

A regular feature appearing in The Freeman, an illustrated newspaper, was a front page center cartoon. The drawings covered numerous topics including education and industrialism, both of which were especially popular cartoon subjects in 1904. The cartoons' captions, and sometimes even a printed explanation of their meaning, reveal value-laden messages which stressed the importance of education, both liberal and industrial. (See figures 1 through 5.)

¹³Roi Ottley, The Lonely Warrior--The Life and Times of Robert S. Abbott (Chicago: Henry Regnery Co., 1955), 86.

¹⁴Ibid., 125.



The light will not fall if the Negroes will do their part: they can teach by example, compelling men to accord the measure of respect due. If it is not accorded when every Negro is good, as the best white man, then the race is hopeless and not until then.

Industrial Training

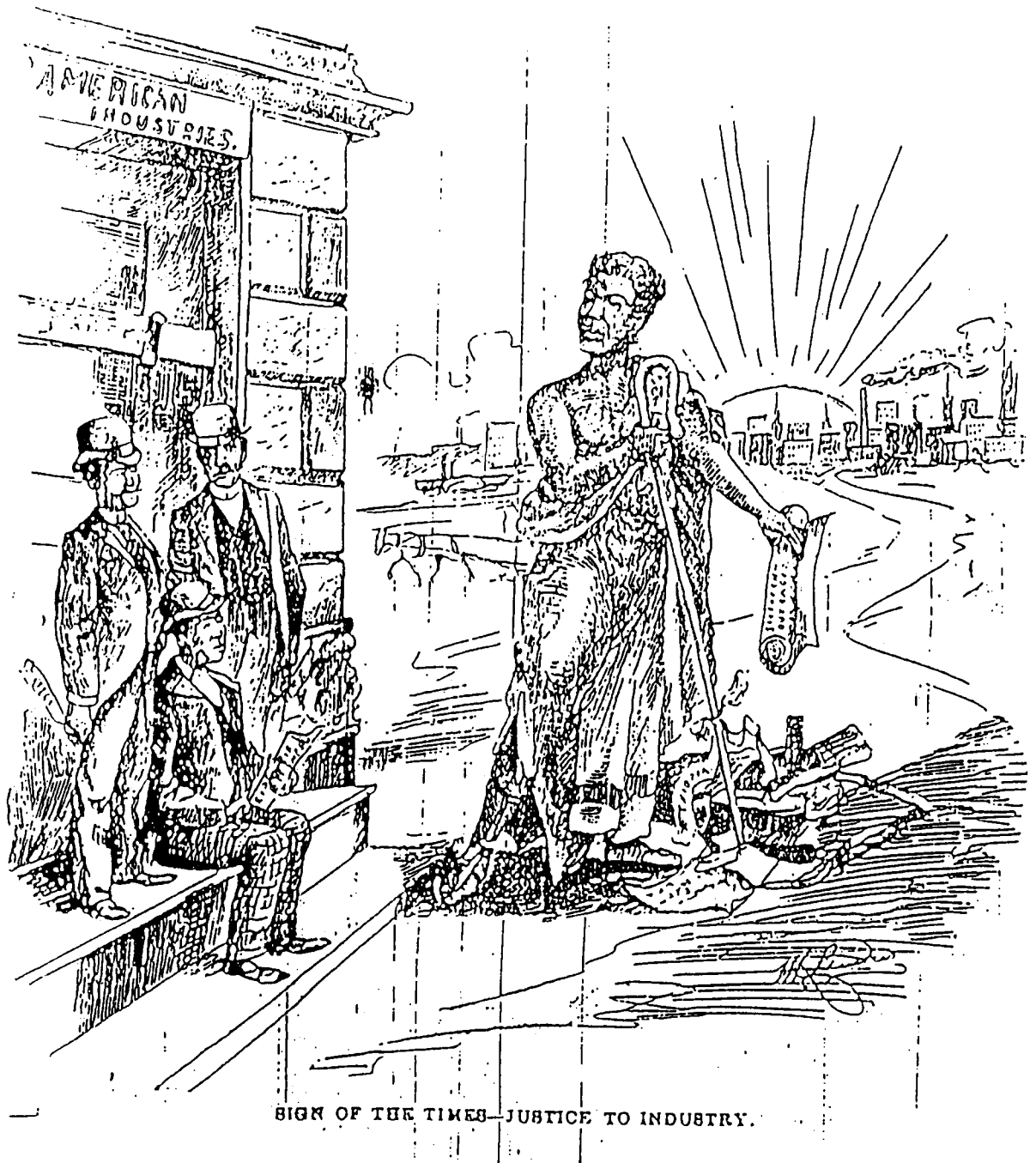
Fig. 1 --Indianapolis Freeman 23 July 1904



INDUSTRY—ECONOMY: SUCCESS.

Industry-Economy: Success

Fig. 2 --Indianapolis Freeman 20 August 1904



Sign of the Times-Justice to Industry
Fig. 3 Indianapolis Freeman 28 June 1902

WHY GO BLINDFOLDED?



Why Go Blindfolded

Fig. 4 --Indianapolis Freeman 1 February 1913



THE CARTOON'S MEANING.

The above is a cruel picture of a state of things in a number of States in the South. The Negro's political life will only be for a little while if those who control it cannot play him false. That white man will never come out; he has already had all the humiliations in the world, and for untold years, but, like Sam, he is wedded to his idol. He has no use for books. That ship will bear that Negro to the enfranchisement port, if the latter is the law and not men's notions. So, in the mire of giant despair are the seeds of salvation, if they are permitted to grow and thrive.

Ignorance-Poverty Education

Fig. 5 --Indianapolis Freeman 9 April 1904

**The Response to Industrial Education in
The Freeman, The Gazette and The Broad Ax**

The comments of visiting Haitian educator, Dr. Jean Jacques, reflect the concern that education be practical. "The country needs more practical education; the average Haitian aims too high and is too impractical." Jacques had come to the United States in order to learn more about the Hampton-Tuskegee model and to seek funding for an industrial institute to be established in Haiti. The Cleveland Gazette covered the Haitian's comments in an article titled "Haitians Need Tuskegee Ideas: Present Ideas Entirely Too Impractical for This Very Practical Age."¹⁵ A 1905 Freeman article was typically effusive in its endorsement of industrial education:

Industrial education is gathering momentum every day, because it deals with fundamentals and answers the overwhelming demand of the times for men and women who can do the things the world wants done and in a way that the most exacting patrons are willing to pay good prices for. Whites and blacks, North and South, are finding that to begin with the soil and to struggle upward through the industries to legitimate rewards is the surest road to wealth, true dignity, genuine culture and permanence [sic] of honorable station thus attained.¹⁶

Such views supported the educational philosophy of the leading African-American proponent of industrial education, Booker T. Washington. In an address to Virginia legislators on the topic of

¹⁵Cleveland Gazette, 1 July 1911.

¹⁶Indianapolis Freeman, 15 April 1905.

black education, Washington stated that regardless of the curriculum, classical or technical, black students should be prepared for " . . . the common, everyday, fundamental occupations that are at his door in the community where he lives. We must teach the Negro youth to do a common thing in an uncommon way."¹⁷ Some ten years later, The Freeman reported on a commencement address to female graduates of the Clark Training School of Washington D. C. The Reverend S. L. Corrothers delivered a "practical address to the class on the necessity for expert training for the everyday duties of life." Corrothers, a minister of the A. M. E. Zion Church, endorsed the "classical education for those able to secure and use it." However, he considered " . . . it a fact that the masses must work with their hands."¹⁸ For Washington, the purpose of education was simple: it should prepare one to be a useful and productive member of society. "Education, like another commodity, has got to be used to be of service. Some of the men who have studied most in books are the very ones who have accomplished least in life for the benefit of their fellows."¹⁹ He added, "There are a great many people who possess a high degree of booklearning, but who are lacking in the saving grace of common sense and for that reason their education is in a large degree valueless"²⁰

¹⁷Ibid., 23 February 1901.

¹⁸Ibid., 15 July 1911.

¹⁹Ibid., 27 June 1908.

²⁰Ibid.

A 1905 article in The Freeman also presented an antagonistic view of classical education and intellectual development and maintained that industrial education was the most appropriate training for African-Americans. The Freeman advocated specialization in a trade or vocation as the best guarantee for profitable employment regardless of race.

The necessity for technical or industrial education cannot be too frequently or too strongly emphasized. Whether a boy or girl be white or black, when paying employment is sought the lack of a special training in some form of handicraft will be found an almost fatal handicap. One may be ever so brilliant in the literary and scientific branches usually taught from the text books of the public school, but when a position is sought he finds he knows no one thing with sufficient thoroughness to do the things that brings [sic] the best rewards. Business houses, schools and the government can find thousands of young men who can fill "genteel" berths, calling for only mediocre attainments and hordes of these "book learnt" folks can work fairly well under close supervision: but the pay is small and promotion practically impossible.²¹

Although the Cleveland Gazette frequently derided Booker T. Washington for accommodating southern racism, it occasionally did include articles about Tuskegee and Hampton Institutes. However, reports on Washington's educational views were rare. The editor of The Gazette, Harry C. Smith, was active in Ohio Republican politics and his publication often reflected his interests in political or

²¹Ibid., 15 April 1905.

social issues as opposed to education. A 1912 edition included coverage of an address given by Washington to students at Tuskegee in which he urged them to lead a simple life, "The way to show that you have education of the best kind, of the highest kind is not by the use of titles, not by fingering a few big books with large names, long names, but by knowing a little well . . ."²² Washington maintained that many students in other schools were being deceived. Without naming any specific institutions, he stated that throughout the southern states, there were institutions called universities, or colleges, that were "not in real, down right honest fact worthy of being called high schools. Some of them would scarcely pass for first class grammar schools . . ."²³ According to its leader, Tuskegee did not misrepresent itself nor were its students to be deceived by false pretense. The Tuskegee emphasis on industrial arts and manual labor was an example of the educational philosophy that simple is better. The values of thrift, respect for labor and morality were more prized than intellectual pursuit. Washington and others who advocated an industrial curriculum, saw it as a means to prepare African-Americans for the realities of their time.

The Broad Ax, like the Cleveland Gazette, gave considerably more coverage to social and political issues than to education. The Chicago newspaper was strident in its demands for justice for

²²Cleveland Gazette, 9 March 1912.

²³Ibid.

