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## Five black educators: founders of schools in the South, 1881-1915

Arnold Cooper  
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1881-1915

*Iowa State University*

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Five black educators: Founders of schools  
in the South, 1881-1915

by

Arnold Cooper

A Dissertation Submitted to the  
Graduate Faculty in Partial Fulfillment of the  
Requirements for the Degree of  
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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Ames, Iowa

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of Blanche and Sam Dillard has inspired me for over a decade and I pray that they will have the strength to continue their commitment.

## INTRODUCTION

## I. The Historical Continuum of Black Education

The problem of how to educate black Americans in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, according to historian Earle H. West, was a major issue for the South and derived its urgency from the need to integrate large numbers of former slaves into southern society.<sup>1</sup> On a September day in 1895, a young black teacher arose out of the South and offered a solution; with one stroke, with one speech, Booker Taliaferro Washington captivated the American people and became "the national Negro leader."<sup>2</sup> Speaking in Atlanta, Georgia, during a period of degenerating racial relations, Washington not only addressed himself to the white concerns about social equality, "The wisest among my race understand that the agitation of questions of social equality is the extremest folly," but he also asked black people to "cast down your bucket in agriculture and mechanics." He argued that there was "as much dignity in tilling a field as in writing a poem" and in place of political means, Washington offered an economic means to achieve status for his people through industrial education: "Our greatest danger is that in the great leap from slavery to freedom we may overlook the fact that the masses of us are to live by the productions of our hands, and fail to keep in mind that we shall prosper in proportion as we learn to dignify and glorify common labour and put brain and skill into the common occupations of life...."<sup>3</sup>

Industrial education for black people had a long history before Washington emerged as a figure of national stature. Evidence of interest

in industrial education for blacks was found as early as the latter part of the eighteenth century. In 1773, Philadelphia Quakers had a school for blacks in which they placed emphasis on sewing and manual arts. The National Convention of Abolition Societies, while not establishing any schools, in 1796 urged free blacks to "teach their children trades or to labor with their hands in cultivating the earth" in order to stimulate the "habits of industry."<sup>4</sup> Sentiment for industrial education received a stimulus with the emergence of the Negro Convention Movement (1831-1858). Beginning in 1831, free blacks in the North met annually in state and national conventions to discuss their problems and formulate plans for racial elevation. In 1832, a national convention of free blacks supported a manual labor college and at the 1848 Cleveland convention, Frederick Douglass called upon black people to "get your sons into mechanic trades." Five years later (1853), Douglass urged black people to "Learn Trades or Starve!"<sup>5</sup> In phraseology remarkably similar to that of Booker T. Washington a half-century later, Douglass urged:

We must show that we can do as well as be; and to this end we must learn trades. When we can build as well as live in houses; when we can make as well as wear shoes; when we can produce as well as conserve wheat, corn and rye — then we shall become valuable to society.... The fact is, the means of living must precede education; or in other words, the education of the hands must precede that of the head.<sup>6</sup>

The pre-Civil War sentiment for industrial education for blacks was part of a national movement of vocational education and industrial training for white youth that included manual labor colleges in the 1820s and 1830s and early technical schools such as Rensselaer in New York State (1824), the Lawrence Scientific School founded at Harvard in 1847,

and the Sheffield Scientific School established at Yale University in the same year.<sup>7</sup> The Morrill land-grant college act of 1862, providing for federal aid to agricultural and mechanical colleges, boosted industrial education, but its direct effect upon education for blacks was delayed. Only four black schools received land grant funds before 1890, when a second Morrill Act mandated that black institutions receive a share of the assistance made available to each state.<sup>8</sup>

After the Civil War, the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands, created in 1865 to centralize the federal responsibility for the care of newly freed slaves ("freedmen"), and various missionary societies also pleaded the cause of industrial education. The Freedmen's Bureau, as it was usually called, operated thirty-five industrial schools for blacks in the South by 1867.<sup>9</sup> As early as 1864, a number of missionary societies established industrial schools in the South where trades were taught to foster among blacks the ideas of independence and self-reliance. Prominent among the missionary groups that advocated industrial education during the Reconstruction period was the American Missionary Association (AMA) founded by abolitionists in the Congregational church in 1846. The AMA inaugurated "ambitious programs of industrial education" in three of its sponsored schools between 1868 and 1871, including an influential effort at Hampton Institute.<sup>10</sup>

Hampton Agricultural and Normal Institute was founded under AMA auspices by Samuel Chapman Armstrong at Hampton, Virginia, in 1868. He was born in 1839 and raised in Hawaii where his father, a missionary, conducted the Hilo Manual Labor School for native Hawaiians. This was a boarding school for boys, who were required to work at a trade in

order to pay their tuition. Armstrong came to the United States in 1860, became a colonel of a black regiment in the Civil War, and an agent of the Freedmen's Bureau after the war.<sup>11</sup> The AMA appointed him principal of its new school at Hampton, Virginia, and the school became an independent normal and industrial school in 1872, the year that Booker T. Washington entered as a student.

Armstrong believed that blacks in the South were similar to the Hawaiians that his father taught and the new Principal of Hampton Institute decided to design an education for former slaves in the United States based on the model he had seen in Hawaii. According to historian August Meier, Armstrong "brought to his work a conservative bias and a belief in the value of industrial education for 'dependent' and 'backward' races. For Armstrong the means of Negro advancement... lay essentially in combating what seemed to him to be shiftlessness, laziness, extravagance and immorality...."<sup>12</sup> The type of school that Armstrong established, therefore, was a normal school that, in addition to an academic curriculum, employed manual labor as a device to build self-reliance and character. His pithy formula for black racial progress was "Salvation by work."<sup>13</sup>

In implementing the manual labor idea, Armstrong initially established a farm and several industries such as soap-making and broom-making. These work situations gave students manual labor experience, and also provided them the opportunity to earn all or part of their school expenses.<sup>14</sup> Armstrong placed especially strong emphasis on agricultural education. He believed that "The race [black people] will succeed or fail as it shall devote itself with energy to agriculture

and the mechanic arts."<sup>15</sup> The Principal of Hampton Institute passed his concept of education on to his student, Booker T. Washington. Historian James McPherson maintained that the "Hampton idea became in the 1880s also the Tuskegee idea," while August Meier also concluded that "in pedagogical matters... Washington derived his inspiration directly from Hampton Institute and Samuel Chapman Armstrong...."<sup>16</sup>

During the 1880s, industrial education for blacks received further impetus from the Slater Fund, established in 1882 by John F. Slater, a Massachusetts textile industrialist. Slater's million dollar bequest for black education was used to support institutions that provided instruction to "enable colored youth to make a living, and to become youthful citizens."<sup>17</sup> By 1887-1888, the Slater Fund was assisting financially forty-one black private secondary schools that had industrial departments, including Tuskegee Institute, which received one of the first appropriations made by the Fund in 1883.<sup>18</sup>

It was apparent, then, that some blacks had espoused and supported industrial education well before Washington founded Tuskegee Institute in 1881. By 1890, the "ascendency of industrial education" had been established and, by 1895 Washington had become "great and powerful not because he initiated a trend, but because he expressed it so well."<sup>19</sup> Considering this background, it is best to consider the schools and their founders described and analyzed in this study as part of an historical continuum rather than as anomalies in the educational tradition of black Americans.

Serious criticism of Washington and industrial education did develop, however, from some blacks who believed that only the kind of

education that would cultivate the intellectual talents of black students would lead to the liberation of the race as a whole. Debate on the issue of what kind of education was best for black people polarized by the late 1890s around Washington and W. E. B. Dubois. Dubois was born free in 1868 in western Massachusetts and, unlike Washington, had been educated in classical fashion, first at Fisk University (1885-1888) in Nashville, Tennessee, a black college that prided itself on its academic orientation, and then at predominantly white Harvard where he received his Ph.D. in 1895, the year that Washington delivered his famous speech in Atlanta.<sup>20</sup>

Dubois argued that a classical education would develop knowledgeable, insightful leaders who would then plan the social elevation of the larger proportion of black people. His conception of education was geared towards the nurturing of a black "talented tenth" that he described as "exceptional men, the best of the race."<sup>21</sup> He was convinced that black equality meant developing black leadership to the same intellectual, social, and political level as whites. Nothing like that was attainable through Washington's industrial education model. As historians Jane Browning and John Williams put it, "For Dubois, industrial education required blacks to give up political power, abandon their insistence on civil rights, and withdraw demands for the education of black youth."<sup>22</sup>

Dubois sketched the broad outlines of the "talented tenth" concept in 1898 when he told a graduating class at Fisk University, his alma mater, that "We have workers enough, brawny and willing.... But what we do lack... is the captain of industry, the man who can marshall and

guide workers in industrial enterprises, who can foresee a demand and supply it...." Dubois expected much from Fisk graduates, since they were trained "in the liberal arts and subjects in that vast kingdom of culture that has lighted the world from its infancy...."<sup>23</sup>

In 1903, Dubois' The Souls of Black Folk appeared, two years after Washington's Up from Slavery. In the Preface, Dubois noted that "I have criticized candidly the leader who bears the chief burden of his race today." The criticism was found in a chapter entitled "Of Booker T. Washington and Others." The Harvard Ph.D. undercut the Hampton Institute graduate as a race leader, claiming that Washington was a "compromiser willing to surrender... civil and political rights... for larger chances of economic development."<sup>24</sup> Dubois also listed the components of a "triple paradox" that faced the founder of Tuskegee Institute. Washington strived to make "negro artisans, businessmen and property owners" but "workingmen and property-owners could not defend their rights without the right of suffrage." He insisted on "self-respect but counseled a silent submission to civic inferiority." Washington, lastly, advocated "common school and industrial training" for blacks, but the schools that he wanted could not "remain open a day were it not for teachers trained in Negro colleges...."<sup>25</sup> In effect, Washington's plan was unworkable and black people would gain little and lose much. The debate between Washington and Dubois is relevant to this study, since the controversy occurred at a time when the other educators in this study besides Washington were emerging as advocates of industrial rather than classical education.

## II. Problems of Interpretation

Historians have regarded industrial education as advocated by Washington as a product of compromise — between North and South, between black and white. Following the lead of Dubois who, in The Souls of Black Folk, labeled Washington's 1895 speech the "Atlanta Compromise," historians have argued consistently that the Hampton-Tuskegee plan of industrial education was merely an educational accommodation to the demands of the white South; whether it was a result of callous deception or of pitiful naivete, they have concluded, industrial education assured both white supremacy and a trained labor supply. Historian Henry Allen Bullock was one of the leading critics of what he called "the great detour" in black education. "Since the South would not accept any other kind of Negro education," he wrote in 1967, "[black and white] leaders of the [industrial education] movement struck a compromise with the South and settled for a special kind of education that would prepare Negroes for the caste position prescribed for them by white Southerners."<sup>26</sup> August Meier was similarly disenchanted with Washington's industrial education approach. "Negroes were to be 'uplifted,'" he suggested, "to the extent that they would adopt middle-class virtues and thus be a docile and stable laboring force." Meier and other historians as well have interpreted industrial education as a cynical exploitation of the aspirations of black students.<sup>27</sup>

The two leading interpretations of Washington's industrial education plan — that it was an extension of the campaign for white supremacy and that it was designed to exploit black labor — have engendered

considerable cynicism; they have also blinded historians to important and revealing perspectives on the industrial education idea. Historians have not studied the small schools where industrial education was practiced and have neglected to study the larger schools such as Tuskegee Institute and Hampton Institute. In their desire to castigate a racist past and find assurances that old errors can be transcended, modern historians have tended to concentrate on the contention that industrial education did not prepare black people for active participation in twentieth century life and they have allowed major questions about the industrial education movement for blacks to remain unanswered, even unasked.

### III. Purpose and Nature of this Study

The purpose of this study is to present an analysis of the educational philosophy and practices of five black educators who founded schools in the South that emphasized industrial education between 1881, the year that Tuskegee Institute was established, and 1915, the year that Washington died, and who wrote published autobiographies during the same period. Careful inquiry into the ideas and practices of each of the five selected educators will permit a fuller interpretation of black educational leadership during the ascendancy of Washington and provide new data for a portfolio on how five models of industrial education for black students actually operated. An examination of the ideas and practices of a group of black industrial educators will provide insight into their articulated intent and motives and provide an

understanding of how such a group actually used the concept of industrial education to establish objectives for and give direction to the development of their students and their communities.

To achieve a broader perspective on black industrial education in the South, the following questions served as guidelines for collecting data and for structuring this study:

1. What were the forces behind the attending concern for industrial education as articulated by each educator?
2. For what stated ends or purposes did each educator believe that black people should be educated?
3. What types of content and teaching methods did each educator advocate?
4. What were the actual educational policies and practices of each school and what kind of relationships did each school form with its surrounding community?
5. What were the sources of the funds to maintain each school and what techniques were used to gain financial support?
6. What were the political and racial factors that confronted each educator?
7. What were the relationships that developed among the educators and how was each educator influenced by the example of Booker T. Washington?

Surely these questions should be answered as part of a meaningful analysis of the black industrial education movement.

#### The selection of educators

Since the process by which educational ideas were translated into institutions is a major focus in this analysis, the subjects of the study were selected because they were actual practitioners of industrial education in the South. Finding models of industrial education, however, was not enough. Evidence that would express how a black educator viewed the

world and operated within it from that educator's perspective was also needed to approach the stereotype of black industrial education that historians have created. The autobiography as a source was selected because this evidence offered the subjective view and lent itself to a study of the articulated intent of each educator as well as the ways that each individual understood himself and his world. Historian H. P. Rickman has made the point that the attempt to see the world as others see it is a worthwhile undertaking for the historian: "By capturing the meaning which individuals, here and there, have perceived in, and attributed to their circumstances, the meaning which informed their actions and became embodied in their creations, the historian can tell a meaningful story."<sup>28</sup>

A search of six bibliographies revealed that there were six black educators in the South between 1881 and 1915 who had written published autobiographies about their experiences as school founders while they were working actively as school principals.<sup>29</sup> Subsequent research revealed that there was not enough evidence available about one of the educators and his school to present an accurate analysis of the practices and policies of that industrial education effort, and that educator was eliminated from this study.<sup>30</sup> The five remaining educators selected for this study were Booker T. Washington, William J. Edwards, William H. Holtzclaw, Laurence C. Jones, and Thomas O. Fuller.<sup>31</sup>

## IV. Survey of the Literature

Booker T. Washington

Historians who have studied the founder of Tuskegee Institute as an educator have tended to obscure the institutional features of his school or have evaluated his practices and ideas in isolation. Citro's study of Tuskegee Institute covered the period 1900 to 1915, when Washington was an experienced school administrator. Citro was interested in institutional practices related to student life and faculty and not in Washington's ideas about education.<sup>32</sup> Gardner claimed that Washington's ideas about curriculum development illustrated his commitment to the concept of career education because he stressed work, but Gardner did not study how the practices of Washington's school related to career development.<sup>33</sup> Spivey has interpreted Washington's principalship harshly, stigmatizing him as "The Black Overseer of Tuskegee" whose "educational practices were based on his desire to please whites and gain their support." Spivey did not concede that Washington might have had a set of articulated ideas about education apart from his intent to appease white sentiments.<sup>34</sup>

Some historians have compared Washington with other black educators, none of whom were advocates of industrial education. Thomas invidiously compared Washington to Dubois, placing the "onus of the Black man's plight" on Washington, while praising the "signal achievements" of Dubois as an educator who sought to "liberate" black people.<sup>35</sup> Lewinson compared Washington with Benjamin E. Mays, a former President of Morehouse College (Atlanta, Georgia), and Nathan Wright, Jr., a contemporary

black educator from New Jersey, and concluded, after studying several of Washington's speeches and Up from Slavery, that the Tuskegee Institute founder never made "explicit an educational theory as such." The writings of Mays, a college president from the mid-1930s to the mid-1960s, and Wright, who started in the late 1960s writing essays and books about black education, contributed "significantly to educational theory."<sup>36</sup> Young studied the educational and racial views of Washington and Carter G. Woodson, a pioneering twentieth century black historian, primarily through their speeches. Young suggested that both men "supported the notion that improvement in the social order could be effected through education" and his assessment of Washington was based on the stated intentions of the Tuskegee Institute Principal and not on any of his practices.<sup>37</sup>

William J. Edwards and William H. Holtzclaw

There has been little written about the two educators in this study who were graduates of Tuskegee Institute. William J. Edwards, a student of Washington's and the founder of Snow Hill Institute (Ala.) in 1893, was the subject of a study by Davis, who relied primarily on Edwards' autobiography. Historical commentary for Davis was secondary to an interpretation of a questionnaire completed by eighty Snow Hill Institute graduates of the early 1950s.<sup>38</sup> Sherer presented a sympathetic but cursory sketch of Edwards with much reliance on Edwards' book and Davis' account. Sherer interpreted Edwards' effort at Snow Hill Institute somewhat narrowly: "Edwards was not primarily concerned with producing

leaders... using instead a small school to help blacks... to have better lives."<sup>39</sup>

William H. Holtzclaw, a classmate of Edwards' at Tuskegee Institute and a teacher at Snow Hill Institute for four years (1898-1902), and the founder of Utica Institute (Miss.) in 1903, has also received little attention from historians. Walter Washington's study of Utica Institute was the only one of its kind discovered after a search of the literature. This account of the four principals of Utica Institute from 1903 to 1957 included a chapter on Holtzclaw. The author used Holtzclaw's autobiography extensively for institutional data about Utica Institute but did not analyze the autobiography for a set of articulated educational ideas that may have been present. Washington did not explore Holtzclaw's relationship with Booker T. Washington other than those incidents recited by Holtzclaw in his autobiography, nor did he probe into Holtzclaw's relations with Emmett Jay Scott, personal secretary to Washington. Washington, instead, chose to emphasize Holtzclaw's struggles to locate a community where he could work and portrayed the founder of Utica Institute as a man who "succeeded in his profession and [who] fulfilled a dream in Mississippi... to build a school for his people."<sup>40</sup> Cobbins offered only a four-page sketch of Utica Institute from 1903 to 1972, while one of Holtzclaw's sons, Robert Fulton, has written an adoring account of his father's life with a total reliance upon his father's autobiography. The younger Holtzclaw did offer some interesting vignettes about his father and his book included thirty pictures of the Utica Institute campus during various phases of its development.<sup>41</sup>

Laurence C. Jones and Thomas O. Fuller

The two educators in this study with a liberal arts educational background have been neglected by historians until recently. Laurence C. Jones, the founder of The Piney Woods School (Miss.) in 1909 and Director of the Academic Department at Holtzclaw's Utica Institute for two years (1907-1909), was the subject of a fond remembrance by Leslie Purcell, the son of a white friend of Jones who lived in Braxton, Mississippi, three miles from Jones' school. Purcell claimed that he had interviewed Jones several times and that he had been a frequent visitor to The Piney Woods School campus during the early 1950s. Purcell emphasized Jones' principalship from 1930 to 1950 rather than at the founding of the school.<sup>42</sup> Sewell provided a brief account of Jones and his school in his book on noted blacks in Mississippi.<sup>43</sup> Harrison's recent account of The Piney Woods School is based on oral histories that the author conducted with black and white residents of Braxton County (Miss.) who remembered Jones at different stages of his career. Harrison was interested less in the early years of Jones' school than she was in the period from 1920 until Jones' death in 1975, but her book included several interviews with students who attended The Piney Woods School in 1909 and 1910. A former student at The Piney Woods School herself, Harrison concluded that the major contribution of Jones was his "successful relationship with the surrounding community" of both black and white residents.<sup>44</sup>

Thomas O. Fuller, the founder of two Baptist schools in North Carolina during the 1890s, who became the Principal of Howe Institute in Memphis in 1902, was included in a series of biographical essays

written by Tucker about black clergymen in Memphis. Tucker was interested in Fuller as a ministerial leader during the 1920s and 1930s rather than as an educator. Tucker's analysis of what he called Fuller's "racial adjustment philosophy" during the 1900s related the Howe Institute Principal to his social milieu.<sup>45</sup> Wheeler took only cursory notice of Fuller in his study of black ministers in the South between 1865 and 1902. Fuller, according to Wheeler, was part of a group of clergymen who accepted education as an important means for "securing the promise of uplift" for black people after the Civil War ended.<sup>46</sup>

## V. Approach and Method

### Assumptions

Certain basic assumptions underly this study:

1. Black educational leadership has proven to be an important part of the black American experience. It has consisted of individual and collective contributions to black uplift. Careful scrutiny of the dynamics of black educational leadership should illuminate our understanding of some of the programs, ideologies, and tactics that black educators have employed in the past.
2. Traditionally, historians of black educational leadership have singled out men and women of undisputed national reputation, a few black heroes and heroines esteemed the most outstanding representatives of their race.<sup>47</sup> Lesser known members of the black educational vanguard have been obscured. To achieve broader perspective on black education, it is important that we study more of the latter, the significant minor figures that were also faced with the perils and prospects of leadership.
3. In a study of a group of black educators in the South between 1881 and 1915, recognition and proper emphasis should be given to the historical actualities and limitations that were imposed on black people. The ideas and strategies of black educators in the South between 1881 and 1915 could not be exclusively educational. Political, economic, and racial

constraints were present and a recognition and an analysis of these constraints is a prerequisite for a judicious interpretation of the black educational leaders in this study.

### Limitations

The scope of this study is confined to five black male educators in the South between 1881 and 1915 who wrote published autobiographies about their experiences while they were working in the capacity of a school principal. No attempt was made to paint a definitive portrait of black industrial education in the South or to provide a picture of a "typical" black industrial educator of the period. The Tuskegee Institute graduates in this study, Edwards and Holtzclaw, for example, were only two of sixteen graduates of Washington's school who founded officially recognized "offshoots of Tuskegee Institute" in the South between 1889 and 1908.<sup>48</sup> The fact that other black educators may have founded schools in the South during the period under consideration but did not write an autobiographical account while doing so and are not included in this study, is not to imply relative importance compared to those educators chosen for study.

### Format

In the organization of each chapter, other than the one on Fuller and the Conclusion, the format is divided into five parts:

Part I includes a brief sketch of the school founder, the circumstances surrounding the founding of the school, information concerning the setting and the political and racial factors that existed at the time of the school founding and

during its development. This part also consists of a description of the growth and development of six features of each school - students, alumni, curriculum, faculty, extension, fund raising - from the founding until the publication of the founder's autobiography.<sup>49</sup>

Part II contains details about the relationships that each educator had with the other educators in this study.

Part III consists of a brief description of the autobiography of each educator.

Part IV comprises an analysis and interpretation of the educational ideas of each educator as revealed in his autobiography in relation to the formal structure of philosophy (ontology, epistemology, and axiology).

Part V is a summary of the chapter.

The chapter on Fuller differs in that an additional part is devoted to his years in North Carolina as a school founder prior to his move to Memphis, Tennessee, in 1900, and his selection as Principal of Howe Institute in 1902.

### Sources

In an effort to present a dissertation that is as thorough and sound as the available data permit, several kinds of evidence were used. Correspondence located in the Booker T. Washington Papers in the Manuscripts Division of the Library of Congress (Washington, D.C.) between Washington and his two students, Edwards and Holtzclaw, and letters in the same collection between Holtzclaw and Washington's personal

secretary, Emmett Jay Scott, proved invaluable for an analysis of the relationships that developed between the founder of Tuskegee Institute and the two founders of Tuskegee Institute replicas. Louis R. Harlan's editions of The Booker T. Washington Papers, an eleven volume set, also were useful for details about the founding of Tuskegee Institute and for the identification of personnel at Tuskegee Institute as well as certain philanthropists.

The study of The Piney Woods School, founded by Jones, was derived primarily from an examination of The Pine Torch, a monthly school newsletter started by Jones in 1911. A study of this source helped illuminate the fund raising requests made by Jones between 1911 and 1913 and his midwestern sources of support. Extant copies of The Pine Torch were located at the Iowa State Historical Department, Division of The State Historical Society, in Iowa City, Iowa. The University of Iowa Archives (Iowa City) has an alumni folder on Jones that contains some pertinent material. The Daily Iowan, the University of Iowa school newspaper, can be ordered on microfilm from the University of Iowa and issues for the years 1903-1907, the period that Jones attended the University of Iowa, were studied. Particularly helpful for assessing the perceptions of Jones as held by several former students and members of his community were four Oral History Transcripts of The Piney Woods School provided by the Institute for the Study of History, Life, and Culture of Black People of Jackson State University, Jackson, Mississippi. These Transcripts are part of an Oral History Study of Black Educational Institutions in Mississippi in progress at Jackson State.

Information about the two schools that Fuller founded in North

Carolina was found in the Proceedings of the Shiloh Baptist Association (1895 and 1896) ordered from the Baptist Historical Collection of the Z. Smith Reynolds Library of Wake Forest University (Winston Salem, N.C.). A catalog of Howe Institute was made available from a collection of Baptist historical materials at The American Baptist Historical Society (Rochester, N.Y.), and issues of The Baptist Home Mission Society (1904-1909), the organ of the American Baptist Home Mission Society, a financial contributor to Howe Institute, were ordered on microfilm from the Dargen-Carver Library of the Southern Baptist Convention in Nashville, Tennessee. Information about the founding of Howe Institute can be gained from an analysis of the Minutes of the West Tennessee Baptist Convention (1883) and a report about Howe that Fuller made to black Tennessee Baptists was located in the Minutes of the Tennessee Baptist Missionary and Education Convention (1906). Both of these sources were located at the Sunday School Publishing Board of the National Baptist Convention, U.S.A., Inc., in Nashville, and made available through Interlibrary Loan.

Among other valuable sources were several newspapers of the period. An examination of the Memphis Commercial Appeal (1900-1910) proved vital for an understanding of the racial forces that operated in that city as well as for examples of how Fuller used that newspaper to broadcast information about Howe Institute and his racial views. A study of the Jackson (Miss.) Daily News (1903-1915) was useful for an understanding of how this white-owned daily interpreted the work of Holtzclaw and Jones. In the case of Jones, a study of the Des Moines (Ia.) Register and Leader (1909-1913) and of the Des Moines Iowa State Bystander

(1899-1913), a black-owned weekly, was essential for an understanding of Jones' fund raising efforts in Iowa.

Data about enrollment, faculty, budgets, and curriculum for Tuskegee Institute, Snow Hill and Utica Institutes were found in selected Reports of the Commissioner of Education published annually by the United States Bureau of Education. The United States Census (1870-1910) contained information about the racial composition of each school setting. A study of private black schools and colleges published by the United States Bureau of Education in 1917 was useful. The Phelps-Stokes Fund, a philanthropy that contributed to black schools in the South, paid for a study of black private education in the South undertaken by the Bureau of Education from 1914-1916. The result, entitled Negro Education: A Study of the Private and Higher Schools for Colored People in the United States, was organized and compiled by Thomas Jesse Jones, a white sociologist who was in charge of statistics about blacks for the Census of 1910. Visitors from the United States Bureau of Education prepared brief reports based on their on-site visits of schools. Information from the Jones' report was used to study the status of Snow Hill and Utica Institutes in 1915 and The Piney Woods School in 1913.

#### Treatment of the autobiographies

The historian who uses an autobiography as evidence should take steps to insure that what purports to be factual squares with other available data. Every effort, therefore, was made to test the validity of each life account. By checking against other available sources (e.g. letters, newspapers, biography, government reports, etc.), one could

usually determine at what level of literalness or metaphoric utterance a given autobiographer was operating. The autobiographies used in this study, however, were used primarily to illuminate an articulated educational philosophy (ontology, epistemology, axiology) and were not relied upon for institutional data. At least one philosopher of history, Lynd Forguson, has discovered the relevance of the autobiography to philosophy: "Philosophers are much concerned with problems of knowledge, self-awareness, and values, all of which bear on the autobiographical enterprise.... The subjectivity of an autobiography is a worthy subject for a philosophical investigation...."<sup>50</sup> The autobiographies were analyzed for each educator's egocentric perspective of his world and the advice of James Olney, an historian of the autobiography, was heeded: "What one should seek in reading autobiography is... a characteristic way of perceiving, or organizing, and of understanding...."<sup>51</sup>

The status of each educator as a "key informant" was also recognized. A key informant, a mainstay of anthropologists, is an "articulate member of a studied culture who is relied upon as a source of ideas about a particular culture."<sup>52</sup> The most helpful informant is an individual who is "in a position to have observed significant events" and who is "quite perceptive and reflective about them."<sup>53</sup> A principal criterion for the value of key informants, then, is whether they represent "the condition which is the subject of the study."<sup>54</sup> Acknowledgment of the key informant standing of the five educators helped this writer to negotiate the subjective evidence offered in their autobiographies.

### Definition of terms

The terms listed below are defined to clarify the meaning and enhance the understanding of words and expressions used frequently in this study:

Authenticating devices This term was used by literary historian, Robert Stepto, to describe the historical tendency of black autobiographers, beginning with the slave narratives, to include documents such as speeches, newspaper accounts, letters and pictures in their accounts in order to lend authenticity to their books. Stepto maintained that the inclusion of these materials was part of a "strategy of authentication" employed by black authors to establish internal legitimacy for their narratives.<sup>55</sup> With the exception of Laurence C. Jones, each of the other black autobiographers in this study included collaborative evidence in their autobiographies.

Axiology A branch of philosophy, axiology deals with value. Axiology is divided into ethics and aesthetics. Ethics examines moral values and is concerned with "questions as to which things are good and which actions are right and obligatory."<sup>56</sup> Aesthetics is concerned with values in beauty and art. For purposes of this study, only the ideas about education dealing with character building and religion as revealed in the autobiography of each educator were analyzed under the rubric of axiology.

Black Belt A demographic description of areas in the pre-Civil War South, especially Alabama and Mississippi, that were characterized by rich black soil suited to the cultivation of

cotton. After the Civil War, the term was used to designate those counties and sections of southern states where black people constituted a substantial proportion of the population.<sup>57</sup> The educators in this study used the term to describe the black majorities in their respective environments and two of the educators, William J. Edwards and William H. Holtzclaw, employed the term in one of their extension activities, the Black Belt Improvement Society.

Epistemology A branch of philosophy dealing with knowledge, epistemology is concerned with questions such as the nature of human knowledge and how one validates knowledge. Epistemology is closely related to methods of teaching and learning.<sup>58</sup> The epistemological concerns of the educators in this study were limited to comments about the sources of knowledge and learning.

Industrial education Most of the industrial education offered in the black schools discussed in this study would be considered vocational training today. There was little industrial training in the sense of preparing students to work in technical industries. The term industrial education is used in this study for consistency and because the five educators used the term to refer to any non-academic job-training offered in their schools.

Ontology Another branch of philosophy, ontology is the study of the nature of reality, the search for what is real. In speculating about the nature of reality and existence, the five educators expressed beliefs in an empirical reality, a theory of reality based on subjective, observable conditions in the physical world, a

reality of aspiration, a theory based on the conviction that individuals could surmount obstacles and could progress, and they also held beliefs in the inevitability of change and the need for adjustment to the racial constraints of their environments. Little emphasis on any theory of reality that transcends the physical world (religious or rational) is found in this study.

Philosophy of education Jonas F. Soltis, a philosopher of education, has defined philosophy of education as "the holding of a world view that supports a systematic set of beliefs about educating."<sup>59</sup> Another philosopher of education, George Kneller, described the realm of educational philosophy: "... educational philosophy seeks to comprehend education in its entirety, interpreting it by means of general concepts that will guide the choice of educational ends and policies."<sup>60</sup> No claim was made in this study that any of the five educators conceived of themselves as educational philosophers. These men were men of action who also happened to have articulated beliefs about education that they tried to put into practice.

Principal The title used by each educator in this study to designate his administrative position.

Tuskegee Institute offshoot Monroe N. Work, Director of Research and Records at Tuskegee Institute, defined a Tuskegee Institute offshoot in 1911 as "an industrial school founded by graduates and former students of Tuskegee Institute."<sup>61</sup> The two graduates of Tuskegee Institute in this study who founded industrial schools were Edwards (Snow Hill Institute, Ala.) and Holtzclaw (Utica

Institute, Miss.). The term Tuskegee Institute offshoot is used only in reference to the schools founded by Edwards and Holtzclaw.

### Overview of the study

This study is organized into six chapters with the first five chapters devoted to an individual educator and the conclusions stated in Chapter 6.

An analysis of the educational philosophy and practices of Booker T. Washington is presented in Chapter 1, "The Opportunity of a Lifetime": Booker T. Washington and Tuskegee Institute, 1881-1901. The chapter on Washington provides a basis for the other chapters, since his ideas and practices were emulated in varying degree by the other black educators.

The focus in Chapter 2, "Deeds Not Words": William J. Edwards and Snow Hill Institute, 1893-1915, is on a graduate of Tuskegee Institute who founded one of the earliest offshoots of his alma mater in Alabama. Snow Hill Institute, Edwards' school, was located only one hundred miles west of Tuskegee, Alabama, and was founded in 1893, two years before Washington delivered the speech in Atlanta, Georgia, that brought him so much fame. Edwards and his school were the subjects of considerable scrutiny by Washington and relations between the two school founders were not always congenial.

An examination of the ideas and practices of another Tuskegee Institute graduate is presented in Chapter 3, "We Rise Upon The Structure We Ourselves Have Builded": William H. Holtzclaw and Utica Institute, 1903-1915. Utica Institute, the only school of its

kind founded by a Tuskegee Institute graduate in the State of Mississippi between 1903 and 1915, was an important outpost of Tuskegee Institute in a state that bordered Alabama. Holtzclaw's relationship with Washington was cordial and his ties to his alma mater also included a dependence upon Emmett Jay Scott, personal secretary to Washington.

A black educator who was neither born in the South nor a graduate of Tuskegee Institute is discussed in Chapter 4, "Lighting A Pine Torch": Laurence C. Jones and The Piney Woods School, 1909-1913. Jones was born in Missouri and educated in Iowa. He was a liberal arts graduate of the University of Iowa (1903-1907) who left the Midwest for Mississippi in 1907. Jones worked at Utica Institute for two years (1907-1909) and started his own school only twenty-five miles from Utica in 1909, almost thirty years after Washington established Tuskegee Institute. Despite the many differences in background between Jones and the Tuskegee-affiliated educators in this study, Jones modeled his school after Washington's example.

The ideas and practices of another educator with a collegiate background in the liberal arts are analyzed in Chapter 5, "An Educator and An Humble Christian Worker": Thomas O. Fuller and Howe Institute, 1900-1910. Fuller, a theology graduate of Shaw University in Raleigh, North Carolina, was the founder of two Baptist elementary-secondary schools for blacks in his native state of North Carolina in the 1890s. He also served a term in the North Carolina Senate (1899). Fuller moved to Memphis, Tennessee, in 1900, to pastor a church and two years later he became the Principal of Howe Institute, a Baptist elementary-secondary school that he did not establish, but a school that was on

the brink of closing and one in which he had the chance to change its direction from a nonindustrial institution to one that emphasized industrial education. Fuller is the only educator in this study who worked in an urban setting and his adoption of the Tuskegee Institute model reflected the manner in which Washington's educational ideas could find expression in a city.

## FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup>Earl H. West, The Black American and Education (Columbus, Ohio: Charles E. Merrill Publishing Company, 1972), p. 61.

<sup>2</sup>August Meier, Negro Thought in America, 1880-1915: Racial Ideologies in the Age of Booker T. Washington (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1963), p. 99. Italics in the original.

<sup>3</sup>Booker T. Washington, Up from Slavery (New York: Doubleday, Page and Company, 1901; reprint ed., Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, Doran and Company, Inc., 1929), pp. 219-220. Washington delivered his speech on September 18, 1895, at the Cotton States Exposition. The title of the speech was "The Uplift of the Negro Race."

<sup>4</sup>Benjamin Brawley, Early Efforts for Industrial Education (New York: John F. Slater Fund, 1923), pp. 4-5.

<sup>5</sup>Cited by August Meier, "The Beginning of Industrial Education in Negro Schools," The Midwest Journal 7 (Spring 1955): 24.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid. Italics in the original.