African-Americans. Its outrage with racism paralleled the "radical" position of The Guardian of Boston and its editor, William Monroe Trotter, who held Booker T. Washington in contempt. Nonetheless, in 1904, the Chicago Broad Ax included a tribute to John J. Smallwood and Rosa E. Smallwood, disciples of the the Tuskegee doctrine. The Smallwoods, husband and wife, were Co-Presidents of The Temperance, Industrial and Collegiate Institute of Claremont, Virginia. The institution was described as a "plain, self-sustaining Negro school whose purpose is to teach the Negro self-reliance, race pride and practical trade."²⁴ Among the vocational skills taught were "house cleaning, scientific cooking, general laundry work, typewriting and shorthand"²⁵ The article was written by W. L. D. Dato Adams, whom The Broad Ax identified as an ex-judge, ex-slaveholder and a life-long Democrat. Adams ended his eulogy of the Smallwoods saying "Let us hope that the Negro race will yet produce a million of such Negro men and Negro women . . . who by God's will, are practical Negro educators and true of human greatness."²⁶ Even though The Broad Ax often ridiculed Booker T. Washington for monopolizing the largesse of philanthropy in order to promote Tuskegee, it reprinted an article from The New York Independent

²⁴Chicago Broad Ax, 2 January 1904.

²⁵*Ibid.*

²⁶*Ibid.*

which praised the fund raising efforts of Booker T. Washington and the work of Tuskegee Institute.

The appeal is one that easily reaches the heart of the people. It is for the great ignorant, common mass of the Negro people. It does not offer to supply preachers and lawyers and editors and politicians, nor even teachers except of a humble grade; but it does propose to teach the commonest people, who represent the huge mass, how to build a decent house, how to keep out of debt, how to buy a farm, how to be self-respecting and respectable . . . It is expensive, of course, for shops are vastly more costly than school rooms, but it is worth the large cost . . .²⁷

Character-Building and Race Progress through Education and Employment

As has been seen in the Proceedings of the Conference for Education in the South white Progressives viewed industrial education as a means of developing character and contributing to racial uplift. The mission of Tuskegee Institute was more exalted than merely the training of individuals in trades for future employment. The Freeman was always defensive of Booker T. Washington and his work at Tuskegee. News about the Institute often appeared in the Indianapolis newspaper. In a 1907 article about Washington's annual report to Tuskegee's trustees, The Freeman described the broader purpose of the Institute:

Mr. Washington says the object is not to supply a cook, a housekeeper or a "farm hand" in a special sense, but to teach the

²⁷*Ibid.*, 19 April 1902.

fundamental principals [sic] leading up to the spirit which has in mind the dignity of labor; and which will be spread and worked out in detail by those sent out by the institution. In this way there will be a general uplift of the South, rather than the satisfying of the few who may want immediate service of the students. These go out as educated leaders of the industrial thought, preaching a saving doctrine, preparing the thousands for lives of content and usefulness. The principal urges that these leaders go out not only prepared in their special line; [but that] they impress themselves on the moral and religious lift of the communities to which they go, thus furthering the gospel of racial uplift by fostering and urging the better influences which tend toward noble and useful lives.²⁸

Some black leaders shared the views of the white educational reformers of the southern education movement and were Social Darwinists. They, like the white members of the southern education movement, saw industrial and vocational training as particularly suited for African-Americans, whom they believed were in a stage of development inferior to that of the white race. Reverend Richard D. Stinson, Vice President of Morris Brown College, encouraged black youths to "adjust themselves to their conditions."²⁹ Before the Colored Men's Sunday Club in Savannah, he said,

There are entirely too many of our people who seem not to know what they don't know, and the preacher, teacher and other capable persons among us who can help the masses of this child race to a sensible and practical conception of a good and serviceable life may render our race the greatest of all services."³⁰

²⁸Indianapolis Freeman, 12 October 1907.

²⁹Cleveland Gazette, 29 April 1911.

³⁰Ibid.

Some three years earlier, The Freeman had reprinted an article from The New York Evening Post, in which Stinson strongly advocated manual training for African-Americans, stating that "Ninety percent of the Negro race should be trained to work with their hands."³¹ He added that his support for such training was not merely to solve the so-called servant problem for whites, or because he desired "to humiliate the race," but because he believed that ". . . the Negroes' contribution for many years to come lies along lines of development of character and employment of the masses"³²

President William Howard Taft shared similar sentiments in an address before an African-American church congregation in Atlanta. The Gazette printed excerpts from Taft's speech and concluded that the President thought the "secret of the solution of the problem of the south [sic] is education, primary and industrial."³³ He encouraged African-Americans to stay in the South commenting that, "I have heard it said that your lot in the south is a hard one. I do not believe it. You are now in the south and you look reasonably happy" Taft added, "You have here in the South a splendid soil

³¹Indianapolis Freeman, 9 May 1908.

³²Ibid.

³³Cleveland Gazette, 1 April 1911.

which gives a material response to labor, intelligently applied."³⁴ Taft's words were reminiscent of Booker T. Washington's "Atlanta Compromise" speech in 1895, as were the comments of Judge Robert H. Terrell at the 1912 commencement exercises at Tuskegee Institute. Terrell told graduates that excellent opportunities for the African-American were to be found in the South, "a section of the country to which he is already suited and to which it is not necessary for him to readjust himself."³⁵ He added that given proper training, "It is for the negro to say whether or not the foreign labor which is pouring into our country . . . shall successfully invade his province in the southern industrial system."³⁶ The Freeman viewed the industrial emphasis as consistent with the demands of a "growing, changing civilization," the basis for which was industrial. It echoed the philosophy of John Dewey as it challenged educators "to prepare men and women for the civilization in which they are to live; they must have the dominant elements of that civilization represented in the school course."³⁷

R. W. Thompson wrote a column that appeared regularly in The Freeman. On one occasion in 1905, he praised the efforts of the black leadership of Louisville, Kentucky, as it endeavored to

³⁴Ibid.

³⁵Ibid., 3 August 1912.

³⁶Ibid.

³⁷Indianapolis Freeman, 19 August 1905.

establish a manual training school for African-American children. According to Thompson, such interests indicated that

. . . the most thoughtful leaders have finally realized that the primary development of our people must begin with the masses and that the fundamental ingredient of material prosperity--the speediest relief from the evils of poverty--resides in technical education supplementing the ordinary mental training now furnished by the public school system.³⁸

The Freeman deplored the fact that in 1903 there was no industrial and training school for African-American youth in the state of Indiana. The newspaper urged the state legislature to establish "a school that embraces industrialism in its strictest sense, a practical school, a school that connects immediately to some business." The Freeman continued, ". . . Give us an industrial institution that will employ as many young men and women in shops as [in which] the whites are employed."³⁹ However, some seven years later, The Freeman repudiated the extremism of a black educator, Principal Joseph Colter of Louisville, Kentucky. Colter faulted black education for being too intellectual. With reference to black youth he maintained,

Except in a limited way they do not apply themselves to abstract work Historically, its [the child's] initiative has been physical, and that must be the basis of its present uplift. In a word it must have fewer books to play with and more tools and other things to work with A course of study to meet

³⁸Ibid., 20 May 1905.

³⁹Ibid., 3 January 1903.

these conditions must be industrial at every point possible and should occupy, at least half the school time. This should serve as the basis for reading, language and other studies.⁴⁰

In its denunciation of Colter, The Freeman maintained "The [Booker T.] Washington idea of education has been thoroughly endorsed and it needs no blasphemous or radical emphasis."⁴¹ Undoubtedly, The Freeman's rejection of Colter's position was based on his implied contention that African-American youth were somehow not suited for conventional intellectual training. An anticipated response to industrial education may be found in The Freeman's positive review of The Political Economy of Humanism by Henry Wood. The work was heralded as "a splendid endorsement of Booker T. Washington's efforts in the interests of the Negro."⁴²

A 1901 edition of The Freeman included the commentary of H. T. Newcomb, an economist and statistician with the U. S. Census office. His visit to Tuskegee Institute for the Conference of Negro Farmers was the subject of the article in which Newcomb suggested that white people could benefit by having a Tuskegee of their own, a position taken by many white southern Progressives.

I should like to see such an institution as Tuskegee erected for the poorer whites of the South. It may almost be said to be a necessity, as a means of self-preservation, for racial self-consciousness, the desire to help one another, and the industrial

⁴⁰Ibid., 12 February 1910.

⁴¹Ibid.

⁴²Ibid., 22 June 1901.

ambition, which are being so strongly developed among the Negroes by Tuskegee and other institutions may put them ahead of the poorer whites, unless steps are taken to inculcate the same spirit to the latter.⁴³

A letter to the editor of The Gazette, written by one J. J. Brown, expressed alarm regarding the tendency to favor the learned professions over the trades. "What we need at this time is to increase the number of producers and decrease the number of non-producers. Lawyers, doctors and storekeepers are not producers; farmers, mechanics and laborers are;" Brown continued, "... where there is a surplus of professional people, there is always great poverty and distress." The Gazette titled Brown's letter: "Trades vs. Professions: A Little Good, Sound Sense on this Subject of Interest to All of our Readers."⁴⁴ The heading was a rare indication of the publication's view on the subject of industrial education.

Arguments Opposing Industrial Education

In each of the three newspapers examined, there appeared some articles expressing views in opposition to industrial education. The critics of the Hampton-Tuskegee model approached the subject with varying levels of intensity and differing perspectives: religious, racist, militarist and pedagogical. What they shared in common was a rejection of the industrial emphasis as

⁴³Ibid., 13 April 1901.

⁴⁴Cleveland Gazette, 30 July 1910.

the sole means of solving the race problem. They rejected Booker T. Washington's faith in the simple doctrine of hard work, frugality and material accumulation as the prime means for racial uplift and eventual attainment of civil and political rights.

Opposition on Spiritual or Religious Grounds

In 1912, the Cleveland Gazette published an article by Dr. G. W. Bell of Pine Bluff, Arkansas. He was identified as an ex-slave and an ex-state senator. Bell cited three popular approaches to the solution of the "race problem." He noted that there were those who believed if African-Americans were given a "square deal in the struggle for life and left alone, they [would] overcome their difficulties." He stated that others advanced the idea that "wealth and education were the most potent factors and essential requisites for solving the race problem." Bell concluded, ". . . the one idea which attracts more attention than all the others combined is the industrial education." Nonetheless, according to him, the aim of industrial education was merely to make of the African-American "a better hewer of wood and a better drawer of water in a land of bondage."⁴⁵ In his opinion, racial uplift could not be attained as long as the race lived under menial and oppressive conditions. Equally important to Bell was the inherent link between industrial training and material prosperity. He believed that because of excessive

⁴⁵Ibid., 3 August 1912.

concern with materialism, African-Americans were abandoning their spiritual values and "building up the golden calf."⁴⁶ In 1903, a similar indictment was leveled by the Chicago Broad Ax as it claimed, alluding to DuBois' new book, that "under Washington's doctrine the world had forgotten the Negro had any spiritual aspirations until they were shocked by the title, *Souls of Black Folks*." The Broad Ax charged that "Dr. Washington's race doctrine has been essentially materialistic" and added, "There is not much spirituality in the doctrine of the dollar, nor has it saving grace for a down-trodden race."⁴⁷

Booker T. Washington was also concerned about the spirituality of his race but from a different perspective. He addressed the subject of African-American religion in an article reprinted in The Broad Ax. Washington challenged the church to assist in the material progress of the race.