<sup>7</sup>John S. Brubacher and Willis Rudy, Higher Education in Transition: A History of American Colleges and Universities, 1636-1976, 3d ed., rev. and enl. (New York: Harper and Row, 1976), p. 61.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., pp. 62-64; Meier, "The Beginning of Industrial Education," p. 29. The four black schools that received land-grant funds before 1890 were Hampton Institute (Va.), Claflin College (S.C.), Alcorn College (Miss.), and Prairie View A & M (Tex.).

<sup>9</sup>Henry Allen Bullock, A History of Negro Education in the South from 1619 to the Present (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967), p. 22; Meier, "The Beginning of Industrial Schools," p. 31.

<sup>10</sup>James M. McPherson, The Abolitionist Legacy from Reconstruction to the NAACP (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975), p. 153. The American Missionary Association initiated industrial education programs at Atlanta University (Ga.) and at Tougaloo College (Miss.) beside the program at Hampton Institute between 1868 and 1871. See also August Meier, "The Vogue of Industrial Education," The Midwest Journal 7 (Fall 1955): 241-266 for an account of industrial education for blacks in AMA schools in the 1880s.

<sup>11</sup>McPherson, The Abolitionist Legacy, p. 217.

<sup>12</sup>Meier, Negro Thought, p. 88; McPherson, The Abolitionist Legacy, p. 217.

- <sup>13</sup>Cited by Meier, "The Beginning of Industrial Education," p. 39.
- <sup>14</sup>Stephen J. Wright, "The Development of the Hampton-Tuskegee Pattern of Higher Education," Phylon 10 (December 1950): 337.
- <sup>15</sup>Cited by Meier, "The Beginning of Industrial Education," p. 39.
- <sup>16</sup>McPherson, The Abolitionist Legacy, pp. 217-218; Meier, "The Vogue of Industrial Education," p. 265.
- <sup>17</sup>Cited by Meier, "The Vogue of Industrial Education," p. 244. For a study of the Slater Fund, see Henry Snyder Enck, "The Burden Borne: Northern White Philanthropy and Southern Black Industrial Education, 1900-1915" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Cincinnati, 1970), pp. 259-306.
- <sup>18</sup>Meier, "The Beginning of Industrial Education," p. 42.
- <sup>19</sup>Meier, Negro Thought, p. 99.
- <sup>20</sup>Ibid., pp. 190-206. Meier also portrayed other black leaders who sided with Dubois in a chapter entitled "Booker T. Washington and The 'Talented Tenth,'" pp. 207-247.
- <sup>21</sup>W. E. B. Dubois, "The Talented Tenth," in The Negro Problem (New York: James Pott and Co., 1903; reprint ed., Miami, Fla.: Mnemosyne Publishing Inc., 1969), p. 33. James McPherson claimed that Henry L. Morehouse, the white secretary of the American Baptist Home Mission Society, was the first to use the phrase "talented tenth" in a magazine article in 1896 and that Dubois borrowed the phrase in 1903. See McPherson, The Abolitionist Legacy, p. 222.
- <sup>22</sup>Jane E. Smith Browning and John B. Williams, "History and Goals of Black Institutions of Higher Learning," in Charles V. Willie and Ronald R. Edmonds, eds., Black Colleges in America (New York: Teachers College Press, 1978), p. 77.
- <sup>23</sup>W. E. B. Dubois, "Careers Open to College-Bred Negroes, an Address to the Alumni of Fisk University, 1898," cited by Leonard A. James, "The Educational Attitudes and Strategies of Black Leadership, 1895-1925: A Documentary History" (Ed.D. dissertation, Columbia University Teachers College, 1981), pp. 238, 242.
- <sup>24</sup>W. E. B. Dubois, The Souls of Black Folk (Chicago: A. C. McClurg and Co., 1903; reprint ed., New York: Johnson Reprint Corporation, 1968), pp. 8, 49-50.
- <sup>25</sup>Ibid., p. 52.
- <sup>26</sup>Bullock, A History of Negro Education, p. 89. For discussions of industrial education as an accommodation to southern racial

prejudices see, among others: Horace Mann Bond, The Education of the Negro in the American Social Order (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1934); George Brown Tindall, South Carolina Negroes: 1877-1900 (Columbia, S.C.: University of South Carolina Press, 1952); George Brown Tindall, The Emergence of the New South, 1913-1945 (Baton Rouge, La.: Louisiana State University Press, 1967); Claude Nolan, The Negro's Image in the South: The Anatomy of White Supremacy (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1967); and Enck, "The Burden Borne."

<sup>27</sup>Meier, Negro Thought, p. 93; For discussions of industrial education as a means of exploiting black labor and the aspirations of black students see, among others: Merle Curti, The Social Ideas of American Educators (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1935); C. Vann Woodward, Origins of the New South, 1877-1913 (Baton Rouge, La.: Louisiana State University Press, 1951); Hugh C. Bailey, Liberalism in the New South: Social Reformers and the Progressive Movement (Coral Gables, Fla.: University of Miami Press, 1969); Jack Temple Kirby, Darkness at the Dawning: Race and Reform in the Progressive South (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1972); and James D. Anderson, "Education for Servitude: The Social Purposes of Schooling in the Black South, 1870-1930" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1973).

<sup>28</sup>H. P. Rickman, ed., Pattern and Meaning in History (New York: Harper and Row, 1962), p. 62.

<sup>29</sup>The bibliographies consulted were: Russell C. Brignano, Black Americans in Autobiography (Durham: Duke University Press, 1974); Frederick Chambers, Black Higher Education in the United States: A Selected Bibliography (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1978); Louis Kaplan, A Bibliography of American Autobiographies (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1961); James M. McPherson et al., Black in America: Bibliographical Essays (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1971); Elizabeth Miller and Mary L. Fisher, The Negro in America: A Bibliography (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1970); and Monroe N. Work, A Bibliography of the Negro in Africa and America (New York: The H. W. Wilson Co., 1928).

<sup>30</sup>See Appendix A, "The Search for Morgan London Latta," in this dissertation.

<sup>31</sup>Thomas O. Fuller founded two Baptist elementary-secondary schools in North Carolina in the 1890s before he moved to Memphis, Tennessee, in 1900. He became the Principal of Howe Institute in 1902, a school that he did not establish. Fuller, then, is the only educator in this study who assumed the leadership of a school where he was not the founder after he had already founded two other schools. He is included in this study because his promotion of industrial education in an urban setting was significant and because his practices invite comparison

with the practices of the other educators in this study who worked in rural environments.

<sup>32</sup>Joseph F. Citro, "Booker T. Washington's Tuskegee Institute: Black School-Community, 1900-1915" (Ed.D. dissertation, University of Rochester, 1973).

<sup>33</sup>Booker T. Gardner, "The Educational Philosophy of Booker T. Washington and its Implications for Social Mobility" (Ph.D. dissertation, Southern Illinois University, 1972).

<sup>34</sup>Donald Spivey, Schooling for the New Slavery: Black Industrial Education, 1868-1915 (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1978), pp. 45, 52.

<sup>35</sup>Gregory Thomas, "Historical Survey of Black Education as a Means of Black Liberation: 1875-1969" (Ph.D. dissertation, Ohio State University, 1971), p. 30.

<sup>36</sup>Barbara S. Lewinson, "Three Conceptions of Black Education: A Study of the Educational Ideas of Benjamin Elijah Mays, Booker T. Washington, and Nathan Wright, Jr." (Ed.D. dissertation, Rutgers University, 1973), pp. 143, 154-155.

<sup>37</sup>Alfred Young, "The Educational Philosophies of Booker T. Washington and Carter G. Woodson: A Liberating Praxis" (Ph.D. dissertation, Syracuse University, 1977), pp. 97, 164. Carter G. Woodson was known as the "Father of Negro History" because of his promotion of the study of the history of black Americans. He founded the Journal of Negro History in 1916.

<sup>38</sup>Joseph Davis, "A Historical Study of Snow Hill Normal and Industrial Institute and its Contribution to the Educational Program of the State of Alabama" (M.Ed. thesis, Alabama State College, 1954). Alabama State College is now known as Alabama State University.

<sup>39</sup>Robert G. Sherer, Subordination or Liberation?: The Development and Conflicting Theories of Black Education in Nineteenth Century Alabama (University, Ala.: The University of Alabama Press, 1977), p. 78. Sherer's account of Edwards covered pages 73-78.

<sup>40</sup>Walter Washington, "Utica Junior College, 1903-1957: A Half-Century of Education for Negroes" (Ed.D. dissertation, University of Southern Mississippi, 1970), p. 17.

<sup>41</sup>Sam Cobbins, "Industrial Education for Black Americans in Mississippi, 1862-1965" (Ed.D. dissertation, Mississippi State University, 1975), pp. 88-92; R. Fulton Holtzclaw, William Henry Holtzclaw, Scholar in Ebony (Cleveland: Dillon/Liederbach, Inc., 1977).

<sup>42</sup>Leslie Harper Purcell, Miracle in Mississippi, Laurence C. Jones of Piney Woods (New York: Comet Press Books, 1956).

<sup>43</sup>George A. Sewell, Mississippi Black History Makers (Jackson, Miss.: University Press of Mississippi, 1977), pp. 166-174.

<sup>44</sup>Alferdteen B. Harrison, Piney Woods School, an Oral History (Jackson, Miss.: University Press of Mississippi, 1982), p. 8. This book is in the process of being printed and will be ready for distribution shortly. The publisher made the final draft available to me at my request. Although Harrison's account was not concerned with the period of Jones' career (1909-1913) that I have studied, her book did contain several oral histories that I did need. The author was kind enough to arrange the duplication of several of these oral histories so that I could make use of them for my research.

<sup>45</sup>David M. Tucker, Black Pastors and Leaders: Memphis, 1819-1972 (Memphis: Memphis State University Press, 1975), pp. 55-69.

<sup>46</sup>Edward L. Wheeler, "Uplifting the Race: The Black Minister in the New South, 1865-1902" (Ph.D. dissertation, Emory University, 1982), p. 184. Wheeler's references to Fuller were limited to a citation of Fuller's autobiography and to a reference that Fuller supported industrial education.

<sup>47</sup>This refers to an emphasis in black American biography on national types such as Booker T. Washington, W. E. B. Dubois, and Mary McLeod Bethune.

<sup>48</sup>Monroe Nathan Work, Industrial Work of Tuskegee Graduates and Former Students during the Year 1910 (Tuskegee Institute, Ala.: Institute Press, 1911), pp. 47-57. There were 7 Tuskegee Institute offshoots in Alabama, 1 in Louisiana, 1 in Tennessee, 1 in Mississippi, 1 in Florida, 2 in South Carolina, and 3 in Arkansas.

<sup>49</sup>In the chapters on William J. Edwards and William H. Holtzclaw, information about fund raising is found in Part II where the relationship of each man with Booker T. Washington is described. Details about the fund raising efforts of Washington, Jones, and Fuller are incorporated as an institutional feature of their respective schools. In the chapter on Booker T. Washington, information about alumni of Tuskegee Institute is found in Part II.

<sup>50</sup>Lynd Ferguson, "Autobiography as History," University of Toronto Quarterly 49 (Winter 1979/1980): 139.

<sup>51</sup>James Olney, Metaphors of Self: The Meaning of Autobiography (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1973), p. 37.

<sup>52</sup>Benjamin D. Paul, "Interview Techniques and Field Relationships," in A. L. Kroeber, ed., Anthropology Today: An Encyclopedic

Inventory (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1953), p. 443.

<sup>53</sup>William Foote Whyte, "Interviewing in Field Research," in Richard N. Adams and Jack J. Preiss, eds., Human Organization Research: Field Relations and Techniques (Homewood, Ill.: The Dorsey Press, 1960), p. 358.

<sup>54</sup>Kurt W. Beck, "The Well-Informed Informant," in Adams and Priess, Human Organization, p. 188.

<sup>55</sup>Robert B. Stepto, From behind the Veil: A Study of Afro-American Narrative (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1979), pp. 3-6.

<sup>56</sup>Harry S. Broudy et al., Philosophy of Education: An Organization of Topics and Selected Sources (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1967), p. 21.

<sup>57</sup>Horace Mann Bond, Negro Education in Alabama, a Study in Cotton and Steel (Washington, D.C.: The Associated Publishers, Inc., 1939), p. 3.

<sup>58</sup>Broudy, Philosophy of Education, p. 21.

<sup>59</sup>Jonas F. Soltis, ed., Philosophy and Education. In Eightieth Year-book of the National Society for the Study of Education, pt. 1 (Chicago: The National Society for the Study of Education, 1981), p. 3.

<sup>60</sup>George F. Kneller, Introduction to the Philosophy of Education, 4th ed. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1974), p. 3.

<sup>61</sup>Work, Industrial Work, p. 47.

## CHAPTER 1.

"THE OPPORTUNITY OF A LIFETIME": BOOKER T. WASHINGTON  
AND TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE, 1881-1901

When Booker T. Washington came to Tuskegee, Alabama, in June 1881, as the principal of a new normal school for blacks, he believed that "the opportunity opened for me to begin my life-work."<sup>1</sup> He initiated and developed during the next twenty years (1881-1901) of his principalship at Tuskegee Institute practices that would be copied by the other educators in this study. He displayed a special interest in the accomplishments of two of his graduates, William J. Edwards (see Chapter 2) and William H. Holtzclaw (see Chapter 3), who founded schools patterned after their alma mater, and he made several tangible efforts to publicize their work. In his autobiography, Up from Slavery (1901), Washington offered a set of ideas about education that he had attempted to translate into the reality of Tuskegee Institute.

## I. Tuskegee Institute: 1881-1901

A brief sketch of the founder

Booker T. Washington was born into slavery on April 5, 1856, on a small plantation near Hale's Ford in Franklin County, Virginia, among the foothills of the Blue Ridge Mountains.<sup>2</sup> He lived with his mother, two brothers, and a sister in a one-room log cabin provided by the owner of the plantation. Washington's mother was the cook both for the owner and the other slaves.<sup>3</sup> He never knew his father. In 1865, two years after the Emancipation Proclamation, his family moved to

Malden, West Virginia, to join his stepfather, who had relocated there and secured a job in the salt mines. In Malden, Washington also worked in a salt mine pounding salt into barrels and here he learned the alphabet by puzzling out the letters stamped on the barrels.<sup>4</sup>

When a school opened in Malden, Washington wanted to attend, but due to the financial needs of his family, his stepfather refused to allow him to quit work in order to get a formal education. With the help of his mother, an arrangement was made with the local teacher to give Washington lessons at night.<sup>5</sup> By the age of twelve (1868), Washington had left the mine for a job as a houseboy for Viola Ruffner, the wife of the owner of the salt mine. Ruffner, a "Vermont-bred Yankee woman," encouraged Washington in his pursuit of schooling and it was while living and working in the Ruffner household that "Viola Ruffner firmly implanted the puritan ethic into the very being of her young servant."<sup>6</sup> Ruffner taught her young charge that "In this life God rewards industry, perserverance, and thrift... [and that] only the shiftless and the lazy remained poor and unsuccessful."<sup>7</sup> Washington worked for the Ruffner family for four years (1868-1872) and remembered that "the lessons that I learned in the home of Mrs. Ruffner were as valuable to me as any education I have ever gotten anywhere else...."<sup>8</sup>

Washington left the service of Viola Ruffner at the age of sixteen (1872) and decided to attend Hampton Normal and Industrial Institute founded by the American Missionary Association in 1868. He had heard about this school from several local blacks in Malden and he made his way to Hampton, Virginia, a distance of five hundred miles, "by walking, [and] by begging rides in wagons...."<sup>9</sup> Hampton Institute, under the

leadership of its principal, Samuel Chapman Armstrong, was a widening experience for Washington and it was the model upon which he based the development of his own school. Describing in a speech given in 1902 the early days of his work at Tuskegee, Alabama, Washington said, "I resolved at once to found a Hampton [Institute] in Alabama."<sup>10</sup>

Once admitted to Hampton Institute in the Fall, 1872, Washington became the janitor of the Academic Building. This job helped him to pay his tuition and board. During the first of three years (1872-1875) at this school, Washington took basic courses in arithmetic, English grammar, reading, spelling, geography, and history.<sup>11</sup> Continuing his study in the three divisions of mathematics, language (English), and natural science, he added United States History in his second year and in his third year "branched out into the world of civil government, and 'moral science.'" The curriculum also included for all students "practical instruction in agriculture, ... in household industries, and drill in teaching."<sup>12</sup> Although the purported purpose of Hampton Institute was to prepare teachers, industrial education was the heart of its educational program. Washington remembered that "at Hampton I found an opportunity for classroom education and for practical training in industrial life..." and also recalled that "I was surrounded by an atmosphere of business, and a spirit of self-help that... caused me for the first time to realize what it meant to be a man instead of a piece of property."<sup>13</sup>

Upon graduating from Hampton Institute in 1875, Washington spent three years (1875-1878) teaching at an elementary school for blacks in his hometown of Malden, West Virginia. He opened a night school for

adult illiterates in addition to his day school duties. Further extending his school activities, he "began a reading room... for the black community... and he also formed a debating society."<sup>14</sup> He wrote to Hampton Institute in 1878 and requested the faculty to send to him any newspapers not being used, reporting that "I now have a news table where I keep all the fresh papers and magazines that I can get for the children to read." He also informed his friends at his alma mater that "I require all [students] to keep their clothes neat and clean, and their hair combed every morning and the boys to keep their boots cleaned."<sup>15</sup>

After teaching three years at Malden, Washington decided to attend Wayland Seminary in Washington, D.C. This school was a Baptist-affiliated institution for blacks founded in 1867. Louis R. Harlan, a biographer of Washington, called the year (1878-1879) that Washington spent at Wayland "the most obscure year of his life — obscure because of his reticence about it, and also because the school's records were later destroyed by a fire."<sup>16</sup> Harlan believed that the twenty-two year old Washington was unsure about making a career of teaching and that he wanted to see for himself what life in an urban setting was like. Washington spent eight months at Wayland and he compared the school unfavorably with Hampton Institute in its influence on students. He found "the students [at Wayland], in most cases, had more money, were better dressed,... and in some cases were more brilliant mentally," but, at Hampton Institute, "the student was constantly making the effort through the industries to help himself." Students at Wayland "seemed to be less self-dependent" and "seemed to know less about life and its conditions as they would find it at their homes."<sup>17</sup>

In 1879, Washington was asked by Samuel Chapman Armstrong to join the staff at Hampton Institute. Washington remained there two years (1879-1881), assisting Armstrong in his experiment of admitting American Indian students and directing Hampton Institute's fledgling night school. It was while working at his alma mater that Washington was asked to take charge of a new normal school for blacks at Tuskegee, Alabama.

### The founding

In 1880, an ex-Confederate slaveholder and lawyer in Macon County, Alabama, became a candidate for the state Senate on the Democratic ticket. This lawyer believed that if he could secure the vote of black people in Macon County, he could win the election. Thus, Wilbur F. Foster contacted a prominent black leader and resident of Tuskegee, the seat of Macon County, and asked him what could be done to gain the black vote. This black man was Lewis Adams, an ex-slave. Adams informed Foster that what his race wanted most was education. An agreement was reached: black people in Macon County would support the lawyer on condition that he, when elected, would work for the establishment of a school for the county's black population.

This pledge between an ex-slaveholder and an ex-slave was honorably kept on both sides. Foster was elected and sponsored legislation that appropriated two thousand dollars for the establishment and maintenance of the "Normal School for colored teachers at Tuskegee," the original title used by the legislature.<sup>18</sup>

The new school was a "landless, buildingless, teacherless and

studentless institution," since the act of 1881 made no provisions for the purchase of land or the erection of buildings.<sup>19</sup> Once the state of Alabama appropriated funds for the school, someone was needed to organize it. The new school's Board of Commissioners, of two white and one black member (Lewis Adams), turned to the white Presidents of Talledega College (Alabama) and Fisk University (Tennessee), both black schools, but neither knew of anyone whom they could recommend for the new position. The Commissioners also wrote to Samuel Chapman Armstrong, the white founder of Hampton Institute, another school for blacks, "asking for [the name of] a white man that could fill the post."<sup>20</sup>

Armstrong replied that he knew of no available white man but "if they [Board of Commissioners] would be willing to take a colored man," he would recommend Booker T. Washington, a Hampton Institute graduate who had been teaching at his alma mater since 1879. A few days later, Armstrong received a telegram, "Booker T. Washington will suit us. Send him at once."<sup>21</sup> Washington arrived in Tuskegee on June 14, 1881, with thirty students and no other teacher than himself in a "dilapidated shanty near the coloured Methodist church."<sup>22</sup> Historian Louis R. Harlan noted the willingness of the local black church to provide space for Washington's school on its property and how "he [Washington] and his school received many a 'God bless you' as he spoke in the churches about the normal school he dreamed of building."<sup>23</sup> Three months after the school opened (October 1881), Washington borrowed \$250 from a friend at Hampton Institute to make the down payment on an old plantation of 100 acres south of the town of Tuskegee. In April 1882, the school paid

the owner the full amount for his property (\$500) and Tuskegee Institute secured a permanent home.<sup>24</sup>

### The setting

Macon County, Alabama, was located in what was referred to as the "Black Belt," a name originally given to the area because of the black waxy soil, particularly suited for the cultivation of cotton. The term also designated certain counties in the South where black people greatly outnumbered whites.<sup>25</sup> In 1880, blacks comprised 74 percent (12,784) of the 17,371 people living in Macon County. Twenty years later (1900), the black population of Macon County increased to 90 percent of the total.<sup>26</sup> Tuskegee, a town located forty miles east of Montgomery, the state capitol, had two thousand inhabitants in 1880, with half of its population being black.<sup>27</sup>

### Political and racial factors

During the 1870s, the concept of public higher education in Alabama, particularly for whites, was beginning to stir. In 1871, a decade before the creation of the school at Tuskegee, the University of Alabama, which closed during the Civil War, reopened; in 1872, the State Agricultural and Mechanical College at Auburn was founded; in 1873, the first State Normal College for whites was opened at Florence, Alabama, and in the same year the first State Normal and Industrial School for Negroes near Huntsville was founded.<sup>28</sup>

The picture of public education for blacks in Alabama was bleak in 1880, a year before Tuskegee Normal School opened. In the entire state, only thirty-three percent of the black school age population was

actually enrolled in public elementary schools. There were no public high schools for blacks in Alabama in 1880.<sup>29</sup> The period between 1875-1891 was marked by a series of events that radically reduced the share of total public school funds expended on black schools in Alabama. The Alabama Constitution of 1875 made segregated schools mandatory and prohibited local taxation for education. A school law of 1891 permitted local school administrators to use school funds as they desired instead of apportioning money equitably among the races. Invariably, this meant that a smaller proportion of the school fund would be devoted to supporting black schools.<sup>30</sup>

According to historian Horace Mann Bond, the 1891 law had devastating consequences for blacks: "By placing the state appropriation in the hands of local authorities, the Act of 1891 irretrievably doomed the Negro school of the Black Belt to an inferiority which widened constantly as the years passed."<sup>31</sup> The development of black public schools in Alabama began to slow down and taper off. The average length of the school year was short and increased slowly, salaries of black teachers increased little compared to white teachers, and the per capita expenditure for the education of black children lagged consistently behind that for whites.<sup>32</sup>

Life for blacks became increasingly difficult in a wide range of areas. Black people in Alabama were not only losing educational benefits, but they were also losing the right to vote. The new Alabama Constitution of 1901 disenfranchised blacks. The political bargain between Lewis Adams and Wilbur Foster leading to the creation of Tuskegee Normal School would have been very difficult to consummate in 1901.

Violence against black people in Alabama during the 1870s, 1880s, and 1890s increased. In a speech before the Boston Unitarian Club on the last day of 1888, Washington spoke of an incident of racial violence in Macon County that occurred several years before his arrival: "The school [Tuskegee Normal] was opened in a church where only nine years ago [1879] three colored men were shot down like brutes when engaged in a religious meeting that the whites thought was a political meeting."<sup>33</sup> In Alabama, eighty-four blacks were lynched from 1889-1893 and seventy-nine from 1894-1898. During the first seventeen years of Washington's tenure at Tuskegee Institute, then, 163 blacks were lynched in Alabama, including two in Macon County.<sup>34</sup> The racial climate, in essence, in which Tuskegee Institute developed was hostile to the growth of black institutions (political, social, educational) of all kinds.

### Institution building

Students On the morning that Tuskegee Normal School opened, thirty students, aged fifteen to forty and equally divided by sex, enrolled. Since Washington admitted only students with some prior education, most of the first class were teachers who wanted to receive an education so they could earn more money. Despite their uneven training, Washington considered his first class an "earnest and willing company" anxious "to learn the right thing as soon as it was shown what was right."<sup>35</sup> In a letter written to his alma mater, Hampton Institute, on the day his new school opened, Washington described his first class:

"... the teachers in this part of Alabama have had few advantages, many of them having barely attended school themselves. They know nothing of the improved methods of teaching. If there is any place in the world where a

good Normal School is needed, it is right here. What an influence for good, first on the teachers, and from them on the children and parents!"<sup>36</sup>

Throughout the period 1881-1901, Alabama and its neighboring deep southern states, particularly Georgia, contributed the largest number of students to Booker T. Washington's educational enterprise. There was no charge for tuition between 1881 and 1901. Tuskegee Institute did report in 1901 that "Expenses are an entrance fee of \$1.50, and board, including furnished room, laundry, lights, fuel, etc., \$8 per month."<sup>37</sup> Washington provided indigent students a chance to work and attend school as Samuel Chapman Armstrong had done for him when he attended Hampton Institute. Students too poor to pay the school fees could work eight hours a day (Monday-Friday) and attend classes for two hours a night. Women students attended classes in the Academic Department with men, while agricultural courses such as poultry raising, beekeeping, and horticulture were also taught to male and female students together. The subjects taught only to females included sewing, dress-making, and cooking; only male students were enrolled in courses such as carpentry, blacksmithing, and brickmaking.<sup>38</sup>

From the school's earliest days, strict social and academic rules were instituted and enforced. According to the school's first catalog, smoking and drinking were prohibited. Students risked dismissal for "inability to master their studies, irregular attendance, and for failure to comply with the regulations of the school."<sup>39</sup> Other rules were added as time passed. By 1901, male students were forbidden to go downtown without wearing the school's official cap. Each student was required to have a Bible. "Regular habits of rest and recreation were

required." Students were not permitted to participate in "any political mass meeting or convention." Female students had to be chaperoned by a female teacher whenever they left the school grounds. Besides attending daily devotional services held in the school's chapel, students had to attend "Sabbath school and church services on Sundays."<sup>40</sup>

As a further inducement to proper behavior, students were kept busy with a rigorous daily schedule:

5 A.M., rising bell; 5.50 A.M., warning breakfast bell; 6 A.M., breakfast bell; 6.20 A.M., breakfast over; 6.20 to 6.50 A.M., rooms are cleaned; 6.50, work bell; 7.30, morning study hour; 8.20 morning school bell; 8.25, inspection of young men's toilet in ranks; 8.40, devotional exercises in chapel; 8.55, 'five minutes with the daily news'; 9 A.M., class work begins; 12, class work closes; 12.15 P.M., dinner; 1 P.M., work bell; 1.30 P.M., class work begins; 3.30 P.M., class work ends; 5.30 P.M., bell to 'knock off' work; 6 P.M., supper; 7.10 P.M., evening prayers; 7.30 P.M., evening study hour; 8.45 P.M., evening study hour closes; 9.20 P.M., warning retiring bell; 9.30 P.M., retiring bell.<sup>41</sup>

Curriculum The school year at Tuskegee Institute was thirty-six weeks long and students received a diploma upon completion of a four year normal course or a certificate for a prescribed course of study in a trade. The academic courses embraced seven years of study, divided into two parts, one of three years and the other of four years. The first three years consisted of a "Preparatory Class" designed to prepare students to enter the normal school program and the remaining four years constituted the teacher training course. Students had to be fourteen years old to enter the normal school aspect of Tuskegee Institute. The industrial training program was grouped into three departments between 1881-1901: the Department of Agriculture, the Department of Mechanical Industries, and the Department of Industries

for Women. The Agricultural and Mechanical programs required four years of study while the rest could be completed in two years. All of the industrial programs included courses in reading, writing, and mathematics, and students had to be at least twelve years old to enter into a trade course. Tuskegee Institute also started in 1886 a Training School, a primary school covering the first six grades and open to children of the community. Students who completed the sixth grade could enter the industrial program or the Preparatory Class.<sup>42</sup>

Enrollment figures reported for 1882 indicated that of the 112 students who attended Tuskegee Normal School by June 1882, twenty-eight (25 percent) were in teacher training. The remainder of the student body was enrolled in the Preparatory Class. By 1901, 380 of the reported 1,253 students (30.3 percent) were taking the "Normal Course," 619 (49 percent) were enrolled in "trade education" and the rest took the Preparatory program.<sup>43</sup> A study of the 1882 school catalog revealed that the four year normal course was synonymous with academics.<sup>44</sup>

#### Junior Year

Language  
 Mathematics  
 Geometry  
 Geography  
 History  
 Writing  
 Gymnastics  
 Vocal Music

#### A Middle Year

Language  
 Literature  
 Mathematics  
 Geometry  
 Natural Philosophy  
 History  
 Zoology and Botany  
 Vocal Music  
 Gymnastics

B Middle Year  
 Language  
 Mathematics  
 Geometry  
 Geography  
 Astronomy  
 History  
 Physiology and Hygiene  
 Vocal Music  
 Writing  
 Gymnastics

Senior Year  
 Literature  
 Mathematics  
 Geometry  
 Civil Government  
 Zoology and Botany  
 Chemistry and Mineralogy  
 Mental Philosophy  
 Gymnastics  
 Vocal Music

By 1901, United States History had been added to the Junior Year, the members of the B Middle Year class added civics and completed history, those in the A Middle Year took geology, physics, and chemistry, while students in the Senior Year studied psychology, rhetoric, English and American classics, ethics, and pedagogy.<sup>45</sup> It was possible between 1881-1901 for students at Tuskegee Normal to graduate without completing a course of study in a trade. Between 1884-1890 trades were offered only in the Night School which was created for students too poor to pay room and board and consequently who had to work during the day. While all students were expected to do some kind of productive work, an extensive industrial curricula at Tuskegee actually emerged after 1901, the year Up from Slavery was published.<sup>46</sup>

The importance of academic preparation at Tuskegee remained when Tuskegee Normal School was legally renamed Tuskegee Normal and Industrial

Institute under a new charter in 1893. Under the new incorporation the aim of the Institute was "the instruction of colored teachers and youth in the various common academic and collegiate branches, the best methods of teaching the same, and the best methods of theoretical and practical industry...."<sup>47</sup> The 1893 incorporation was a significant step toward institutional independence, since only a state appropriation (\$2,000) and not the school itself would be under the direction and control of the State Commissioners. Tuskegee Institute thus became a private normal school and its Board of Trustees became independent.

When Tuskegee became both "normal" and "industrial," Washington, as the school's chief educational architect, did not consider the work of the Academic Department or the various industries as something that should be carried on separately. As Principal, Washington sought the cooperation of all the departments at Tuskegee Institute in the education of the student body. For example, in November 1895, Washington wrote to the head of Tuskegee's Academic Department that

From now on I wish an especial effort made to have a more direct connection made between the class-room [*sic*] and industrial work, that is, I wish the one dovetailed into the other. I wish you to be very careful to see that this is done throughout the year. I do not attempt now to lay down rules by which this can be done. I only repeat the instances mentioned in one of the teachers meetings. The students in their composition work can go to the brickyard and write compositions about the manner of making brick or harnessing horses. Many of the examples in arithmetic can be gotten out of actual problems in the blacksmith shop, tin shop, or farm. The physics I think could be made to bear more on the industrial work.<sup>48</sup>

A month later, Washington requested of the Executive Council, the governing body of the school, that "an organized effort be put on foot" to correlate academics and industrial training.<sup>49</sup> Washington made a

similar effort in February 1896, when the Executive Council Meeting Minutes reported that "Mr. Washington - states that more must be done to bring the Academic and Industrial Departments closer together."<sup>50</sup>

Faculty A fundamental difference between Washington's alma mater, Hampton Institute, and Tuskegee Institute, was that Hampton's faculty was mainly composed of white men and women from the North while the faculty at Tuskegee was all black from the beginning. Washington had a strict rule that no whites could be employed as full-time resident faculty. Several whites were employed as fund-raisers for Tuskegee Institute in the North but these persons were not on campus. Louis R. Harlan claimed that Washington wanted his school to be a "model of black self-help" and that "he did not want the school's successes attributed to whites." Basil Mathews, another biographer of Washington, believed that the reason for an all black staff stemmed from the social context of Alabama that would not permit blacks and whites to mix on the same faculty.<sup>51</sup>

From the very beginning of Tuskegee Institute's existence, the influence of Washington's alma mater, Hampton Institute, was felt strongly. During the 1882-1883 school year, four of the six faculty members on the Tuskegee staff were graduates of Hampton. In 1884, ten out of fourteen faculty members were Hampton Institute graduates and, at the end of 1886-1887 school year, fourteen Hampton trained men and women were on the Tuskegee staff of twenty-one teachers.<sup>52</sup> Hampton Institute, however, was not the only source of Tuskegee Institute's faculty and staff. Gradually, Washington began drawing faculty not only from among Tuskegee's graduates but from such schools as Howard

University, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Fisk University, Atlanta University, and Iowa State College of Agricultural and Mechanical Arts.<sup>53</sup> By 1900, Joseph Citro, an historian of Tuskegee Institute, insisted, Washington had assembled "the best black faculty-staff that any Negro at the beginning of the twentieth century could have assembled."<sup>54</sup>

Extension Washington wanted Tuskegee Institute to be a service institution for black people in the Black Belt of Alabama. The most obvious means of service was the training of students to go out and share what they had learned with others. Tuskegee Institute did more, however, than train teachers and prepare workers and farmers. The most noted extension efforts of Washington's institution by 1901 were the annual Farmers' Conferences and the Bible Training School. In 1892, the school at Tuskegee instituted an annual mid-winter Farmers' Conference in order to teach black farmers how to farm better and how to make improvements in their living conditions and property. Participants at these conferences also discussed the educational, moral, and religious conditions of their communities. The following list of admonitions printed and distributed to each male Conference participant in 1900 illustrated the practical nature of these gatherings:

Things to Remember and Practice during 1900

1. Do not be deceived by emigration agents.
2. See that you treat your wife better than you did last year.
3. If you have an immoral minister or teacher, get rid of him.
4. Give the lessons learned in these conferences to your neighbor.
5. Own a home just as soon as possible. Begin buying one this year.

6. Keep out of lawsuits. Do not lie around town on Saturdays.

Another paper was given at the same time to the women and included:

1. More is gained by going forward than by standing around idling and complaining.
2. If your minister or teacher is immoral, use your influence against him — this is the right thing.
3. Do not be satisfied with a one-room cabin — its influence is bad.
4. Never consent to your husband's going in debt.
5. Harm very often comes from allowing your home to be a place where young boys and girls congregate on Sundays or Saturday nights — discourage Sunday visiting.<sup>55</sup>

Tuskegee Institute also brought rural black ministers to the campus for instruction and in 1893 Washington opened the Phelps Hall Bible Training School to provide a "thorough knowledge of the English Bible, and give them [students] ideas of doing right for right's sake — to inspire them to go out to work for the race, even to help in uplifting the race and in teaching it right principles."<sup>56</sup> This school admitted students of either sex and any denomination. Students paid no tuition, a small entrance fee, and could live and board on the campus. Classes met only in the morning so that students could work in the afternoon and evening. Many of the Bible Training School students served as pastors of nearby churches or did missionary work nearby. By 1900, the reported enrollment at Phelps Hall was seventy-five and Reverend Edgar J. Penney, a graduate of Atlanta University and the Andover Theological Seminary (Mass.), came to direct the program.<sup>57</sup>

Fund raising      The educational activities carried on by Tuskegee Institute under Washington were widespread and varied, necessitating better facilities and a larger staff. Washington learned early in his administration that the best sources of money to meet the operating

costs of his school lay north of the Mason-Dixon line. He began his trips north quite early during his tenure as Principal. He wrote in Up from Slavery that in the summer of 1882 he went "North and engaged in the work of raising funds for the completion of our new building."<sup>58</sup> A sense of urgency surrounded Washington in his attempts to raise money in those early days: "During the first years at Tuskegee I recall that night after night I would roll and turn in my bed, without sleep, because of the anxiety and uncertainty that we were in regarding money."<sup>59</sup>

Samuel Chapman Armstrong, Principal of Hampton Institute and Washington's mentor, on several occasions extended Washington help in raising money. Armstrong's help sometimes came in the form of letters of introduction to northerners such as the one he wrote on June 11, 1886, describing Washington as "a graduate of this school [Hampton Institute].... No man is doing more for his race than Mr. Washington."<sup>60</sup> A similar letter of introduction written by Armstrong on October 26, 1891, said:

This is to introduce Mr. Booker T. Washington, the head of the Tuskegee, Alabama Normal and Industrial School.... I beg a hearing for Mr. Washington, he is a true 'Moses'.... Tuskegee is the bright spot in the Black Belt of the South. It is proof that the Negro can raise the Negro.<sup>61</sup>

On one occasion, Armstrong accompanied Washington on a tour of northern cities in 1884 in order to raise money to complete Alabama Hall, the second building constructed under Washington's administration.<sup>62</sup>

Washington was quite successful in raising money for his school. When he came to Tuskegee in 1881, the only money available was an annual grant of \$2,000 from the Alabama Legislature. This state

appropriation was raised to \$3,000 a year in 1895. Tuskegee Institute benefited from philanthropic grants from the Slater and Peabody Funds in 1883 and, after the "Atlanta Compromise" Speech of 1895, Washington found friends of industrial education for blacks quite receptive to appeals for aid. Andrew Carnegie, the Scottish-born steel manufacturer and philanthropist, donated \$20,000 for a library in 1900 and in the same year John D. Rockefeller, Sr. gave \$10,000.<sup>63</sup>

Tuskegee Institute in 1901 By the year that Washington's Up from Slavery (1901) was published, Tuskegee Institute reported an enrollment of 1,253 students, a library of 5,000 volumes, a teaching staff of seventy-five, forty-one of whom taught academic subjects, 2,488 acres of land, and forty-six buildings.<sup>64</sup> The school had 342 students graduate from its Normal Department in the first twenty years of its history (1881-1901) and, of these, 114 were teaching in 1901, although "many of them work at their trades in connection with their teaching."<sup>65</sup> Tuskegee Institute also owned six hundred head of livestock and fifty vehicles - buggies, surreys, wagons, and carts "built by the students in the school's wheelwrighting shop." The value of the physical plant with the equipment was reported to be \$350,000.<sup>66</sup> The school reported no indebtedness in 1901. Washington's school had come a long way since its beginning in 1881, when its twenty-five year old founder gathered thirty students in a borrowed "little shanty."<sup>67</sup>

## II. Booker T. Washington's Relations with the other Black Educators in this Study

Washington knew two of the black educators in this study, William J. Edwards (Class of 1893) and William H. Holtzclaw (Class of 1898), as students at Tuskegee Institute as well as founders of schools similar to Tuskegee Institute. Washington's extant correspondence with Edwards covered the period 1894-1915. Emmett Jay Scott, Washington's personal secretary, corresponded with Holtzclaw more frequently than did Washington during the period 1902-1915. There was only one extant letter between Laurence C. Jones (the subject of Chapter 4) and Washington, though Jones claimed in his autobiography certain contacts with Tuskegee Institute's founder. While no extant correspondence was found between Washington and Thomas O. Fuller (the subject of Chapter 5), there is evidence that Fuller visited the Tuskegee campus at least once.<sup>68</sup> The careers of Edwards and Holtzclaw were of particular interest to Washington and his relationship with these two educators is the subject of this part of the chapter.

### Publicizing in books and articles

One of the methods that Washington used to call the public's attention to the work of Tuskegee Institute's graduates was to publicize their work in his books, in publications of the school, and in articles that Washington wrote for nationally-circulated periodical magazines. In Working with the Hands, published in 1904 and subtitled a "Sequel to 'Up from Slavery,'" Washington devoted a chapter to "Spreading the Tuskegee Spirit" in which he sketched the work of nine Tuskegee Institute

graduates, including Edwards and Holtzclaw, as they "reproduced the work of the parent institution." Washington included two pictures of Snow Hill Institute, Edwards' school, provided facts about finances and the physical plant, and noted that Snow Hill Institute had the "support and sympathy" of "all the best white people in the county." Regarding the work of Utica Normal and Industrial Institute, Washington quoted Holtzclaw's description of the founding of his school.<sup>69</sup>

Tuskegee and its People was published a year later (1905). This book was compiled by Washington's personal secretary, Emmett Jay Scott, with Washington listed as the book's editor. The first one-third of the book consisted of chapters written by Tuskegee Institute officials who discussed various aspects of the school's work. The remaining portions of the book contained seventeen autobiographical sketches of Tuskegee graduates, five of whom founded schools modeled after Tuskegee Institute. Edwards contributed a sketch entitled "Uplifting of the Submerged Masses" and Holtzclaw called his contribution "A School Principal's Story."<sup>70</sup> In the Introduction to this volume, Washington unabashedly celebrated the achievements of these school founders, calling their accounts "vivid pen portraits of the young men... who have gone out of Tuskegee carrying into diversified lives the principles and precepts imbibed from their parent school." The work of Edwards and Holtzclaw illustrated, according to Washington, the "wholesome and evangelizing influence of Tuskegee's preachments."<sup>71</sup>

Another effort to publicize the work of Tuskegee Institute graduates, including Edwards and Holtzclaw, came with the school's publication in 1911 of Monroe Nathan Work's Industrial Work of Tuskegee Graduates and

Former Students during the Year 1910. Work, a graduate of the University of Chicago and head of the Division of Research and Records at Tuskegee Institute, was specifically hired in 1908 to study the effect of Tuskegee's program through the achievements of its graduates.<sup>72</sup> Chapter IV of Industrial Work, called "Work Offshoots of Tuskegee Institute," featured graduates who founded schools. The efforts of Edwards and Holtzclaw received extensive treatment, including information about enrollment, courses of study, and the extension activities of both schools. Work also included two pictures of the Snow Hill campus. Information about Holtzclaw's school in Mississippi included an excerpt from one of his Annual Reports.<sup>73</sup>

As part of his interpretation of the importance of Tuskegee Institute graduates, Washington wrote several articles in widely-circulated periodicals featuring the work of Edwards and Holtzclaw. In January 1900, Washington wrote an article entitled "Signs of Progress among the Negroes" for the Century Magazine. The article told the story of Edwards. Washington regarded Edwards' school as a "foundation for the solution of the legal and political difficulties that exist in the South." Snow Hill Institute exemplified "what has already been accomplished in the South under the most difficult circumstances...." Edwards clearly emerged as a hero.<sup>74</sup> In 1905, Washington wrote an article for The Independent about the principal white benefactor of Snow Hill Institute. Washington extolled the "complete faith" that existed between Edwards, the black school founder, and his white patron, R. O. Simpson.<sup>75</sup>

Washington did not fail to write about Holtzclaw, though it appeared

that Edwards enjoyed more lavish praise. In "A Cheerful Journey through Mississippi," Washington detailed for the World's Work (1909) his impressions of black people in that state during a seven day visit in Fall, 1908. The founder of Tuskegee Institute visited the founder of Utica Normal and Industrial Institute and offered a brief but laudatory account of Holtzclaw's journey from Tuskegee Institute to Mississippi to establish a school that Holtzclaw conducted "along the lines of Tuskegee Institute." From the beginning of his career, Holtzclaw succeeded, according to Washington, in gaining "the sympathy of both races" and consequently his school opened a "door of hope" for black people in Mississippi.<sup>76</sup>

#### School publications

School publications at Tuskegee Institute occasionally referred to the work of Edwards and Holtzclaw. For instance, the August 1896, issue of the Southern Letter, a school newsletter written especially for northern white readers, used Edwards as an example of a Tuskegee Institute graduate who was trained to teach young men and women "in head, hand, and heart." A month later, the Southern Letter reprinted portions of Edwards' Annual Report under the heading "In the Heart of the Black Belt" with the remarks that "Nothing could show more plainly the work that our graduates are doing in all parts of the South than the following extracts from the report of William J. Edwards at Snow Hill." Likewise, under the heading "Doing Excellent Work," the January 1910, issue of the Southern Letter called Holtzclaw "one of the most successful of the graduates [of Tuskegee Institute] who have chosen

teaching as a profession."<sup>77</sup> After studying the contents of 134 issues of the Southern Letter printed between 1885 and 1912, historian Joseph Citro concluded that some graduates were more highly regarded than others. Edwards was one of seven Tuskegee graduates with the most frequent number of references in this school publication.<sup>78</sup>

The pronouncements on Edwards and Holtzclaw made by Washington sought to illustrate the worth of Tuskegee Institute's educational approach as it was carried out by two of its graduates. Edwards and Holtzclaw were highly valued by Tuskegee Institute and its founder as builders of "miniature" Tuskegee Institutes.<sup>79</sup>

#### Inspection committees

The relationships between Tuskegee Institute and its graduates who founded similar schools included more than publicity about their educational institutions. From time to time, inspection committees made up of Tuskegee Institute officers and teachers were sent to visit the graduates' schools to strengthen the ties with Tuskegee Institute. The following plan was adopted for the guidance of visitation committees as reported by Scott and Stowe in their biography of Booker T. Washington:

#### Observations

1. Physical.
  - (a.) Cleanliness of premises.
  - (b.) Keeping of repairs.
2. Teaching.
  - (a.) Methods of Instruction
  - (b.) Books used, etc., that is, are they up to date?
  - (c.) To what extent correlation is being carried out?
  - (d.) Visiting teachers might give some definite demonstration in methods, etc.

- (e.) Special meetings with the faculty should be held.
- 3. Financial.
  - (a.) To what extent does the school keep up with its accounts so that its receipts and expenditures can be easily ascertained?
- 4. Community Work.
  - (a.) Extension Activities carried on by the school.
  - (b.) The efficiency of these activities.
- 5. Attendance.
  - (a.) Number of students enrolled on date of visit.
  - (b.) Number in attendance on date of visit.
  - (c.) What efforts are being made to get the students to enter at the beginning of the term and remain throughout the year?

#### Suggestions

1. Before concluding its visit the committee should make to proper persons in the school suggestions concerning the improving of the teaching and other things as may be necessary.
2. If committee makes a second visit, see to what extent the suggestions have been carried out.

#### Report

After each visit a written report by the committee covering all of the above shall be sent to Principal Washington.<sup>80</sup>

Scott and Stowe indicated that funds provided by a trustee of Tuskegee Institute financed the visitations and that the inspection committee acted as "friendly inspectors and advisors."<sup>81</sup> The record of at least one such visitation made to Snow Hill Institute will be examined in the next chapter of this study. What is important to mention at this point is that the founder of Tuskegee Institute encouraged his school's graduates in their educational work to follow closely the traditions of their alma mater.

## III. The Autobiography of Booker T. Washington

Up from Slavery was published in March 1901, when Washington was forty-five years old, the Principal of Tuskegee Institute for twenty years, and fourteen years before his death. This book was originally serialized in the periodical, Outlook, beginning in November 1900, and finishing the following February. Lyman Abbott, the editor of the Outlook, introduced Washington's work with an editorial in which he said that Washington's life was "philosophy teaching by example."<sup>82</sup> Louis R. Harlan believed that the credit for originating Up from Slavery belonged to Walter Hines Page, the Virginia-born journalist and publisher of Washington's autobiography, who in 1896 suggested that Washington write a history of his life, and to S. S. McClure, publisher of McClure's Magazine, who in 1899 also encouraged Washington to write the story of his life.<sup>83</sup>

Although Washington did not explicitly state the purpose of writing his autobiography in Up from Slavery, he did indicate in a letter to a friend in the same month (March 1901) that his book was published that "I have had wholly in view the accomplishment of some good for the race in the writing of this book."<sup>84</sup> A month prior to the serialization of his book (October 1900), Washington revealed his rules of authorship: "My general plan is to give the first place to facts and incidents and to hang the generalizations on to these facts."<sup>85</sup>

Besides his own recollections, Washington's emphasis upon facts was illustrated by the placement of several documents which were either integrated into the text or appended in Up from Slavery. These

documents included letters to Washington from benefactors, excerpts from his speeches, notably the Atlanta Exposition Address (1895), newspaper accounts of several of his speeches, and correspondence from Presidents Grover Cleveland and William McKinley. The inclusion of these materials helped authenticate Washington's account and served as historical evidence.

IV. The Educational Philosophy of Booker T. Washington  
as Revealed in Up from Slavery

Ontology: The world of Booker T. Washington

As a product of the "Old" and "New South," Washington's ontology reflected the socialization process through which he had passed. Slavery was the deep ground of his initial environment. The opening paragraph of Up from Slavery revealed the existential realities of Washington's early childhood as a slave on a plantation in Franklin County, Virginia: "My life had its beginnings in the midst of the most miserable, desolate, and discouraging surroundings.... Of my ancestry I know almost nothing.... Of my father I know even less than my mother...."<sup>86</sup> Descriptions of the squalor that Washington and his family lived in as slaves indicated vividly how slavery distorted a stable black family structure:

I cannot remember a single instance during my childhood or early boyhood when our entire family sat down to the table together and God's blessing was asked, and the family ate a meal in a civilized manner. On the plantations in Virginia... meals were gotten by the children very much as dumb animals get theirs. It was a piece of bread here and a scrap of meat there.... Sometimes a portion of our family would eat out of the skillet or pot, while someone else

would eat from a tin plate held on the knees, and often using nothing but the hands with which to hold the food.<sup>87</sup>

An institutional frame of mind manifested itself in this discussion about slavery. Slavery was designated as an "institution," a "school," a "system," and a "net." As an institution, slavery was a failure. The basis of Washington's condemnation was the inability of slavery to produce useful men, efficient operations, or social refinement. Ignorance and the low value on self-reliance nurtured an unproductive system. Washington believed that slavery had a negative effect on attitudes toward work: "the whole machinery of slavery was so constructed as to cause labor... to be looked upon as a badge of degradation [and] of inferiority." As a result, labor was something that slaves and masters "sought to escape."<sup>88</sup>

Reality of aspiration      Contrary to the harshness and failure of slavery, Washington manifested a reality of aspiration. While he began with the "peculiar institution" of slavery, he quickly juxtaposed another institution, the schoolhouse: "The picture of several dozen [white] boys and girls in a schoolroom engaged in study made a deep impression upon me, and I had the feeling that to get into a schoolhouse and study in this way would be about the same as getting into paradise."<sup>89</sup> Washington's response to white learning informed the reader that despite slavery, the visualization of an alternative way of life existed.

Washington particularly emphasized the slaves' desire for liberty. He indicated that blacks valued and understood freedom as they discussed it in their cabins and clandestine religious meetings and as

they followed the progress of the abolitionist movement. Black people "knew what the issues were;" Washington never met a slave "who did not want to be free, or one who would return to slavery." With the formal announcement of Emancipation, blacks "gradually threw off the mask" and unveiled the fact that "the 'freedom' in their songs meant freedom of the body in this world."<sup>90</sup> The import of these remarks was that, according to Washington, the slave personality clearly encompassed an assertiveness geared toward personal independence and self-direction.

Washington's desire for a better life was implemented when his family moved to Malden, West Virginia, in 1865. Although work claimed priority, there was room for the hope of education. He utilized every resource; in order to gain a few hours of schooling each day, he worked in a salt mine early and late. His first library was contained in a drygoods box with planks across it. After he heard two black miners describe Hampton Institute, Washington's next goal was to attend this school for blacks five hundred miles away in Hampton, Virginia:

As they were describing the school, it seemed to me that it must be the greatest place on earth, and not even Heaven presented more attractions for me at that time.... I resolved at once to go to that school, although I had no idea where it was, or how I was going to reach it. I remembered only that I was on fire constantly with one ambition, and that was to go to Hampton.<sup>91</sup>

Empirical reality Washington's reality of aspiration was made powerful and tangible by his preference for self-discovery and facts. "I have great faith in the power and influence of facts," wrote Washington early in his book.<sup>92</sup> He believed that "Most people... are able to draw proper conclusions if they are given the facts...." His reading habits reflected a preference for biography because "I like to be sure

that I am reading about a real man or a real thing." The Negro Farmers' Conferences he initiated helped people "to study the real condition of the rank and file...."<sup>93</sup> Material conditions influenced race relations:

I have found, too, that it is the visible, the tangible, that goes a long way in softening prejudice. The actual sight of a first-class house that a Negro has built is ten times more potent than pages of discussion about a house that he ought to build, or perhaps could build.<sup>94</sup>

Washington's faith in facts led him to study his new environment when he arrived in Macon County, Alabama, in the summer of 1881. Finding no classrooms, books, other faculty members or students, his first days on the job were spent observing the conditions and needs of the people whom he had come to teach. He described his empirical investigation:

... most of my travelling was done over country roads, with a mule and a cart or a mule and a buggy wagon for conveyance. I ate and slept with the people in their little cabins. I saw their farms, their schools, [and] their churches. Since, in the case of most of these visits, there had been no notice given in advance that a stranger was expected, I had the advantage of seeing the real, everyday life of the people.<sup>95</sup>

In Macon County, Washington found entire families sleeping in one room with no provision to wash in the small cabins. The "common diet" of the people consisted of fat pork, corn bread, and molasses. Economically, most of the black people Washington met were tenant farmers dependent upon a system that kept them perpetually in debt. The chief crop, and seemingly the only crop, was cotton. Education was virtually nonexistent. But, Washington found reason for hope: "As a rule, the colored people all through this section are very poor and ignorant but the encouraging thing about it is that they see their weakness and are desirous of improvement."<sup>96</sup>

Washington's tour of his new rural environment clearly revealed the ill effects of a former slave economy and the share-crop system that grew up in the post-Reconstruction South. His preference for facts satisfied, Washington learned very early that his new school could not be separated from the rural nature of Macon County. Thus, land became the basis of Washington's program of education and another aspect of his affinity for "the real thing" rather than "something that is artificial or an imitation." It was the earth into which Washington's life was driven and out of which it stood. The slave cabin where he was born had no wooden floor. When he came up out of the salt mine of Malden to go to Hampton Institute, he made his way to Richmond, Virginia, where, without enough money to get a meal or a room, he slept under a board sidewalk on the ground. And when he eventually arrived in Tuskegee, the first thing he did was to acquire land on which to build his school from the ground up. He helped clear the fields of the farm — it was actually a ruined plantation — that his school was to occupy. He and his students "dug out the earth" where the foundations for the first buildings were to be laid.<sup>97</sup> All this was the ground of Washington's world — the ground where slavery had existed and the ground on which he was determined to establish his school. Washington's vision of education, then, was rooted in the land.

Washington did not disguise his animus towards cities. In the Fall 1878, three years before he came to Tuskegee, he went to live and study in Washington, D.C., and his stay made him suspicious of city life for black people. Urban blacks were "less self-dependent" than their rural brethren and knew "less about life and its conditions."

To the founder of Tuskegee Institute, the ideal place for the black masses was on the land in the South:

How many times I wished then, and have wished since, that by some power of magic, I might remove the great bulk of [black] people into the country districts and plant them upon the soil, upon the solid and never deceptive foundation of Mother Nature, where all nations and races that have ever succeeded have gotten their start, — a start that at first may be slow and toilsome, but one that nevertheless is real.<sup>98</sup>

Change It was Washington's fundamental belief that if black people committed themselves to building a symbiotic relationship with the land, a change for the better was assured. Washington believed in progress and in his people's ability to change their condition: "One might as well try to stop the progress of a mighty railroad train by throwing his body across the track as to try to arrest the ceaseless advance of Negro humanity."<sup>99</sup> Black people were "constantly making slow but sure progress materially, educationally, and morally" from the abyss of slavery. Washington offered his own life as an affirmation of a successful transcendence over a harsh past:

I had been born and largely reared in the lowest depths of slavery, ignorance, and poverty. In my childhood I had suffered for want of a place to sleep, for lack of food, clothing, and shelter. I had not had the privilege of sitting down to a dining table until I was quite well grown.<sup>100</sup>

Despite these handicaps, Washington achieved recognition. The growth of Tuskegee Institute also paralleled the progress of its founder. Tuskegee Institute started as a relatively loose-knit organization in agrarian quarters. As the work proceeded, however, the school moved toward greater sophistication: the initial plantation setting became a "campus" with "buildings large and small;" the original

enrollment of thirty rural pupils became a "body of students;" and the initial curriculum broadened.<sup>101</sup> In a sense, Tuskegee Institute assumed a life of its own. The man and the institution complemented each other.

Washington believed in progress, growth, and change. He preferred an empirical reality that included an affinity to discovering the potential of life in the rural South. With this ontology, he contemplated the shattering of tradition at the laying of the cornerstone of his new black institution in 1881:

When it is considered that the laying of this cornerstone took place in the heart of the South, in the 'Black Belt,' in the centre [sic] of that part of our country that was most devoted to slavery; that at time slavery had been abolished only about sixteen years; that only sixteen years before that no Negro could be taught from books without the teacher receiving the condemnation of the law of public sentiment - when all this is considered, the scene that was witnessed at Tuskegee was a remarkable one.<sup>102</sup>

### Epistemology

Sources of knowledge Washington repudiated some of the white educational theorizing of his times. He criticized the programs of schools founded by northern missionaries. After spending a month surveying the "actual life of the colored people," he recalled that "of one thing I felt more strongly convinced than ever... and that was that... something must be done more than merely to imitate New England education as it then existed."<sup>103</sup>

Washington believed that schools established for blacks by white northerners were "alien institutions" and did not consider the "actual needs of black people in the South." He differentiated, however, his alma mater, Hampton Institute, from other missionary schools because

"it is meeting and helping the needs of our people as they present themselves at the time" rather than yielding "to the temptation of doing that which was done a hundred years before, or is being done in other communities a thousand miles away."<sup>104</sup> The hard lessons of experience and the needs of black people represented for Washington viable sources of knowledge: "To take the children of such people as I had been among... and each day give them a few hours of mere book education, I felt would be almost a waste of time."<sup>105</sup>

Knowledge became for Washington a transaction between learners and their environment. Washington, the trainer of teachers and the manually-skilled, unhesitantly stated that "there is no education which one can get from books and costly apparatus that is equal to that which can be gotten from contact with men and women."<sup>106</sup> Washington's concept of knowledge implied that ideas related to tangible realities.

Since the needs of black people constituted viable sources of knowledge for his students, Washington regarded Tuskegee Institute as an instrument for "testing whether or not it is possible for Negroes to build up and control the affairs of a large educational institution." He knew the failure of a black institution controlled by whites would seriously injure the cause of black education but he felt a special burden when he estimated that "the failure of our institution, officered by Negroes, would not only mean the loss of a school, but would cause people, in a large degree, to lose faith in the ability of the entire race."<sup>107</sup>

Considering that Washington extolled, in Up from Slavery, a formula of black progress through black educational leadership, his belief in

the importance of the feelings of the black poor as a source of knowledge needed by prospective black teachers and workers seemed logical. Impoverished blacks, according to Tuskegee Institute's founder, spoke from the firm foundation of their own condition. Washington established the validity of the experiences of poor black people and considered Macon County an "ideal place" for his school because it was "in the midst of this great bulk of poor Negro people."<sup>108</sup> Washington articulated his understanding of the value of a racial identity that helped to awaken, enlighten, and inspire interest in one's self. Students, therefore, should not be made to feel that what was distant was better; indeed, it was the familiar and the close at hand that best served as sources of knowledge.

Knowledge and experience Washington implied that there could be no knowledge without individual experience. Propositions based upon a priori assumptions had little meaning for him. Once students experienced a worthwhile interaction with their environment, growth and knowledge resulted. Ideas were plans of action. Washington offered a vivid example of how knowledge and experience related when he insisted that students at his school erect their own buildings. Bricks were needed but there was no brickyard in the community. There was a demand for bricks in the general market in addition to the needs of the school. After several false starts, kilns were fired properly and brick-making became both a key industry and an instrument for education on the Tuskegee campus. The brick-making enterprise was so successful that the sale of bricks to local residents became a source of revenue for the school. In addition, some students mastered the trade and found

work in the industry throughout the South. A third and more subtle outcome of the brick-making venture was improved interracial relations within Macon County.<sup>109</sup>

Washington, therefore, showed concern for the results and consequences of knowledge. If knowledge was to have any meaning, a person must be able to do something with it. Knowledge must be actively required, functional, and wedded to actual life:

The masses who are most helpfully reached by Tuskegee Institute are coming to realize that education in its truest sense is no longer to be regarded as an emotional impulse, a fetish made up of loosely joined information, to be worshiped for its mere possession, but as a practical means to a definite end.<sup>110</sup>

Learning Since Washington believed that knowledge and experience were interrelated, it was not surprising that he held that students learned best when practice and theory were complementary. In his first teaching position in Malden, West Virginia, Washington noted the listlessness of his students one hot June day and prolonged their recess. By a happy accident he discovered that in surveying the islands in a neighboring marsh the children learned their geography with a zeal entirely lacking when they pondered their maps and books: "For the first time the real difference between studying about things through the medium of books, and studying things themselves without the medium of books, was revealed to me."<sup>111</sup>

Because he conceived of learning as an active process, Washington sought to eliminate any separation between academic and vocational subject matter at Tuskegee Institute. He insisted upon the correlation of each academic subject, as far as practical, with the trades of his

school. Industrial training did not take the place of academics but was undertaken in conjunction with it. Washington did not ignore the value of the liberal arts for the prospective teachers or workers that his school was training. In fact, he regarded his choice of industrial training for black people as a way "to give the student training in his own language, even in the arts and sciences that will have special bearing on his life." Washington insisted that industrial education was not exclusive, that "thorough academic training" went "side by side" with industrial subjects, and that Tuskegee Institute stood for an integrated training of the "head, heart, and hand."<sup>112</sup>

By aligning the teaching of the classroom with activities in the fields and shops of his school, Washington regarded the distinction between education and training as theoretical: "My experience convinces me that training to some productive trade, be it wagon-building or farming, educates." And education trained: "It is obvious that a man cannot build wagons or run a farm with continuous success who is unable to read, write, and cipher." In his effort to build a school that would meet the needs of his students, Washington viewed his concept of "education-training" as an example of a "broader and more generous conception of what education is and should be."<sup>113</sup> Under Booker T. Washington's leadership, Tuskegee Institute did not divide the book from the handicraft.

### Axiology

Ethical and moral code At appropriate points in his autobiography, Washington laid down a moral code that he hoped would serve

others as it had him and that advanced human welfare. Washington believed that education should make students absolutely honest in dealing with others: "I don't care how much arithmetic we have or how many cities we can locate; it all is useless unless we have an education that makes us absolutely honest." Education should make future teachers and workers just in their dealings with others: "The man or woman who has learned to be absolutely just is to that degree an educated man or woman." Also, education should lead Tuskegee Institute students to help others because "those who are happiest are those who do the most for others." As a beginning teacher in Malden, West Virginia, Washington was "supremely happy in the opportunity of being able to assist somebody else." At Hampton Institute, he helped American Indian students adjust to their new environment and he discovered that "assistance given to the weak makes the one who gives it strong."<sup>114</sup>

Character building At Tuskegee Institute, Washington made character building a guiding force of his educational program. "Character" communicated a whole host of values, but at Tuskegee "character" meant reverence for such values as order and thrift. Washington suggested that industrial education was as much a moral program as it was an instructional program. Education, maintained Washington, was conditioned not only on an enlightened head and a changed heart, but also on a routine of industrious habits. Washington formulated his argument as follows: thrift, industry, and order — those virtues he regarded as the essence of good character — grew in direct response to liberal doses of hard work. Under slavery, however, black people had come to despise labor and thus had lost the possibility of developing those virtues that hard

work instilled. The cure for this moral deficiency, therefore, was an educational program that dignified labor and that trained black men and women to appreciate the need as well as the rewards of hard work.

Washington valued labor as something noble and uplifting. The value of labor, then, extended beyond learning how to make a living.

Character building really became a shorthand for the Protestant ethic. Hard work, not luck, brought results. Efficiency was a virtue: "Nothing must be slovenly or slipshod." Obstacles were often the best road to success:

As I look back now over... our struggle, I am glad that we had it. I am glad that we endured all those discomforts and inconveniences. I am glad that our students had to dig out the place for their kitchen and dining room. I am glad that our first boarding place was in that dismal, ill-lighted, and damp basement.... It means a great deal, I think, to start off on a foundation which one has made for one's self.<sup>115</sup>

Individual initiative was eventually recognized and a law of merit operated: "Any man will be rewarded just in proportion as he learns to do something well — learns to do it better than someone else — however humble the thing may be."<sup>116</sup>

Washington not only promoted hard work at Tuskegee Institute, but he also assumed the role of parent. Character building included the importance of personal habits like personal cleanliness and the "gospel of the toothbrush." Washington remembered his own deprived background, his days as a student, and how Hampton Institute lifted the burden of his past. He wrote,

Life at Hampton was a constant revelation to me; it was constantly taking me into a new world. The matter of having meals at regular hours, of eating on a table cloth, using a napkin, the use of the bathtub and of the

toothbrush, as well as the use of sheets upon the bed, were all new to me.<sup>117</sup>

As Principal of Tuskegee Institute, Washington sought to correct the ill-effects of impoverished lives: "The students had come from homes where they had had no opportunities for lessons which would teach them how to care for their bodies.... We wanted to teach the students how to bathe; how to care for their teeth and clothing. We wanted to teach them what to eat, and to eat properly, and how to care for their rooms."<sup>118</sup> Thus, behind the tangible manifestations of Tuskegee Institute as a training ground to prepare young men and women to earn a living lay a quest for personal transformation as a fundamental goal. Under Washington's leadership, education at Tuskegee aimed at both the intellectual and moral improvement of southern blacks, beginning where they were in life.

Religion Supporting Washington's moral views and his concern for building character was a religious nature. He read the Bible for spiritual help. He sought God's blessing before his speeches. He valued religion because it served interests in a secular world:

In a large degree it has been the pennies, the nickels, and the dimes which have come from the Sunday-schools, the Christian Endeavor societies, and the missionary societies, as well as from the church proper, that have helped to elevate the Negro....<sup>119</sup>

Washington was interested in the practical value of religion as applied to everyday living. He told his students that "the religion of Christ is a real and helpful thing that you can take with you into your classrooms, into your shops, and onto the farm."<sup>120</sup> The Sunday schedule at Tuskegee Institute, according to Washington, proved that his school was "by no means nonreligious." The Sunday round of activities included Christian Endeavor at nine o'clock, chapel at eleven, and Sunday School

at one, with an enforced quiet hour from three to four in the afternoon. In addition, students had to attend daily chapel Monday through Friday and a prayer meeting on Friday night.<sup>121</sup>

## V. Summary

Washington was the chief educational architect of Tuskegee Institute. He set forth the policies that gave his school a distinctive character and he nurtured with publicity and by visitations the efforts of two other black educators in this study who followed his example. But, Washington was a theorist as well as an architect and in his most famous autobiography, Up from Slavery, he presented the philosophical foundations of his educational practices as these existed in 1901.

The philosophical categories that made up Washington's educational beliefs as revealed in Up from Slavery harmonized with each other. His ontology of growth, change, progress, and aspiration, as well as his preference for an empirical reality led to an epistemology that stipulated that the most viable sources of knowledge were the needs of black people, that knowledge was a transaction between persons and their environment, and that, consequently, learning was best facilitated by welding theory and practice. An ontology of growth led to a curriculum that encouraged growth, a curriculum not exclusive but inclusive, a curriculum of academics and industrial training. An ontology of aspiration prompted a commitment to instill among the future teachers, farmers, and manual workers at Tuskegee Institute the belief that people could triumph over their environment rather than be shackled by it.

Washington maintained that students should study the world as it affected them. Knowledge was a tool for managing experiences and the new situations in life confronting an individual. In Up from Slavery, Washington shaped his epistemology around the theme that black people could be active, integral participants in American society. All experiences, therefore, were potentially educative or miseducative and a major objective of education was to induct students into society by stressing the inculcation of habits and skills that enabled students to take part in the world as they found it. Thus, the curriculum should be functional and practical.

As revealed in Up from Slavery, Washington's educational philosophy was also morally programmatic. He attempted to move his students beyond their present condition by presenting concrete and explicit moral objectives for them to follow. The educational program at Tuskegee Institute between 1881-1901 was derived from Booker T. Washington's sense of what his students, many of whom were uncultivated country youth, needed. He started to induct them into American society through a discipline based on the fundamentals which they lacked. Education became character building. Cleanliness, decorum, promptness, and truthfulness were virtues that related education to life. Washington believed in the moral value of working with the hands. "Industrial" education for Washington had a great affinity to the moral connotations of "industriousness."

Explicit in Up from Slavery was the concept that education must have a practical value. Uppermost in Washington's mind, when he began his life's work, was to do something that reached and improved the conditions of black people:

They [Tuskegee Institute students] are taught that mind-training is the logical helpmate of hand-training, and that both, supplemented and sweetened by heart-training, make the high-souled, useful, productive, patriotic, law-loving, public-spirited Negro citizen of whom any nation might well be proud.<sup>122</sup>

The pragmatic nature of Washington's educational philosophy as revealed in Up from Slavery reflected a formula of educational progress designed and constructed by black leadership. Booker T. Washington based Tuskegee Institute on the doctrine that blacks needed no master. He regarded his school as a socially necessary institution and believed that black people could and would save themselves. Education at Tuskegee Institute was blacks doing for self: blacks educating blacks, blacks building for blacks, and blacks creating a world for the moral uplift of black people:

We want to give them [students] such an education as will fit a large proportion of them to be teachers, and... cause them to return to the plantation districts and show Negroes there how to put new energy and new ideas into their moral and religious lives.<sup>123</sup>

## FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup>Booker T. Washington, Up from Slavery (New York: Doubleday, Page and Company, 1901; reprint ed., Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, Doran and Company, Inc., 1929), p. 106.

<sup>2</sup>Booker T. Washington's life from 1856 to 1901 was examined closely by Louis R. Harlan, Booker T. Washington, The Making of a Black Leader, 1856-1901 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972). Harlan indicated that John H. Washington, a brother of Booker T. Washington, reported seeing his brother's birthdate, April 5, 1856, recorded in a family Bible belonging to Washington's owner. Washington claimed in Up from Slavery that he didn't know the year or date of his birth.

<sup>3</sup>The owner of the plantation, James Burroughs, had six slaves in 1860. See *Ibid.*, p. 325.

<sup>4</sup>Washington, Up from Slavery, pp. 26-27.

<sup>5</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 29.

<sup>6</sup>Henry J. Perkinson, Two Hundred Years of American Educational Thought (New York: David McKay Company, 1976), p. 174.

<sup>7</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>8</sup>Washington, Up from Slavery, p. 44.

<sup>9</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 48.

<sup>10</sup>Cited by Joseph F. Citro, "Booker T. Washington's Tuskegee Institute: Black School-Community, 1900-1915" (Ed.D. dissertation, University of Rochester, 1973), p. 31.

<sup>11</sup>Harlan, Booker T. Washington, pp. 62-63.

<sup>12</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 63.

<sup>13</sup>Cited by Nathalie Lord, "Booker Washington's School Days at Hampton," Southern Workman 31 (May 1902), p. 257.

<sup>14</sup>Harlan, Booker T. Washington, p. 82.

<sup>15</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 83.

<sup>16</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 96.

<sup>17</sup>Washington, Up from Slavery, pp. 87-88.

<sup>18</sup>Basil Mathews, Booker T. Washington: Educator and Interracial Interpreter (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1948), pp. 62-63; Emmett Jay Scott and Lyman Beecher Stowe, Booker T. Washington: Builder of a Civilization (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, Page and Company, 1918), pp. 3-4; and Horace Mann Bond, Negro Education in Alabama, A Study in Cotton and Steel (Washington, D.C.: The Associated Publishers, Inc., 1939), pp. 139-140.

<sup>19</sup>Scott and Stowe, Booker T. Washington, p. 7.

<sup>20</sup>Mathews, Booker T. Washington, pp. 63-64; Harlan, Booker T. Washington, p. 115.

<sup>21</sup>Washington, Up from Slavery, p. 107.