It seems to me that what the Negro Church needs is a more definite connection with the social and moral life of the Negro people. Could this connection be effected in a large degree, it would give to the movement for the upbuilding of the race the force and inspiration of a religious motive The struggle to attain a higher level of living, to get land, to build a home to give their children an education, just because it demands more earnestness and steadfastness of purpose, gives a steadiness and a moral significance to the religious life, which is the thing the Negro people need at present.⁴⁸

⁴⁶Ibid.

⁴⁷Chicago Broad Ax, 31 October 1903.

⁴⁸Ibid., 29 July 1905.

Industrial Education: No Solution for Presumed Black Inferiority

Customarily The Freeman praised Booker T. Washington and Tuskegee. Therefore, the inclusion of an article titled "Booker T. Washington and the Negro: Some Dangerous Aspects of the Work of Tuskegee," was unexpected. The article was written by Thomas Dixon, who also penned The Leopard's Spots, a fiercely racist diatribe against the African-American, and The Clansman on which the racially-biased motion picture, "The Birth of a Nation," was based. Dixon maintained that the aim of Washington's work was "noble and inspiring, however, no scheme of education or religion can solve the race problem . . . Washington's plan can only intensify its difficulties."⁴⁹ In racist language as expressive of Social Darwinism as much of that heard at the Conference for Education in the South, Dixon continued, ". . . no amount of education of any kind, industrial, classical or religious can make a Negro a white man or bridge the chasm of the centuries which separate him from the white man in the evolution of human civilization."⁵⁰ Dixon's views are in such contrast to the usual position of The Freeman that they should not be considered representative of the editorial stance of the newspaper. In fact, although no editorial comment followed this

⁴⁹Indianapolis Freeman, 26 August 1905.

⁵⁰Ibid.

article, there did appear in the same edition a critique of another racist article by Dixon in The Saturday Evening Post. Dixon had taken issue with Washington's comments: "Give the black man so much skill and brains that he can cut oats like a white man then he can compete with him." Dixon maintained that the [southern] white man will not allow the black man "to master his industrial system, take the bread from his mouth, crowd him to the wall and place a mortgage on his house." Dixon asked, "What will he do when put to the test? He will do exactly what his white neighbor in the North does when the Negro threatens his bread--kill him!"⁵¹ The Freeman dismissed Dixon's comments as indicative of the southern whites' fear of the educated African-American and the latter's refusal to accept subservience.

Military Education Preferable to Industrial Training

A novel approach to black education was offered in a 1905 edition of The Freeman under the heading "Military Education Needed: Severe Discipline Required." The author, T.G. Steward, like other critics cited, took issue with the so-called materialistic emphasis of industrial education. He commented "Industrial education is excellent in its place; but it is neither fundamental nor constructive. Character is to be built in other schools. A strong people cannot be

⁵¹Ibid.

built by any such peaceful process."⁵² Steward's essay was poetic and aggressive in tone. He suggested that the primary need of African-Americans was military education: "A rising people must sometime have a dream of chivalry." He referred to industrial education as "hoe education" and added that "even though the hoe may represent peace there can be no peace when contempt surrounds the man with the hoe: the gun speaks authority and says 'Let us have peace;' . . . No peace without the gun."⁵³ Writing from Fort Niobrara, Nebraska, the militarist offered,

In every school boys should be enrolled in companies and drilled regularly. Ex-soldiers should be called in to teach them as much of military methods and tactics as they can learn. In every town battalions should be formed . . . to develop strength, agility and courage. Such courses would greatly improve the people in every respect No crown without the cross; no liberty without war; no strong men and noble women unless evolved by the aid of the martial spirits. Let us hold what we have and develop more.⁵⁴

Higher Education and Industrial Training as Complementary Curricula

In 1912, the Cleveland Gazette published an article taken from Southern Life Magazine that called for the merger of the so-called classical or higher education with an industrial curriculum.

⁵²*ibid.*, 19 August 1905.

⁵³*ibid.*

⁵⁴*ibid.*

The anonymously written article admitted that the possibility of uniting the two disputing elements of "higher educationists" and "manual training propagandists" seemed to be hopelessly remote. The result was a situation that was considered to be detrimental to the African-American, since by having a trade and a college degree one had a "distinct advantage." The author stated that the magazine supported a system which would require "every young person to learn a trade during his grammar school and preparatory courses," and in every possible case students should pursue a "classical, scientific or philosophical college course of study."⁵⁵ The author concluded that,

. . . an industrially trained youth without higher literary culture serves only as does a well-constructed piece of machinery . . . he cannot be the thought force directing his industry. And on the other hand many college graduates are failures because their talents and environment demand a life-work of a vocational nature.⁵⁶

An additional benefit of the union of curricula would be an appreciation on the part of "the higher educated of the position and feelings of the working classes" who in turn "would entertain less feeling against those of higher culture."⁵⁷

A symbolic linking of the two schools of thought on black education had already occurred, when in, 1907, Booker T. Washington

⁵⁵ Cleveland Gazette, 22 June 1912.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

was elected to the Board of Trustees of Howard University, a bastion of higher education for African-Americans. The Freeman reported that ". . . as might have been expected the extreme wing of the friends of higher education affected to be dazed and their first impulse was to sound a scare-cry . . ."⁵⁸ The Freeman dismissed such concerns as alarmist, stating that Washington would, of course, continue to champion industrial education for the masses, but that he also recognized the need for intellectual training for racial leadership. Washington's role as a Howard trustee represented "the adoption of a double standard of racial advancement." The article called Booker T. Washington and Wilbur P. Thirkield, the white President of Howard and a participant in the Conference for Education in the South, a "unit." Howard's president was described as recognizing,

. . . the importance of the industrial underpinning upon which the professional and intellectual classes must depend for their very existence, and Dr. Washington in taking up this supplementary phase of the work to which his life is consecrated, gives concrete evidence that he does not overlook the fact that to round out a race's greatness, there must be an increasing number of thinkers to properly marshal the massive army of doers--one element must labor in sympathetic cooperation with the other to accomplish that which is nearest the hearts of the wisest of each.⁵⁹

⁵⁸Indianapolis Freeman, 8 June 1907.

⁵⁹ibid.

In 1901, Harry C. Smith, the editor of the Cleveland Gazette, published an article that he wrote at the request of the editor of The Cleveland Daily World, and which originally appeared in a Sunday edition of the latter publication. Under the title, "The Negro's Education," Smith proposed that ". . . higher education and industrial training should be given equal attention. There cannot be too much done to open these two avenues to the Negroes of both sections, North and South."⁶⁰ Smith conceded that too much emphasis on manual training contributed to the stereotype of the African-American as a servant and a racial inferior; however, in his opinion the need for black industrial skill was so great, especially in the South, that vocational training must be stressed. At the same time, he maintained that opportunities for the higher education of African-Americans should be available in order that, "Throughout the South, as far as possible, equal care should be taken in the education of the Negro's head, heart and hand."⁶¹

Smith's newspaper often included articles written by or about W. E. B. DuBois. The Gazette strongly supported the crusade for civil rights and frequently lauded DuBois' ideas on political and social issues. On at least one occasion in The Gazette, the editor of Crisis decried the increasing popularity of the industrial curriculum at the expense of liberal education. He noted that the Petersburg,

⁶⁰Cleveland Gazette, 14 December 1901.

⁶¹*Ibid.*

Virginia Normal and Collegiate Institute had been superseded by a Normal and Industrial Institute and that college courses had been eliminated. In addition, he related that in New Orleans black public education ended at the fifth grade, since it was reasoned that African-Americans need only an industrial education.⁶² DuBois viewed such restrictions on black education as racist strategy aimed at limiting the educational development of African-Americans and strengthening the caste system. During the period 1901-1914, the Chicago Broad Ax covered the topic of black education to a much lesser extent than either The Freeman of Indianapolis or the Cleveland Gazette. The Chicago publication consistently took a strong stand for the civil and political rights of African-Americans and championed the cause of racial equality. Although few reports and commentary in The Broad Ax concerned the topic of black higher or classical education, it would not seem unlikely that the newspaper would in any way reject or discredit that educational option for African-Americans. On the contrary, it would appear that The Broad Ax would stand squarely in favor of higher education as a means of exhibiting the intellectual talent of African-Americans. The Broad Ax considered the industrial curriculum as a means for racial progress but not the end or ultimate goal. In an article reprinted from The New York Independent, The Broad Ax offered its readers a generally positive view of industrial education and the

⁶²Ibid., 7 March 1908.

work of Hampton and Tuskegee Institutes. Nonetheless, it also indicated their limitations.

Commercial colleges and trade schools are admirable, but for wide influence the student must seek the education of the departments of finance and and economics in our universities, or of electricity and engineering in our highest schools of technology. We should take comparatively little interest in Hampton and Tuskegee, if we did not see in them the promise of something much higher than they now give . . .⁶³

The Broad Ax indicated that it did not reject industrial education in its 1905 publication of an article that first appeared in The Home News of Alexandria, Virginia. The article was titled "Booker T. Washington: The Wizard of Tuskegee and His Camp Followers." The Virginia newspaper stated plainly that it was not opposed to manual training nor industrial education but instead to certain policies of Booker T. Washington. The newspaper's opposition was not based on Washington's work at Tuskegee, but was directed against "the machine that he and his followers have built up over the country which seeks to control the entire political and educational activities of our people . . ."⁶⁴ The Broad Ax's editorial comment following the article stated,

The Home News has given expression to our sentiments in every way, respecting the unscrupulous and the corrupting methods

⁶³Chicago Broad Ax, 19 April 1902.

⁶⁴ibid., 17 June 1905.

which Prof. Booker T. Washington has resorted to for the purpose of posing as the Moses of the Afro-American people.⁶⁵

Conclusion

The readers of each of the three black newspapers could choose from articles both opposing and supporting industrial education. Clearly, The Freeman regularly presented industrialism and industrial education in a positive light, The Gazette and The Broad Ax gave a more reserved endorsement, or on occasions took essentially a neutral position. It appears that the editorial stance of none of the newspapers was in opposition to industrial education *per se*. However, one does encounter in The Gazette and The Broad Ax strong opposition to the political and social policies of Booker T. Washington, the dominant black educational leader of the age. His name and personality were linked with the emphasis on manual training and industrial education for African-Americans. It is possible that opposition to Washington for a variety of reasons has been interpreted as opposition to industrial education. Further examination of the type of criticism leveled against Washington reveals that the Tuskegeean's cause, industrial education, has been in disrepute as the result of its close identification with its spokesman.