<sup>22</sup>Ibid., p. 110; Bond, Negro Education in Alabama, p. 197.

<sup>23</sup>Harlan, Booker T. Washington, p. 122.

<sup>24</sup>Ibid., p. 118.

<sup>25</sup>Bond, Negro Education in Alabama, p. 3; in Up from Slavery, Washington claimed the term "Black Belt" was "first used to designate a part of the country which was distinguished by the color of the soil. The part of the country possessing this thick, dark, and naturally rich soil was, of course, the part of the South where the slaves were most profitable, and consequently they were taken there in the largest numbers. Later and especially since the war, the term seems to be used wholly in a political sense - that is, to designate the counties where the black people outnumber the white." (p. 108)

<sup>26</sup>U.S., Department of the Interior, Census Office, Tenth Census of the United States, 1880: Population, 1: 380.

<sup>27</sup>U.S., Department of the Interior, Census Office, Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900: Population, 1: 259. There were 18,874 blacks and 4,252 whites living in Macon County, Alabama, in 1900.

<sup>28</sup>Stephen B. Weeks, The History of Public School Education in Alabama, Bureau of Education, Bulletin No. 12, 1915 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1915), pp. 155-160.

<sup>29</sup>U.S., Bureau of Education, Report of the Commissioner of Education for the Year 1881, pp. 7, 71.

<sup>30</sup>Irving Gershenberg, "The Negro and the Development of White Public Education in the South: Alabama, 1880-1930," Journal of Negro Education 39 (Winter 1970): 54-55.

<sup>31</sup>Bond, Negro Education in Alabama, p. 163.

<sup>32</sup>The average length of the school term for white public elementary schools in Alabama increased from 67.7 days in 1889-90 to 97 days in 1900 while the term of black public elementary schools in the same period increased from 68.9 days to 82.7 by 1900. The average monthly salary of white teachers in Alabama increased from \$22.04 in 1889-90 to \$32.25 in 1900 while the average monthly salary of black teachers went from \$21.05 in 1889-90 to \$22.59 in 1900. In 1900, the amount of money spent on a white child in Alabama was \$4.92 while \$2.21 was spent for the education of the black child. See Weeks, The History of Public School Education in Alabama, p. 197.

<sup>33</sup>Booker T. Washington, "A Speech before the Boston Unitarian Club, 31 December 1888," cited by Louis R. Harlan, ed., The Booker T. Washington Papers, 12 vols. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1972-1982), 2 (1972): 498.

<sup>34</sup>Thirty Years of Lynching in the United States, 1889-1918 (New York: National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 1919), pp. 35, 43-44. The lynchings in Macon County occurred in 1892 and 1895.

<sup>35</sup>Washington, Up from Slavery, p. 123.

<sup>36</sup>Southern Workman, 10 (September 1881): 94, cited by Anson Phelps Stokes, Tuskegee Institute: The First Fifty Years (Tuskegee, Ala.: Tuskegee Institute Press, 1931), p. 61.

<sup>37</sup>U.S., Bureau of Labor, Seventeenth Annual Report of the Commissioner of Labor, 1902, pp. 285-286; Max Bennett Thrasher, Tuskegee (Boston: Small, Maynard and Company, 1901; reprint ed., New York: Negro Universities Press, 1969), p. 93. A study of the reported enrollment of Tuskegee Institute for the period 1881 to 1901 revealed that Tuskegee Institute listed all of its students as normal school students from 1881 to 1890. From 1890 to 1900, the highest percentage of students preparing for teaching was reported in 1892-1893 (620 of 720 students or 86 percent). The lowest percentage of normal school students was 22 percent (220 of 1,016 students) in 1895-1896. See U.S., Bureau of Education, Report of the Commissioner of Education for the Year 1892-1893, 2: 1569; and Report of the Commissioner of Education for the Year 1895-1896, 2: 2096-2097.

<sup>38</sup>Thrasher, Tuskegee, p. 93. Opportunities for students to work and study were not original with Tuskegee Institute or with Hampton Institute. Brubacher noted that "Harvard ever since colonial times had maintained a number of petty positions for poorer students" and that "many impecunious young men 'worked their way' through college during the early period [1850]." See John S. Brubacher and Willis Rudy, Higher Education in Transition: A History of American Colleges and Universities, 1636-1976, 3d ed., rev. and enl. (New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1976), p. 40. Coeducation was also in place at Hampton Institute when Washington was a student there from 1872-1875. Brubacher has noted that the "first prototype of the American

coeducational college made its appearance in Ohio in 1833 when Oberlin opened its doors." Coeducation "came to be the pattern... throughout the post-Civil War era." See Brubacher, Higher Education, pp. 60, 67.

<sup>39</sup> Tuskegee Normal School, Catalogue for the Academical Year, 1881-1882, cited by Harlan, The Booker T. Washington Papers, 2 (1972): 174.

<sup>40</sup> U.S., Bureau of Labor, Seventeenth Annual Report of the Commissioner of Labor, 1902, pp. 286-287.

<sup>41</sup> Washington, Up from Slavery, p. 314.

<sup>42</sup> Citro, "Booker T. Washington's Tuskegee Institute," pp. 336-339.

<sup>43</sup> Tuskegee Normal School, Catalogue for the Academical Year, 1881-1882, cited by Harlan, The Booker T. Washington Papers, 2 (1972): 169; U.S., Bureau of Education, Report of the Commissioner of Education for the Year 1900-1901, 2: 2314.

<sup>44</sup> Tuskegee Normal School, Catalogue for the Academical Year, 1881-1882, cited by Harlan, The Booker T. Washington Papers, 2 (1972): 169-172. The first year of normal school training at Tuskegee Institute was called the Junior Year.

<sup>45</sup> Thrasher, Tuskegee, p. 55.

<sup>46</sup> Citro, "Booker T. Washington's Tuskegee Institute," p. 348. The industrial aspects of Tuskegee Institute developed with brick-making (1883), carpentry (1884), printing (1885), cabinet-making (1887), wheelwrighting (1888), and tinsmithing (1889). Tuskegee Institute remained a normal and industrial school until 1927 when it became a four year college. See Citro, p. 352.

<sup>47</sup> "An Act to Incorporate Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute, December 13, 1892," cited by Harlan, The Booker T. Washington Papers, 3 (1974): 274-275. Robert G. Sherer maintained that Washington's distrust of the white Alabama legislature caused him to seek the change in Tuskegee Institute from a public to a private school. See Robert G. Sherer, Subordination or Liberation?: The Development and Conflicting Theories of Black Education in Nineteenth Century Alabama (University, Ala.: The University of Alabama Press, 1977), p. 57. Louis R. Harlan agreed with Sherer and noted that "From the beginning, Booker T. Washington dreamed of a degree of independence from the state government of Alabama." See Harlan, Booker T. Washington, p. 18.

<sup>48</sup> Booker T. Washington to Nathan B. Young, 1 November 1895, cited by Harlan, The Booker T. Washington Papers, 4 (1975): 68-69. Citro indicated that Washington continued his interest in correlating academic subjects with industrial training until his death in 1915. See Citro, "Booker T. Washington's Tuskegee Institute," pp. 48-51.

<sup>49</sup>Executive Council Meeting Minutes, 15 December 1895, Box 1004, Booker T. Washington Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. Hereafter referred to as the BTW Papers.

<sup>50</sup>Executive Council Meeting Minutes, 7 February 1896, Box 1004, BTW Papers.

<sup>51</sup>Harlan, The Booker T. Washington Papers, 5 (1976): 454; Mathews, Booker T. Washington, p. 132. The Board of Trustees always contained whites during the period 1881-1901 as well as beyond this period. For example, Randall O. Simpson, the white patron of William J. Edwards, joined the Tuskegee Institute Board of Trustees in 1897 and William Henry Baldwin, Jr., President of the Long Island Railroad, joined the Tuskegee Board in 1895. By 1899, the New York City philanthropist, J. G. Phelps Stokes, and the Boston industrialist, Silas Dizer, were serving on the Board. See Harlan, The Booker T. Washington Papers, 3 (1974): 530-531; 5 (1976): 101.

<sup>52</sup>Stokes, Tuskegee Institute, pp. 17, 24.

<sup>53</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 17. George Washington Carver came to Tuskegee Institute in 1896 from Ames, Iowa, to direct the Agricultural Department; Washington's third wife, Margaret James Murray, was a graduate of Fisk University and came to teach in 1889; Susie Helen Porter, Dean of Women in the early years of Tuskegee Institute, was a graduate of Atlanta University; R. R. Taylor, Director of the Department of Mechanical Industries and designer of many of the buildings at Tuskegee, was a graduate of M.I.T.

<sup>54</sup>Citro, "Booker T. Washington's Tuskegee Institute," p. 206. Tuskegee Institute, unfortunately, reported few figures for faculty membership from 1881 to 1900. In 1891-92, Tuskegee Institute reported that it had fifteen academic and ten industrial teachers and that in 1893-1894, the first year that Tuskegee was known as a "Normal and Industrial Institute," thirty teachers were reported teaching academic subjects and fifteen teachers were instructing in various trades. By 1901, forty-one of seventy-five teachers taught academic subjects. See U.S., Bureau of Education, Report of the Commissioner of Education for the Year 1891-1892, 2: 1200; U.S., Bureau of Education, Report of the Commissioner of Education for the Year 1893-1894, 2: 2070; U.S., Bureau of Education, Report of the Commissioner of Education for the year 1900-1901, 2: 2323.

<sup>55</sup>Mathews, Booker T. Washington, pp. 168-169; materials from the 1900 Farmers' Conferences cited by Thrasher, Tuskegee, pp. 169-191. The "emigration agents" referred to may have concerned the tendency of many southern blacks to leave the South and go West or North.

<sup>56</sup>Thrasher, Tuskegee, pp. 123-124.

<sup>57</sup>Mathews, Booker T. Washington, p. 123. Caroline Phelps Stokes, the heiress of a real estate fortune, donated the money for the Phelps

Bible Training School. In 1910, the Phelps-Stokes Fund was established to assist black schools in the South. Ms. Stokes lived in New York City. See Stokes, Tuskegee Institute, pp. 23, 90.

<sup>58</sup>Washington, Up from Slavery, p. 156.

<sup>59</sup>Ibid., p. 145.

<sup>60</sup>Cited by Citro, "Booker T. Washington's Tuskegee Institute," p. 71.

<sup>61</sup>Cited by Booker T. Washington, The Story of My Life and Work (Naperville, Ill.: J. L. Nichols and Company, 1901), p. 372.

<sup>62</sup>Ibid., p. 80.

<sup>63</sup>Sherer, Subordination or Liberation?, p. 58. By 1900, the original Slater Fund grant of \$1,000 had increased to \$11,000, and the Peabody Fund grant rose from \$500 in 1883 to \$1,500 in 1900. John F. Slater, a Norwich, Connecticut, textile magnate, established the Slater Fund in 1882 to assist education for blacks in the South. George Foster Peabody, a native of Massachusetts, founded the Peabody Fund in 1867 for southerners of both races. From the beginning, the Peabody Fund supported normal and industrial training for black people. See Harlan, The Booker T. Washington Papers, 2 (1972): 153, on both philanthropists and their relationships with Washington.

<sup>64</sup>U.S., Bureau of Education, Report of the Commissioner of Education for the Year 1900-1901, 2: 23; 4, 2322-2323.

<sup>65</sup>Sherer, Subordination or Liberation?, p. 58.

<sup>66</sup>Ibid.

<sup>67</sup>Washington, Up from Slavery, p. 110.

<sup>68</sup>See the chapters in this dissertation devoted to each of these black educators for a more detailed description of their contacts and correspondence with Booker T. Washington.

<sup>69</sup>Booker T. Washington, Working with the Hands (New York: Doubleday, Page and Company, 1904), p. 219, 222-224, 224-225.

<sup>70</sup>Booker T. Washington, ed., Tuskegee and its People: Their Ideals and Achievements (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1905; reprint ed., New York: Negro Universities Press, 1969), pp. 114-140, 224-252.

<sup>71</sup>Ibid., p. 13.

<sup>72</sup>For a sketch of Monroe Nathan Work see Harlan, The Booker T. Washington Papers, 10 (1981): 452.

<sup>73</sup>Monroe Nathan Work, Industrial Work of Tuskegee Graduates and Former Students during the Year 1910 (Tuskegee Institute, Ala.: Institute Press, 1911), pp. 53-57.

<sup>74</sup>Booker T. Washington, "Signs of Progress among the Negroes," The Century Magazine 59 (January 1900): 472, 474. The Century Magazine had a circulation in 1900 of 125,000. See Frank Luther Mott, A History of American Magazines, 5 vols. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1938-1968), 3: 475.

<sup>75</sup>Booker T. Washington, "A Man about whom the World Should Know," The Independent 58 (May 18, 1905), 1115-1116. The Independent, a religious weekly, had a circulation of 50,000 in 1905. See Mott, A History of American Magazines, 2: 378.

<sup>76</sup>Booker T. Washington, "A Cheerful Journey through Mississippi," World's Work 17 (February 1909), 11280. World's Work was a monthly edited by Walter Hines Page, a white Virginia-born journalist, whose publishing house, Doubleday-Page, published Up from Slavery. Page supported Washington's work and serialized Washington's My Larger Education in 1910 prior to its publication by Doubleday-Page in 1911. The circulation of World's Work in 1909 was 100,000. See Mott, A History of American Magazines, 4: 773, 780, 783.

<sup>77</sup>Southern Letter, 9 (August 1896): 4; Southern Letter, 13 (September 1896): 1; Southern Letter, 26 (January 1910): 1, all of these issues cited by Citro, "Booker T. Washington's Tuskegee Institute," pp. 497, 505-506.

<sup>78</sup>Ibid., pp. 505-506.

<sup>79</sup>Ibid., pp. 506-507.

<sup>80</sup>Scott and Stowe, Booker T. Washington, pp. 285-286. Scott and Stowe gave no date when the visitation plan was devised or who designed it.

<sup>81</sup>Ibid., p. 286.

<sup>82</sup>Outlook, 66 (November 3, 1900): 533-534 cited by Vernon Loggins, The Negro Author in America (Port Washington, N.Y.: Kennikat Press, Inc., 1964), p. 267. Lyman Abbott was active during the Reconstruction Period as Secretary of the American Freedmen's Union Commission. From 1876-1881, he was co-editor with Henry Ward Beecher of the Christian Union and became editor in 1881. The Christian Union changed its name to the Outlook in 1893. In 1887, Abbott succeeded Henry Ward Beecher as Pastor of Plymouth Congregational Church in Brooklyn, New York. See Harlan, The Booker T. Washington Papers, 3 (1974): 43-44.

<sup>83</sup>Harlan, The Booker T. Washington Papers, 1 (1972): 22-23. Harlan said that Washington chose the Outlook instead of McClure's Magazine to serialize his autobiography because of his friendship with Lyman Abbott and because of Abbott's willingness to publish nearly all of the autobiography rather than only a few chapters as McClure had offered.

<sup>84</sup>Booker T. Washington to Francis James Grimké, 23 March 1901, cited by Harlan, The Booker T. Washington Papers, 6 (1977): 62. Harlan maintained that Washington's authorship of Up from Slavery was the most complete of any book that he wrote and that Washington used the services of Max Bennett Thrasher, a white journalist, as an editorial consultant rather than as a ghostwriter. See Harlan, The Booker T. Washington Papers, 1 (1972): xxii.

<sup>85</sup>Booker T. Washington to Lyman Abbott, 8 October 1900, cited by Harlan, The Booker T. Washington Papers, 1 (1972): 27-28. Emphasis in the original.

<sup>86</sup>Washington, Up from Slavery, pp. 1-4, 9. Louis R. Harlan indicated that evidence suggested that Booker T. Washington's father was the son of the owner of Washington. Washington's mother married Washington Ferguson who was a slave on a nearby plantation. Ferguson went to Malden, West Virginia, in 1863, where Booker T. Washington, his mother, two brothers and a sister went in 1865. See Harlan, The Booker T. Washington Papers, 1 (1972): 7.

<sup>87</sup>Washington, Up from Slavery, p. 9.

<sup>88</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 17.

<sup>89</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 7.

<sup>90</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 7, 15, 19-20.

<sup>91</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 42-43. *Italics mine.*

<sup>92</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 32.

<sup>93</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 244, 263, 316. *Italics mine.*

<sup>94</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 154.

<sup>95</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 111-112. *Italics mine.*

<sup>96</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 116-117.

<sup>97</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 48-49, 128-131, 265.

<sup>98</sup>Ibid., pp. 88-90. Italics mine. In his famous speech of 1895 in Atlanta, Georgia, Washington counseled black people to "cast down their buckets" in the South.

<sup>99</sup>Ibid., p. 204.

<sup>100</sup>Ibid., pp. 249, 272.

<sup>101</sup>Ibid., p. 311.

<sup>102</sup>Ibid., pp. 143-144.

<sup>103</sup>Ibid., p. 118.

<sup>104</sup>Ibid., p. 95. Italics mine.

<sup>105</sup>Ibid., p. 118.

<sup>106</sup>Ibid., p. 95.

<sup>107</sup>Ibid., pp. 145, 187.

<sup>108</sup>Ibid., p. 108.

<sup>109</sup>Ibid., pp. 148-153. Washington learned brick-laying as a student at Hampton Institute as an elective course to complement his normal school curriculum. In his study of 374 Tuskegee graduates and former students, Monroe N. Work surveyed "individuals who have received training in various trades and have gone from Tuskegee and worked at their trades." Work discovered fifty-six Tuskegee Institute graduates/students who were working as brickmasons in 1910. He did not indicate how many of the fifty-six, if any, owned their own brick-making enterprises. See Work, Industrial Work of Tuskegee Graduates, p. 25.

<sup>110</sup>Washington, Up from Slavery, p. 145. Italics mine.

<sup>111</sup>Ibid., p. 75. Italics mine. Washington taught in a black public elementary school in Malden for three years, 1875-1878, and remembered his experiences there "as the beginning of one of the happiest periods of my life. I now felt that I had the opportunity to help the people of my hometown to a higher life." (Up from Slavery, p. 75.)

<sup>112</sup>Ibid., pp. 91, 203, 311. Italics mine.

<sup>113</sup>Ibid., pp. 127, 149.

<sup>114</sup>Ibid., pp. 66, 76, 165. From 1880-1881, Washington served as a dormitory supervisor to seventy-five male American Indian students at Hampton Institute. He recalled that these students "were about like any other human beings; that they responded to kind treatment and resented ill-treatment." (Up from Slavery, p. 98.)

<sup>115</sup>Ibid., p. 154. Italics mine.

<sup>116</sup>Ibid., pp. 40-41, 44, 162.

<sup>117</sup>Ibid., pp. 55, 174-175. In a letter to his former colleagues and teachers at Hampton Institute on the opening day of his own school, Washington wrote: "An institution for the education of colored youths can be put a partial success without a boarding department. In it they [students] can be taught those correct habits which they fail to get at home. Without this part of the training, they go out into the world with untrained intellects and their morals and bodies neglected." Cited by Stokes, Tuskegee Institute, p. 61.

<sup>118</sup>Washington, Up from Slavery, p. 126.

<sup>119</sup>Ibid., pp. 193, 214.

<sup>120</sup>Ibid., p. 198.

<sup>121</sup>Ibid., p. 270.

<sup>122</sup>Ibid., pp. 88-89.

<sup>123</sup>Ibid., p. 127.

## CHAPTER 2.

"DEEDS NOT WORDS": WILLIAM J. EDWARDS AND  
SNOW HILL INSTITUTE, 1893-1915

William J. Edwards founded Snow Hill Institute in Snow Hill, Alabama, in 1893, one of only three Tuskegee Institute graduates who founded what historian August Meier has called a "Tuskegee daughter school" in the State of Alabama before Booker T. Washington became a national figure in 1895.<sup>1</sup> Edwards modeled his school after his alma mater but he was not always successful in doing so. An examination of the relationship between Edwards and Washington, primarily derived from correspondence between the two men found in the Booker T. Washington Papers (Library of Congress), revealed articulated grievances from Washington about how Edwards administered Snow Hill Institute and Edwards' stated dependency upon his mentor for approval, assistance in fund raising, and advice.<sup>2</sup> The autobiography of Edwards was published in 1915, the year of Washington's death, and this book reflected, in organization and presentation of ideas about education, a similarity to Up from Slavery.

## I. Snow Hill Institute: 1893-1915

A brief sketch of the founder

Among the students who sat under Washington at Tuskegee Institute and caught his vision of service in the educational uplift of black people, William J. Edwards was a good example. Edwards was born at Snow Hill, Alabama, in Wilcox County on September 12, 1869, three quarters

of a mile east of where he was to build his school twenty-four years later (1893). Before he was a year old, his mother, an ex-slave, died and his father, also an ex-slave, died when Edwards was six years old. The task of rearing Edwards was left to his paternal grandmother and eventually to an aunt. At the age of twelve, Edwards became ill from scrofula, a bone disease that affected his legs and caused him to walk only with "much difficulty and pain." He was operated on in 1884 and regained his ability to walk without pain three years later.<sup>3</sup> He heard about Tuskegee Normal School while attending a church revival in 1887 and entered that school on January 1, 1889. Edwards, who studied to be a teacher, worked on the school farm during the four years he attended the school at Tuskegee and in this way he earned room and board. In 1893, Edwards graduated second in a class of twenty. The class motto was "Deeds not Words."<sup>4</sup>

Edwards entered Tuskegee Institute at the age of twenty and he emphasized in his autobiography that Washington was the most formative influence on his life. Edwards felt a personal challenge when Washington reiterated the need for social service to black people:

He used to tell us that after getting our education we should return to our homes and there help the people. He said that the people were supporting Tuskegee in order that we might be able to help the masses of our people. I could understand every word he said, and too, I felt always that he was talking directly to me.<sup>5</sup>

Edwards returned home to Snow Hill in May 1893, determined to "cast my lot with my people."<sup>6</sup>

### The founding

When Edwards returned home, he worked for neighbors for his meals, viewed the conditions of black people in Wilcox County, and worked his way through several adjoining counties of south central Alabama to see what the people needed most and how he could help supply it. He moved cautiously, however, not wishing to make a mistake at the inception of his plans. He wanted to be sure of his ground. Unlike his mentor (Booker T. Washington), Edwards received no telegram from any citizen or politician of Alabama directing his path. After he canvassed the Black Belt west of Montgomery, the state capital, Edwards concluded that blacks needed a school

to make education practical rather than theoretical; a school that would train men and women to be good workers, good leaders, good husbands, good wives, and finally train them to be fit citizens of the State and proper subjects for the kingdom of God.<sup>7</sup>

To achieve these goals Edwards started the Snow Hill Colored Literary and Industrial Institute in the Fall 1893, in "an old dilapidated one-room log cabin with one teacher and three students, with no State appropriation, and without any church or society responsible for one dollar of its expenses." There was only one other private black elementary-secondary school operating in Wilcox County at the time.<sup>8</sup>

About a year after Snow Hill Institute began, it experienced a severe crisis because of denominationalism. The local African Methodist Episcopal church to which Edwards belonged tried to make him turn his school into an A.M.E. school. When he refused, the local minister persuaded a district meeting of the church to establish a church school in Snow Hill. The church then offered Edwards the principalship of

the school. In a letter to Washington (September 1894), Edwards explained that the church officials threatened "to crush me out of existence" if he refused. He did refuse, however, because he had a "foundation" in the form of a gift of land from a local white patron, Randall O. Simpson, and the support of Washington. Edwards' school also had a better location. It was "at least a mile and a half from any white family," whereas the church school was "located in the heart of the villadge [sic] and surrounded by members of the white race which prevents an outlet of any kind." Instead of fighting the church, Edwards resolved to keep "working for the people and not a certain class." By the Fall of 1894, he had almost completed his schoolhouse that contained "a chapel 36 x 26 and two recitation rooms 20 x 15. I am also starting up a school library."<sup>9</sup>

The development of Snow Hill Institute was no easy task. Edwards constantly worried about raising money for his fledgling institution in addition to his bout with his local black church. Three years after he started his school (1896), the founder of Snow Hill Institute informed the founder of Tuskegee Institute of the toll of school building:

Sometimes I get weak and at such times the work suffers.... I have not had one week's rest since July '95. I work all summer for the school either in building or on the farm.... No one knows the sacrifice but God. I don't know how long I will be able to keep it up. Sometimes I think the end is near but I go struggling on hoping for better times.<sup>10</sup>

Edwards persisted despite his frustrations and by 1897 Snow Hill Institute was incorporated by the State of Alabama and a Board of Trustees was formed.<sup>11</sup> Three days before the close of the nineteenth century, Edwards reported to Washington that his school owned forty

acres of land, twenty of which it cultivated, that he had built two small buildings and that his school enrolled "upwards of three hundred students."<sup>12</sup>

Although Snow Hill Institute did not result from a political collaboration between blacks and whites as did Tuskegee Institute, the new school in Wilcox County did benefit from the personal relationship between Edwards and Randall O. Simpson, a native of Alabama and a Confederate veteran who owned most of the land around Edwards' school. Simpson often gave Edwards money when he was sick as a child and also loaned him money when Edwards attended Tuskegee Institute. Simpson forgot the debt until Edwards returned the money. Impressed with what he perceived education had done for Edwards, Simpson gave him seven acres of land in 1894 and encouraged Edwards to build a school that the black laborers on Simpson's plantation could attend. Simpson eventually sold 1,400 acres to Edwards in 1909.<sup>13</sup> Simpson and Edwards remained collaborators until Edwards resigned for health reasons in 1924.<sup>14</sup>

### The setting

Edwards established his school in Wilcox County in the cotton belt of south central Alabama about one hundred miles from Tuskegee. The town of Snow Hill, the birthplace of Edwards, was eighteen miles from Camden, Alabama, the seat of Wilcox County. Snow Hill had a population of 3,236 in 1890 but lost population over a twenty-year period and had 2,399 inhabitants by 1910. Wilcox County, a part of the Black Belt of Alabama, had a large black majority. Three years before Snow Hill Institute was established (1890) black people comprised 78 percent of

the population of Wilcox. By 1900, the black population grew to 80 percent and had reached 82 percent by 1910.<sup>15</sup>

The fact that Snow Hill Institute was located in a Black Belt county hardly escaped notice by visitors or by Edwards. A visitor to Snow Hill in 1906, for example, commented that the "chief element of this Institution's importance is, of course, derived from its location: it is right in the midst of the real thing of the American Negro race."<sup>16</sup> Edwards closely identified his school with its surrounding black majority in several of his letters of appeal to philanthropists. In 1910, Edwards wrote a "Friend" that "our institution is located in the most densely colored section of Alabama. In fact, within a radius of thirty miles of the school there is a colored population upwards of 200,000." Edwards referred to the "dark and benighted" section of Alabama where his school was located in an "Appeal" written in 1911 and he billed Snow Hill as a "light in the Black Belt where the Negro population is in a very large majority" in a pamphlet telling of his work in 1913.<sup>17</sup>

#### Political and racial factors

A Black Belt county like Wilcox experienced the negative effects of the Alabama School Law of 1891 that gave local school authorities complete discretion to distribute state funds to black and white schools. The results of the law were illustrated by public school expenditures in Wilcox County for 1889-1890 compared to 1911-1912. Money spent per child in 1889-1890 amounted to \$1.02 for a white child and ninety cents for a black child. The per capita expenditures for white students in 1911-1912 reached \$27.75, while only fifty-four cents was spent per

black child. The salaries of black public elementary school teachers in Wilcox County were also lower than white teachers by 1911-1912 and the school terms for black students were shorter than the terms for white students.<sup>18</sup> The inequities in funding for the education of black people took its toll. By 1910, 50.4 percent of the blacks in Wilcox County were illiterate while only 4.4 percent of the white residents could not read and write. Only 45.9 percent of the eligible black school age children 6-14 attended school in Wilcox County in 1910 compared to 76.5 percent of the white children ages 6-14.<sup>19</sup>

The deficiencies in public school expenditures for the education of black elementary school students (there were no public high schools for blacks in Wilcox County between 1890-1920) in Wilcox County help explain the importance of Snow Hill Institute, a private elementary, normal, and industrial school, to the local black community. Edwards did not fail to mention the educational plight of his people in his appeals for contributions. In 1910, for example, Edwards wrote that black people in his county were "almost wholly neglected in educational matters, save what we are endeavoring to do through our school. The amount given each Negro child in this section is about fifty cents a year. The Negroes are poor and unable to pay but little towards their education." Edwards admitted that blacks had not suffered from "earthquakes, cyclones, or destructive storms" but he claimed that there was "a worse plague than these... the plague of ignorance."<sup>20</sup> Edwards wrote in 1911 of the negative implications that a lack of educational opportunities had for blacks:

It is not our aim in writing this article to blame anybody for this condition. We merely want to call the attention of the public to the fact that this condition exists... thousands of young colored boys and girls are growing into manhood and womanhood each year without the least opportunity to become useful citizens.<sup>21</sup>

Edwards, as did Washington, also started his school during a time of racial tensions in Alabama. From 1893, the year that Snow Hill Institute was established, until 1915, the year that Edwards' autobiography appeared, 120 blacks were lynched in Alabama, three in Wilcox County.<sup>22</sup> An examination of the correspondence between Edwards and Washington indicated that the founder of Snow Hill Institute had an ambivalent attitude toward the local white community. In 1912, Edwards informed his mentor of his satisfaction with race relations: "I have always lived in Snow Hill among these white people and during the forty-two years of my life here I have never had any difficulty with them. In fact, we don't anticipate any trouble whatever from the white people in this section...."<sup>23</sup> Two years later (1914), however, Washington urged Edwards to make "a stronger and more systematic effort to bring the white people of Wilcox County into close contact with your work."<sup>24</sup> Edwards' response indicated some estrangement with local whites: "the white people of the county, for the most part, are far behind the white people in many other counties of the state.... I think... we have the good wishes of most of the white people in the county, but they are indeed backward in expressing it." After twenty-one years as Principal of Snow Hill Institute, Edwards concluded in 1914 that "Altho [sic] it will take time, I believe there will be a more cordial cooperation between the white people of the county and the school."<sup>25</sup>

Institution building

Students Edwards started Snow Hill Colored Literary and Industrial Institute in Fall 1893 with three students. A year later he had almost completed his schoolhouse and he claimed that enrollment increased to 150 students by October 1894.<sup>26</sup> Five years later (1899), Edwards informed Washington that "We have upwards of three hundred students."<sup>27</sup> Snow Hill Institute did not report enrollment figures to the United States Bureau of Education until 1903. These reports comprised most of the data available on enrollment and a study of them provided some clues into the reported student composition of Edwards' school.

An analysis of the enrollment figures submitted from Snow Hill Institute for the academic years 1902-1903 to 1914-1915 revealed that the highest reported enrollment was 400 in 1902-1903, and that the smallest reported enrollment was 276 in 1904-1905. The average enrollment for the period 1902-1915 was 319. Female students consistently outnumbered male students but the disparities were not overwhelming: female enrollment comprised as much as 56 percent of the student body in 1906-1907 and as little as 53 percent in 1912-1913.<sup>28</sup>

A study of the enrollment reports also disclosed that a majority of the students at Snow Hill Institute after 1903 was enrolled in elementary grades one through eight. In 1902-1903 when Snow Hill was still called a "Literary and Industrial Institute," 50 percent of the students were listed in elementary grades and 50 percent in "high school grades" leading toward industrial or normal school training. In 1904-1905, 86 percent of all students were enrolled in grades one through

eight. Elementary grade enrollment reached a high of 96 percent in 1906-1907. By the school year 1912-1913, 62 percent of the students were classified in elementary grades.<sup>29</sup>

Students at Snow Hill who were not in the elementary grades had to be at least fourteen years of age before they were admitted to the normal course or to industrial training. Enrollment in the four-year teacher training program fluctuated considerably between 1902 and 1915. Only ten of a reported 190 secondary school students took the normal course in 1902-1903. At no time between 1902-1915, did enrollment in teacher training at Snow Hill exceed 15 percent of the secondary school students at Snow Hill.<sup>30</sup>

Industrial training at Snow Hill Institute lasted two or three years, depending upon the program, and comprised the remainder of secondary school education at the school. If the word "Normal" as applied to enrollment at Snow Hill Institute between 1902-1915 was exaggerated, the descriptor "Industrial" represented reality. In the school years 1903-1904 and 1904-1905, every student above the eighth grade enrolled in some sort of "manual, industrial, or technical training" including normal school students. By 1907-1908, 80 percent of all secondary school students were taking some industrial training. The percentage of secondary school students taking some industrial course work never fell below 80 percent from 1907-1915.<sup>31</sup> From 1902 to 1915, then, Snow Hill Normal and Industrial Institute was primarily an elementary school (grades 1-8) with a teacher training program that never enrolled more than 15 percent of the secondary school student body. The school that William J. Edwards built charged an entrance fee of two dollars in 1910

and tuition of seventy-five cents a month. The school year lasted thirty-six weeks.<sup>32</sup>

Snow Hill Institute was a boarding school almost from its beginnings. Needy students paid for their room and board by working during the day and attending classes at night as did students at Tuskegee Institute. By 1910, 54 percent of the student body lived on campus.<sup>33</sup> Edwards offered a glimpse of the routine that by 1910 residential students were expected to follow on Sundays: "Students attended a Y.M.C.A. Meeting at 9:00 a.m., preaching services in the chapel at 11:00 a.m., and Sunday School classes immediately after preaching services." In the evening, the "whole school" assembled in the chapel for a religious service conducted by Edwards. Students were also required to attend "daily devotional services conducted by the Chaplin at 8:30 a.m."<sup>34</sup>

Students who became a part of this routine at Snow Hill Institute came primarily from Alabama and neighboring states. Washington claimed that in 1905 students at Snow Hill came from four unnamed southern states besides Alabama. The same year Edwards asserted that his students represented "more than a dozen Alabama counties and seven states." He wrote to perspective donors a year later (1906) that his students came from "widely scattered sections of the Black Belt, including Alabama, Georgia, and Mississippi. The average age of students is 17 1-4 [sic]." He listed the state of Louisiana in a similar pamphlet written in 1910. Joseph Davis' unpublished study of Snow Hill Institute reported that the student enrollment in 1913 represented thirty-three counties in Alabama and eight southern states.<sup>35</sup>

Alumni Although prospective teachers at Snow Hill were a distinct minority of the student body, Edwards showed considerable pride in his normal school graduates. The founder of Snow Hill Institute informed Washington in September 1899 that "a few students... took the [teacher's] examination in June and were the only ones in the county to pass." Edwards boasted three years later (1902) that his eight normal school graduates "have not sought the cities but have returned to their homes... and have taught in the rural districts." Edwards returned to his alma mater in 1906 to deliver a speech on the twenty-fifth anniversary of Tuskegee Institute and announced that "wherever a Snow Hill student teaches, the school term is lengthened and the people are encouraged to buy land, build better homes, better schoolhouses and better churches." Nineteen years after he started his school (1912), Edwards claimed that "when we are judged from the work we do we are not in the least ashamed of our record" particularly when three graduates of the Snow Hill normal course started their own industrial schools.<sup>36</sup>

It was possible that part of Edwards' celebration of the achievement of his normal school graduates stemmed from the fact that throughout the period 1893-1915 only a small percentage of students who attended Snow Hill Institute actually received a diploma or some other form of school recognition. Twelve years after the founding of his school (1905), Edwards noted that his institution had thirty-seven "official" graduates and "about five hundred others" who "have been under the influence of the school for a longer or shorter period."<sup>37</sup> Edwards reported in 1908 that 600 students had entered Snow Hill Institute since 1893 but that only fifty-five had earned certificates or diplomas

and twenty-three of this number were prospective teachers. In a report to the United States Commissioner of Labor in 1910, Snow Hill Institute reported that "about 80 percent of the pupils never graduate. The reason for this is that as soon as they reach a degree of proficiency that will enable them to get employment, many leave school for the purpose of earning their own living." Edwards claimed that by 1915 at least 1,000 students had attended Snow Hill since its founding and that 215 (21.5 percent) received diplomas or certificates. Fifty-three of these 215 (25 percent) were normal school students.<sup>38</sup>

Curriculum Edwards stressed agricultural and industrial training at Snow Hill Institute. Snow Hill reported offering instruction in ten trades to students fourteen years and older in 1903, including bricklaying, forging, painting, printing, carpentry, "free-hand drawing," mechanical drawing, sewing, dressmaking and "farm or garden work." Blacksmithing was added in 1904-1905 and sawmilling in 1909-1910.<sup>39</sup> Snow Hill Institute also reported in 1910 that the "industrial department aims to give pupils such training as will enable them to do their work more intelligently, thus making themselves of greater use to their community." In all industrial courses, "29 5/6 hours per week are given to practice work and 28 2/3 hours to academic work and the theory of the trade." Within the latter time allotment, 16 2/3 hours per week were devoted to "five common-school studies which vary according to the advancement of the individual pupil...." In the report of 1910, reference was made to "trade courses for males" without specific mention of these courses except the fact that "Boys have 8 hours of instruction in mechanical drawing each week." By 1910, Snow Hill Institute offered

a three-year course in blacksmithing, wheelwrighting, carpentry and sawmilling and a two-year course in brickmaking.<sup>40</sup>

Just how well Snow Hill Institute conducted its training program as well as its academic courses was judged by three Tuskegee Institute staff members who visited Edwards' school between April 10th and April 14th, 1910. The visitors found the following "industries" in operation: carpentry, blacksmithing, brickmaking, wheelwrighting, sewing, laundering, basketry, cooking, housekeeping, sawmilling, and farming. The visitation committee found various aspects of the industrial training program in need of improvement, but sprinkled their criticisms with some positive statements.

Although the Carpentry Division, for example, "had no machinery and much of the work, therefore, presented an unfinished appearance" and the instructor of carpentry needed "to be encouraged to develop the division," the visitors commended the division "for all the buildings which have been erected." The blacksmith program was "good" and "the theory class which we attended in the afternoon was practical and instructive." Even though "not very much practical work has been done in the basketry division," the work that the visitors did see "was done well." The Sewing Department was doing "some very good and practical work" but the saw mill was three miles from the school and, consequently, "this work is carried on by hired men and not students on account of the distance from the school." The visitors criticized the cooking classes for girls because "this important industry, we observed, was only given to the girls in the higher classes, but even then was not very extensive."

Female students needed more practice in the "planning, preparation, cooking, and serving of meals."<sup>41</sup>

The Academic Department at Snow Hill received more criticism than did some of the industrial training departments. There was, for instance, an absence of flowers and pictures in the classrooms "to make the rooms look cheerful." The teaching in the academic subjects was "poor" and "confined strictly to the books. In some instances, the student did not seem to get hold of the subject." There was not enough "correlation" between the industrial and academic work:

There is a gap between the two departments, and this should not be, especially in an industrial school. The aim should be to bring the two departments together and this should be impressed upon the student. More stress we think should be put upon the things which the students come in daily contact with, in the home, at the school and in the community, and from these known things branch off to others. The student then has a thorough foundation and something on which to build.<sup>42</sup>

The visitation committee also discovered, of all things, that Snow Hill Institute was offering two-year courses in Latin and Greek "for those who are planning to take up higher work in the professions." The visitors thoroughly disapproved of this deviation from the Tuskegee Institute brand of education:

From what we observed we do not think that the average student there [Snow Hill] is ready for these subjects. Nor do we think that the school is thoroughly ready to teach them. Our opinion is that the school should stick closely to the English branches and try to perfect the students as far as possible upon the fundamental lines and not branch off on these higher subjects. In the first place, we do not think that the school can easily afford the money to keep up these courses and in the second place there are many more essential things that the students need along practical lines.<sup>43</sup>

The final recommendations made by the Tuskegee Institute visitors indicated how closely these officials expected their graduates' schools to follow Tuskegee Institute. There should be more correlation between the Industrial and Academic Departments. Latin and Greek should be dropped from the course of study. Better bathing facilities should be set up for the students and the male students should be "put under more rigid discipline as to their personal appearance, keeping their clothes clean and in repair, [and their] rooms clean and tidy..." Despite the lapses from the precepts of Washington, the committee called for continued support and encouragement for Snow Hill Institute and its principal:

"The work, we think, is a worthy one and should receive hearty support."<sup>44</sup>

At least in the opinion of the Tuskegee Institute visitors of April 1910, Snow Hill Institute was not the most efficient or exact offshoot of Washington's school. Three weeks after the visit, Edwards wrote to Washington and explained his errancy in allowing Latin and Greek in the curriculum:

They were not, strictly speaking, in the course of study. It was left entirely with the students as [sic] whether they should take them or no [sic] and the only thing about it that was prohibited was, [sic] that no student was allowed to take either of these subjects who had not made the required mark in English. These languages have never been catalogued and it never was my intention of placing them in the catalogue.... I do not put any stress upon the languages and I never have done so. I think that the Committee must have gotten the impression that I was attempting to push these languages to the front, and such has never been the case.... Furthermore, I beg to say that I have dispensed with them for the future.... I had not the least idea... that the teaching of these subjects in this incidental way would be objectionable....<sup>45</sup>

Edwards wrote this letter in response to an inquiry from Washington that unfortunately was not extant. It is helpful to note, when assessing

this episode, that a study of enrollment at Snow Hill Institute revealed that the percentage of normal school students reached its highest point (15 percent) after 1908. Perhaps the introduction of Latin and Greek reflected this enrollment trend, since Edwards knew that it was a normal school student who might be attracted to studying languages. Perhaps Edwards wanted to sustain the original "Colored Literary and Industrial" title of this school. Joseph Citro indicated in this unpublished study of Tuskegee Institute that Washington's school became more of an industrial school and less of a normal school after 1903. Perhaps the criticisms of the Tuskegee visitors reflected this trend.<sup>46</sup> Although Snow Hill Institute would be criticized again by Tuskegee Institute officials, there was no extant evidence that a controversy over curricular matters occurred after 1910.

Faculty The first teachers who joined Edwards at Snow Hill in October 1894, were two classmates who had graduated from Tuskegee Institute in 1893. The importance of Edwards' alma mater as a source for his staff was to be as significant as Washington's reliance upon Hampton Institute. By 1896, the staff of five teachers at Snow Hill consisted solely of Tuskegee graduates.<sup>47</sup> Six years later (1902), Edwards reported that "Our working force this year consisted of twenty-six teachers and clerks, [and] most of these people this year, as in former years, were from Tuskegee."<sup>48</sup> Washington acknowledged the Tuskegee Institute connection at Snow Hill in his book Working with the Hands (1904): "... about twenty teachers and instructors were employed [at Snow Hill] and nearly all were graduates or former students of Tuskegee."<sup>49</sup> The committee from Tuskegee Institute that visited Snow Hill in April

1910, also found that thirteen of thirty-three faculty members were Tuskegee Institute graduates. The visitors noted that two teachers were graduates of Hampton Institute and that nine teachers graduated from Snow Hill. The other nine teachers at Snow Hill, according to the visitor's report, graduated from "Oberlin Conservatory, Wilberforce University, Payne College, A. and M. college at Huntsville [Alabama], and schools in Chicago and Boston."<sup>50</sup>

The three visitors from Tuskegee commented about the quality of the all-black teaching staff at Snow Hill. Although the committee had suggested a stronger articulation between the Academic and Industrial Departments, references to faculty were not entirely negative: "It appeared to us, for the most part, that the teachers had a grasp on the subject taught.... We think most of the teachers are in earnest and are doing good work and desire to help the students in every way possible." There was, however, need for improvement: "Since all of the teaching is largely under the Director of the Academic Department, we feel that he should take advantage of the summer schools in some of our best institutions, as often as possible, and get a thorough hold upon the latest methods of teaching and impress it upon his teachers that they may do better and more effective work."<sup>51</sup> Three years later (1913), another visitor to Snow Hill, a white confidant of Washington, reported that "There is more real life and enthusiasm, more possibilities, more ambition in the Snow Hill Faculty than any school I have yet seen."<sup>52</sup>

Extension Edwards was interested in improving the living conditions of the people near his school. The founder of Snow Hill Institute summed up the first nine years (1893-1902) of his school in this manner:

- 1st. It [Snow Hill Institute] has established in the minds of the people of this section the fact that the South is the best place for the Negro.
- 2nd. It has created in them [black people] a love for country life, a desire to purchase and own a home, and an ambition to beautify and dignify the same.
- 3rd. It has shown them above all others that intensive farming in the South is the Negroes' opportunity of the age.<sup>53</sup>

Edwards established several community organizations to accomplish these purposes: the Snow Hill Negro Conference, the Snow Hill Workers' Conference, and the Black Belt Improvement Society, all headquartered at Snow Hill Institute.

The Snow Hill Negro Conference was started by Edwards in 1897 as an annual meeting of farmers and was modeled after the Tuskegee Institute Farmers' Conference started five years earlier (1892). At these conferences, farmers from Wilcox and adjoining counties met and listened to

... educational, religious, moral and financial reports.... Those who have succeeded tell the others how they have done so, and those who have not succeeded tell how they are trying to succeed. From these annual meetings the farmers get new ideas, new information, and take fresh courage; they return to their farmers more determined to succeed than ever before.<sup>54</sup>

Edwards hoped that these Farmers' Conferences would lead to a black agrarian self-sufficiency in the South. He celebrated this purpose repeatedly. In a pamphlet printed in 1906 and designed to attract philanthropic support, Edwards claimed that the Farmers' Conferences "taught people to better their condition materially... by raising diversified crops... in the heart of the Black Belt of Alabama, where

the Negroes outnumbered the whites seven to one."<sup>55</sup> Edwards told an audience of blacks and whites at Tuskegee Institute in 1906 that

It is the aim of our institution to inculcate a love for the soil and for agricultural life. In spite of the denial of political rights, in spite of poor educational opportunities, and many other discriminations, the South is the best place in this country for the Negro... especially in the agricultural section. We might as well recognize this fact and teach our people to act accordingly.<sup>56</sup>

The Principal of Snow Hill Institute also claimed the following results of the Farmers' Conferences in a speech he delivered to a white church in Boston in December 1906:

Ten years ago the people in the neighborhood of the school did not own more than 20 acres land; today, they own more than 5,000 acres. Ten years ago the one room log cabin was the rule but today it is the exception. Ten years ago the majority of farmers were heavily in debt and mortgaged their crops each year. Many of the farmers now have bank accounts, while a few years ago they did not know what a bank was. Throughout the community they [black farmers] are buying land, building better homes, better schoolhouses, [and] better churches.<sup>57</sup>

Edwards embraced extension services as his most important educational objective in 1913: "The Institute has sought to extend its influence by reaching out into the houses of the people. Indeed, its greatest work has been done not in the schoolroom, nor in the shops nor on the school farm, but in the house-to-house extension work, whereby it has convinced thousands of Negro farmers throughout the community of the wisdom of buying land and owning homes...."<sup>58</sup> Edwards reported a year later (1914) that to achieve his purposes he was selling "small farms of from ten to twenty acres" to black people to "give them homesteads, to root them to the soil, and to transform this large area into a working community of self-supporting, [and] self-respecting people."<sup>59</sup>

Farmers were not the only group to receive Edwards' attention. An annual Snow Hill Workers' Conference, initiated in 1897, brought together "teachers and preachers" in order to receive "a clear idea of what the teachers and preachers were doing, the methods they were pursuing and the results they achieved." The development of a black educational and religious leadership motivated Edwards: "Wherever the intelligent teacher and preacher have gone, the condition of the people has been improved. To my mind this demonstrates most clearly that the great need of our people is intelligent leaders, and it is this that we ask for; it is this for which Snow Hill is striving."<sup>60</sup>

Perhaps the most notable extension activity organized by Edwards was the Black Belt Improvement Society also started in 1897. Edwards regarded this Wilcox County community organization as a way "to reach the ills that most retard the Negroes of the rural South." The aims of the Society reflected Edwards' concern for economic self-sufficiency and moral improvement.<sup>61</sup> The Society established committees on government, education, business, housekeeping, labor, and farming that met monthly "to discuss topics pertaining to the welfare and uplift of the people." The committee on education encouraged blacks in Wilcox County "to build better schoolhouses, to extend school terms and to keep their children in school." It was the duty of the labor committee "to gather together those of our race who still work as contract-hands, wage-hands, day-laborers, and domestic servants, and impress upon them the necessity of rendering their best service." The farming committee was formed to show black people "that the opportunities which the country offers us are far superior to those offered in the cities."<sup>62</sup> The extension activities

promoted by Edwards illustrated that the work of the classroom was only a part of what Snow Hill Institute tried to do for the uplift of black people in the Black Belt of south central Alabama.

Snow Hill Institute in 1915      The United States Bureau of Education, in a study paid by the Phelps-Stokes Fund, an educational philanthropy based in New York City, conducted on-site visits of 214 black private schools in the South from 1913 to 1916. Snow Hill Institute was visited in March 1915, and the visitors found a school "located in a rural section" with 293 students (145 males and 148 females), an all-black staff of twenty-nine "teachers and workers," and a "large acreage of land." Snow Hill Institute had an elementary school of eight grades, a four-year normal school program, and industrial training programs that lasted from two to three years. Training in carpentry, blacksmithing, masonry, and agriculture co-existed with courses in "English, chemistry, physics, biology, geometry, algebra, civil government, moral philosophy, school management and psychology."<sup>63</sup>

The Bureau of Education visitors described the twenty-two year old school as it appeared in March 1915:

There are five large frame buildings. A three-story brick building is in course of erection. There are several small wood structures used for shops, stores, and other purposes. There are also six frame cottages used for teachers' homes. The buildings are old but most of them are in fairly good condition. The dormitories and classrooms are well kept.<sup>64</sup>

The financial status of Snow Hill Institute reflected its dependence upon philanthropy: \$21,947, of its budget of \$25,316, for 1914-1915 came from "donations" and "legacies." Other sources of income included money from rental property and tuition and fees.<sup>65</sup> The school had an

indebtedness of \$23,304. The visitors to Snow Hill Institute that March 1915, six months before the publication of Edwards' autobiography and eight months before the death of Washington, also described a school that "exerted much influence on the community." Edwards had made significant progress as an educator in the county where he was born and raised, considering that an old dilapidated log cabin, a teaching force of one, and three students marked the beginnings of Snow Hill Institute.

## II. William J. Edwards' Relations with the other Black Educators in this Study

### William H. Holtzclaw

Edwards and William H. Holtzclaw, the subject of the next chapter, were classmates at Tuskegee Institute. Edwards arrived at Tuskegee Normal School in 1889 and graduated in 1893, while Holtzclaw, who entered in 1890, delayed his graduation until 1898 because of financial problems. Edwards offered Holtzclaw a position at Snow Hill Institute as a teacher of printing in 1898 and Holtzclaw stayed until 1902. He also served as the Assistant Treasurer during his last two years at Snow Hill Institute. Edwards found a similarity in the lives of both men: "I first met [Holtzclaw] in Tuskegee in the early nineties, when we both were in school there. His life was similar to mine, as we both had a very hard time in trying to get an education." Edwards, only a year older than Holtzclaw but a school founder ten years before Holtzclaw started Utica Normal and Industrial Institute in Mississippi in 1903, claimed that "Some of Mr. Holtzclaw's best teachers today [1915]

are graduates of Snow Hill Institute." The founder of Snow Hill Institute somewhat paternally believed that he had "always been deeply interested in the welfare of Utica for it is in reality an outgrowth of Snow Hill."<sup>67</sup>

Both Edwards and Holtzclaw attended the twenty-fifth anniversary celebration of Tuskegee Institute at the campus of their alma mater in 1906. Edwards had the honor of delivering one of the principal speeches on that occasion while Holtzclaw's role, if any, was not publicized.<sup>68</sup> Both school founders made numerous fund raising tours in the North, both wrote similar "Dear Friend" letters to gain financial support, and both benefited from the assistance of Washington. Edwards and Holtzclaw also contributed to Washington's book, Tuskegee and its People (1905) and both published periodical articles that eventually became chapters in their autobiographies. Unfortunately, no correspondence between the two educators has been located. Although Edwards maintained in his autobiography that he had met "most of the Principals of Southern Schools" similar to his, he did not mention Laurence C. Jones or Thomas Oscar Fuller, two other school founders in this study.

#### Booker T. Washington

Some of the ways that Washington publicized the work of Edwards was illustrated in the previous chapter of this dissertation. It seems worth examining the relationships between Edwards and Washington particularly from the perspective of the former. A careful reading of the extant correspondence between Edwards and Washington from 1894 to 1915 revealed that the founder of Tuskegee assumed the roles of fund-

raiser, advisor, critic, and initiator of visits to the Snow Hill Institute campus.

Fund raiser In 1898, Washington invited Edwards to travel with the Tuskegee Institute Quartet, a singing group formed in 1887, when it went North that summer to raise money. Although Edwards was not permitted to take up a collection for Snow Hill Institute at the concerts, his first "Northern campaign" allowed him to meet many philanthropists, especially in Boston, Massachusetts.<sup>69</sup> Each year thereafter he made at least one trip North by himself, often with poor results.<sup>70</sup>

Edwards relied upon the actual presence of Washington to help Snow Hill Institute raise money. In November 1899, for example, Edwards asked Washington to appear with him at a church in Boston because "it will be a success if only we can get you to consent to speak." Edwards was so anxious for his mentor to appear that he was "perfectly willing that part of the proceeds go to Tuskegee." Edwards also told Washington that "I would show in my address that Snow Hill is the outgrowth of Tuskegee." The founder of Snow Hill Institute was blunt: "I need not tell you, because you know, what it would mean to my school to be put before the public in this way."<sup>71</sup> A week later, Edwards still had received no response from Washington and he became uneasy: "This proposed meeting is the hope of my success on this trip and if I fail in this I fear that I will return to Snow Hill without success. I find it hard to get to the people. If you will just have a few words to say that will suffice."<sup>72</sup> Washington did not appear with Edwards in Boston and evidently entreaties from the Principal of Snow Hill stopped for awhile. Edwards wrote to Washington in November 1902 that "It has now

been quite two years since I have asked you to speak for us" and he again requested an appearance by Washington in Boston: "I sincerely trust that you may be able to be with me on that day and that you will allow me to advertise it in that way. I beg that you will give that much of your time to Snow Hill."<sup>73</sup>

If Washington was not always available or willing to appear with Edwards on fund raising programs, he did act at times as an intermediary for philanthropic donations to Snow Hill. After meeting a potential donor in May 1902, Edwards was told "to see you [Washington] and that we should decide upon just what we would like the Board to do for us."<sup>74</sup> While soliciting aid from Andrew Carnegie, the wealthy industrialist, Edwards was informed in 1905 that a "strong letter" from Washington to Carnegie would have a "decisive result."<sup>75</sup> In a letter to his personal secretary, Emmett Jay Scott, two years later (1907), Washington noted Carnegie's request for information about "successful black educators and suggested that Edwards could serve as an example of someone "who has achieved great success."<sup>76</sup>

Acting as a broker of funds for Snow Hill Institute, Washington at times assisted Edwards in getting donations not only from wealthy individuals but also from philanthropic organizations especially receptive to the industrial education credo. The founder of Tuskegee Institute, for example, wrote to Jacob Henry Schiff, a major contributor to Tuskegee and the founder of the Southern Education Fund, a philanthropy established in 1909 to assist black schools, and suggested that \$100 be sent to Snow Hill Institute annually because Edwards' school was "sending out good men and women as teachers and industrial workers."<sup>77</sup>

Edwards informed Washington several years later (1915) that he had been receiving the annual gift of \$100 since 1909 and that Schiff had sent him an additional \$500 in 1915.<sup>78</sup> Washington also helped Edwards get money from the Rosenwald Fund and the Slater Fund.<sup>79</sup>

Despite Washington's assistance to Edwards, Snow Hill Institute experienced serious financial difficulties at least from 1911 when a fire devastated the campus. Edwards described the damage in a telegram to Washington:

Snow Hill school for Negroes lost by fire last night. Dining Hall and Commissary Buildings, Library and food supplies were in these buildings and entirely lost. Value of property destroyed, \$10,000. Insurance \$2000. Dr. Washington, please put this on the Associated Press wire.<sup>80</sup>

Washington expressed his sympathy about the fire two days later and promised that he would help. He informed Edwards two weeks later that he had written Jacob Henry Schiff requesting assistance for Snow Hill Institute.<sup>81</sup> Three of Snow Hill's "main buildings" again "went up in smoke" in 1912 and these fire losses placed the school on increasingly shaky financial ground.<sup>82</sup>

The outbreak of World War I seriously aggravated the financial difficulties of Snow Hill Institute because many northern supporters of southern black schools shifted their attention to other objects of philanthropy like Belgian Relief and the Red Cross. Black schools like Snow Hill were among the first to suffer. Income from donations to Snow Hill by 1915 dropped almost 50 percent from the academic year 1912-1913.<sup>83</sup> Northern white and black supporters of black industrial schools organized the Association of Negro Industrial and Secondary Schools (ANISS) in New York City in 1914 to coordinate fund raising

for small black schools in the South. Although Washington was invited to attend the initial meeting of this organization in Fall 1914, he refused because the organizers were supporters of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and W. E. B. Dubois.<sup>84</sup> Edwards attended the initial meeting despite Washington's rebuff and became a member of the Executive Committee of the ANISS. Not for long, however. In November 1914, Washington obtained a copy of a "new letter-head just gotten out by that Association in New York and you will note that your name is used as a member of the Executive Committee.... I confess that I am somewhat puzzled."<sup>85</sup> A week later, a penitent Edwards responded that he had written to the Association of Negro and Industrial Schools "to have my name taken of [sic] the committee and the letter-head, as I was unable to serve."<sup>86</sup>

Advisor and critic Washington was also an advisor and critic on school management besides being concerned about the financial status of Snow Hill Institute. Washington wrote to his protege in May 1908, "in the most friendly spirit," to suggest that Edwards be "very careful to see that everything about the school is absolutely clean, and that everything is carefully systematized inside and outside."<sup>87</sup> Edwards replied that he would "do all that lies in our power to keep our facilities immaculate."<sup>88</sup> When one of Snow Hill Institute's most successful normal school graduates, John Thomas, decided to expand the school that he founded in a community not far from Snow Hill, Washington cautioned Edwards, "I think it would be a mistake to encourage the building of a school so close to yours...."<sup>89</sup> No reply from Edwards was extant. When financial difficulties plagued Snow Hill Institute in

1915, Washington advised Edwards in February to secure a loan to meet his "present emergency," in June to sell "a portion of your land," and in October "to let nothing swerve you from your purpose to cut down your expenses.... After you have reduced your expenses, paid your debts and begun all over again, all of you will feel happier, more contented, and you will do vastly better work than when you were burdened under the old handicap of a debt."<sup>90</sup>

Washington seemed particularly interested in Edwards assembling a strong Board of Trustees for Snow Hill Institute, a constant problem for Edwards compared to the success that Washington had in attracting influential persons to his Board of Trustees.<sup>91</sup> In February 1909, Washington, a trustee of Snow Hill, advised Edwards to secure a "strong business Board, not sentimental people, but people who have heart combined with head."<sup>92</sup> Edwards admitted to Washington that he had not succeeded in getting "strong and active [board] members."<sup>93</sup> When Edwards failed to hold a meeting of his Board of Trustees as planned in June 1910, Washington chastised him: "It will be impossible for you to get men of any ability and reputation to serve on your board unless you hold regular meetings. Washington also did not approve of Edwards' habit of listing "Trustees" and "References" together on his letterhead: "On your letterhead you ought to make some distinction between Trustees and people who are merely put down to be referred to.... 'Trustees and References' is not good grammar."<sup>94</sup> Edwards assured his mentor in July 1910, that "I shall be more definite about setting a time for [a] Board Meeting" and called attention to his new letterhead that separated "Trustees" from "References," a rearrangement that "I

trust... is pleasing to you."<sup>95</sup> It was difficult for Edwards to please the Principal of Tuskegee Institute. When Edwards selected three clergymen for his Board of Trustees, Washington responded that "I do not believe it of much value to get too many preachers on the board."<sup>96</sup>

Tuskegee Institute visitors The visitation committee from Tuskegee Institute that stayed four days at Snow Hill Institute in April 1910 was not the only occasion that personnel from Edwards' alma mater visited his school. Edwards reported that Washington visited Snow Hill Institute three times during the period 1893 to 1915.<sup>97</sup> Washington dispatched several key staff members to the Snow Hill campus on at least five separate occasions between 1909 and 1915. Edwards had requested that Washington send a staff member from Tuskegee Institute to assist with a large land purchase in January 1901, and the Principal of Tuskegee Institute complied.<sup>98</sup> When Edwards needed a surveying team to help mark the boundaries of his campus in 1912, Washington sent workers from his school.<sup>99</sup> Washington dispatched his school's Treasurer to a Snow Hill Institute Board of Trustees meeting on at least one occasion in 1912 when he could not attend.<sup>100</sup> Edwards accepted the services of the Tuskegee Institute auditor in Fall 1913, "to look into our counting [sic] system" and he welcomed Washington's brother, John B. Washington, Superintendent of Industries at Tuskegee Institute, who brought "a little money given by a special fund to bring about some improvements" in January 1915.<sup>101</sup>

There seemed little doubt that Washington exerted an important influence upon Edwards. In the winter and spring of 1913, Robert E. Park, a white sociologist and ghostwriter for Washington from 1905

to 1914, toured several of the schools that were regarded as outgrowths of Tuskegee Institute. During the course of his inspection trip, Park wrote to Washington and made candid remarks about the schools he visited. His observations were a good summary of the problems encountered by Tuskegee Institute graduates in operating their schools.<sup>102</sup>

Snow Hill Institute, according to Park, had some serious problems. It was "badly managed" and Park attributed the cause of mismanagement to its Principal:

I think there is no one so responsible for this management as Edwards himself. Edwards ought to have been a Bishop. He has absolutely no sense about order or system.

The external appearance of the school and its farm needed "immediate improvement" also.<sup>103</sup>

Edwards' school had some redeeming qualities, according to Park. The head of the Academic Department "has got together a really fine crew of academic teachers," and "there is more real life and enthusiasm, more possibilities, more ambition in the Snow Hill Faculty than any school I have yet seen." Park also found a "good crowd among the industrial teachers." He concluded that Snow Hill Institute was "perhaps the most promising institution we have."<sup>104</sup> Edwards saw the Park report and seemed pleased because "it gave a very prominent place to Snow Hill." The Principal of Snow Hill Institute ignored the negative remarks and interpreted Park's comments to mean that "all in all, Snow Hill was the most important school of the group."<sup>105</sup>

Evidently, Washington did not interpret Park's findings so positively because in August 1913, Edwards wrote to Washington and mentioned

that Park "told me that you were considering withdrawing your support from Snow Hill." Edwards was upset:

I have been working hard to make the school one that you and Tuskegee will be proud of, Mr. Washington, and if you are going to withdraw your support at this time I will at once hand in my resignation, because the school is needed in [this] section and it needs your support and all that you can give it. So rather than have the people suffer I prefer to get out and let some other one get in who can do better. Please let me have your final decision in this matter.<sup>106</sup>

Washington's response came eight days later and reflected his desire that Snow Hill Institute present the appearance of an efficient school characterized by neatness and order:

Everyone who goes to Snow Hill is disappointed in these respects:

- 1 - The grounds are not kept clean and attractive.
- 2 - The repairs are not kept up - windows are out and houses are unpainted.
- 3 - Another thing that would help the appearance of conditions at Snow Hill is to see that everything is finished up. There are too many unfinished jobs there now - it is much wiser to finish up one thing no matter how small it is before undertaking something else.<sup>107</sup>

Washington, however, whose school had spent time and energy investigating and publicizing the work at Snow Hill, was also benign in his letter. He wrote:

We are all proud of Snow Hill and we are gratified at its success in the past, but want to see it do better. I always speak a good word for Snow Hill wherever and whenever I can, but I wish to be sure that my recommendations are based upon the truth.<sup>108</sup>

Tuskegee Institute graduates such as Edwards who established "miniature" Tuskegee Institute faced many of the same problems that Washington faced but with less in the way of financial support or expertise. Edwards found it impossible to do exactly what Washington

had set out to do or actually did. Following in the footsteps of the founder of Tuskegee Institute was no easy task.

### III. The Autobiography of William J. Edwards

Twenty-Five Years in the Black Belt was published in 1915 when Edwards was forty-six years, the Principal of Snow Hill Institute for twenty-two years, and nine years before his retirement in 1924.<sup>109</sup> Edwards' autobiography, as did Washington's Up from Slavery, began as a series of articles prior to publication and had, as did Washington's book, several narrative impulses that authenticated the experiences of Edwards.<sup>110</sup> The authenticating devices that Edwards included in his autobiography consisted of pictures depicting graduates and teachers of Snow Hill Institute, testimonial letters from former students, a statement from the physician who operated on Edwards for scrofula, and three updated speeches delivered by Edwards.

Edwards stated the purpose for writing his autobiography in the Preface: "In bringing this book before the public, it is my hope that... all who are interested in Negro Education may become more familiar with the problems and difficulties that confront those who labor for the educational future of a race."<sup>111</sup> Edwards also expressed the point of view of an individual who had worked his way into a position that gave him the right to bear testimony and to speak his convictions: "I have had to endure endless hardships... in order that thousands of poor Negro youths might receive an industrial education..."<sup>112</sup>

The autobiography of Edwards was published in the North. His writing came to the attention of a professor at Harvard University in Cambridge, Massachusetts, where Edwards journeyed frequently to raise funds.<sup>113</sup> The influence of this professor might have gained the necessary entrée for the southern educator at the white publishing firm of Cornhill in Boston.<sup>114</sup>

IV. The Educational Philosophy of William J. Edwards as  
Revealed in Twenty-Five Years in the Black Belt

Ontology: The world of William J. Edwards

If the obstacles one overcame to succeed were criteria for greatness, Edwards might supplant Washington. The founder of Snow Hill Institute recounted the poverty and squalor of his early life in Wilcox County, Alabama. The son of ex-slaves, Edwards' mother died when he was less than a year old and his father died when Edwards was six. As a child, Edwards lived with his grandmother and later with an aunt. One of his earliest humiliations was having only a piece of bread to take to school for his lunch and being mocked by other children. He described his life in the Black Belt of Alabama during the 1870s:

... much of the time I was out of school because I had nothing to eat or to wear. Sometimes I would go to school for weeks with nothing to eat but a little cornbread that had nothing in it but salt and water. And, too, my feet would become so chapped by going to school in the cold without shoes that, when I would wash them at night, they would bleed. The pain would be so great at times I would cry for hours.<sup>115</sup>

Edwards called the period 1881 to 1887, when he suffered from a bone disease, "the sick period of my life." He wrote:

Instead of getting better, I gradually grew worse until it was with difficulty that I could move about. I used two sticks in trying to walk. My bed during this period consisted of a few ragged quilts spread upon the floor of the cabin at night.<sup>116</sup>

Too sick to work, Edwards felt guilty about living off his aunt's meager income so each day he refused to eat a full meal. He was operated on (his aunt paid for the operation), finally, in 1884 and regained his ability to walk three years later.<sup>117</sup>

Reality of aspiration Despite his hard life, Edwards found time to read by borrowing "books from the boys and girls who had them." He used "light-wood pine" to read by until late at night because he could not afford oil. He dreamt of an education and manifested a reality of aspiration. At the close of a church revival in Snow Hill in 1887, the minister told of a school at Tuskegee where "poor boys and girls could go without money and without price, and work for an education. From that night I decided to go to Tuskegee." Edwards informed his aunt of his plan to go to "Dr. Washington's school" and she agreed to help him rent and work a small plot of ground. When his food ran out, Edwards refused to mortgage his crops and lived on bread and water. During cotton picking time, Edwards earned enough to replenish his savings and started for Tuskegee.<sup>118</sup>

Edwards entered Tuskegee Institute as a normal school student at the age of twenty (1889). Tuskegee Institute proved as much a revelation to Edwards as Hampton Institute did for Washington. Edwards, too, learned the use of the toothbrush and what knives and forks and pajamas were for. And, for the first time, Edwards had three regularly scheduled meals a day.<sup>119</sup>

Empirical reality Edwards returned to his home in Wilcox County, Alabama, following graduation determined to help his people. As Washington toured Macon County and surveyed the conditions and special needs of black people residing there before opening the Tuskegee Normal School, so Edwards toured Wilcox and nearby Black Belt counties for the same purpose. Edwards preferred an empirical reality:

... in order to really help the people one must go amongst them and know of their hardships, struggles, desires, sorrows, and their joys, must talk with them, eat and sleep with them and know their hearts.<sup>120</sup>

The new Tuskegee Normal School graduate did not act precipitately in formulating an educational program. He proceeded with caution. Edwards shaped the educational offerings at Snow Hill to conform to the actual needs of the people as he saw them rather than have the people adjust to a prescribed formula. He started his "search for first-hand information" in Snow Hill and Wilcox County and found that

In many cases the [black] tenants were not only unable to pay their debts, but were also unable to pay their rents. In a few cases the landlords had to provide at their own expense provisions for their tenants.... The idea of buying land was foreign to all of them.... The churches and schools were practically closed.... The carrying of men and women to the chaingang was a frequent occurrence.<sup>121</sup>

After viewing conditions in Wilcox County, Edwards worked his way through several adjacent counties and discovered "crime and immorality rampant," many black teachers and ministers "ignorant and superstitious," no "public or private libraries and reading-rooms to which [blacks] had access," and he concluded that "Speaking of public schools in the sense that educators use the term, the colored people in this section had none." His trip of 157 miles over four counties convinced

him "of the great need of an Industrial School in the very midst of these people."<sup>122</sup>

Edwards rooted his vision of education in the land of the South. He committed himself to an agrarian environment: "It is the aim of our institution to... inculcate a love for the soil and for agricultural life." The Principal of Snow Hill Institute had faith in the potentialities of the South and counseled black people against migrating to urban centers where "the Negro... must live in either filthy streets or back alleys, where the air is foul and the environments are permeated with disease..."<sup>123</sup> Edwards believed that black people could adjust to their "second-class political and social status" in the South by developing a group economy. He found, indeed, "benefits wrought by hardships," since under "pressure and deprivation" black people in the South were "forced to establish [their] own schools, [their] own churches, educate [their] own children and train [their] own ministers. All of these make for self-reliance and independence..."<sup>124</sup>

Change Although Edwards lived and worked in a racially hostile environment, he regarded himself apart from the generation of blacks born in slavery who "worship their master, act as pallbearers when he dies and in many instances... erect monuments to his memory." Edwards found this type of black person inadequate for his cause. He believed that his life helped to define a new change. Denying that racial heredity accounted for black sociological ills, Edwards worked to prove that environmental conditions of poverty were the fundamental problem. Controverting any notion of black degeneracy,

Edwards sought the "new Negro of the South who was educated and race proud."<sup>125</sup>

When Edwards probed the larger issue of the effectiveness of American democratic dogmas, an assertive strain clearly emerged. Edwards translated the implications of World War I into meaning for blacks and argued that it was "impossible for the world to be made safe unless every county in the South is made safe for it." He understood the false belief that "if they [blacks] did what others did they would obtain the same results" and also offered a challenge: "If this democracy... is for the white man alone, then I think that the Negro should know it, and if it is for all people he should know that." His assertion that blacks asked "for a man's chance" became loaded when broached in the racial context of Wilcox County.<sup>126</sup>

Adjustment Together with the implementation of democratic principles, however, Edwards also stressed the need for a rededication to the principles of "unselfish service" on the part of black people and to the Washington dictum that blacks and whites could be united "in all things essential to mutual progress." Prejudice of the white South worked to eclipse a full and uninhibited implementation of Edwards' ontology of change. Although he did not accept the principle of caste relations that he found in Wilcox County, Edwards affirmed that he had "to adjust to the conditions that exist in the community."<sup>127</sup> Edwards was conscious of his enforced dependence on those who held a conservative philosophy resembling paternalism or noblesse oblige, a rapprochement that C. Vann Woodward, an historian of race relations in the South, described as one of the "forgotten alternatives" to the

comprehensive segregated system that became the rule in the South by 1900.<sup>128</sup>

Edwards recognized that "the Southern caste relationship" was based upon the assumption by whites of a black person "learning his place." He described the social philosophy to which he must adjust: "The white man has been trying to circumscribe the Negro's sphere, [and] at the same time the Negro has been trying to know the way he should act...."<sup>129</sup> Edwards maintained that because whites "did not always say just what this sphere was," blacks sometimes had to "infer from initiatory lessons every boundary over which they were prohibited from stepping in every event in their daily lives, with every class of person and in every locale." Black people were also held for their "sins of commission" as well as for their "sins of omission."<sup>130</sup>

Edwards' discussion of the Southern caste system illustrated the problems of the black educational leader who advanced a preference for change and who wanted to be a change agent in a harsh environment but who had also to adjust and tread carefully between paternalism and the racial proscriptions of a Black Belt environment. In spite of the necessity for adjustment, Edwards' faith in change was not overturned and became institutionalized in Snow Hill Institute, particularly in the Black Belt Improvement Society.