⁶⁵ibid.

Chapter V

Industrial Education Was Not The Issue: Reactions to Booker T. Washington in The Broad Ax, The Gazette and The Freeman

Introduction

The three newspapers reacted more frequently and more intensely to Booker T. Washington than to the issue of industrial education *per se*. As the best known African-American of his era and certainly of the period of this investigation, 1901-1914, Washington's policies and pronouncements on a variety of topics engendered considerable interest and reaction. The African-American press in general and The Broad Ax, The Gazette and The Freeman in particular covered not only Washington's stance on education, but also his political, economic and social policies. Although he enjoyed considerable popularity among African-Americans and the favor of influential white people, Washington was the target of intense criticism by those who insisted that African-Americans be accorded full citizenship. Among his severest critics were the outspoken champion of African-American civil rights, William Monroe Trotter, editor of the Boston Guardian, and Atlanta University's W. E. B. DuBois, propagandist for black rights and editor of Crisis, published by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. In addition to their respective editorial positions, The Broad Ax and The

Gazette, sometimes reprinted material from The Guardian that reflected Trotter's opposition to Washington. Pro-civil rights articles or essays by other individuals including DuBois were published in both papers. In contrast, The Freeman characteristically presented the "Wizard of Tuskegee" in a favorable light.

As has been seen earlier in this study, neither the conservative Freeman nor the more radical Broad Ax and Gazette generally presented negative views of industrial education. In all three publications, industrial education was lauded. The nature of the criticism or commendation of Washington is the focus here. To what extent did repudiation of Washington stem from his advocacy of causes or philosophies which were unacceptable to his critics? Have revisionists, as they view African-American education in retrospect, confused a rejection of industrial education with a repudiation of Washington for reasons other than his educational philosophy?

The accommodationist philosophy that Washington espoused in his speech to the Cotton States and International Exposition in Atlanta in 1895 continued to generate response in the black press for many years. Washington's address was in essence the enunciation of the values he championed throughout his career. The Broad Ax, The Gazette and The Freeman responded to these principles with intense emotion; they rarely displayed indifference. Central to Washington's convictions was the economic interdependence between African-Americans and white southerners. He condoned the

institution of segregation and avowed the fidelity of southern African-Americans to the white South. He assured that African-Americans would be patient and sympathetic in resolving the race problem. He extolled the virtue of manual labor, down-played black aspirations for political power and advised African-Americans to remain in the South.¹

Washington's "Atlanta Compromise" has been viewed as an "offering" to whites which was to be the basis for an interracial peace.² It was Washington's most famous address and it has been viewed either as "an abject surrender of black civil and political rights to the forces of racism, or as a masterly exercise in interracial diplomacy."³ The same interpretation may be made of Washington's career as a race leader. The Broad Ax and The Gazette typically rejected any denial or compromise of African-American rights. They were quick to censure Washington for not condemning racism. On the other hand, The Freeman was generally supportive of Washington's policies of accommodation. The commentaries on Washington in the three newspapers represent various opinions expressed in editorials, letters to the editor, feature articles and reprints from other contemporary black publications.

¹ John White, Black Leadership in America 1895-1968 (London: Longman, 1985), 32-33.

² Joel Williamson, The Crucible of Race, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984), 7.

³ White, Black Leadership, p. 34.

The Broad Ax

Booker T. Washington: The Educator v. The Political Spokesman

In a front page article titled, "Booker T. Washington Favors the Disfranchisement of the Negro in the South," the Chicago Broad Ax stated its reasons for opposing the Tuskegeean. The Broad Ax editorial allowed, "No fair minded person will ever attempt to under estimate [sic] the great work performed by Booker T. Washington, in behalf of industrial education for the Negro. . .⁴ Nonetheless, The Broad Ax accused Washington of seeking the support of southern whites and the "monied class" of the North at the expense of African-Americans. The Chicago publication was especially critical of Washington's endorsement of the southern states' post-Reconstruction constitutions. Undoubtedly, Washington saw in those constitutions some of the tenets of his personal philosophy. He noted, "Every revised constitution throughout the Southern States has put a premium upon intelligence, ownership of property, thrift and character; those are most truly free who have passed through the greatest discipline."⁵ The Broad Ax protested,

In this wonderful flight of eloquence on the part of Booker T. Washington, it plainly indicates that he is in favor of the disfranchisement of the Negro in the South, for those revised constitutions which he refers to were revised by the Southern

⁴Chicago Broad Ax, 25 April 1903.

⁵*Ibid.*

People with the sole object of curtailing and abridging the civil and political rights of the Negro.⁶

The following year, 1904, The Broad Ax noted that Washington was "forced to protest against the burning of an Afro-American woman at the stake by [white] Christians."⁷ In the same article the newspaper reiterated its reasons for opposing Washington.

For eight long years The Broad Ax has kept up an increasing warfare against Prof. Booker T. Washington, not because it was jealous or envious of him in the slightest degree; it's [sic] sole reason for being bitterly opposed to him are, first, he has taught a false or an unsound doctrine in relation to the civil and the political status of the Afro-American in this country. Second, in the past his lips have been sealed-for he has utterly failed to speak out in thunderous tones against the enormous and outrageous wrongs which have been heaped upon the race since he has forced himself to the front as its infallible leader in all things.⁸

In 1906, The Broad Ax addressed the dilemma it faced in trying to distinguish between its criticism of Washington, the politician and Washington, the educator:

Whenever a Colored man or woman criticizes or condemns Dr. Booker T. Washington, because he is the principal of the Tuskegee Industrial Institute, that Colored man or woman is himself apt to incur the displeasure and dislike of many white and Colored people. He is regarded as either consciously or unconsciously opposing and seeking to tear down the large educational institution for industrial training of Colored youth

⁶Ibid.

⁷Ibid., 5 March 1904.

⁸Ibid.

in Alabama. Ever since we began to publish this paper it has been difficult to make such persons see that our opposition to Dr. Washington was in his role as a politician, because they do not believe in many instances that Dr. Washington is aught else than an industrial educator and solicitor.⁹

A letter first printed in the Boston Guardian in 1906 appeared later that year in The Broad Ax. The letter's author was identified only as a "Leading Colored Citizen of Savannah, Georgia." Despite its severe criticism of Washington this letter to the editor of The Guardian began by praising the work of Tuskegee Institute:

Many intelligent Negroes of the South have been willing to look upon Mr. Booker T. Washington's induscreet [sic] utterances in silence; because of the magnificent work accomplished at Tuskegee, and because of our unwillingness to fight any man who has contributed anything to the betterment of our people.¹⁰

Again, in 1906, a Guardian article was reprinted in The Broad Ax in which positions on Washington were contrasted. ". . . our opposition to Booker Washington is not his school, but his participation in our political affairs." The article continued ". . . we will be satisfied and endeavor not to contend against him, if he confines his activities to his enormous school."¹¹ In 1907, The Broad Ax reiterated its position concerning Washington's work as an educator. ". . . nothing in the past nor in the future has been or will be said in these columns against the educational work of Booker T.

⁹Ibid., 3 January 1906.

¹⁰Ibid., 13 October 1906.

¹¹Ibid., 10 March 1906.

Washington in the South." Nonetheless, the newspaper avowed to continue to oppose Washington, when he presented himself as "the only God or mouthpiece" concerning the civil and political status of African-Americans.

Booker T. Washington: A Traitor to His Race

In the previously cited letter written by an anonymous African-American from Savannah, Washington was chastised for his condemnation of African-Americans who participated in the Atlanta race riot of 1906.¹² The letter often included capital lettering to emphasize the intensity of the charges. The anonymous author asserted that "As long as he [Washington] confined himself to industrial educational work he was useful. . . . [However,] no sooner had he branched out as a LEADER IN POLITICS, BUSINESS AND general supervisor of the Negroes of this country he has been LEADING US INTO TROUBLE."¹³ The letter stated that Washington was a ". . . DANGEROUS AND UNSAFE LEADER, PLAYING INTO THE HANDS OF THE NEGRO HATERS OF THE SOUTH." The Savannahian concluded, "We know that the Sage of Tuskegee cannot afford to speak out like a man without imperiling Tuskegee, but WHY NOT KEEP SILENT? WHY AID IN DESTROYING HIS PEOPLE?"¹⁴

¹²Ibid., 13 October 1906.

¹³Ibid.

¹⁴Ibid.

A reprint from the Boston Guardian appeared in a 1903 edition of The Broad Ax titled "Oratorical Failure;" the article referred to an address by Washington delivered to a racially-mixed audience at the state fair grounds in Raleigh, North Carolina. The article stated that many African-Americans left the auditorium in disgust because of the demeaning humor offered at the expense of the black race, for example,

. . . His telling of a Colored man who had a dream in which he visited Hell and saw that every white man had a nigger whom he was holding between himself and the fire, his meaningless platitudes, his unusual fund of darkey stories, and his saying that the most hopeful line of work for the Negro seemed to be in farming . . . and every time Booker T. gave his own people a hard rap he would look up to where the white people sat for smiles and approval and applause.¹⁵

In 1904, The Broad Ax insisted that Washington had so terribly harmed the progress of African-Americans that ". . . it will require the united effort of all lovers of the race for one hundred years to undo the work which he has performed against his race."¹⁶ The Broad Ax was replete with examples of Washington's policies that it considered contrary to the best interests of African-Americans. The Chicago newspaper rebuked Washington for "dealing in false logic" in his acceptance of the so-called separate but equal accommodations in public transportation endorsed by the U. S.

¹⁵Ibid., 14 November 1903.

¹⁶Ibid., 9 April 1904.

Supreme Court's 1896 decision in *Plessy v. Ferguson*.¹⁷ The Broad Ax maintained that Washington delighted in saying, "I am not so concerned about the Jim Crow cars as I am that there should be no bestial Negro in the Jim Crow car."¹⁸ The Broad Ax quoted Washington, "If decent colored people object to riding in Jim Crow cars, let them become stockholders in the railroads, then they can ride in palace cars." Irrespective of the economic progress made by African-Americans since emancipation, relatively few could expect to become stock holders in railroads. The Broad Ax continued, ". . . the members of all other races of people in this country whether they are respectable or disrespectful are freely accorded their civil rights why should the Negro be an exception?"¹⁹ The Broad Ax viewed Washington's expectations for African-Americans as unrealistic and unfair.

. . . He [Washington] declared that Ours is a child race, a partially developed race, when compared with some other races, which would seem to imply that those belonging to the so-called superior race are justified in withholding certain rights and privileges-- namely the right to vote and hold office until each and every member of this child race are more learned than the ripest scholar in existence and have acquired more wealth than the great banking house of Rothschild. By demanding perfection

¹⁷Ibid., 6 June 1903.

¹⁸Ibid.

¹⁹Ibid.

in all things in this respect on the part of the Negro; Booker Washington expects him to face a condition or measurer [sic] to a standard which has never been reached nor will ever be by any race of people on earth.²⁰

Although The Broad Ax had stated that its displeasure with Washington was not necessarily directed against him as a proponent of industrial education, the newspaper, contrary to its own pronouncements, did include commentary critical of industrial education, but only when it was presented as the only educational alternative for African-Americans. The Rev. Owen Meredith Waller, M.D. proclaimed that Washington's self-assumed leadership had been detrimental to the race. "Some say teach the Negro how to work. They forget that the Negro has been a workingman for nearly three centuries in this continent."²¹ With reference to the General Education Board's and Washington's efforts to promote industrial education for African-Americans, Waller continued. "Tuskegee is alright in its place, but when Mr. Washington tours the country, backed by Ogden, Baldwin and Co., ridiculing the products of Higher Education, it is time for this entire race to cry; Halt!"²² He added

²⁰Ibid., 16 April 1904.

²¹Ibid., 7 May 1904.

²²Robert Curtis Ogden (1836-1913) was a wealthy merchant, and businessman associated with the Wannamaker stores in the Northeast. He was president of the board of trustees of Hampton Institute, a trustee of Tuskegee Institute and a director of Union Theological Seminary. Ogden's name was synonymous with the crusade for educational reform in the South. He headed the Southern Education Board, and was active on the General Education Board and in the Conference for Education in the South. William Henry Baldwin (1863-1905) was a railroad executive who served as vice-president of the Southern Railroad and president of the Long Island Railroad. He was an

"... no people ever rose in the human scale except upon the ladder of the gray matter; ... the men of cultivated brain will dominate and rule the ignorant."²³

Over the years The Broad Ax's continued criticism of Washington and his strategies for the advancement of African-Americans intensified. A 1909 edition warned that he was "paving the way to become the greatest arch enemy and traitor to the Negro race!"²⁴ In 1912, The Broad Ax included the comments of white New Yorker, John E. Milholland.²⁵ In an address before "the leading Afro-Americans of Philadelphia," he attacked Washington's reluctance to speak in defense of the civil rights of African-Americans. With reference to Washington, Milholland said, "The man who tells you to keep peace in the face of the evils that have been perpetrated upon you--why I know of nothing this side of perdition that will fit his

active member of the Southern Education Movement, a great admirer of Booker T. Washington and member of the board of trustees of Tuskegee Institute.

Who Was Who in America (1897-1942), Vol. I, (Chicago, Illinois: The A.N. Marquis Co. 1943), 51, 912.

²³Chicago Broad Ax 7 May 1904.

²⁴*Ibid.*, 17 July 1909.

²⁵Milholland organized the first national convention for placing primary elections under the law. He wrote and spoke often in defense of measures for the protection of the constitutional rights of African Americans. He was an editor, writer, publicist and builder of the tubes which first carried mail and parcels underground in New York and other American cities. (New York Times, 1 July 1925)

case."²⁶ Several months earlier The Broad Ax had printed Milholland's assessment of Washington in which he stated, ". . . he [Washington] stood . . . either ignorantly or intentionally, for the Reactionaries of the South and a misguided philanthropy of the North rather than for the great masses of liberty-loving, injustice-hating people of the United States."²⁷

Booker T. Washington: The White People's Lackey

The Broad Ax noted that upon presenting a check for \$600,000 dollars to Tuskegee Institute, Andrew Carnegie called Washington the modern Moses of African-Americans.²⁸ The Broad Ax retorted that the only similarity between Washington and Moses was that Moses met with crushing defeat and the same fate would be in store for Washington. The newspaper lamented that African-Americans were in great need of a "modern Moses or a bold leader" who would teach them "manhood, self-reliance and political independence."²⁹

The Broad Ax responded to Walter Hines Page, southern white progressive author and editor of The World's Work. Page had claimed that Washington was "perhaps the most useful man now living in the

²⁶ibid., 2 March 1912.

²⁷ibid., 3 June 1911.

²⁸ibid., 13 June 1906.

²⁹ibid.

United States."³⁰ The Chicago publication, however, based its assessment of Washington not on virtue, but instead on his compliance with white southern values:

. . . A man [Washington] who has swung the whole country round to the southerner's way of looking with contempt upon the Negro's aiming at any other than menial pursuits has performed a most useful service from a white man's point of view. He has discharged the whole country from its duty bound obligation of fair and equal treatment for the Negro . . .³¹

Nearly two years later, The Broad Ax dubbed Washington the black Pope because of white America's perception that he was the most prominent leader of his race and, therefore, spoke for all African-Americans. His acquiescence on the issue of disfranchisement of African-Americans along with his "high sounding specious, plausible platitudes" were cited as "the sort of tommy rot" that deceived white people outside the South. According to The Broad Ax, the white South would only tolerate the "hat-in-the-hand Negro" and only because he would "work for half the wages of the dirtiest outcast from Poland or Hungary," and "take more harsh treatment and say thank you than a Chinese laundryman . . ."³²

In yet another article reprinted from the Boston Guardian, Washington was depicted as one who denied "what a fool with eyes can see," namely, that the white South was fiercely opposed to any

³⁰Ibid., 14 June 1902.

³¹Ibid.

³²Ibid., 9 April 1904.

equality for African-Americans be it social, political, educational or industrial. According to the article, white southerners were determined to maintain African-Americans as a subordinate and servile race.³³ In addition, northern philanthropists were indicted for their failure to recognize the true situation of African-Americans and for their complicity with Washington, whom they called "Christlike." The Broad Ax accused philanthropists of promoting African-American industrial education as "the Messiah of the Republic and Booker T. Washington its chosen prophet and high priest."³⁴

As previously cited, Roi Ottley, biographer of the Chicago Defender's founder, Roberet S. Abbott, maintained that after 1910 The Broad Ax's editor, Julius Taylor, was financially beholden to Booker T. Washington.³⁵ Although several Broad Ax articles between 1910 and 1914 present a benign treatment of Washington, there are, nonetheless, many that are characteristic of the scathingly critical representation of Washington in The Broad Ax of earlier years. For example, in October of 1910, the Chicago newspaper stated that, "The So-called Wizard of the South believes in the disfranchisement of the Negro."³⁶ Some two months later, The Broad Ax titled a

³³Ibid., 19 March 1904.

³⁴Ibid.

³⁵Roi Ottley, The Lonely Warrior--The Life and Times of Robert S. Abbott (Chicago: Henry Regnery Co., 1955), 86.

³⁶Chicago Broad Ax, 22 October 1910.

denunciation of Washington "Booker T. Washington On His Annual Booming And Begging Tour."³⁷ Furthermore, in 1911, The Broad Ax included an article in which Washington was called a, "Coward Leader Of The Colored People."³⁸ Again, in 1912, a bold headline noted that the black leaders of Philadelphia had denounced Washington as "A Traitor To His Race."³⁹

The Gazette

Booker T. Washington: An Unacceptable and Compromised Race Leader

The Gazette of Cleveland, Ohio, like The Broad Ax, included numerous reprints of articles from other publications. A 1903 editorial in The Gazette was written by the Reverend D. R. Wilkins, editor of The Conservator of Chicago, Illinois. Under the title "Booker's Ideals," Wilkins criticized Washington for pandering to white people who considered him "the greatest Negro of this or any other age." Wilkins faulted Washington for presenting the stereotypical image of the African-American in the South as that of a "Sambo or Aunt Chloe." These representations, he concluded, would lead white people to believe that such individuals were "little removed from actual barbarism and should only be trained to do farm

³⁷Ibid., 3 December 1910.

³⁸Ibid., 12 August 1911.

³⁹Ibid., 2 March 1912.

and kitchen work."⁴⁰ Likewise, O. M. Waller, a New York physician, questioned Washington's right to present himself as a spokesman for the race. Waller, whose comments also appeared in The Broad Ax, was the author of a letter to the editor of The New York Sun, later reprinted in the Cleveland newspaper. The Brooklyn physician repudiated Washington's policy of "self-effacement, retreat and surrender" regarding the civil and political rights of African-Americans. With obvious reference to Washington's reliance on white philanthropy, Waller asked, "Can Mr. Washington lead ten million of his fellow citizens to equality before the law and take his pension from men who do not want us to attain this equality."⁴¹

Almost six years later, The Gazette reported that Edward H. Morris, former Illinois legislator, author of the Illinois Civil Rights Bill and "the foremost lawyer of the race," scathingly denounced Booker T. Washington. For over two hours, Morris spoke to more than 2,000 people in Washington D. C. on the subject, "The Passing Show." Morris depicted Washington as "the ring master of a circus while his numerous small fry imitators were pictured as the acrobats, equilibrists, tumblers and roughriders . . ." The Gazette noted that in response to Morris' address men and women sprang to their feet shouting and waving their handkerchiefs in a tumult of wild enthusiasm." The article concluded that ". . . in spite of all the

⁴⁰Cleveland Gazette, 23 May 1903.

⁴¹Ibid., 5 August 1905.

efforts of Mr. Washington and his followers to quell the spirit of liberty, that some of the sparks remained in the breasts of many people."⁴²

In 1907, The Gazette printed two editorials condemning Booker T. Washington for having sided with President Theodore Roosevelt in his decision to punish the "Black Battalion" for its alleged behavior in the Brownsville, Texas, disturbance.⁴³ Roosevelt's dishonorable discharge of the black soldiers from the army engendered considerable discontent among the African-American community. In an editorial titled "Booker Washington Against His People," The Gazette concluded that no event since emancipation had caused such resentment among the race. The newspaper charged that Washington had reportedly advised Roosevelt that "this resentment did not extend beyond the Negro politicians and would soon blow over."⁴⁴ The editorial suggested that, "If the 'intimation' be correct and true, may God forgive Booker T. Washington, for it will take many a day, month and year for our

⁴²*Ibid.*, 28 January 1911.

⁴³In August 1906, a riot occurred in Brownsville, Texas in which three black companies of the U. S. army's twenty-fifth regiment were involved. One white towns person was killed, and two others including the local chief of police were injured. President Theodore Roosevelt dismissed the entire black battalion with dishonor. They were disqualified for future service in the U.S. military and civil service. Despite earlier efforts in the U. S. Congress to restore the soldiers rights and benefits, their dishonorable discharge was not reversed until 1972.

American Negro Reference Book, ed. John P. Davis, (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: 1966), 615.