### Epistemology

Sources of knowledge Edwards operated Snow Hill Institute on the premise that the tangible realities of being black in Wilcox County, Alabama, constituted very significant sources of knowledge for his

students. Edwards stressed, indeed, the provocative economic and social conditions under which blacks lived in his county and claimed that "the conditions that most retard the Negroes of the rural South go to the very bottom of what we are trying to have our students learn."<sup>131</sup> Edwards accepted the validity of the experiences of poor black people and he defended blacks from criticism. He held, for example, that blacks often failed to improve their farms so that white landlords were not tempted to raise rents the following year. In a further defense of his people, Edwards asserted that black people were condemned for failing "to measure up to white standards" and remarked that "one would get the idea that the proud Anglo-Saxon has spent a great deal of time in trying to teach [blacks] the fundamental principles that underlie life." Edwards concluded that "this is not the case."<sup>132</sup>

The economic and social conditions of poor black people, then, provided an important pedagogical platform for the founder of Snow Hill Institute. Edwards faced the necessity of deciding upon a course of action - an educational program to meet the needs of his people. He concluded that his students needed "a common education combined with industrial training."<sup>133</sup> Edwards declared that industrial training was not intended to stifle the ambitions or the inclinations of those who "continue in higher fields of study." Edwards was interested in any type of education that resulted in the advancement of black people:

No limit should be placed upon the Negro's literary qualifications. A race so largely segregated as ours, needs its own teachers, preachers, lawyers, doctors, pharmacists, and other professional and business men....<sup>134</sup>

Edwards' recognition of the need for a black professional class helped clarify the inclusion of Latin and Greek in the normal school curriculum at Snow Hill, despite Edwards telling Washington that these subjects were really apparitions. Perhaps, Edwards regarded the foreign languages as a way to contribute to the professional development of black people in a segregated society.

Knowledge and learning Edwards believed that knowledge, until it was used, was merely information. It had no value aside from its use, and to be valuable knowledge had to be placed in a crucible to be tested in action. Knowledge was "something which must be translated into action."<sup>135</sup> This definition indicated that Edwards believed that knowledge had its origins in experience. A student learned by "reacting and undergoing," another way of saying experiencing.<sup>136</sup> In harmony with this principle, was Edwards' exhortation that merely memorizing rules, definitions, and similar material did not indicate learning.<sup>137</sup> He admonished teachers against assuming that they were educating children "by the mastery of subject matter alone." Memorization of subject matter was worth little, Edwards proclaimed, unless "it enables an individual to think, to plan, to originate... to put into visible form the results of his education."<sup>138</sup>

The emphasis that Edwards placed on doing illustrated his belief that a measure of the worth of an education was the extent to which it was usable. To test the usability of education was to determine whether it served as a mainspring for action; whether "it gives meaning and direction to life and prepares students for the work that they must do and that is demanded by the times in which they live."<sup>139</sup> The implication

of this latter point was that education should be connected with what individuals did in their daily lives. Education had little value, argued Edwards, if it was inconsistent with the "realities of life." Edwards supported his thesis by citing the need for agricultural training to focus upon "practical matters" to combat the "hobbling effects of the irregular and uncertain purposes of individual Negro farmers." The Principal of Snow Hill Institute offered a disquisition on the effects of soil depletion and erosion on crop yields in order to show the "efficient" results of science applied to agriculture. The first objective for farmers, said Edwards, should be the quality of the product and the economy of its production rather than magnitude of yield. Edwards appreciated the great possibilities inherent in scientific discovery. In this he was motivated by practical considerations; he said that "as a race we should devote ourselves to the sciences largely because of the practical use we can get out of them."<sup>140</sup>

### Axiology

Social efficiency At one point in his autobiography, Edwards stated that one purpose of Snow Hill Institute was "to seek and save that which is lost. For twenty-two years, then, we have been seeking lost boys, lost girls, lost men and lost women."<sup>141</sup> Although Edwards did not specifically define what he meant by "lost," he expressed a concern for moral living in the arena of an everyday social reality. Edwards advanced the view that "social efficiency," his term for what Booker T. Washington called "character building," was identified with all other education; that it could not be placed in a separate

category, but had to be incorporated into all educational experiences. Edwards defined social efficiency as "that degree of development of the individual that will enable him to render the most effective service to himself, his family, and to society."<sup>142</sup> Implied in this definition was a disposition to base "education of the heart" not upon the innate tendency of an individual to be good but rather upon the emergence of character as indicated by what a person did.

Also implied was the idea that in achieving social efficiency telling was a poor substitute for teaching. Training was the foundation of moral development: "If [blacks] lack character, it is largely because they lack training."<sup>143</sup> Edwards saw a significant relationship between a lack of education and crime: "Crime has increased in proportion as educational privileges have been withdrawn." An uneducated person was "ferocious and dangerous."<sup>144</sup> Education, however, had curative powers: "If ignorance be the mother of inefficiency, inefficiency the mother of vagrancy, and vagrancy the mother of crime, it is plain that the removal of ignorance will stop the others. This can only be done by education."<sup>145</sup> Edwards, then, insisted that knowledge of what was good or proper or lawful could be taught and that an inclination to right conduct was far from automatic. The correct stimuli, the thing that should be done, Edwards considered very important.<sup>146</sup>

Religion Edwards determined that Snow Hill Institute would be nondenominational. He battled his own church for the right to establish a private school without religious ties.<sup>147</sup> Although Edwards admitted that most black church schools in the South did not exclude students of other denominations, he believed that these schools exerted "undue

influence... upon pupils to make them members of the church that supports the school." Edwards wanted his students to belong to the church of their choice so he sought to keep Snow Hill "free from all 'isms' ... thoroughly religious in its spirit, but entirely undenominational."<sup>148</sup>

Edwards suggested that religion had failed to help solve the problems of black people: "Our religion should be made practical. It must be real and not visionary. No other will suffice. Our religion must consist more in deeds and less in words."<sup>149</sup> Edwards criticized the black clergy that he encountered when he returned to Snow Hill upon his graduation from Tuskegee Institute. He cited the opposition to industrial education by "illiterate preachers who had not had any particular training for their profession. In fact, ninety-eight percent of them had attended no school."<sup>150</sup> In spite of his conflicts with the black clergy, Edwards was interested in using several agencies of religion in his work: "... we have used the church, the Sunday School, Bible classes and other religious societies because I have been profoundly interested in [Snow Hill students] finding salvation."<sup>151</sup> To this end, students at Snow Hill had to attend daily devotional services and follow a routine of religious obligations on Sundays.

#### V. Summary

In an undated address delivered to a white audience, Edwards described the task of the "Negro teacher who is imbued with the spirit of sacrifice and service. When he finds no way prepared, he must make one; when he finds no schoolhouse ready, he must build one; when he

finds no people anxiously awaiting him, he must persuade them."<sup>152</sup>  
In his efforts to devise an educational program for blacks in a post-Reconstruction Black Belt environment, Edwards began his work at Snow Hill, Alabama, under discouraging conditions. The racial stress of the times, the poor educational background of the black people in his community, and the need to build a school from the ground up without visible means with which to do so were several of the problems that faced the twenty-four year old educator when he graduated from Tuskegee Normal School in 1893.

In inaugurating his work, Edwards relied upon his preference for a theory of reality based on subjective, observable conditions in the physical world and made an intensive survey of life in rural Alabama in order to determine exactly what these conditions were. The findings of his study led him to build a school "that would put most stress upon the things which the people were mostly to have to do with through life."<sup>153</sup> The Principal of Snow Hill Institute, embracing an ontology of change, created the Black Belt Improvement Society to develop self-reliance among his poor black neighbors. Since Edwards also recognized the necessity of adjustment to his environment, he proceeded to encourage blacks to develop a loyalty to the land. Edwards' affinity to a southern agrarian lifestyle was as strong as that of his mentor, Washington.

The curriculum that Edwards developed at Snow Hill reflected his epistemological premise that the experiences and needs of black people were valid sources of knowledge for future black teachers and workers. The program at Snow Hill emphasized practical education for normal

school students as well as students studying a trade. In this way, black people would learn to perform more efficiently the occupations upon which most of them would depend for a living. Edwards, however, had no idea of limiting blacks to an industrial education. He said that no one who understood the needs of black people would advocate that industrial education should be given to every black student to the exclusion of the professions. It was evident to Edwards that a race so largely segregated as black people must have an increasing number of its own professional men and women.

Although Edwards did not always measure up to the expectations of Washington, a study of the institutional features of Snow Hill Institute, the relationships between Edwards and Washington, and an analysis of Edwards' autobiography revealed Edwards' efforts to make his school a viable replica of his alma mater. In a poignant letter to Washington in April 1912, nineteen years after the founding of Snow Hill Institute, Edwards expressed his debt to the founder of Tuskegee:

I know what my love for Tuskegee is. I try to manifest that love by being loyal to the school and by trying in an humble way to carry out its teaching.... I thank you for all you have done for me. You have been a father to me when I had no father and all that I have done and all that I hope to do is due largely to the view of life that you instilled in me while I was in school there.<sup>154</sup>

## FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup>August Meier, Negro Thought in America, 1880-1915: Racial Ideologies in the Age of Booker T. Washington (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1963), p. 124. The other two "Tuskegee daughter schools" or "Tuskegee Institute offshoots," a term that referred to a school modeled after Tuskegee Institute and founded by a Tuskegee Institute graduate, were Mt. Meigs Colored Institute at Waugh, Alabama, established by Cornelia Bowen (Class of 1885) in 1889, and the Jacksonian Enterprise School at Newville, Alabama, founded in 1893 by Abner B. Jackson, (Class of 1890). See Monroe Nathan Work, Industrial Work of Tuskegee Graduates and Former Students during the Year 1910 (Tuskegee Institute, Ala.: Institute Press, 1911), pp. 48, 51.

<sup>2</sup>The Booker T. Washington Papers are located in the Manuscripts Division of the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. Hereafter the material in this collection is referred to as the BTW Papers and this designation is used throughout the dissertation.

<sup>3</sup>While little has been written about Edwards, biographical data can be found in Clement Richardson, ed., The National Cyclopaedia of the Colored Race (Montgomery, Ala.: National Publishing Company, 1919), pp. 40-41; and J. H. Moorman and E. C. Barrett, eds., Leaders of the Colored Race in Alabama (Mobile, Ala.: The News Publishing Company, 1928), p. 67. In his autobiography Edwards devoted three brief chapters to his early life. See William J. Edwards, Twenty-Five Years in the Black Belt (Boston: The Cornhill Company, 1915), pp. 1-17. For a description of Edwards' student days at Tuskegee, see Booker T. Washington, "Signs of Progress among the Negroes," The Century Magazine 59 (January 1900): 472-474.

<sup>4</sup>Edwards, Twenty-Five Years, pp. 17-24.

<sup>5</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 23. Italics mine.

<sup>6</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 39.

<sup>7</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 35. Edwards described his trip through the south central Black Belt of Alabama in a chapter entitled "Reconnoitering," pp. 26-34.

<sup>8</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 35. The name of Edwards' school was changed in 1904 to Snow Hill Normal and Industrial Institute. See Joseph Davis, "A Historical Study of Snow Hill Normal and Industrial Institute and its Contribution to the Educational Program of the State of Alabama" (M.Ed. thesis, Alabama State College, 1954), p. 16. The other private school for blacks in Wilcox County was the Miller Ferry Normal and Industrial School founded in 1884 by the Board of Missions of the United Presbyterian Church. Millers Ferry, Alabama, was twenty-two miles northwest of Snow Hill, Alabama. See Thomas Jesse Jones, ed., Negro Education:

A Study of the Private and Higher Schools for Colored People in the United States, Bureau of Education Bulletin, No. 39, 1916, 2 vols. (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1917), 2: 92.

<sup>9</sup>William J. Edwards to Booker T. Washington, 5 September 1894, Box 118, BTW Papers.

<sup>10</sup>William J. Edwards to Booker T. Washington, 27 November 1896, Box 126, BTW Papers.

<sup>11</sup>Davis, "A Historical Study of Snow Hill Normal and Industrial Institute," p. 16.

<sup>12</sup>William J. Edwards to Booker T. Washington, 28 December 1899, Box 152, BTW Papers.

<sup>13</sup>Edwards, Twenty-Five Years, p. 39. Randall O. Simpson was born in Belleville, Alabama, in 1842. He started school at an academy near his home but interrupted his studies to fight for the Confederacy in the Civil War. After the war, he began planting cotton and soon prospered. Simpson served on the Board of Trustees of both Snow Hill Institute (1898-1926) and Tuskegee Institute (1897-1926). Simpson died in 1926. See Louis R. Harlan, ed., The Booker T. Washington Papers, 12 vols. (Urbana: The University of Illinois Press, 1972-1982), 3 (1974): 530-531.

<sup>14</sup>Edwards died in 1950 at the age of eighty-one.

<sup>15</sup>U.S. Department of the Interior, Census Office, Eleventh Census of the United States, 1890: Population, 1: 402. In 1890, there were 24,022 blacks and 6,794 whites living in Wilcox County; U.S. Department of the Interior, Census Office, Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900: Population, 1: 545. There were 28,652 blacks and 6,979 whites in Wilcox County in 1900; U.S. Department of the Interior, Census Office, Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910: Population, 2: 34, 58. The population for Wilcox County in 1910 was 27,602 blacks and 6,208 whites. The U.S. Census did not provide information about the racial composition of the community of Snow Hill for the years 1890, 1900, or 1910.

<sup>16</sup>William Pickens, "The Talladega Letter on Snow Hill," Alexander's Magazine 2 (May 1906): 18. Pickens was a black teacher at Talladega College, a four year black private college in Alabama. Alexander's Magazine was a monthly periodical started in 1905 by a black journalist, Charles Alexander, with financial help from Booker T. Washington. Occasionally, Alexander's Magazine featured articles about several of the offshoots of Tuskegee Institute. See Penelope L. Bullock, The Afro-American Periodical Press, 1838-1909 (Baton Rouge, La.: Louisiana State University Press, 1981), pp. 134-137.

<sup>17</sup>William J. Edwards to "My Dear Friend," 20 July 1910, Snow Hill File, Peabody Education Fund Papers, George Foster Peabody College Library of Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tennessee. Hereafter referred to as PEFP; William J. Edwards, "An Appeal for the Snow Hill Normal and Industrial Institute, Snow Hill, Ala., 1911," Snow Hill File, PEFP; William J. Edwards, "Snow Hill Institute, Snow Hill, Alabama, A Light in the Black Belt, 1913," Snow Hill File, PEFP.

<sup>18</sup>Glen Sisk, "The Educational Awakening in Alabama and its Effect upon the Black Belt, 1900-1917," Journal of Negro Education 25 (Spring 1956): 193. In 1912, the average length of the public school term in Wilcox County was 6.7 months for white students and 3.9 months for blacks. The average monthly salary of white public school teachers in Wilcox County for 1911-1912 was \$47.18 compared to \$16.00 per month for black teachers.

<sup>19</sup>U.S. Department of the Interior, Census Office, Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910: Population, 2: 59.

<sup>20</sup>William J. Edwards to "My Dear Friend," 20 July 1910, Snow Hill File, PEFP.

<sup>21</sup>William J. Edwards, "An Appeal for the Snow Hill Normal and Industrial Institute, Snow Hill, Ala., 1911," Snow Hill File, PEFP.

<sup>22</sup>Thirty Years of Lynching in the United States, 1889-1918 (New York: National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 1919), pp. 35, 47. The lynchings in Wilcox County occurred in 1904 and 1905. Nineteen lynchings were reported in counties contiguous to Wilcox.

<sup>23</sup>William J. Edwards to Booker T. Washington, 3 June 1912, Box 452, BTW Papers.

<sup>24</sup>Booker T. Washington to William J. Edwards, 30 November 1914, Box 501, BTW Papers.

<sup>25</sup>William J. Edwards to Booker T. Washington, 1 December 1914, Box 501, BTW Papers.

<sup>26</sup>Edwards, Twenty-Five Years, pp. 36-38.

<sup>27</sup>William J. Edwards to Booker T. Washington, 28 December 1899, Box 152, BTW Papers.

<sup>28</sup>Figures were compiled from the following sources: U.S., Bureau of Education, Report of the Commissioner of Education for the Year 1902-1903, 2: 2268-2269; 1903-1904, 2: 1718-1719; 1904-1905, 2: 806-807; 1905-1906, 2: 688-689; 1906-1907, 2: 1036-1037; 1907-1908, 2: 832-833; 1908-1909, 2: 675-676; 1909-1910, 2: 593-594; 1910-1911, 2: 849-850; 1911-1912, 2: 737-738; 1912-1913, 2: 612-613; 1913-1914,

2: 769-770; 1914-1915, 2: 833-834. Snow Hill Institute had no white students reported in any of these sources.

<sup>29</sup>U.S., Bureau of Education, Report of the Commissioner of Education for the Year 1902-1903, 2: 2268-2269; 1904-1905, 2: 806-807; 1906-1907, 2: 1036-1037; 1912-1913, 2: 612-613.

<sup>30</sup>U.S., Bureau of Education, Report of the Commissioner of Education for the Year 1902-1903 to 1914-1915.

<sup>31</sup>U.S., Bureau of Education, Report of the Commissioner of Education for the Year 1903-1904, 2: 2268-2269; 1904-1905, 2: 1180-1181; 1907-1908, 2: 948-949.

<sup>32</sup>U.S. Bureau of Labor, Twenty-Fifth Annual Report of the Commissioner of Labor, 1910, p. 328.

<sup>33</sup>William J. Edwards, "Some Results of the Snow Hill Normal and Industrial Institute, Snow Hill, Alabama, 1893-1910," Snow Hill File, PEFP.

<sup>34</sup>Ibid.

<sup>35</sup>Booker T. Washington, "A Man about whom the World Should Know," The Independent 58 (May 18, 1905): 1116; William J. Edwards, "Uplifting of the Submerged Masses," in Tuskegee and its People: Their Ideals and Achievements, ed. Booker T. Washington (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1905; reprint ed., New York: Negro Universities Press, 1969), p. 242; William J. Edwards, "Snow Hill Normal and Industrial Institute, 1906," PEFP; William J. Edwards, "Snow Hill Normal and Industrial Institute, 1910," PEFP; Joseph Davis, "A Historical Study of Snow Hill Normal and Industrial Institute," pp. 23-24. Davis did not specify the counties or the states.

<sup>36</sup>William J. Edwards to Booker T. Washington, 21 September 1899, Box 152, BTW Papers; The Black Belt 4 (August 1902): 3, found in the J. G. Phelps Stokes Papers, Box 18, Folder: "Misc. Negro Schools," Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Columbia University, New York; "Speech of William J. Edwards," Alexander's Magazine 2 (May 1906): 65; William J. Edwards to Booker T. Washington, 2 April 1912, Box 452, BTW Papers. John Thomas, a graduate of Snow Hill in 1901, established the Hopewell Mental and Manual Training School in Furman, Alabama, in 1906. Emmanuel Brown graduated from Snow Hill in 1904 and founded in that same year the Street Manual Training School in Richmond, Alabama. Emanuel D. McDuffie, who also graduated in 1904, started the Laurinburg Normal and Industrial Institute in Laurinburg, North Carolina, in 1906. Thomas, Brown, and McDuffie were products of the normal school course at Snow Hill Institute. See Work, Industrial Work, pp. 54-55.

<sup>37</sup>Edwards, "Uplifting of the Submerged Masses," pp. 242-243.

<sup>38</sup>William J. Edwards, "Some Results of the Snow Hill Normal and Industrial Institute, Snow Hill, Ala., 1893-1908," Snow Hill File, PEFP; U.S. Bureau of Labor, Twenty-Fifth Annual Report of the Commissioner of Labor, 1910, p. 328; Edwards, Twenty-Five Years, p. 135.

<sup>39</sup>U.S., U.S. Bureau of Education, Report of the Commissioner of Education for the Year 1902-1903, 2: 2169; 1904-1905, 2: 1194; 1909-1910, 1: 250.

<sup>40</sup>U.S., Bureau of Labor, Twenty-Fifth Annual Report of the Commissioner of Labor, 1910, p. 328. The "common-school studies" were not named.

<sup>41</sup>Snow Hill Institute Visitation Committee to Booker T. Washington, 15 April 1910, Box 600, BTW Papers.

<sup>42</sup>Ibid.

<sup>43</sup>Ibid.

<sup>44</sup>Ibid. The committee from Tuskegee Institute consisted of John H. Palmer, the Registrar, Caroline Carrie Smith, a teacher of basketry and broom-making, and J. B. Ramsey, the Commander of the Tuskegee Cadet Corps.

<sup>45</sup>William J. Edwards to Booker T. Washington, 6 May 1910, Box 905, BTW Papers.

<sup>46</sup>Joseph F. Citro, "Booker T. Washington's Tuskegee Institute: Black School-Community, 1900-1915" (Ed.D. dissertation, University of Rochester, 1973), p. 352.

<sup>47</sup>Edwards, Twenty-Five Years, p. 38.

<sup>48</sup>The Black Belt 4 (August 1902): 3, J. G. Phelps Stokes Papers, Box 18, Folder: "Misc. Negro Schools," Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Columbia University, New York.

<sup>49</sup>Booker T. Washington, Working with the Hands (New York: Doubleday, Page and Company, 1904), p. 223. There were fifteen teachers reported at Snow Hill for the school year 1903-1904. See U.S., Bureau of Education, Report of the Commissioner of Education for the Year 1903-1904, 2: 1718.

<sup>50</sup>Snow Hill Institute Visitation Committee to Booker T. Washington, 15 April 1910, Box 600, BTW Papers. With the exception of Oberlin Conservatory, probably related to Oberlin College, a white college in Oberlin, Ohio, the specific schools mentioned in this report were historically black institutions. Wilberforce University, Wilberforce, Ohio, was founded by the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1856; Payne College was founded by the Colored (now called Christian) Methodist

Church in 1882. The A. and M. College at Huntsville, Alabama, was founded in 1875 as the black land-grant college for blacks in Alabama. It is now known as the Alabama Agricultural and Mechanical University in Normal, Alabama. See The Moton Guide to American Colleges with a Black Heritage (Washington, D.C.: Robert R. Moton Memorial Institute, 1978), pp. 18, 47, 60.

<sup>51</sup> Snow Hill Institute Visitation Committee to Booker T. Washington, 15 April 1910, Box 600, BTW Papers. A study of the U.S. Bureau of Education, Report of the Commissioner of Education, from 1902 to 1915 indicated that no whites were ever listed when the race of faculty members was stated. In 1902-1903, when Snow Hill was still officially named a "Colored Literary and Industrial Institute," there were six academic and five industrial teachers. When the school was renamed a "Normal and Industrial Institute" in 1904, there were eleven academic and nine industrial teachers. By 1907-1908, however, only four of twenty-three teachers were listed as teaching academic subjects and by 1912-1913 only nine of thirty teachers were reported as teaching academic subjects. See U.S. Bureau of Education, Report of the Commissioner of Education for the Year 1902-1903, 2: 2268-2269; 1903-1904, 2: 1180-1181; 1907-1908, 2: 832; 1912-1913, 2: 612.

<sup>52</sup> Robert E. Park to Booker T. Washington, 6 April 1913, Microfilm Reel #66, BTW Papers.

<sup>53</sup> The Black Belt 4 (August 1902): 3. The Black Belt was the newsletter of Snow Hill Institute and one copy was located in the J. G. Phelps Stokes Papers, Box 18, Folder: "Misc. Negro Schools," Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Columbia University, New York City.

<sup>54</sup> William J. Edwards, "Uplifting of the Submerged Masses," p. 245.

<sup>55</sup> William J. Edwards, "Snow Hill Normal and Industrial Institute, 1906, Snow Hill File, PEFP.

<sup>56</sup> "Speech of William J. Edwards," Alexander's Magazine 2 (May 1906): 64. Italics mine.

<sup>57</sup> Charles Alexander, "Snow Hill Normal and Industrial Institute," Alexander's Magazine 3 (December 15, 1906): 66-67.

<sup>58</sup> William J. Edwards, "Snow Hill Institute, Snow Hill, Alabama, A Light in the Black Belt, 1913," Snow Hill File, PEFP.

<sup>59</sup> William J. Edwards, "Snow Hill Normal and Industrial Institute, 1914," Snow Hill File, PEFP.

<sup>60</sup> Edwards, "Uplifting of the Submerged Masses," pp. 246-247. In his autobiography, Edwards presented a very unflattering portrait of black ministers. On his fact-finding tour of Wilcox County, Edwards attended a church service where "six sermons were preached to... two

congregations by six different ministers, and at least three of these could not read a word in the Bible. Each minister occupied at least one hour. Their texts were as often taken from Webster's blue-back speller as from the Bible, and sometimes this would be held upside down." See Edwards, Twenty-Five Years, p. 30.

<sup>61</sup>William J. Edwards listed the objectives of the Black Belt Improvement Society in "Uplifting of the Submerged Masses." The objectives were:

1. This society shall be known as the Black Belt Improvement Society. Its object shall be the general uplift of the people of the Black Belt of Alabama: to make them better morally, mentally, spiritually, and financially.

2. It shall be the object of the Black Belt Improvement Society to, as far as possible, eliminate the credit system from our social fabric; to stimulate in all members the desire to raise, as far as possible, all their food supplies at home, and pay cash for whatever may be purchased at the stores.

3. To bring about a system of cooperation in the purchase of what supplies cannot be raised at home wherever it can be done to advantage.

4. To discuss topics of interest to the communities in which the various societies may be organized, and topics relating to the general welfare of the race, and especially to farmers.

5. To teach the people to practise [sic] the strictest economy, and especially to obtain and diffuse such information among farmers as shall lead to the improvement and diversification of crops, in order to create in farmers a desire for homes and better home conditions, and to stimulate a love for labor in both old and young. Each local organization may offer small prizes for the cleanest and best-kept house, the best pea-patch, and the best ear of corn, etc.

6. To aid each other in sickness and in death; for this purpose a fee of ten cents will be collected from each member every month and held sacred, to be used for no other purpose whatever.

7. It shall be one of the great objects of this society to stimulate its members to acquire homes, and urge those who already possess homes to improve and beautify them.

8. To urge our members to purchase only the things that are absolutely necessary.

9. To exert our every effort to obliterate those evils which tend to destroy our character and our homes, such as intemperance, gambling, and social impurity.

10. To refrain from spending money and time foolishly or in unprofitable ways; to take an interest in the care of our highways, in the paying of our taxes, and the education of our children; to plant trees, repair our yard fences, and in general, as far as possible, bring our home life up to the highest standards of civilization. (pp. 248-249)

<sup>62</sup>Ibid., pp. 249-250.

<sup>63</sup>Jones, Negro Education, 2: 94-95. Unfortunately, the Jones' report provided little information about the intentions of the visits made to black private schools other than an indication in the Preface that the report was paid for by the Phelps Stokes Fund and the actual gathering of information was left to the United States Bureau of Education.

<sup>64</sup>Ibid., p. 96.

<sup>65</sup>Ibid., p. 95.

<sup>66</sup>Ibid., p. 94.

<sup>67</sup>Edwards, Twenty-Five Years, p. 61.

<sup>68</sup>"Speech of William J. Edwards," Alexander's Magazine 2 (May 1906): 63-65.

<sup>69</sup>William J. Edwards to the Trustees of the Snow Hill Colored Literary and Industrial Institute, 26 July 1898, Box 28, BTW Papers. Edwards organized the Snow Hill Singers in 1902 and the group spent fifty days in the summer of 1902 raising funds in New England. See The Black Belt 4 (August 1902): 2, J. G. Phelps Stokes Papers, Box 18, Folder: "Misc. Negro Schools," Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Columbia University. Fisk University began the practice of sending singing groups North to raise money in 1875 when it formed the famous Jubilee Singers.

<sup>70</sup>Edwards grew weary of raising funds: "As I grow older the strain is harder. I don't think that I am a very successful money raiser. See Edwards, Twenty-Five Years, p. 48.

<sup>71</sup>William J. Edwards to Booker T. Washington, 16 November 1899, Box 152, BTW Papers.

<sup>72</sup>William J. Edwards to Booker T. Washington, 22 November 1899, Box 152, BTW Papers.

<sup>73</sup>William J. Edwards to Booker T. Washington, 3 November 1902, Box 195, BTW Papers.

<sup>74</sup>William J. Edwards to Booker T. Washington, 29 May 1902, Box 195, BTW Papers.

<sup>75</sup>William J. Edwards to Booker T. Washington, 28 February 1905, Box 556, BTW Papers. Edwards received \$10,000 from Carnegie in 1906. Edwards was particularly interested in gaining continued support from Carnegie and wrote to Washington in 1913, seven years after Carnegie's gift of \$10,000, asking for Washington's assistance to raise more money from the industrialist. See William J. Edwards to Booker T. Washington, 27 February 1913, and 4 August 1913, Box 925, BTW Papers.

<sup>76</sup>Booker T. Washington to Emmett Jay Scott, 3 January 1907, cited by Harlan, The Booker T. Washington Papers, 9 (1980): 205-206.

<sup>77</sup>Booker T. Washington to Jacob Henry Schiff, 18 September 1909, cited by Harlan, The Booker T. Washington Papers, 10 (1981): 175-176.

<sup>78</sup>William J. Edwards to Booker T. Washington, 17 September 1915, Box 530, BTW Papers.

<sup>79</sup>William J. Edwards to Booker T. Washington, 7 July 1914, Box 501, BTW Papers; Booker T. Washington to William J. Edwards, 16 July 1914, Box 501, BTW Papers; William J. Edwards to Booker T. Washington, 31 May 1915, Box 939, BTW Papers. Julius Rosenwald, President of Sears, Roebuck and Company, became a member of the Board of Trustees of Tuskegee Institute in 1912. His interest in rural black schools dated from this time. In 1913, he accepted a plan submitted by Booker T. Washington for helping black people by financing the construction of black rural elementary schools provided that blacks in a community contributed labor and some financial support. See Ullin W. Leavell, Philanthropy in Negro Education (Nashville, Tenn.: George Peabody College for Teachers Press, 1930), pp. 77, 110. In 1882, John F. Slater, a textile industrialist from Norwich, Connecticut, founded the fund that bears his name. Between 1882 and 1911, the Slater Fund assisted public and private black schools in the South. See Proceedings and Reports of the John F. Slater Fund for Year Ending September 30, 1916 (New York: John F. Slater Fund, 1916), p. 11.

<sup>80</sup>Telegram sent by William J. Edwards to Booker T. Washington, 3 November 1911, Box 422, BTW Papers.

<sup>81</sup>Booker T. Washington to William J. Edwards, 5 November 1911, Box 422, BTW Papers; Booker T. Washington to William J. Edwards, 20 November 1911, Box 422, BTW Papers.

<sup>82</sup>William J. Edwards to "Dear Friend," 12 March 1913, Snow Hill File, PEFPP.

<sup>83</sup>Henry Snyder Enck, "The Burden Borne: Northern White Philanthropy and Southern Black Industrial Education, 1900-1915" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Cincinnati, 1970), p. 456. Snow Hill reported receiving \$21,543 from donations for the academic year 1912-1913 but only \$12,883 in 1914-1915. See U.S., Bureau of Education, Report of the Commissioner of Education for the Year 1912-1913, 2: 612; Jones, Negro Education, 2: 95. Snow Hill had an indebtedness in 1914 of \$23,304. Washington wrote an endorsement for Edwards to use in 1915 that reflected the relationship between World War I and the financial difficulties of Snow Hill: "The Snow Hill Institute is passing through a tremendously hard struggle just now on account of the conditions brought about by the European war and it is very important that some help be secured as soon as possible to meet present obligations which cannot be delayed any

longer." See Booker T. Washington to William J. Edwards, 1 June 1915, Box 939, BTW Papers.

<sup>84</sup>Enck, "The Burden Borne," p. 459.

<sup>85</sup>Booker T. Washington to William J. Edwards, 11 November 1914, Box 939, BTW Papers.

<sup>86</sup>William J. Edwards to Booker T. Washington, 24 November 1914, Box 939, BTW Papers.

<sup>87</sup>Booker T. Washington to William J. Edwards, 18 May 1908, Box 370, BTW Papers.

<sup>88</sup>William J. Edwards to Booker T. Washington, 20 May 1908, Box 370, BTW Papers.

<sup>89</sup>Booker T. Washington to William J. Edwards, 29 December 1910, Box 404, BTW Papers. Thomas' school, the Hopewell Mental and Manual Training School, was founded in 1906 at Furman, Alabama, four miles east of Snow Hill.

<sup>90</sup>Booker T. Washington to William J. Edwards, 18 February 1915, Box 939, BTW Papers; Booker T. Washington to William J. Edwards, 18 June 1915, Box 939, BTW Papers; Booker T. Washington to William J. Edwards, 6 October 1915, Box 530, BTW Papers.

<sup>91</sup>Between 1901-1915 Washington attracted to his Board of Trustees such men as the New York investment banker, Jacob Henry Schiff, Julius Rosenwald, President of Sears, Roebuck and Company, ex-President, Theodore Roosevelt, and William H. Baldwin, Jr., President of the Long Island Railroad. See Enck, "The Burden Borne," p. 424. Edwards was never able to attract such influential persons. The founder of Snow Hill could not attract much of a diverse board geographically either. The letterhead of his correspondence of 21 September 1899 indicated that eight of thirteen members of Snow Hill's Board of Trustees were from Alabama. By 1915, three of six members of the Board of Trustees lived outside of Alabama. See William J. Edwards to Booker T. Washington, 21 September 1899, Box 152, BTW Papers; William J. Edwards to Booker T. Washington, 15 June 1915, Box 939, BTW Papers. The racial identities of the members of the Board of Trustees of Snow Hill Institute in 1915 could not be determined except for Booker T. Washington and Randall O. Simpson, the white patron of Edwards.

<sup>92</sup>Booker T. Washington to William J. Edwards, 17 February 1909, Box 892, BTW Papers.

<sup>93</sup>William J. Edwards to Booker T. Washington, 23 February 1909, Box 819, BTW Papers.

- <sup>94</sup>Booker T. Washington to William J. Edwards, 26 June 1910, Box 404, BTW Papers.
- <sup>95</sup>William J. Edwards to Booker T. Washington, 8 July 1910, Box 404, BTW Papers.
- <sup>96</sup>Booker T. Washington to William J. Edwards, 17 July 1910, Box 404, BTW Papers.
- <sup>97</sup>Edwards, Twenty-Five Years, p. 158.
- <sup>98</sup>William J. Edwards to Booker T. Washington, 17 January 1909, Box 892, BTW Papers; Booker T. Washington to William J. Edwards, 25 January 1909, Box 892, BTW Papers.
- <sup>99</sup>William J. Edwards to Booker T. Washington, 2 April 1912, Box 452, BTW Paper.
- <sup>100</sup>Booker T. Washington to William J. Edwards, 17 June 1912, Box 452, BTW Papers.
- <sup>101</sup>William J. Edwards to Booker T. Washington, 22 September 1913, Box 925, BTW Papers; William J. Edwards to Booker T. Washington, 15 January 1915, Box 939, BTW Papers; Booker T. Washington to William J. Edwards, 18 January 1915, and 22 January 1915, Box 939, BTW Papers.
- <sup>102</sup>Robert E. Park went to the University of Chicago as Professor of Sociology specializing in race relations in 1914. For a sketch of Park's life, see Louis R. Harlan, The Booker T. Washington Papers 8 (1979): 203-204.
- <sup>103</sup>Robert E. Park to Booker T. Washington, 6 April 1913, Microfilm Reel #66, BTW Papers. *Italics mine.*
- <sup>104</sup>*Ibid.*
- <sup>105</sup>William J. Edwards to Booker T. Washington, 7 July 1913, Box 501, BTW Papers. The "group" that Edwards referred to in his letter meant the other schools that Park visited.
- <sup>106</sup>William J. Edwards to Booker T. Washington, 7 August 1913, Box 925, BTW Papers. *Italics mine.*
- <sup>107</sup>Booker T. Washington to William J. Edwards, 15 August 1913, Box 925, BTW Papers.
- <sup>108</sup>*Ibid.*
- <sup>109</sup>Edwards resigned his position at Snow Hill in 1924 due to illness and died in 1950 at the age of eighty-one. See Davis, "A Historical

Study of Snow Hill Normal and Industrial Institute," p. 25. Snow Hill Institute closed in 1973.