⁴⁴Cleveland Gazette, 13 July 1907.

people to do so."⁴⁵ Some three months later, a Gazette editorial asked,

How is it, that Booker T. Washington can speak out for prominent white men, especially those who have injured the race like Roosevelt and Taft, and never has a single word to say in behalf of the outraged "Black Battalion?" . . . No man can lead his people who adopts such a course, because they can place no confidence in him.⁴⁶

During the period of this study, 1901-1914, The Gazette printed several articles about or by W. E. B. DuBois. The Atlanta University Professor of Sociology criticized Washington for his failure to speak out strongly in defense of the political and civil rights of African-Americans. In 1910, DuBois warned of Washington's increasing power and claimed that during the Taft and Roosevelt administrations the Tuskegeean, ". . . has been made the political dictator of the Negro race . . ."⁴⁷ DuBois cited the real dilemma then facing African-Americans as, ". . . not now the fight between advocates of the higher education and industrial education," but rather, ". . . a fight against an attempt to deliver the whole Negro race into the hand of one boss [Washington]."⁴⁸

A few months later, Bishop W. B. Derrick of the A. M. E. church told black parishioners that white people were arrogant and

⁴⁵Ibid.

⁴⁶Ibid., 5 October 1907.

⁴⁷Ibid., 19 March 1910.

⁴⁸Ibid.

presumptuous in "their attempt to force upon the Afro-American only one leader (Booker T. Washington)." Derrick insisted, "We will select our own leader."⁴⁹ In the years after 1906, as DuBois was increasingly involved in first the Niagara Movement and later the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, The Gazette identified DuBois as the type of leader African-Americans needed. In 1910, the Cleveland publication printed an article by DuBois in which he defended his right to criticize Washington's position on various issues affecting African-Americans. In the same article, DuBois espoused a social and political philosophy consistent with the editorial position of The Gazette's editor, Harry C. Smith. DuBois asserted,

I do demand political equality for black folk and social equality, if by that it is meant the right of people to associate according to character and gifts and despite such adventitious differences as creed or nationality or color. How could I be a man and not demand these things?⁵⁰

The Gazette charged that Washington was culpable of contributing to an increase in discrimination against African-Americans. For example, black students at Ohio's Oberlin College experienced racial discrimination, as they were denied admission to certain literary societies and membership in choral groups. Furthermore, in some boarding houses, African-Americans were no

⁴⁹Ibid., 7 May 1910.

⁵⁰Ibid., 23 April 1910.

longer allowed to eat at the same table with white people. The Gazette quoted Charles W. Williams, assistant to the president of Oberlin, as having said, ". . . the attitude of the undergraduate body toward the Afro-American was due in large measure to the position held by Booker T. Washington." Williams defined Washington's position as not demanding equality with white people until African-Americans, ". . . secured an economic status in society." The Oberlin official concluded that the white students at Oberlin "have taken Mr. Washington at his word on that point and do not feel they are obligated to accept the Afro-American socially."⁵¹

In a reprint from the Boston Guardian, a 1902 article in The Gazette included photographs of Booker T. Washington, his son, Booker T. Jr. and their fashionable home in Weymouth, Massachusetts. The feature is quite critical of Washington, the man, his lifestyle and his personal philosophy. Its sarcastic tone is apparent in such statements regarding the reason for the purchase of the home ". . . a temporary summer retreat from the huge financial waves which his white admirers almost cause to overwhelm him out of respect for his doctrine of manhood right extinction for the Negro."⁵² The article continued that "The place has already become the Mecca of the faithful, the little Me Toos and their families," and

⁵¹Ibid., 30 April 1910.

⁵²Ibid., 6 September 1902.

noted that they had come to consult with "the great mogul" and to take advantage of the "the great one's bounty."⁵³

Booker T. Washington: The Victim of Discrimination

The Gazette reported that Washington's leasing of a house in a prestigious Long Island, New York village in 1907 and 1908 had caused problems in the community. Under the heading, "Booker T. Causes Trouble!" The Gazette claimed that because of the Washington family's presence, ". . . an open rupture has practically resulted between the residents of this quiet Long Island village--the Bookerites (villagers) on one side and the anti-Bookerites (the '400') on the other."⁵⁴

The Gazette included a reprint from the Portland, Oregon Advocate that was critical of Washington for not speaking out in his own defense as well as that of his race. The article referred to an instance in Akron, Ohio, in 1909 when Washington was refused lodging at the Buchtel hotel.

So Dr. Washington has about come to the conclusion that after all preeminence of the kind he has, is not a safeguard from being publicly insulted merely on account of color. The hotel management in Akron, O., could see no difference between the eminent educator and any other person of color. Now is the time for Booker Washington to show to the public that there is some degree of manhood that defies at some time these heinous

⁵³Ibid.

⁵⁴Ibid., 11 July 1908.

public insults If this thing is allowed to pass unnoticed or without dignified resentment on the part of a man who is so publicly known as is Mr. Washington, then indeed will there be cast upon the race as a whole a smirch and a smear that will savor of cowardliness.⁵⁵

Booker T. Washington: The Deceiver

In 1910, Washington traveled to Europe, and while in England was interviewed by The Standard, a London newspaper. Washington told the British publication that the status of African-Americans was improving and that relations between white and black Americans were more harmonious than in the past. The Gazette chastised Washington for having said "some really absurdly untrue things about the treatment of our people in the southern part of this country, in a disgraceful effort to please the prejudiced south (at our expense of course)."⁵⁶ A refutation of Washington's remarks was written to the editor of the London newspaper by John E. Milholland, whom The Gazette described as a "wealthy white friend of the race."⁵⁷ The Gazette reprinted Milholland's letter under the heading "Tells The Truth - Skins Booker T." The Cleveland newspaper lauded Milholland's letter in which he attempted to present the "other side of the picture."

⁵⁵*ibid.*, 16 October 1909.

⁵⁶*ibid.*, 8 October 1910.

⁵⁷*ibid.*

I have no objection to Dr. Washington or any other professed authority on the subject coming here [to Europe] to tell the people of the old countries about the progress of the Negroes, for it is worthy of all possible commendation; there is nothing like it in human history--where a race has lifted itself up from illiterate slavery to a condition where illiteracy has been reduced one half in forty-five years!

What I insist on is that the other side of the picture shall also be shown, and that must be shown even if for no other purpose than to obtain the full significance of the black man's progress in America. He has come up through trial, cruelty, outrage and injustice unspeakable, and the fact that though the victim of anarchy, it has not made him an anarchist, nor has mob violence robbed him of respect for the law, and that he is still loyal to the Government which has shamed itself in refusing to defend him . . .⁵⁸

Washington's comments abroad prompted a response by twenty-three prominent African-Americans, including W. E. B. DuBois of Atlanta University, William Monroe Trotter, editor of the Boston Guardian and Harry C. Smith, the editor and publisher of The Gazette. These leaders addressed a letter to the "People of Great Britain and Europe."⁵⁹ The letter accused Washington of having given the "false impression that the Negro problem in America is in the process of "satisfactory solution." The black leaders claimed that Washington's considerable financial responsibilities made him dependent on the rich charitable public, and, therefore, he was compelled to tell what "certain powerful interests" in America

⁵⁸ibid.

⁵⁹ibid., 12 November 1910.

wished to appear as the truth. The letter cited numerous acts of discrimination against African-Americans and noted that propertied and well-educated African-Americans were usually denied the ballot, while the "most ignorant white man votes." In contrast to Washington's claim of more harmonious relations between the races, the letter of protest noted that in the United States and especially in the South "A widespread system of deliberate public insult is customary." The black leaders noted in the past twenty-five years more than 3,500 black men were lynched publicly by mobs without any pretense of trial.⁶⁰

Booker T. Washington: The Rejected Leader

In 1903, The Gazette reported that the display of Booker T. Washington's picture and an attempt to eulogize him almost caused a riot at the annual meeting of the National Afro-American Council in Louisville Kentucky. The Gazette concluded,

Evidently the questionable methods of the 'Wizard' of Tuskegee and his anti-citizen and anti-civil rights propaganda for the purpose of popularizing Booker and raising funds for his school are becoming very generally understood, at least among the intelligent of our people.⁶¹

The same year in a reprint from the Denver, Colorado, Statesman, The Gazette reported that students at Tuskegee had

⁶⁰Ibid.

⁶¹Ibid., 7 November 1903.

revolted and were barricaded in the school's chapel. According to the report, "every student" participated in the strike.⁶² The reason for their protest was the institution's announcement that there would be a change in the program of the school that would require more work and less study. The article noted that,

The white people of the town are thronging the school grounds and are aware of all that is going on and will gladly make capital of this revolt. Many of the faculty are in sympathy with the students but they are afraid to say anything about it for fear of being dismissed. Almost all of them say that the time for study is already too short for the students to learn anything about their studies.⁶³

The Gazette reported that, in 1910, Washington was the commencement speaker at Wilberforce University in Bellefontaine, Ohio. Wilberforce was among the leading predominantly black institutions of higher learning. Under the heading "Dr. Washington Snubbed," The Gazette noted that many of the faculty of Wilberforce as well as almost all the bishops of the African Methodist Episcopal Church chose not to attend Washington's speech, the principal address of the ceremonies. Dr. D. G. Robinson, the A. M. E. minister in Bellefontaine, was quoted as having regretted that Washington had been so "signally snubbed." According to Robinson, of the more than forty professors at Wilberforce only three heard Washington speak, and only one of the eleven bishops was in attendance, and he did not

⁶²Ibid., 14 November 1903.

⁶³Ibid.

stay to hear Washington's entire speech. The Gazette also included a statement by Reverend F. R. C. Durden, who verified Robinson's observations, commented, "I am pastor of the A. M. E. church here [Yellow Springs, Ohio] and one of Wilberforce's graduates, and I with many others did not hear the address. I am a Southern man and I know that the Negroes of the South look upon Mr. Washington as an arch enemy."⁶⁴

Booker T. Washington: Occasional Spokesman for African-American Rights

In contrast to its usual diatribe against Washington's accommodation of white racism, on occasion The Gazette included Booker T. Washington's pleas for justice for his race. In a letter first published in The Age-Herald of Birmingham, Alabama, and reprinted in The Gazette, Washington decried the burning at the stake of three African-Americans by a white mob in 1904. Washington warned, "If the law is disregarded when a Negro is concerned, it will soon be disregarded where a white man is concerned." Washington asked the church and the press "to speak out against such slaughter so as to . . . compel the mob to cease insulting our courts, our governments and our legal authority, causing shame and ridicule upon our Christian civilization."⁶⁵ In an editorial in the

⁶⁴Ibid., 1 July 1910.

⁶⁵Ibid., 12 March 1912.

same issue as the reprint, The Gazette praised Washington's comments:

It is a good, strong protest . . . and is bound to have an effect for good whether it arouses to action the white pulpit and press or not. This is certainly one thing the 'wizard' of Tuskegee has done that entitles him to the unstinted praise of a grateful people.⁶⁶

However, the editorial surmised that "The fact that one of the victims was a woman evidently roused Booker to action."⁶⁷

In 1908, The Gazette reported a speech Washington delivered to six thousand members of the National Education Association. The Gazette considered Washington's talk "His best speech yet in the North."⁶⁸ Washington told the assembled teachers that the nation had a special responsibility to African-Americans, who as a race were forced to come to America, and who were going to continue to be a significant portion of the United States population. He called for increased efforts to educate African-Americans noting that, "They can be made potent factors in the intelligences of our country or they can become a load of ignorance dragging down our civilization. Which shall it be?"⁶⁹ The content of Washington's

⁶⁶ibid.

⁶⁷ibid.

⁶⁸ibid., 8 November 1908.

⁶⁹ibid.

speech quoted in The Gazette did not vary greatly in theme from his characteristic orations stressing the value of thrift, respect for labor and moral education. Once again The Gazette qualified its commendation of Washington by claiming that his speech was the best speech yet in the North " . . . because it was practically free from the usual offensive and derisive 'nigger' stories Mr. Washington has so long, so entirely too long, too, persisted in rehashing in this section of the country . . ."70

On occasions, The Gazette presented Washington in a more favorable light. Such praise was usually reserved for times when Washington spoke out strongly against the abuse of civil or political rights of African-Americans. "Booker T. Washington at last takes a fairly firm stand on the question of our constitutional rights" was the preface to an article in The Gazette in 1904.⁷¹ Washington was quoted as having said "I do not believe in the Negro giving up anything that is guaranteed by the constitution of the United States."⁷² Again in 1908, The Gazette included a more positive article about Washington. Under the heading "Wants Justice Done To Negro" there appeared the subheading "The noted educator calls attention to how mobs are threatening civilization."⁷³ Washington

⁷⁰Ibid.

⁷¹Ibid., 15 October 1904.

⁷²Ibid.

⁷³Ibid., 29 August 1908.

stated that statistics show that during the preceding ten years an average of thirty-two African-Americans were lynched per year on the charge of assaulting women. He offered, "Granting that thirty-two are guilty, is that a just reason for condemning over 3,000,000 adult Negro men who have no part in such crimes?"⁷⁴

Sometimes The Gazette defended Washington against racially motivated insults directed at him personally. In 1901, the Cleveland newspaper called a white woman's displeasure about Washington's having dined with President Roosevelt in the White House "An unwomanly and unChristian attack."⁷⁵ The Gazette noted "Cultured and refined ladies are slow to express themselves before the public and through sheer modesty choose to be silent in regard to Negroes."⁷⁶ On another occasion, the publication called students who protested against Washington "southern young snips."⁷⁷ The students were opposed to Washington's speaking at a commencement ceremony at Nebraska State University. The Gazette reported that five students would forfeit their diplomas rather than hear Washington's speech, and the newspaper concluded "Terrible isn't it?"⁷⁸ Similarly, The Gazette noted that one of the textbooks

⁷⁴Ibid.

⁷⁵Ibid., 28 November 1901.

⁷⁶Ibid.

⁷⁷Ibid., 22 February 1902.

⁷⁸Ibid.

submitted for use in the public schools of Louisiana contained an exercise directing students to write an essay on Booker T. Washington. For this reason, the newspaper continued, "It is declared there that the book will get into the schools only over the vigorous protest of the Confederate bodies of that state. How silly!"⁷⁹

The Freeman

The Indianapolis Freeman was as effusive in its praise of Washington as were The Broad Ax and frequently The Gazette strident in their repudiation of him. The Indianapolis publication gave prominent coverage to the Tuskegeean and his institute in Alabama. The Freeman's depiction of Washington stands in contrast to the humiliation and rejection afforded Washington in The Broad Ax and The Gazette.

Booker T. Washington: A Giant Among Men

The greatest praise of Washington in The Freeman during the period of this study, 1901-1914, appeared between the years 1901 and 1905. An article by Charles Alexander of Wilberforce, Ohio, in 1901 was typical of the exalted adulation given to the Tuskegeean in The Freeman. Alexander describes Washington's rise from slavery to

⁷⁹Ibid., 20 February 1909.

respected educator as a "strange and marvelous feat of magic," which had given him "such distinction as to receive the affection and homage of the entire civilized world; and on account of his extraordinary career, the pages of our national history are made luminous."⁸⁰ Alexander continued, "Such a man deserves our reverence; our hearts should bud and blossom into thankfulness for his life and work."⁸¹ The same year The Freeman included a review of Washington's autobiography, Up From Slavery. The review was prominently displayed in columns surrounding a large photograph of Washington with the caption "The Wizard of Tuskegee--The Wonder of the Age--A Living Example of Worth, Integrity and Ability--Up From Slavery is the Triumphant Cry of the Race."⁸²

Washington was heralded as a practical educator with a successful record and "the man for the age--the age of achievements." With reference to those in opposition to Washington's educational policies, the article concluded, "The dreamers, wiseacres or dunces may dream on, theorize on, but the world will pay them no mind until they carry out their plans now on paper."⁸³

A 1905 reprint of an editorial appearing in The Register and Leader of Des Moines, Iowa, included in its heading the phrases

⁸⁰Indianapolis Freeman, 23 March 1901.

⁸¹Ibid.

⁸²Ibid., 28 December 1901.

⁸³Ibid.

"Tribute To Washington" and "Greatest Man Of The South." The editorial claimed, "The most marked characteristic of Washington is his strong common sense," calling his philosophy "our common sense Americanism."⁸⁴ The editorial applauded Washington's belief that the material progress of the race would lead to wider acceptance of African-Americans and greater civil and political rights for them. Furthermore, The Freeman maintained that Washington's philosophy was:

. . . just as good a philosophy for the white race as for the colored, and perhaps just as much needed. It is the philosophy of Benjamin Franklin adapted to a new age and to new conditions. It is the philosophy of Now that I have a horse and cow my neighbors will bid me good morrow.⁸⁵

The front page editorial concluded that Washington would continue to enjoy a successful life, and that, "if he made no mistake," he was assured of being "one of the notable figures of his generation . . . his influence will grow rather than diminish, and his recognition, not as a Negro, but as an American citizen, will be more friendly."⁸⁶

An article that had previously appeared in The Progress of Omaha, Nebraska, was reprinted in The Freeman in 1904. Titled "Mr. B. T. Washington's Influence," the article defended Washington's

⁸⁴Ibid., 1 July 1905.

⁸⁵Ibid.

⁸⁶Ibid.

reluctance to speak out on behalf of the political and civil rights of African-Americans.

The worst thing that can be said against him [Washington] is that he has not been as bold and as outspoken in the denunciation of the wrongs to which his race is subjected as he might have been. But . . . he is not and does not aspire to be a political leader. His lines are cast in a different channel.⁸⁷

The Freeman defended Washington's educational philosophy and noted that he had endeavored to make it known that he stood for "a phase of education, manual training."⁸⁸ The Indiana publication added in a reprint from the Marion (Iowa) Sentinel,

He does not feel that his effort along that line should interrupt the progress of the other phases of education, but he means as it is clearly shown by his almost superhuman effort, to leave no stone unturned in the promotion of the side he has chosen. His views on the educational phases amount to a principle, which is as follows:

A liberal education for those who are able to be liberal, which is the jewel--consistency--the thing so often lost to view. . . .⁸⁹

At a time when denunciations of Washington appeared in The Gazette and The Broad Ax, The Freeman included an article by J. D. Henderson, a black physician from Boston, who argued for tolerance. Henderson stated that despite differences of thought between

⁸⁷Ibid., 2 January 1904.

⁸⁸Ibid., 26 December 1903.

⁸⁹Ibid.

Washington and his detractors neither side should resort to baseness. Henderson added,

Whatever may be the outcome of the teachings of Dr. Washington no noble-minded man will deny him the reverence due to sincerity of purpose and usefulness of motive. He may be mistaken in his views, in all of them, in many of them, or in a few of them or he may be entirely right, time alone can make the revelation, but respect as a sincere man in his present is due, and it is equally the right of any honorable opponent.⁹⁰

Booker T. Washington: Proponent of Accommodation by Necessity

Later in 1904, J. D. Henderson wrote another article addressing divisions among African-Americans on issues of importance to them. He defended Washington's policies and stated that "friendly relations with the 'white world' must be established along prudent line." He warned, "indifference to the fate of the masses by the leaders and thinkers means the ultimate loss of all." The Boston physician divided African-Americans into two classifications, "the solid mass" and "individuals who are already awakened to aspirations and who have entered the battle of life." He noted that, ". . . it is the unthinking mass for which Dr. Washington is also striving, but he is also striving to bring to his aid the progressive individuals of the race."⁹¹ Henderson defended

⁹⁰Ibid.

⁹¹Ibid., 20 August 1904.

Washington's policy of accommodation, and in order to describe conditions that African-Americans faced, employed the analogy of being lost in a jungle:

I will only say that, if I found myself in the midst of a jungle and from some eminence caught sight of mountain top that marked the way to the outer world, I would seek to reach that point by going in a straight line, if possible, but by going in any sort of line, if I found a straight line impossible or impracticable and a winding path offered hope of avoiding impassable obstacles.⁹²

Henderson argued that Washington needed to maintain cordial relations with the white South in order to promote the uplift of African-Americans. Washington "refrains from a vain contention from things that cannot be at present won, and insists on making the best use of what can be attained." He concluded, "Beyond the fact that Washington is more practical than the average prominent leader upon what account can he be justly denounced."⁹³

Conclusion

The Freeman consistently supported Booker T. Washington as a race leader and enthusiastically endorsed the industrial curriculum. It frequently espoused the views of the so-called "Tuskegee Machine," as it typically presented very positively

⁹²Ibid.

⁹³Ibid.

Washington and his personal philosophy of accommodation of racism, self-help, and the virtue of labor. In contrast, The Broad Ax and The Gazette rejected Washington's policy of black subordination.

Furthermore, they endeavored to distinguish between Washington's policy of accommodation of white racism and his role as an educator. Although they were critical of his political stance and his efforts to monopolize philanthropic resources, The Broad Ax and The Gazette did not reject the industrial curriculum.

Chapter VI

Toward a Post-Revisionist Interpretation of African-American Industrial Education

Introduction

In his 1978 History of Education award winning essay, "Ways of Seeing: An Essay on the History of Compulsory Education," David B. Tyack discussed various explanatory models which utilize different types of evidence and revealed different preconceived assumptions. In an age of specialization, scholars frequently develop tunnel vision as they concentrate on evidence which may substantiate a predisposed point of view. What one chooses not to see is as revealing as what one chooses to see.¹ For the New Left, radical revisionist historians of education of the 1960's and 1970's, it was tempting to identify industrial education as yet another example of racist social control. Given the oppressive social, political and economic realities which black Americans have encountered for much of their history, it was easy to conclude that a special curriculum for African-Americans would be suspect. American society during the period of this study, 1901-1914, was characterized by blatant racism and the brutal repression of

¹David B. Tyack, "Ways of Seeing: An Essay on the History of Compulsory Schooling," Harvard Educational Review 46 (August 1976): 355.