<sup>110</sup>Edwards, "Uplifting of the Submerged Masses," pp. 224-252; "Speech of William J. Edwards," Alexander's Magazine 2 (May 1906): 63-65.

<sup>111</sup>Edwards, Twenty-Five Years, p. 11. Considering the shaky financial condition of Snow Hill Institute in 1915, the "problems and difficulties" that Edwards mentioned might have referred to his need for increased financial support.

<sup>112</sup>Ibid., p. 11.

<sup>113</sup>Ibid., p. 62.

<sup>114</sup>Cornhill had previously published several books by James Welden Johnson, the black writer and poet. See The Publisher's Trade List Annual, 1913-1915 (New York: Office of the Publisher's Weekly, 1915). The autobiography of Edwards received favorable reviews from at least two sources: Catholic World 109 (March 5, 1916): 253-254, and The Nation 108 (February 8, 1916): 20. In his autobiography, Edwards hinted that his friend at Harvard played a part in getting his book published.

<sup>115</sup>Edwards, Twenty-Five Years, pp. 5-6.

<sup>116</sup>Ibid., pp. 8-9.

<sup>117</sup>Edwards described his illness as "scrofula... that affected the heel bone of my foot." See Twenty-Five Years, p. 11.

<sup>118</sup>Ibid., pp. 15, 18-20.

<sup>119</sup>Ibid., pp. 20-23. On his entrance examination Edwards placed in the second year (B-Middle) of the normal school course in every subject but grammar: "Of this subject I knew absolutely nothing. I did not know what a sentence was. I could not tell the subject from the predicate. So I was put back two years into what is called the A-Prep class." See Twenty-Five Years, p. 22.

<sup>120</sup>Ibid., p. 102.

<sup>121</sup>Ibid., pp. 35-36.

<sup>122</sup>Ibid., pp. 34-36.

<sup>123</sup>Ibid., pp. 107, 111-112.

<sup>124</sup>Ibid., p. 108.

- 125 Ibid., pp. 62, 82.
- 126 Ibid., pp. 103, 124.
- 127 Ibid., p. 106.
- 128 C. Vann Woodward, The Strange Career of Jim Crow (New York: Oxford University Press, 1955), pp. 67-69.
- 129 Edwards, Twenty-Five Years, pp. 78, 82.
- 130 Ibid., p. 78.
- 131 Ibid., p. 42.
- 132 Ibid., p. 38.
- 133 Ibid., p. 16.
- 134 Ibid., p. 141.
- 135 Ibid., pp. 51-52.
- 136 Ibid.
- 137 Ibid., p. 54.
- 138 Ibid., p. 55.
- 139 Ibid., pp. 90-92.
- 140 Ibid., p. 91.
- 141 Ibid., p. 51.
- 142 Ibid., p. 105.
- 143 Ibid., 110.
- 144 Ibid., p. 141.
- 145 Ibid.
- 146 Ibid.
- 147 Ibid., p. 36.
- 148 Ibid., p. 43.
- 149 Ibid.

<sup>150</sup>Ibid., p. 36.

<sup>151</sup>Ibid., p. 51.

<sup>152</sup>Ibid., p. 134.

<sup>153</sup>Ibid., p. 35.

<sup>154</sup>William J. Edwards to Booker T. Washington, 2 April 1912, Box 452, BTW Papers. *Italics mine.*

## CHAPTER 3.

"WE RISE UPON THE STRUCTURE WE OURSELVES HAVE BUILDED":

WILLIAM H. HOLTZCLAW AND UTICA INSTITUTE, 1903-1915

William H. Holtzclaw, a progeny of Tuskegee Institute, was the Principal of the only school for blacks in Mississippi founded by a Tuskegee Institute graduate between 1900 and 1915 and an analysis of how his school operated will illuminate the nature of the "Spirit of Tuskegee" in an environment beyond the borders of Alabama.<sup>1</sup> Holtzclaw had two mentors, Booker T. Washington and William J. Edwards, and a particularly significant alliance with Emmett Jay Scott, personal secretary to Washington. A study of the bonds between Holtzclaw, Washington, and Scott revealed the important role of the "Tuskegee Machine."<sup>2</sup> Holtzclaw's autobiography was published in 1915 and in this book the founder of Utica Institute offered to the reader not only an account of his life, but also a set of ideas about education.

I. Utica Normal and Industrial Institute: 1903-1915

A brief sketch of the founder

William Holtzclaw, like his friend and classmate, Edwards, was another Tuskegee Institute graduate who "grappled first-hand with the conditions that environ the masses of the Negro people."<sup>3</sup> Holtzclaw was born to ex-slave parents on June 20, 1870, in Roanoke, Alabama, about fifty miles northeast of Tuskegee. His birth took place on a Sunday afternoon in a "little dirty floor cabin 14 feet by 16 feet that was made of split pine poles."<sup>4</sup> He was the seventh of fifteen

children. Unlike William J. Edwards, who was an orphan at the age of six, Holtzclaw was raised by both parents, his father, a sharecropper, and his mother, a cook for their landlord's family. Although his parents tried to provide the basic needs, deprivation and poverty were always present.

Holtzclaw, a regular field hand at the age of nine, rotated with a brother in attending school: "One day I plowed and he went to school and the next day he plowed and I went to school. In this way we each got a month of schooling in a year."<sup>5</sup> A month of schooling a year had its consequences for Holtzclaw. He lived in a world of ignorance. He recounted an incident when he needed a book on United States history, but "I did not then know what was meant by the United States, or by the word history, and my good teacher did not tell me even that the land I lived in was the United States."<sup>6</sup>

At the age of nineteen (1889), Holtzclaw left home to work for a white couple a few miles away from his home for thirty-five cents a day and board. While working for this couple, he providentially came across a paper published by the Tuskegee Normal School. He found an invitation in the contents of this paper: "There is an opportunity for a few able-bodied young men to make their way through school provided they are willing to work. Applications should be made to Booker T. Washington, Principal." Holtzclaw then "scribbled up some sort of application and addressed it simply to 'Booker T. Washington' with nothing else on the envelope. All the same I was admitted."<sup>7</sup>

Holtzclaw's first moments at Tuskegee Normal were somewhat traumatic. When he entered the school on October 1, 1890, he took an

entrance examination but "I could not tell... in what country I lived, nor what state, nor what county. I knew that I was from Roanoke, and to me Roanoke was the whole thing...."<sup>8</sup> With such a background, he was admitted to the second year of the preparatory program at Tuskegee Normal School and, because he could not afford to pay room and board, he worked on the Tuskegee farm while he prepared for a career as a teacher.<sup>9</sup>

When his father died in 1893, Holtzclaw left Tuskegee to help support his mother and taught for three years at a salary of ten dollars a month in Georgia. His first teaching position provided him an opportunity to practice the self-reliance he had learned at Tuskegee Normal: "I think... that I did the people in that community some good. I made them whitewash their fences and clean up their houses and premises...."<sup>10</sup> Holtzclaw returned to Tuskegee Institute in 1896, worked as an office boy for Washington, learned the printer's trade, and graduated in 1898. Holtzclaw responded to Washington's "constant advice to us... that after leaving school we should go into one of the remote rural districts where we were most needed and teach...."<sup>11</sup> Imbued with the "Spirit of Tuskegee" and inspired by his class motto, "We Rise upon the Structure We Ourselves Have Builded," Holtzclaw "determined to go to Mississippi which to my mind was the darkest section of the South for a colored man."<sup>12</sup>

While debating exactly where he would go from Tuskegee, Holtzclaw contacted Edwards, who had graduated five years earlier (1893), and "told him of my plans to go to Mississippi and try to do what he was doing in the southern part of Alabama."<sup>13</sup> Edwards offered Holtzclaw a position

as a teacher of printing, he accepted and stayed four years (1898-1902), while "never losing sight of my Mississippi object."<sup>14</sup> In Fall, 1899, he went to Mississippi but he could not find a teaching position. Since he needed immediate finances, he took a job handling cotton at a warehouse and also worked at a hotel. Both of these jobs proved distasteful to him. Holtzclaw, determined to remain in Mississippi, purchased a set of sewing machine tools and set out as a traveling repairman. Since he had never been trained for this work, his success was not immediate. After several failures he returned to Snow Hill Institute in January 1900, as the Assistant Treasurer.<sup>15</sup>

Holtzclaw returned to Mississippi again in Fall, 1900, failed to find employment as a teacher, and again returned to Snow Hill. He tried for a third time in 1901 without success. With failure confronting him on each attempt ("I was a stranger and could make no headway"), the thirty-one year old Holtzclaw decided to settle in Snow Hill. He married Mary Ella Patterson, a Tuskegee Institute graduate, who was in charge of the Women's Department at Snow Hill Institute<sup>16</sup>. Holtzclaw, however, never lost his ever-pressing desire to start a school in Mississippi and in 1902 he decided to go to Mississippi for the last time: "I resolved that I would go to Mississippi and that nothing but death should come between me and the fulfillment of my purpose."<sup>17</sup> Before he left Snow Hill, one of Holtzclaw's former teachers from Tuskegee visited him, inquired about his intentions, and said "You know there is no God in Mississippi." Holtzclaw, determined to leave, replied "that I would take the one that Alabama had with me."<sup>18</sup>

The founding

When Holtzclaw arrived in Mississippi (he left his wife behind in Snow Hill) in September 1902, he "had it in mind that probably I should attempt to start a school at Mound Bayou or somewhere in Bolivar County" in the rich cotton lands of the Mississippi Delta where mostly black people lived.<sup>19</sup> He received no encouragement. A white planter told him: "I think it would do harm. What I want here is [sic] Negroes who can make cotton and they don't need education to help them make cotton. I could not use educated Negroes on my place."<sup>20</sup> Holtzclaw proceeded to the all-black community of Mound Bayou, but was rebuffed when he could not provide a ready answer to how he planned to finance his enterprise.

Holtzclaw reached the town of Utica, Mississippi, in Hinds County on October 22, 1902, and found a position as the principal of a three-teacher, four-month elementary school (grades 1-4) recently established for black students. While he taught at this public school for twenty dollars a month, he "continued to agitate the question of an independent school."<sup>21</sup> He distrusted white southern support for the public education of blacks. Holtzclaw had expressed his views to Washington before he left Snow Hill for the last time (August 1902): "I aim to establish a private industrial school because I believe that Negroes have a better chance if they are not subject to the whims of southern whites."<sup>22</sup> Private education for blacks in Hinds County was not unusual when Holtzclaw arrived in 1902. There were at least two black private elementary schools and four black private secondary schools operated by various religious denominations but none in Utica.<sup>23</sup>

Black people were wary of Holtzclaw's motives when he broached the idea of starting a private school because "a short while before a trickster had been to the town begging to build a school for his 'needy black brethern' and the next thing the donors knew he had a thriving grocery in another town."<sup>24</sup> Holtzclaw, however, persisted and went "door to door and church to church" among both blacks and whites in search of contributions and pledges. After eleven months of solicitation, Holtzclaw collected enough money to buy twenty acres of land one mile east of Utica from a white woman for \$300 and founded his school on October 27, 1903. A month later, he secured a charter from the State of Mississippi for The Utica Normal and Industrial Institute "for the education of colored people to include the common course of study and departments of science, agriculture, horticulture, mechanics and industrial arts."<sup>25</sup> His school opened with twenty local students including one boy and one girl who boarded with Holtzclaw and his wife in a log cabin. Holtzclaw was thirty-three years old when he, "a stranger with no money or friends," established his school.<sup>26</sup>

#### The setting

Holtzclaw believed that "In order to understand the significance... of a school like our own, it was necessary to understand the conditions under which it grew up. In the first place, it was established in the black belt section of the State...."<sup>27</sup> The setting for Utica Institute was Hinds County in the center of Mississippi. Black people comprised 75.2 percent of the county population in 1900 and 1910. The town nearest to the school was Utica with a population of 540 in 1900 and 572 in

1910. Utica was thirty miles southwest of Jackson, the state capitol.<sup>28</sup> Holtzclaw did not fail to acknowledge his affinity for a Black Belt environment. In a chapter that he contributed to Washington's edition of Tuskegee and its People (1905), the fledgling Principal of Utica Institute stated that he knew "all about those dark colored places" that Washington talked about because "I had been born in one of them."<sup>29</sup> Two years later (1907), he boasted that his school was "situated... in the heart of a section of the country containing thousands of Negroes...." Holtzclaw also wrote a "Dear Friend" fund raising letter in 1908 that he intended to send North in which he referred to the "very dark colored section of the South" where he started "this school for the industrial education of the masses of my people."<sup>30</sup>

Observers also linked Holtzclaw's school with its racial surroundings. A reporter for a black periodical noted in 1905 that Utica Institute was located "in the very heart of the Black Belt of Mississippi, where the Negroes outnumbered the whites seven to one." A faculty member regarded Utica as "A Light in the Black Belt of Mississippi," while Booker T. Washington penned a "To Whom it May Concern" endorsement of Utica Institute in 1909 celebrating the fact that "the school is located in a section where it has an opportunity to do effective work among the Negro people."<sup>31</sup>

#### Political and racial factors

When Holtzclaw arrived in Mississippi in 1902, he encountered a political and racial situation that amounted to legal, social, and educational containment of black people. The Mississippi Constitution

of 1890 had disenfranchised black people and the Mississippi legislature in the same year passed a law that required the separation of black and white passengers on railroad trains, another law that segregated blacks and whites in separate hospitals in 1892, and still another law in 1895 that not only prohibited interracial marriages but also provided for a \$500 fine for anyone found guilty of "printing, publishing, or circulating printed or written matter urging or suggesting social equality between whites and Negroes."<sup>32</sup> C. Vann Woodward, an historian of race relations in the South, characterized these laws as "new codes of White Supremacy... vastly more complex than the ante-bellum slave codes... and, if anything, ... stronger and more rigidly enforced."<sup>33</sup>

A Mississippi law of 1875 had worked against education for black people because it not only required separate schools for blacks and whites, but also permitted local school boards to use their own discretion in the distribution of school funds and stipulated that teachers be paid according to the class of certificates that they had been issued. Since these certificates were secured through examinations given by county superintendents, it was possible for all teachers' salaries to be controlled by the officials who graded the examination papers. School superintendents prejudiced against the education of black people could award certificates to black teachers based on the amount they wished to pay them rather than on the fitness of the teacher.<sup>34</sup>

The development of black public schools began to slow down as a result of the law of 1875. The average length of the term of white schools in Mississippi increased gradually from eighty-one days in 1876 to 108 in 1905, while the term for black schools in the same period only

increased from seventy-seven days to ninety-two days. The average monthly salary of white teachers increased from \$23 to \$38.90 from 1876 to 1905, while the salaries of black teachers increased from \$20.83 to \$24.52 during the same twenty-nine year period.<sup>35</sup> The per capita school expenditure for whites and blacks in Mississippi in 1876 was \$1 and \$.75 respectfully, but by 1910 it had increased to \$10.60 for each white child of school age and \$2.26 for each black child.<sup>36</sup> By 1910, the illiteracy rate for blacks in Hinds County was 31.7 percent and only 2.5 percent for whites.<sup>37</sup>

The establishment of Utica Institute also coincided with the rise to power of James Kimble Vardaman, an anti-black editor-lawyer who served as Governor of Mississippi from 1904-1908. Vardaman launched his gubernatorial campaign in 1903 by preaching white supremacy.<sup>38</sup> He became the chief exponent of a plan to divide the public school fund according to the amount of taxes paid. Since property taxes supplied most of the state's revenue and few blacks owned property, the success of Vardaman's stand would have resulted in a further lack of financial support for black schooling. Vardaman argued that money formerly spent to educate black people had been wasted because "no improvement could be noted in the moral nature of the Negro.... Then why squander money on his education when the only effect is to spoil a good field hand and make an insolent cook?"<sup>39</sup>

Vardaman also recommended that a constitutional amendment be submitted to the people that would vest all control of education in the state legislature. A majority of the Mississippi legislature, however, did not agree to support Vardaman and refused to act on his recommenda-

tions.<sup>40</sup> Vardaman did manage to veto a bill that appropriated funds for a black state normal school and his anti-black stance, in the words of one historian, "emphasized the tension and bitter feelings that existed toward Negroes in Mississippi in the first decade of the twentieth century."<sup>41</sup>

How did Holtzclaw react to this acrimony towards his people? A study of the evidence suggested that the Principal of the new black private school in Hinds County diplomatically positioned himself among the virulent forces of a racially hostile environment. Holtzclaw, first, organized a Board of Trustees when Utica Institute was incorporated in 1903 that included seven "northern and western whites," five "Southern whites" and eight blacks, five of whom lived in Utica. The composition of this first Board was no accident: "In such an organization the corporation gets the benefit of various points of view, and... there is little reason why it should not keep itself in line with all that is best for itself and for everybody concerned."<sup>42</sup> Holtzclaw's selection of his first Board of Trustees reflected his belief that his school could play a role in the reunion of North and South as well as deal with the realities of racial status in Mississippi.

Visitors to the Utica campus occasionally commented on what they perceived to be an acceptance of the black school by local whites. When Washington visited Utica in October 1908, for example, he praised the Principal of Utica Institute for "gaining the sympathy of both races for the work that he was trying to do." Four years later (1912), another black visitor remarked that "I have seen many negro schools of this class similarly situated in the South, but I have never seen

one that white people of the community were more interested in."<sup>43</sup>

Blacks were not the only commentators on Holtzclaw's ability to achieve racial harmony as an educator. A reporter for the Natchez (Miss.) Democrat, a white newspaper, visited Utica Institute in March 1908, and observed that "Quietly, and without the blowing of a trumpet, William H. Holtzclaw is doing a remarkable work for the uplift of his people." The reporter noted that "the white people of the immediate community lend their financial aid and moral support to an astonishing degree." The visitor from Natchez concluded that "in matters affecting his race he will make a leader safe and sane."<sup>44</sup>

Despite the positive reports of several visitors to Utica, Holtzclaw lived in a community where racial tensions existed. When he decided to expand his campus in 1910 by purchasing land from a white planter, Holtzclaw revealed that he received an "ultimatum, short and to the point: W. H. Holtzclaw, Utica, Miss., We, the undersigned, demand that you do not build a school or college near this community."<sup>45</sup> He built his school despite this threat. He reported the "fear that the colored people generally felt about moving to and fro among our white fellow-citizens in this section," and revealed that "our student body shared fully this sentiment."<sup>46</sup>

Lynchings also heightened racial tensions. From 1899 to 1915, 209 blacks were reported lynched in Mississippi, four in Hinds County.<sup>47</sup> Holtzclaw appealed to the Governor of Mississippi, E. F. Noel, in June 1911, "to use your great influence to check mob violence against us."<sup>48</sup> The Principal of Utica Institute also interpreted the place of blacks in southern society with his acknowledgment that "whites can destroy or

defend, and the black man can say nothing but look on, and it matters not what may be his opinion of the white man's sense of justice."<sup>49</sup> Noel, whose term of office (1907-1911) was almost over, responded that he would do "everything in my power to contribute to the enforcement of the law and punish all who offend," and he assured Holtzclaw that "laws of every kind should be equally and impartially enforced against every offender, and all should receive equal protection of the laws."<sup>50</sup>

Noel's assurances about equitable law enforcement aside, the NAACP reported the lynchings of fifty-five blacks during his term as Governor of Mississippi.<sup>51</sup> When Holtzclaw designed a postcard (perhaps for fund raising) dated January 1, 1912, with his picture and a brief accompanying text, it was not surprising that he felt the need to state that "any man that would do anything to, in any way, strain the relations between the two races in the South is an enemy to both races and an enemy to his country."<sup>52</sup> Holtzclaw remained hopeful that conditions would improve for his people. In a letter to Emmett Jay Scott, personal secretary to Washington, ten years after he established his school (1913), Holtzclaw wrote that "I have not lost hope. I propose to stay on the firing line and continue the work in which I am engaged."<sup>53</sup>

### Institution building

Students Holtzclaw started his school with twenty students "gathered under the shade trees at first, for want of a building" in November 1903.<sup>54</sup> He claimed an enrollment of 225 a year later (1904), one building, "a two-story frame," and forty acres of land. The new principal attributed his initial success to a "carefully planned

system" that included going "from door to door, explaining our efforts; then I made a tour of the churches...."<sup>55</sup> Holtzclaw reported an enrollment of 400 by 1905, a faculty member at Utica used the same figure to describe the number of students in October 1907, and Holtzclaw used the same figure again in a letter to Washington in June 1908.<sup>56</sup>

Utica Normal and Industrial Institute did not begin to report enrollment data to the United States Bureau of Education until the 1908-1909 school year. A study of these figures from 1908 to 1915 revealed that the number of students fluctuated significantly. Utica reported an enrollment of 350 students in 1908-1909 but only 252 students by 1914-1915. The peak enrollment for the period 1908-1915 was reached in 1911-1912 when 425 students were reported. The average enrollment for the period 1908-1915 was 363 compared to an average of 319 students from 1902-1915 at Snow Hill Institute, the school founded by Edwards.<sup>57</sup> Female students, as did their counterparts at Snow Hill Institute, outnumbered male students at Utica Institute from 1909-1915, but the differences were not overwhelming: female enrollment accounted for as much as 57 percent of the student body in 1914-1915, and as little as 52 percent in 1908-1909.<sup>58</sup>

The most significant changes in the student body at Utica Institute from 1908-1915 occurred in the normal school and secondary school enrollment. A student had to be at least fourteen years old to enter the teacher training program or to learn a trade. In 1908-1909, 63 percent of the students were classified as "Secondary School and Normal Students." The next year only 43 percent of the students were listed as secondary school students or normal school students and by 1914-1915 only 25

percent of the students were reported in the three-year secondary school program (teacher training or trade course). While secondary school enrollment declined, enrollment in the elementary grades (1-8) increased from 37 percent in 1908-1909 to 45 percent in 1910-1911 to 75 percent by 1914-1915.<sup>59</sup> The Normal and Industrial Institute that Holtzclaw founded in 1903 was by 1915 primarily an elementary school. Even the school year fluctuated from a high of thirty-two weeks in 1908-1909 to a low of twenty-six weeks in 1911-1912. The school charged no tuition.<sup>60</sup>

Utica Institute, as were the schools at Tuskegee and Snow Hill, was a boarding school. Holtzclaw "readily saw that if the school was to be a permanent success, it would have to provide some method of taking care of those pupils who came from a distance."<sup>61</sup> Holtzclaw's school in its early years was not always able to accommodate the needs of its boarding students. In 1904, for example, the female students on campus came to Holtzclaw and told him that "they would have to give up the effort to get an education. It was very cold; there was not enough fuel to go around, and not enough bedding."<sup>62</sup> The Principal of Utica Institute calmed this student discontent by buying fifty quilts that were then "laid over the sleeping girls in twenty-five beds."<sup>63</sup> A faculty member at Utica reported "only about thirty-five boards" in January 1905, and noted that "the majority [of students] are town students."<sup>64</sup> By 1915, however, 76 percent of the student body at Utica Institute boarded on campus.<sup>65</sup>

Holtzclaw, perhaps influenced by his student days at Tuskegee Institute, devised a "habit-forming routine" at Utica for the residential

students that practically duplicated the rigorous in loco parentis schedule developed by Washington:

The rising bell rings 5:10 A.M.; 5:50, the first breakfast bell; 6, the breakfast bell; twenty-five minutes for breakfast; 6:25 to 6:45, preparation for daily inspection of rooms; 6:50, work bell rings; 7:25, morning study hour; 8:20, school bell rings; 8:25, young men inspected on battalion grounds as to their toilet; 8:40, morning devotion; 8:55, current news period; 9:20, classroom work begins; 12, all work closes; 12:10 dinner; 1:00 P.M., work bell rings; 1:30, class work begins; 3:30, class work ends; 5:30, bell rings to stop work; 6, supper; 6:30, study hour; 7, night school begins (for those who work in the day and go to school at night); 8:40, evening devotion; 9:20, first retiring bell; 9:30, retiring bell.<sup>66</sup>

The emphasis that Holtzclaw placed upon discipline extended beyond the daily schedule and on at least one occasion caused him a problem. One of his plans was to drill his male students "in military tactics both as a matter of physical training and as a matter of discipline." He devised a plan of "drilling them [male students] one or two hours at night in the open fields. They drilled with their old shot guns and fired a blank volley now and then."<sup>67</sup> Holtzclaw continued this practice until "a committee of colored men called on me and advised me to stop drilling the boys. They said that the white people were becoming excited and were freely saying that I had come into the state to bring about trouble."<sup>68</sup> Holtzclaw did not wish "to antagonize them [whites] in any way" and decided to drill his male students without guns. Drilling became part of the daily routine at Utica Institute, as described by a faculty member in 1907: "Every morning before school they [male students] meet on the parade ground and drill and the drummer does his part with so much enthusiasm that the embryo soldiers catch the spirit, and it does one good just to see the manly way in which they march."<sup>69</sup>

A visitor to the campus two years later (1909) remarked that the "students are well disciplined at Utica Institute."<sup>70</sup>

Alumni The dropout rate at Utica Institute was high with few students advancing far enough to become graduates. Holtzclaw reported to his alma mater that by 1910 his school had "28 graduates from the school and all but one of these are living and doing honorable work as teachers or at their trades," while 400 former students "had gone out receiving more or less instruction and industrial training."<sup>71</sup> Holtzclaw explained that after only a few months training students at his school were so much in demand that they found it difficult to stay in school: "The demand for good workmen is so great they are tempted to leave as soon as they become proficient."<sup>72</sup> The Principal of Utica Institute also reported that two of his formal normal school students had started their own schools in Mississippi in 1904 and 1907.<sup>73</sup>

Curriculum The program of studies at Utica Normal and Industrial Institute from 1903 to 1915 was patterned after that fostered by Washington at Tuskegee Institute - an elementary school with eight grades and a three-year secondary school that included normal school training and various industrial and agricultural training courses to students at least fourteen years old. Students in the elementary grades started at the age of six and were placed into "primary" or "preparatory" classes depending upon the background of the student.<sup>74</sup> A visitor to Holtzclaw's school in 1906 reported that the secondary school curriculum included "a thorough course in English," while a year later (1907) a faculty member described the academic schedule: "Each secondary student has two work days and four school days one week and

the next week he has one work day and five school days and so on alternately." This teacher insisted that the "literary work was not slighted the least bit."<sup>75</sup> The Director of the Academic Department, Laurence C. Jones, the founder of Piney Woods School (the subject of the next chapter), listed the secondary school normal courses on the letterhead of his stationary in 1909: "English, History, Philosophy, The Exact Sciences, The Earth Sciences, and The Biological Sciences."<sup>76</sup> Six years later (1915), visitors from the United States Bureau of Education found a different normal school curriculum: "Mathematics, 3 years; English, 2; agriculture, 1; history and civics, 2; elementary science, 3; bookkeeping, 1; economics, 1; and education, 2."<sup>77</sup>

The industrial training aspect of the secondary school curriculum at Utica Institute did not begin until 1906 because the school owned "no apparatus, nor shops, nor money." Holtzclaw decided to go to New York City in that year to seek aid from friends. He addressed a white Congregational Church and as a result the congregation donated a "small printing press and two or three cases of type," while "a lady gave some apparatus to start a sewing room" and "another person gave fifty dollars for some farm tools." When he returned to Utica, Holtzclaw also received money from this congregation to buy "two mules, a wagon, and feed. Thus, began the teaching of agriculture."<sup>78</sup>

Different industrial courses were taught to males and females. A teacher at Utica reported in 1907 that "the trades taught [to] the boys were carpentry, blacksmithing, wheelwrighting, printing, dairying, farming and shoemaking, stock raising and scientific agriculture," while "the girls' industries were cooking, sewing, laundering, housekeeping,

broommaking, dressmaking, and millinery." The industrial curriculum eight years later (1915) for male students was reduced to "carpentry, blacksmithing, tailoring, shoemaking, and printing" and the courses for females to "sewing, millinery, housekeeping, cooking, mattress making, and a course in the care of the sick."<sup>79</sup>

Holtzclaw was particularly interested in providing instruction in agriculture. He informed a "Dear Friend" in June 1908 that "I am now trying to raise a fund of \$25,000 to purchase a plantation on which students can learn improved methods of agriculture" and he wrote to Washington in the same month that "we have secured a logging outfit, consisting of one eight-wheel wagon and eight oxen complete with yokes in connection with our saw mill course."<sup>80</sup> The Principal of Utica Institute also boasted of his school's agricultural achievements at the Mississippi State Fair in November 1913, ten years after he had established his school, in a letter to Washington's personal secretary, Emmett Jay Scott.<sup>81</sup>

There is scanty evidence about how well Utica Institute conducted its instructional programs. Holtzclaw's school did not receive the same kind of scrutiny from Tuskegee Institute about its programs as did Snow Hill Institute. The visitors from the United States Bureau of Education in 1915 did suggest that "industrial instruction be centralized on the more important trades," that "the industrial teachers be selected from schools of [a] higher grade than this institution," and noted that "considerable provision is made for instruction in agriculture, but sufficient emphasis has not been given to the educational side" indicating, perhaps, an overemphasis on practice rather

than theory.<sup>82</sup> Holtzclaw acknowledged difficulty in finding personnel to teach some of the trades that his school offered "in the early years:" "Everybody was kept very busy, but a great deal of the work was imperfectly performed, and our lack of funds made it impossible for us to employ as many instructors as we needed."<sup>83</sup> He admitted that after twelve years of work (1903-1915), we find ourselves struggling toward better work in all departments but still a very long way from accomplishing such splendid results as have been accomplished by Hampton, Tuskegee, and similar institutions."<sup>84</sup>

Faculty Holtzclaw was the only teacher for his initial class of twenty in November 1903. The Utica Principal claimed an all-black staff of four, including himself and his wife, for a student population of 225 in 1904, eleven teachers for 405 students in 1905, and a faculty member referred to a staff of "twenty-five teachers and officers" for 400 students in 1907.<sup>85</sup> Utica Institute reported figures for its faculty to the United States Bureau of Education for only 1911-1912 and 1914-1915. The faculty reportedly numbered twenty-six for an enrollment of 425 in the former year and eighteen for an enrollment of 252 in the latter academic year.<sup>86</sup>

Female members of Holtzclaw's staff held a number of important positions between 1903 and 1915. A visitor to Utica Institute in May 1905, commented that "the lady principal of the institute, Miss Ada L. Hicks, was one of the most helpful workers associated with the professor. [Holtzclaw] She is deeply concerned about the work and is painstaking in every effort." The visitor also noted that "Miss Clara J. Lee was head of the academic work of the institute.... Her services

have been invaluable and her endeavors are highly appreciated by the principal."<sup>87</sup> Eight of the thirteen faculty members in the Academic Department in 1909 were women and Holtzclaw reported to Tuskegee Institute in 1910 that his wife was "Director of The Girls' Industries" and that Effie H. Davis was the "principal of the night school."<sup>88</sup> Visitors from the United States Bureau of Education in 1915 reported seventeen females on a staff of twenty-seven "teachers and workers."<sup>89</sup>

Holtzclaw used his alma mater as a source for his faculty between 1903 and 1915. The four teachers who comprised the Utica staff from 1904-1905 were all graduates of Tuskegee Institute. One of these faculty members reported in January 1905, to George Washington Carver, her former teacher, that "Tuskegee is well represented here - there are four of us. So I imagine we are a Smaller Tuskegee."<sup>90</sup> Five of the thirteen teachers in the Academic Department in 1909 were Tuskegee graduates, including Emma C. Penney, a classmate of Holtzclaw's and the daughter of Edgar Penney, the Director of the Phelps Bible Training School at Tuskegee.<sup>91</sup> Holtzclaw also reported that he often left his "most trusted lieutenant," D. W. L. Davis, Superintendent of Industries and a Tuskegee Institute graduate, in charge of the campus whenever he left on fund raising ventures.<sup>92</sup>

There are scattered references to the educational origins of the Utica Institute faculty besides Tuskegee Institute. The "lady principal" of Utica in 1905, Ada L. Hicks, graduated from Snow Hill Institute, while Clara J. Lee, the head of the Academic Department in that year, "finished the normal course in Tougaloo University, located in the beautiful village of Tougaloo, in the very middle of the state of

Mississippi...."<sup>93</sup> The Academic Department, as of March 1909, had faculty from historically black institutions such as Fisk University, Mary Holmes College, Wilberforce University, Alcorn State College, and one graduate from the predominately white University of Iowa.<sup>94</sup> A visitor to Utica Institute, William Pickens, in 1912 commented on the youth of the faculty: "This is the work of young negroes. These teachers are practically boys and girls themselves, recent graduates of Tuskegee, of American Missionary Association schools, and of various smaller school...."<sup>95</sup> Pickens also sensed a special relationship between black students and their black teachers: "A conviction has taken me, after much observation at Utica, that negro students under negro teachers seem in all their performances to display an exhilarating freedom of body and soul."<sup>96</sup>

Holtzclaw revealed something about the economic straits of several of his faculty members in his autobiography. While he was away from Utica on a fund raising tour in the "early days," he received a letter from one of his teachers: "Dear Principal: I am actually barefooted and cannot go from one building to another. If you can send me enough money to get a pair of shoes, I will not bother you again soon." Holtzclaw admitted that the salary of the school's blacksmith was originally "so small that when he was called to neighboring towns on Saturdays to do horseshoeing, he used to bring back, as a result of his work, more than half the amount of his monthly wages."<sup>97</sup> There is evidence that economic hardships of the Utica staff may not have been limited to the early days of the school. Visitors from the United States

Bureau of Education in 1915 reported that half of the school's indebtedness of \$6,019 was the result of "salaries due teachers."<sup>98</sup>

Extension Holtzclaw, as did his mentors, Washington and Edwards, adopted the dictum of community service through the application of industrial education to everyday life. Since Holtzclaw believed that an effective industrial school meant better farms, communities, and lives for rural southern blacks, he initiated at least four ventures to help black people who lived in his community: the Teachers' Extension Movement, the Utica Negro Farmers' Conferences, the Black Belt Improvement Society, and the Community Court of Justice.