African-Americans. Indeed, the progressive reformers of southern education in forums such as the Conference for Education in the South espoused patronizing recommendations for black education that revealed their own racist sentiments. In addition, industrial training has traditionally been viewed as offering less socio-economic mobility than liberal education. Consistent with reproduction theory, the New Left historians viewed the industrial emphasis on black education as a replication of racist policy. As critical theorist Henry A. Giroux has stated, radical educators have argued that the main functions of schools are the reproduction of dominant ideology . . . and the distribution of skills needed to reproduce the social division of labor."²

African-Americans: Active Participants in Their Educational Destiny

James D. Anderson is among the foremost radical revisionist historians of African-American education. He has expanded and refined his perspective since his earlier work of the 1970s. The Education of Blacks in the South, 1865-1930, published in 1988, is a detailed record of black educational policies. Anderson avers that African-Americans were among the first southerners to campaign for universal state-supported public education, thus breaking with

²Henry A. Giroux, "Theories of Reproduction and Resistance in the New Sociology of Education: A Critical Analysis," Harvard Educational Review, 53 No. 3 (August 1983): 258.

the traditional southern "planters' ideology" of maintaining the laboring classes ignorant and more easily suppressed.³ Anderson maintains that African-Americans were actively involved in their own educational self-determination and were committed to achieving "educational self-sufficiency in the long run with or without the aid of northern educators and philanthropists." He concludes that, "Universal education was certain to become a reality in black society not because ex-slaves were motivated by child-like, irrational and primitive drives, but because they were a responsible and politically self-conscious social class."⁴

African-Americans: Victims of the Southern Education Movement

While Anderson sees African-Americans as actively involved in determining their educational opportunities in both the post-civil war and post-Reconstruction periods, he presents them as victims of the southern education movement. He is particularly critical of northern philanthropists, who, he insists, shared the white South's demand for a second class education, i.e., industrial education for African-Americans. Anderson claims an inferior education was necessary to prepare them for subordinate roles in the southern economy. He sees in the Hampton-Tuskegee model "the ideological

³James D. Anderson, The Education of Blacks in the South: 1860-1935, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988), 4.

⁴Ibid., 15.

antithesis of the educational and social movement begun by the ex-slaves.”⁵ He maintains that, contrary to earlier historical interpretation, industrial education was not a “compromise” that would at least ensure African-Americans some form of education. It was instead the “logical extension of an ideology that rejected African-American political power while recognizing that the South’s agricultural economy rested on the backs of black agricultural workers.”⁶

Anderson maintains that Hampton and Tuskegee served primarily as normal schools whose purpose was to train black ideologues and a conservative teacher corps.⁷ He states that Hampton and Tuskegee confused the curriculum of a normal school with trade and economic development. The practical and moral foundation of teacher training rested on a unique manual labor routine and an ideology of self-help.⁸ By the time of the southern education movement, Booker T. Washington, the northern philanthropists and a cadre of black leaders entered the new century determined to discredit their opposition and to unify the race behind the Hampton-Tuskegee program.⁹ Anderson claims that Washington controlled the black

⁵Ibid., 33.

⁶Ibid., 44.

⁷Ibid., 44, 49.

⁸Ibid., 34.

⁹Ibid., 105

press and used it shrewdly to project a positive image of his campaign to commit African-Americans to the Hampton-Tuskegee educational and social ideology.¹⁰ In part, the findings of this study refute Anderson's charge. This study found that neither the Chicago Broad Ax nor the Cleveland Gazette shied away from demanding full citizenship for African-Americans.

The African-American press offers significant possibilities for further research on curricula that limited opportunities for African-Americans. One might consider investigating the respective positions on black industrial education in newspapers other than those of this study, as well as other black periodicals and publications. One might document how the topic of African-American industrial education was presented in the respective newspapers of this research during the period following the years covered here. Did the amount of coverage and perspectives on the topic change after the death of Booker T. Washington in 1915 and at the beginning of the great black migration to the Midwest? Such investigations might encounter additional ambiguities which in turn, might provoke new interpretations.

Radical Revisionism Challenged

Diane Ravitch, a traditional historian of education and a leading critic of radical revisionism, saw in the New Left historians'

¹⁰Ibid., 106.

scholarship the imposition of ideology on the historical past. She charged that they decided to read "the past into the present and the present into the past." Ravitch noted that, "Politicized history, written in reaction to the mood of the moment becomes dated as the mood of the moment fades."¹¹ A radical educational historian, Joe L. Kincheloe, agreed that in the work of the New Left historians overtly political questions had priority. He criticized radical revisionism for its over-simplification of the ambiguities, the incompleteness and the irrationality of historical events. He considers "radical revisionism to be an anachronism in the 1990's."¹² Unlike Ravitch, who in her refutation of the revisionists is an apologist for the liberal tradition in American education, Kincheloe's criticism is centered on the question of methodology. For him, the New Left historians were obliged to identify heroes and villains, all of whom played predestined roles in the creation of a "plot" which inevitably demonstrated the imposition of social control from the top down. Central to Kincheloe's "rethinking methodology" is the importance of textual analysis.¹³

¹¹Diane Ravitch, The Revisionists Revised: A Critique of the Radical Attack on the Schools, (New York: Basic Books, Inc., Publishers 1977),166,168.

¹²Joe L. Kincheloe, "Educational Historiography Meta-Analysis: Rethinking Methodology in the 1990's," International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education 4 No. 3 (1991): 234-235.

¹³Ibid.

The Significance of This Study

This study has explored a relatively neglected source, the black press, in order to ascertain the reaction of African-Americans to the subject of black industrial education. The editors and writers were spokespersons for the very people whom the New Left typically viewed as malleable masses on whom was imposed an education designed to exploit and suppress. It is true that The Freeman consistently supported industrial education and the policies of Booker T. Washington. The Indianapolis newspaper echoed the gradualist and accommodating political approach of Washington's so-called "Tuskegee Machine." However, The Broad Ax's editor Julius Taylor, and Harry Smith, editor of the Cleveland Gazette, championed the cause of black civil and political rights and denounced Washington for his compromise with white racism. At the same time, they neither rejected industrial education for African-Americans, nor viewed it as inherently detrimental to the uplift of the race. The wrath of The Broad Ax and The Gazette was directed at Washington's generally weak public support of black civil and political rights and his record of compromise. Booker T. Washington, not industrial education, was vilified. In neither publication was industrial education inextricably identified with Washington's philosophy of accommodation. The New Left scholars contended that the white power structure imposed industrial education on African-Americans who were generally opposed to it. A logical extension of this orientation would assume that outspoken

defenders of African-American rights would also oppose the industrial curriculum. Given their political stance and general belief in economic determinism, the New Left's conclusions were predictable.

In a recent article concerning black land-grant schools in the South during the period 1890-1917, historian John R. Wennersten challenged the radical revisionist position. Wennersten maintained that the 1890 institutions that were created by the Federal government for the agricultural and vocational education of African-Americans failed to achieve their mission. According to Wennersten, their failure was largely the result of black resistance to white attempts to impose "a curriculum that would perpetuate an inferior status for African-Americans and provide them with skills that were rapidly becoming obsolete in a sophisticated industrial society"¹⁴

African-Americans defied the industrial curriculum and "Despite the intentions of southern legislatures very quickly became teacher-training institutions whose academic emphasis was more literary than industrial and agricultural."¹⁵ Wennersten concludes that even though the black agricultural and manual arts programs in the South were a failure, the prescription of black industrial education remained what it always was "an attractive white

¹⁴ John R. Wennersten, "The Travail of Black Land-Grant Schools in the South, 1890-1917" Agricultural History. Vol 65 No. 2 (1991): 54-55.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 57.

supremacy notion that had little to do with black progress or economic reality."¹⁶ Just as Anderson identified the ex-slaves as historical actors in their endeavor to establish their own educational institutions, Wennersten presents evidence of their continued involvement in defining their schooling. Thus, in regard to the black land-grant schools, human agency and the insistence of African-Americans on the curriculum of their choice were primary factors in ultimately determining the nature of black education.

Post-Revisionist Historiography

The results of this investigation show that The Broad Ax and The Gazette promoted black rights, but did not reject industrial education. This finding is anomalous to the New Left perspective, and it occurs with sufficient frequency to warrant particular attention. David Tyack has suggested that, ". . . an anomalous piece of evidence may call a theory into question and a new mode of explanation may be generated."¹⁷ Indeed, post-revisionist historiography should explore such ambiguities. As historian Maxine Greene has advised, "Educational history . . . must make room for

¹⁶Ibid., 62.

¹⁷Tyack, 389.

incompletion and for 'raggedness.' It must avoid historicism, tempting as it is."¹⁸

Post-revisionist historiography should demonstrate a willingness to encounter the ambiguities of the historical past. Historians should be open to the examination of complexities that appear to be inconsistent with presumed motivations and reactions. Simplistic and one-dimensional answers are insufficient. From the radical revisionist perspective, there would appear to be no ideological consistency in the advocacy of black social, political and economic empowerment and the acceptance or lack of objection to black industrial education. However, the fiercely pro-civil rights positions taken by The Broad Ax and The Gazette consistently appear along with a benign, even laudatory treatment of industrial education for African-Americans. What is the significance of this investigation with regard to the larger interpretive questions of African-American educational historiography? This historical case study suggests that the revisionist narrative is incomplete and reductive.

The New Left educational historians presented the industrial curriculum as a consummate instrument for social control of African-Americans. For the radical revisionists, industrial schooling allowed for the economic exploitation of African-Americans and functioned as a primary means of maintaining the

¹⁸Maxine Greene, "Identities and Contours: An Approach to Educational History," History, Education and Public Policy, Donald R. Warren ed. (Berkeley: McCutchan Publishing Corporation, 1978), 308.

southern caste system. Indeed, revisionist historians James D. Anderson and Donald Spivey, among others, have documented the collusion of white and black forces to exploit African-American labor. Revisionist scholarship has addressed questions fundamental to an understanding of the motives for black industrial education. Critics of the New Left, like Diane Ravitch, do not sufficiently refute the revisionists' work by attempting to present the absence of a political agenda on the part of northern philanthropists. The quarrel with the New Left does not have to be premised on the defense or celebration of the liberal educational tradition. The post-revisionist stance implied within this study does not have to reject the validity of the questions raised by the radical revisionists, but it should seek to transcend their limitations.

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