The Teachers' Extension Movement was formed in 1908 by dividing the area surrounding Utica Institute into sections with a Utica faculty member, apart from school duties, assigned to each section "for the work of uplift." Teachers were responsible for the advancement of their specified territory: "They were to do all within their power to show Negroes in that locality how to better their condition." Holtzclaw claimed that the amount of work his teachers did was "something astonishing. They labored with the people incessantly, in season and out of season."<sup>99</sup>

Holtzclaw also organized an annual Negro Farmers' Conference as Washington and Edwards did at their schools. The Principal of Utica Institute, the son of a sharecropper, called together twelve local farmers in 1903 and explained to them that if they would form an organization for the purpose of self-improvement, "there might be a possibility of their escaping from the ageless state of living on land that they did not own and paying their hard earned money in rent."<sup>100</sup> This meeting

was the first Utica Negro Farmers' Conference. Holtzclaw was elected President and subsequent Farmers' Conferences featured speeches and testimonies by farmers who had bought a farm or built a house the proceeding year. Holtzclaw used these Farmers' Conferences as a forum to encourage blacks to stay in Mississippi. At the sixth annual Farmers' Conference in 1909, for example, Holtzclaw was quoted by the Jackson (Miss.) Daily News as saying "There is plenty of land for sale all over the state of Mississippi at reasonable prices. Here is a great opportunity for us to plant ourselves firmly in the soil."<sup>101</sup>

The Utica Negro Farmers' Conferences were held not only for the purpose of hearing a recitation of speeches or stories, but also for the serious business of helping black farmers become better and more proficient at raising food and caring for their livestock. Holtzclaw invited black professionals to address the Farmers' Conferences. In 1908, for example, a black physician from Vicksburg, Mississippi, addressed the Conference on the prevention and cure of hookworm, a black druggist from the same city "delivered an address on what medicine could be obtained from any ordinary drug-store [sic] for the prevention and the cure of the diseases of horses," and George Washington Carver, head of the Department of Agricultural Research at Tuskegee Institute, "spent two hours before the assembled farmers, with a sweet potato in his hand, about which he delivered a most effective lecture."<sup>102</sup>

Holtzclaw organized the Black Belt Improvement Society as an adjunct to the Negro Farmers' Conference in 1903. He acknowledged that the name and the purposes of this organization were similar to the organization that Edwards had started at Snow Hill Institute in 1897.<sup>103</sup>

Holtzclaw had an opportunity to see first-hand how Edwards developed his community-based organization when he worked at Snow Hill Institute from 1898-1902. Holtzclaw initiated his Improvement Society to encourage economic self-sufficiency among rural blacks, sold land to black farmers, and even duplicated in his autobiography the objectives of the Society as Edwards had listed them in Washington's Tuskegee and its People (1905).<sup>104</sup>

Perhaps the most unique aspect of the extension activities sponsored by Utica Institute was the Community Court of Justice created in 1910 as an adjunct of the Utica Black Belt Improvement Society. This "court" had no legal standing in the Mississippi State system of justice. It was just for blacks who lived near the school and handled misdemeanors that occurred among blacks because "the school was situated five miles from the town and had no magistrate within easy reach." Several petty cases were brought, testimony taken, and decisions rendered before this improvised tribunal. Holtzclaw was selected as the "judge," "lawyers" were appointed for defendants and plaintiffs, and testimony was heard by a "jury" of five persons.<sup>105</sup> When the "jury" failed to decide an alleged wife-beating charge, Holtzclaw decided in favor of the wife and "ordered the man to stand still and let his wife strike him thirty-nine times. This she proceeded to do and the court adjourned, and no case of wife-beating has come under my notice since."<sup>106</sup> Holtzclaw was convinced that the Community Court of Justice "taught valuable lessons and created a spirit of general progress in the right direction."<sup>107</sup> The use of the Community Court also illustrated his refusal to take black disputes to whites for resolution and indicated

how far along the road of racial solidarity he was willing to go.

Each of Holtzclaw's extension activities was based on the assumption that community service and uplift, joined with black self-help, yielded significant returns. The Principal of Utica Institute adopted the community service approach of his alma mater and publicized his nexus with Tuskegee Institute: "I am doing work similar to Tuskegee in this section of the country; the school's influence is helping the people generally; our school aims to be the center of influence in a neglected area."<sup>108</sup>

Utica Institute in 1915 When officials from the United States Bureau of Education arrived at Utica Institute in March 1915, they found "an elementary school with a few pupils in secondary subjects." The visitors counted 252 black students taught by an "all-colored" staff of eighteen. Students who completed the three-year normal course received a diploma, while certificates were awarded to those who finished one of the eleven three-year industrial courses. The Bureau of Education visitors also noted that "influence is exerted on the agriculture of the community through extension work."<sup>109</sup>

The campus of Utica Institute had undergone a metamorphosis since 1903 when Holtzclaw started with twenty acres. He purchased in 1910 a 1500-acre plantation five miles south of the town of Utica for \$15 an acre. Since the land used by the school only comprised 210 acres in 1915 (ten for the campus and 200 for the school farm), it was possible that Holtzclaw planned to use the 1,290 remaining acres for some sort of black land venture. At least the visitors commented that "it appeared

that the enlargement of the plant might interfere with simple educational activities whether in books or industries."<sup>110</sup>

The financial status of Utica Institute reflected the same dependency upon philanthropy as Snow Hill Institute: "general donations accounted for \$11,893 of the \$14,170 income for the school year 1914-1915. The remainder came from an unspecified amount charged for boarding, \$365 collected from "the colored people of Mississippi," \$300 from the Slater Fund, and aid from "other sources."<sup>111</sup> Utica Institute had an indebtedness of only \$6,019 compared to the \$23,304 owed by Snow Hill Institute in 1915.

The visitors to Holtzclaw's school concluded their report by commending Utica Institute for "having done much good in the county." Holtzclaw, who came to Mississippi to give expression to Washington's concept of industrial education, had come a long way since November 1903 when "with my ax I personally led the farmers into the forests where we cut the trees to make lumber for our first building."<sup>112</sup>

## II. William H. Holtzclaw's Relations with the other Black Educators in this Study

### William J. Edwards

Edwards and Holtzclaw were classmates at Tuskegee Institute. When Holtzclaw graduated in 1898, he accepted employment at Snow Hill Institute. Holtzclaw, who worked four years (1898-1902) with Edwards as a teacher of printing and as the Assistant Treasurer, regarded Edwards as a role model: "I took note of all he did and I think I

often patterned my own work after his. Mr. Edwards, being more experienced than I was, was a guide to me...."<sup>113</sup> When Holtzclaw started his own school, he continued his association with Edwards. On at least two occasions Edwards wrote letters of recommendation for Holtzclaw to potential contributors in the North and Edwards was listed as a "Reference" on Utica Institute stationary in 1906.<sup>114</sup> Holtzclaw testified in 1915 that "We [Holtzclaw and Edwards] have always counselled together, and even at this day whenever any important matters affecting either of us arise, each is sure to call on the other for suggestions and advice."<sup>115</sup> Although Holtzclaw did not mention in his autobiography or in extant correspondence his association with Laurence C. Jones (see Chapter 4), the latter did serve as the Director of the Academic Department at Utica Institute from 1907-1909. No evidence has been found that Holtzclaw ever commented upon the educational endeavors of Thomas Oscar Fuller, the subject of Chapter 5 of this dissertation.

#### Booker T. Washington

The black educator in this study with whom Holtzclaw developed the most significant relationship was Washington. An examination of the extant correspondence between Washington and Holtzclaw in the Booker T. Washington Papers revealed that the founder of Tuskegee Institute assisted Holtzclaw in fund raising, acted as an advisor and critic, and initiated visits to the Utica campus. An analysis of the correspondence also indicated that Washington relied upon his personal secretary, Emmett Jay Scott, to communicate with Holtzclaw and to act

as a surrogate for the Tuskegee Institute Principal. The relationship that developed between Holtzclaw and Scott will be discussed after a description of the ways that Holtzclaw and Washington interacted.

Fund raiser When Holtzclaw arrived in Mississippi in Fall 1902, he contacted Washington almost immediately for help: "I will be going to Jackson, Miss. in a few days and I write to ask you for a letter of recommendation."<sup>116</sup> Two years later (1904), Holtzclaw was permitted to address "Tuskegee audiences," present his Utica Singers, and to solicit from Tuskegee donors in Boston and Philadelphia.<sup>117</sup> When Holtzclaw wrote an appeal for funds in 1908 and described himself as a "graduate of Tuskegee Institute, Alabama, ... whose work is the only outgrowth of Tuskegee in this section of the country," he asked Washington "to sign this appeal because I am sure it will do untold good for our work."<sup>118</sup> Washington agreed to do so. Holtzclaw again sought Washington's written approbation a year later (1909), when he requested a "formal letter of endorsement based on your personal knowledge of my work" and the Principal of Tuskegee Institute responded with a "To Whom it May Concern" letter that said "I cannot speak too cordially of the effective way in which Mr. Holtzclaw and his co-workers are attacking the problems presented to them. Mr. Holtzclaw is deserving of encouragement and support."<sup>119</sup>

Washington also acted as an intermediary for philanthropic donations to Utica Institute. He recommended in 1909, as he had done for Edwards, that Jacob Henry Schiff, founder of the Southern Education Fund and a contributor to Tuskegee Institute, send \$100 annually to Utica because "Utica was doing good work. It was started by William H.

Holtzclaw, one of our graduates and... is doing the same kind of work as the Snow Hill School...."<sup>120</sup> Three months later, Washington wrote to another donor that "I think it wise for you to continue to help Holtzclaw. He is doing good work."<sup>121</sup>

When natural disaster struck the Utica campus, Washington offered assistance as he did when fire severely damaged Snow Hill Institute in 1911. Instead of sending a midnight telegram as did Edwards, Holtzclaw rather calmly informed the Tuskegee Institute Principal on June 10, 1910, that "I am sorry to tell you that a cyclone struck us last night and completely destroyed two buildings and damaged a third." Washington's response was just as businesslike: "I am sorry to learn that a cyclone has visited you and destroyed two of your buildings... these visitations are quite disastrous, but I hope you may soon have under way plans for the restoration of the damage done."<sup>122</sup> A month later, Washington contacted Schiff and requested an extra \$50 for Holtzclaw because "they have recently had a storm that blew down several of their buildings."<sup>123</sup> When Holtzclaw went to Boston in August 1910, in search of funds for his damaged campus, he discovered that Washington was in Huntington, Long Island, and promptly requested that Washington contact the Boston Chamber of Commerce, an organization that was "considering the advisability of making a substantial contribution to our work on account of the cyclone. A letter from you will be of great value at this point." Washington informed Holtzclaw three days later that he had written to the Boston Chamber to inform them that "you abundantly deserve whatever encouragement you may be able to receive at their hands."<sup>124</sup>

Advisor and critic      A study of the extant correspondence between Washington and Holtzclaw did not reveal the same criticism of school management that Washington expressed regarding Edwards' efforts at Snow Hill Institute. Perhaps the fact that Holtzclaw had seven years experience before starting his school made the difference. Holtzclaw, however, did not always please his Tuskegee Institute mentor. Washington evidently questioned Holtzclaw about his school's unbalanced budget in June 1908, because the Utica Principal felt compelled to explain his school's indebtedness and "trust that this explanation will be satisfactory."<sup>125</sup> The financial condition of Utica Institute again attracted Washington's attention seven years later (1915) when he wrote briskly to Holtzclaw, "I make note that you are running behind in current expenses and teachers' salaries."<sup>126</sup>

No evidence has been found that Washington scolded Holtzclaw, as he had Edwards, for failing to keep his campus clean or for not differentiating "Trustees" from "References" on school stationary, a feature of Holtzclaw's school stationary similar to the letterheads of Edwards, his Tuskegee Institute classmate. Washington's interest in Holtzclaw's Board of Trustees surfaced only once, according to a study of their correspondence. The Tuskegee Institute Principal might have criticized Holtzclaw's Board because the Utica Principal informed his mentor in April 1915 that "we eliminated from the Board the name of every useless Trustee.... I feel that as a Board we are now thoroughly organized...."<sup>127</sup>

Tuskegee Institute visitors      There was no evidence in the Booker T. Washington Papers that Utica Institute was ever the subject of a

visitation team from Tuskegee Institute such as the visit to Snow Hill Institute in 1910 or that Robert E. Park, who toured many of the Tuskegee offshoots in the winter and spring of 1913, stopped at Holtzclaw's school.<sup>128</sup> There was evidence that Holtzclaw enjoyed the visit of George Washington Carver to the Utica Negro Farmers' Conference of 1913 and that he attributed Carver's appearance to Washington: "I am writing this letter to especially thank you for permitting Professor Carver to come and I wish that I could explain to you something of the good that he did by his visit...." Washington welcomed the news of Carver's success at Utica: "I am very glad that you feel that his [Carver] talks to the people at the conference sessions were so helpful...."<sup>129</sup>

Washington visited Utica Institute on October 4, 1908, as part of a five-day tour of Mississippi. A member of his traveling party reported that "it was here [Utica] that Dr. Washington declared that no power on earth could stop the Negro from acquiring an education of some kind...." Washington described his Mississippi tour four months later and commented favorably on Holtzclaw's efforts "to conduct his school along the lines of Tuskegee Institute...."<sup>130</sup> In his autobiography, Holtzclaw related an incident that occurred prior to Washington's visit that showed the strain in race relations in Utica. When Holtzclaw called a meeting of his "most trusted Negro friends" to prepare for Washington's arrival, no one attended the meeting except Holtzclaw. A few days later, he learned that a white man had told a black man that the whites planned to kill Washington. Holtzclaw was advised by some of his black friends not to let Washington come to Utica "for his good and for ours." The Principal of Utica Institute then made

some "covert investigations" among several whites who assured him that no harm would come to Washington. Holtzclaw's most distinguished visitor came without incident.<sup>131</sup>

#### Emmett Jay Scott

Holtzclaw, unlike his fellow school founder, Edwards, developed a special relationship with Emmett Jay Scott, personal secretary to Washington. It was highly probable that Washington encouraged contacts between Scott and Holtzclaw and that the Scott-Holtzclaw liaison enabled the Principal of Tuskegee Institute to turn his personal attention to other schools such as Snow Hill Institute. The connection between Scott and Holtzclaw became very important to Utica Institute because of Scott's status with Washington. Scott (1873-1957), a native of Houston, Texas, edited a black weekly newspaper in Houston and had managed so well the publicity for a visit that Washington made to Houston in 1897 that Washington hired him as his personal secretary that year. Scott became Washington's "closest private advisor," seemed "to be able to understand instinctively his chief's thinking on public questions," and "abetted Washington in all matters of racial strategy, and many of the elaborate intrigues by which Washington enhanced his power and influence."<sup>132</sup> Scott primarily played two roles in his relationship with Holtzclaw: as a conduit for philanthropy to Utica Institute and as a strategist when Holtzclaw joined the Association of Negro Industrial and Secondary Schools in 1914.

Fund raiser Scott influenced Julius Rosenwald, the President of Sears, Roebuck Company, to contribute to Utica Institute. In

April 1912, Scott identified Utica as a satisfactory paradigm of Tuskegee Institute in a letter to Rosenwald: "Cleanliness, order and system are to be found everywhere.... All in all, I must say that I regard Utica as one of the very strongest of the Tuskegee off-shoots." When Holtzclaw received a copy of Scott's letter, he responded that "I am sure that such a letter will do a great deal of good."<sup>133</sup> The Utica Principal did not have to wait very long before he learned of the effect of Scott's commendation. Rosenwald informed Holtzclaw several days later that "because of Mr. Scott's great delight and satisfaction over your work, I shall be glad to contribute \$1,000 annually for five years to indicate my interest in your work."<sup>134</sup> Holtzclaw recognized his debt to Scott: "To secure an endorsement of one thousand dollars for five years is no small item. I want to express to you my gratitude and that of both teachers and students."<sup>135</sup> A study of the extant correspondence between Scott and Holtzclaw revealed that Scott also appealed to the Slater Fund and the Phelps Stokes Fund for assistance to Utica to help meet expenses in the financially troubled years of 1914 and 1915.<sup>136</sup>

Tuskegee strategist The other important role that Scott played in his relationship with Holtzclaw was the strategist who confronted Holtzclaw's involvement with the Association of Negro Industrial and Secondary Schools in 1914 and 1915. The year 1914 seemed a stark turning point for Holtzclaw as a fund raiser. When World War I broke out and northern attention shifted to other objects of philanthropy such as Belgian Relief and the Red Cross, black industrial schools like Utica Institute suffered.<sup>137</sup> The Utica appeal for a new heating

plant received almost no new funds after September 1914. Utica's donations for current expenses had been cut by 25 percent over the previous year by May 1915.<sup>138</sup> Holtzclaw, as his Tuskegee Institute classmate, Edwards, was attracted to the Association of Negro Industrial and Secondary Schools (ANISS) in Fall 1914. The purpose of this organization was "to promote self-help in Negro schools, to increase their efficiency, [and] to bring about in their behalf a wider public interest and support."<sup>139</sup> The leadership of the ANISS comprised black and white supporters of the NAACP, many of whom were "anti-Booker T. Washingtonians."<sup>140</sup> Edwards had resigned from this organization after he had attended one meeting and received a rebuke from Washington. Scott, no doubt with the advice and support of Washington, handled Holtzclaw's association with the ANISS differently.

Scott evidently did not learn of Holtzclaw's intention to join the ANISS from the Principal of Utica Institute. In a letter to Holtzclaw in early October 1914, Scott informed Holtzclaw that "I have just learned that you are planning to attend a certain meeting at 26 Vesey Street, [the headquarters of the NAACP] New York City, sometime soon. If I had known, I would have talked to you in person regarding it." Scott then explained his principal concern: "... those persons who are allied with us and whom we are earnestly supporting in every way within our power should not ally themselves with this movement. The purpose at the bottom of this thing is all too apparent." Scott was so concerned about this matter that he expressed his hope that "this letter will not pass out of your own individual hands" and he even requested that Holtzclaw return his letter and "reply in your own handwriting."<sup>141</sup>

It was obvious that Scott did not want the principal of the only Tuskegee offshoot in Mississippi to associate with an organized fund raising effort that had its headquarters at the NAACP, that had as its Secretary, Leslie Pinckney Hill, a black opponent of Washington, and that threatened, as the historian Henry Snyder Enck has suggested, the dominance of Tuskegee Institute in philanthropic circles vis-a-vis black industrial schools in the South.<sup>142</sup> When Holtzclaw did reply to Scott five days later in a handwritten letter, he informed Scott that "I am under no obligation to attend the meeting and I shall not do so. I thank you for calling it to my attention."<sup>143</sup> Holtzclaw, however, evidently was elected to the Executive Committee of the ANISS in his absence because several weeks later he informed Scott of this fact and asked for direction: "I have just been notified of my election and I am writing to ask your advise [sic] before accepting or declining." Holtzclaw also assured Scott that "I do not want to get mixed up in something that will not be best for this institution and for what I will designate the general Tuskegee interests in the South."<sup>144</sup>

Scott advised Holtzclaw "to let up the whole matter for a few weeks until you hear from me," but when Scott failed to write again after three weeks Holtzclaw contacted him again and suggested that "I might learn something by accepting the office on the Executive Committee."<sup>145</sup> Holtzclaw evidently joined the Executive Committee of the ANISS and supplied Scott with information about various facets of the organization on at least four different occasions between November 1914 and March 1915. When Leslie Pinckney Hill, the Secretary of the ANISS, planned to write a newspaper article associating the organization with

the NAACP, Holtzclaw informed Scott and said "I will have considerable [sic] more to say to you whenever I can get a chance to see you about this whole affair." Holtzclaw wrote to Scott again in early December 1914, and expressed his wish "to have an opportunity of seeing you some-time soon so that we may go over in person some of the matters pertaining to the Association of Negro Industrial Schools." A few weeks later, Holtzclaw reported to Scott that Leslie Pinckney Hill was "thoroughly in sympathy with everything that pertains to Vesey Street..."<sup>146</sup> The Principal of Utica Institute seemed far from reluctant to abandon his reportorial role in his last extant letter (March 1915) to Scott regarding the ANISS: "I am very anxious indeed to see you. I want to talk over the matter of these New York meetings we have been having."<sup>147</sup>

A study of the available evidence suggested that Holtzclaw stayed within the orbit of Tuskegee Institute, while he served on the Executive Committee of an organization that maintained some identification with the NAACP and opponents of Washington. There was no indication that Holtzclaw's affiliation with the ANISS helped the faltering financial condition of Utica Institute. The ANISS "faded away" by 1918 without proving "to be a panacea for black industrial schools."<sup>148</sup>

Holtzclaw felt an emotional attachment to Washington that nothing could impair. Nor could Holtzclaw prove ungrateful to Scott for his intercession as a fund raiser. In the midst of his school's financial distress (May 1915), Holtzclaw sent Washington \$100 "as a gift to your great work. And with the check goes my earnest prayers for your continued success."<sup>149</sup> The founder of Tuskegee Institute acknowledged Holtzclaw's sacrifice: "Everything has been so hard this year that I

am quite sure it has not been an easy matter for you to send us this large contribution.... You do not know how much all of us here appreciate your self-denial."<sup>150</sup> The ties that Holtzclaw felt for his alma mater remained strong and impenetrable between 1903 and 1915.

### III. The Autobiography of William H. Holtzclaw

The Black Man's Burden was published in 1915, when Holtzclaw was forty-five years old, the Principal of Utica Institute for twelve years, and twenty-eight years before his death in 1943 while still serving as the Principal of his school. Holtzclaw's autobiography, as did Washington's Up from Slavery (1901) and Edwards' Twenty-Five Years in the Black Belt (1915), began as a series of "short sketches of my life" for such magazines as World's Work before he collected them for publication in book form in 1915.<sup>151</sup> Holtzclaw exceeded both Washington and Edwards in his use of authenticating devices to substantiate his narrative. These devices included twelve pictures of his school (buildings, students, and staff), three pictures of his family, an excerpt from one of his Annual Reports, and a testimonial from one of the first graduates of Utica Institute.

Perhaps Holtzclaw's most important authenticating device was the brief introduction to his book by Washington. The Principal of Tuskegee Institute stated his approval of the Principal of Utica Institute: "I do not know a single graduate of Tuskegee who has more completely carried out in his life the spirit which the school [Tuskegee] has sought to instil in its students, nor do I know one who is doing a more useful or

more successful work for his race and for the community in which he lives."<sup>152</sup> Although Washington publicly approved of Holtzclaw's book, in private he expressed his dislike for the title "the Black Man's Burden:" "If you ever have another edition of it printed, I want to talk with you about changing the title. I hardly think the title does justice to the book."<sup>153</sup>

Holtzclaw's stated reason for writing his book related to his self-image as a symbol of black achievement:

I know that whatever I am able to tell about my own life is typical; it is the story of many others like myself who have struggled to get an education and to be of use in the world.... It is because I want the world to know something of these unknown and, perhaps, less fortunate young men of my race, that I have tried, as best I could, to tell my story here.<sup>154</sup>

It was possible that the serious financial difficulties that Utica Institute experienced in 1914 and 1915 also affected his decision to write his book. When Washington received a copy of the book, he expressed to Holtzclaw his hope "that you have found that the book is very helpful in stirring up new friends and creating new interest in your good work."<sup>155</sup>

Holtzclaw's autobiography, as in the case of Washington and Edwards, was published in the North. One historian has called the Neale Publishing Company (New York City) "perhaps the most active white publisher of black authors between 1900 and 1920."<sup>156</sup> These authors included Kelly Miller, Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences at Howard University, William Pickens, Professor of Latin and Greek at Talladega College (Alabama), and John R. Lynch, a black congressman from

Mississippi during Reconstruction. Holtzclaw was in very esteemed company.<sup>157</sup>

IV. The Educational Philosophy of William H. Holtzclaw  
as Revealed in The Black Man's Burden

Ontology: The world of William H. Holtzclaw

In his autobiography, Holtzclaw provided a trenchant picture of the onerous life of the black tenant family and described the blunt realities of a miserly existence. Poverty was a way of life for Holtzclaw who disclosed that even before he assumed his full burden of farm work, he "had not been spared a realization of the narrowness and the dwarfing tendencies of the lives which the Negro farmer and their families were living."<sup>158</sup> Since his mother and father, like many ex-slaves turned sharecroppers, were illiterate, they were never able to refute the assertions that the plantation owner made in regard to their bills. Each year the landlord would advance the tenants provisions and charge from 25 to 200 percent according to the time of year.<sup>159</sup>

Lack of food became a real hardship: "I can well remember how at night we [Holtzclaw and his brothers and sisters] would often cry for food until falling here and there on the floor we would sob ourselves to sleep." When his mother, a cook for the "white folks," managed to bring home a "variety of scraps from the white folks table," Holtzclaw ate just as Washington did in slavery: "There was neither knife, fork, nor spook — nothing but the pan. We used our hands and sometimes in our haste dived head foremost into the pan..."<sup>160</sup>

Hunger was not the only problem that Holtzclaw endured. It was difficult to find shoes: "I never wore a pair of shoes until I was fifteen and when I did... I never wore them until the weather was cold...." Finding clothes was a similar problem for Holtzclaw: "Usually the only garment that we wore was a simple shirt. I never wore trousers until I got to be so large that the white neighbors complained of my insufficient clothes."<sup>161</sup>

Reality of aspiration Despite his impoverished lifestyle, Holtzclaw manifested a reality of aspiration. Holtzclaw perceived his father's attempts to press toward a more independent future when the elder Holtzclaw boldly decided to "strike out for himself" by risking his small savings in land rental for four years. Although his father failed at this venture, the effects of his father's quest for autonomy were profound: "The effort brought about a transformation in the spirits of the whole family. We all became better workers and for the first time began to take an interest in our work."<sup>162</sup>

Holtzclaw's reality of aspiration was also promoted by his parents' belief in education and their determination "that their children should have that blessing which they themselves had been deprived." Both parents promoted educational opportunities. Holtzclaw's father called a "meeting of the [black] men in the community and they agreed to build a schoolhouse themselves." His mother devised a plan to keep young Holtzclaw in the two-month school despite the wishes of the landlord that he stop school and pick cotton: "... when the landlord came to the quarters early in the morning to stir up the cotton pickers, she used to outgeneral him by hiding me behind the skillets, ovens, and

pots, throwing some old rags over me until he was gone...."<sup>163</sup> When he became too large to be conveniently hidden behind the pots and pans, Holtzclaw rotated with a brother in attending school.

Although he was hired out to a white man for wages in order to help support his family at the age of nineteen (1889), Holtzclaw gathered all the books he could find or borrow and hid them "in the white man's barn, where I spent every bit of my spare time trying to satisfy my desire for knowledge...." Holtzclaw's appetite for learning was stimulated further when he entered Tuskegee Institute at the age of twenty (1890): "I carried a book with me everywhere I went.... While driving my mules, with a load of wood, I would read until I had reached the place of unloading."<sup>164</sup>

Life at Tuskegee Institute affected Holtzclaw profoundly. He learned about the simple amenities of life at the age of twenty: "The first night when I went to bed... I found myself between two sheets, something I had never been accustomed to...." He regarded Tuskegee as a new beginning: "The truth is that I saw so many things there that I was bewildered, but as I looked about me it gradually dawned on me that I had at last found the looked-for opportunity."<sup>165</sup> Booker T. Washington's school nurtured the reality of aspiration that Holtzclaw's parents helped to instil.

Empirical reality When Holtzclaw graduated from Tuskegee Institute, he did not return home to teach as did Washington and Edwards. Instead, he taught for four years with Edwards at Snow Hill. He used this apprenticeship to survey conditions in the Black Belt of Alabama and to reconnoiter the rich delta lands of Mississippi in his three futile

trips to that state before he finally settled in Utica in 1902. He preferred, as did his Tuskegee and Snow Hill mentors, a reality that he discovered for himself: "In my travels I had an opportunity to see and examine at first hand... the Delta. I talked with its people to get their point of view in regard to the Negro." Holtzclaw "made observations" and "learned many interesting facts" before he started to build his school.<sup>166</sup> He regarded land in the South as the source of prosperity and the basis of black people's temporal existence. He distrusted urban life and claimed that black migration to Northern cities resulted in poverty and crime. The ownership of land in the South, however, led to tangible proof of progress for black people: "... the race that owns a due proportion of the soil and has improved it will receive the respect and encouragement of mankind."<sup>167</sup>

Change Holtzclaw consciously resolved to avoid reenactment of his parents' misery. He questioned whether the economic and social system under which he grew up was inevitably fixed. He recalled how his father once challenged the attitude of his landlord toward the latter's definition of work, one that applied one meaning to whites and a second to blacks: "At one time my father ventured to call his [landlord] attention to the fact that he was doing no work but he... firmly explained that he was doing more work in a day without a tool in his hand than my father was doing in a month." Holtzclaw's inclusion of this incident revealed his own skepticism as to the rightful place of the planter and the justice of his family's position and he maintained that "before I was fifteen years old I instinctively felt the injustice of the scheme."<sup>168</sup>

Holtzclaw envisioned himself as an agent of change. He viewed the black residents of Utica as a mass of seemingly passive participants, who enacted their lives according to the great weight of tradition carried over from the ante-bellum plantation system. Although he operated on the premise that blacks in his community were conditioned by habits learned under a system of rigid reinforcement, Holtzclaw argued that poverty in his community could be alleviated. Clearly echoing Washington's emphasis upon drawing "the line between the superficial and the substantial, the ornamental gewgaws of life and the useful,"<sup>169</sup> Holtzclaw likewise avowed that "our greatest effort... should be to teach the people to use their earnings for the substantial and not the ornamental things of life, - to teach them to depend upon themselves, to find in their own communities a means of progress and betterment...." Although Holtzclaw admitted that black people "have many things to hinder them," he paralleled this statement with the counterassertion that "nothing can stay our progress."<sup>170</sup>

Adjustment Holtzclaw acknowledged that white people influenced the progress of his people and that racial prejudice impinged upon his ontology of change: "It is evident that we shall be prosperous and happy in proportion to our ability to find a way to live in peace and harmony with our neighbors of the other race." He believed that the dynamics of race relations rested upon the ability of the white power group to grant favors and its simultaneous inhibition in affording full privileges. His main strategy was to win short-range gains by first reaching white leaders who could bestow power on blacks or could themselves use their power to change opinions of the white community.

Holtzclaw, unlike Edwards, saw black teachers as politicized individuals who "can get in touch with the white officials and press their cause" rather than as leaders who relied more directly upon the generosity of the old planter class represented by Randall O. Simpson, Edwards' patron."<sup>171</sup>

The Principal of Utica Institute advocated a social system that assumed neither white dominance nor black dependence. The power situation, then, became for Holtzclaw a compromise between black aggression and white suppression. A disguised kind of confrontation was allowed the black educational leader if he used prominent white leaders as liaisons between white and black public opinion. In one attempt to purchase land for his school, for example, Holtzclaw received a written ultimatum from over one hundred whites not to buy land near their community and he was advised to cancel negotiations with the prospective seller. He refused. A consensus of blacks insisted against his going through with the final proceedings. He refused. Holtzclaw, instead, urged a few white leaders to support him, and persuaded of his good intentions, they transferred their directions to the rest of the white community. The land became his.<sup>172</sup>

### Epistemology

Sources of knowledge It was not surprising that Holtzclaw accepted the notion that "what was most needed among my people was the training and development that Dr. Washington was giving to the people of Alabama - industrial education." He therefore shaped the educational program of his school to conform to the agrarian needs of black people:

"When I tell you that ninety-five percent of my people in the state of Mississippi are engaged in some form of agriculture, you will readily understand why we are careful to give accurate training in this particular subject."<sup>173</sup> Holtzclaw devised his program only after he confronted the economic realities that faced blacks in Mississippi at the turn of the century.

Holtzclaw conceived of knowledge as a transaction between learners and their environment. He seemed influenced by the abject poverty of his youth and concluded that an important end of education was "to make life more endurable." The Utica Institute Principal observed conditions in Mississippi comparable to those of his childhood and decided that his educational program must be divested of all nonessentials. He reminded his students and local black patrons of his school that "we must begin at the bottom instead of at the top; that there will be little permanent gain by 'short cut' methods; that we must stick to that which is fundamental and enduring."<sup>174</sup> Once Holtzclaw embraced the experiences and needs of poor black people as very important sources of knowledge, he claimed without reservation that "our school is distinctly industrial...." Unlike Edwards, his Snow Hill mentor, Holtzclaw seemed less interested in developing the academic or normal school training aspect of his school. There were no Latin or Greek courses at Utica Institute. There was no public acknowledgment, as in the case of Washington and Edwards, that industrial education was not meant to confine the ambitions nor set limits to the professional development of black people. Holtzclaw insisted that "we should do first things first

and that we should lay the foundation before we seek to erect the super-structure."<sup>175</sup>

Learning Holtzclaw emphasized direct personal experience in gaining knowledge. He endeavored to relate the outcomes of education to life situations in such a way that students could see the relation between the classroom and other activities. The Utica Principal claimed that he never lost an opportunity to impress upon his teachers the importance of training students "to study, analyze, and compare actual things and to use what they learn in the schoolroom to observe, reflect upon, and interpret life."<sup>176</sup> Holtzclaw encouraged the use of what he called the "concrete illustration" to appeal to the experiences of students. On one occasion he demonstrated this technique himself after he visited the classroom of a teacher new to Utica Institute and observed that the class was required to memorize "tables of measurements that they are then required to recite in a manner that sounded like a litany composed of the various measures." He then asked permission to take charge of the class for a few days.<sup>177</sup>

Holtzclaw, the teacher, took the class to the school farm, had them measure off an acre of potatoes, compute the number of bushels raised on that acre, and calculate the cost of raising them. The class then went to the boarding department where it learned what the school's daily consumption of sugar was, computed what this averaged for each student, and weighed out this amount. The class then returned to the farm, weighed a pig and calculated the amount that "the pig they had weighed would bring that day in the local market and not an imaginary pig or a pig in Chicago."<sup>178</sup>

This incident was similar to Washington's discovery about the "real difference between studying about things through the medium of books and studying things themselves without books" while teaching geography in Malden, West Virginia, after he graduated from Hampton Institute.<sup>179</sup> Holtzclaw's interest in connecting "schoolroom work with real life" was not surprising in light of his preference for a tangible and empirical reality. What was particularly significant was his contention that this approach was especially relevant to the education of black people: "There is often a better opportunity to do this kind of work, I am convinced, with a new race as mine is, whose ancestors for generations have not been educated in the old formal methods, than with a race that has much to unlearn."<sup>180</sup> Holtzclaw went further than Washington or Edwards in advocating a pedagogical method that he believed pertained especially to black people. The founder of Tuskegee Institute in Up from Slavery lauded the welding of theory and practice because his students displayed a lively interest in their school work as a result. The founder of Snow Hill Institute believed that knowledge became useful when students were actively "reacting and experiencing."<sup>181</sup> The founder of Utica Institute, however, not only accepted the reasoning of his two mentors, but also celebrated direct personal experiences in learning because of its relevance to his race.

### Axiology

Character building Holtzclaw made character building a definite part of his educational program. The Principal of Utica Institute emphasized the "simple virtues that constitute character - industriousness,

honesty, reliability, and punctuality." Although Holtzclaw believed that "knowledge of the good is easily taught," he also recognized that the "inclination to right conduct is quite another matter." Education could help build character and could "actually make better and more efficient men and women of Negroes."<sup>182</sup>

The "simple virtues" that comprised character were promoted in relation to the development of black people. Holtzclaw said, for example, that blacks must be reliable employees and shed "a reputation for being unreliable as workers." The truth or falsity of this reputation was immaterial, he felt, since "the results are the same when the failings of an individual are applied to the entire race." This situation could change if blacks developed "regular habits."<sup>183</sup> Holtzclaw admired the "regularity of a Booker T. Washington - he was as regular as a clock," and he emulated the Tuskegee Institute Principal by devising a strict daily schedule that encouraged study work habits that led to reliability. He criticized Utica Institute students who displayed any signs of unreliability: "Young men come here [Utica Institute] and want to work at this industry or that, for awhile, and then get tired and want to change to something else...."<sup>184</sup>

Holtzclaw was convinced that the disciplined routine of his school not only taught reliable work habits, but actually transformed the basic nature of his students. Life at Utica Institute, he believed, could completely regenerate its student body: "I like to watch a girl, who enters school so crude as to seem almost deformed, pass from one stage to another until she stands forth on Commencement Day literally

transformed in soul and body - a new creature, because of the new atmosphere in which she has been permitted to live."<sup>185</sup>

Community reformation Holtzclaw aimed to reform much more than a school. In his hands, the surrounding community became subject to moral regeneration. While Holtzclaw promoted character development on his campus, he also believed that his school should concern itself with "all the fundamental interests of the community and seek by all worthy means to effect improvements in its life." He used the extension activities of his school - the Teachers' Extension Service, the Negro Farmers' Conference, the Black Belt Improvement Society, and the Community Court of Justice - "to get a firm grip on the people." He regarded his teachers as moral agents: "the work of our teachers has been enlarged until the whole county of Hinds is now under the practical moral charge of the teachers of our school."<sup>186</sup>

Holtzclaw not only claimed that his teachers changed the "tone of the community," but that the graduates of Utica Institute regenerated black community life by acting as "a sort of home missionary." He offered as an example a young woman graduate who "penetrated the darkness of a community and relieved it of ignorance and immorality." This woman went among the people "advising here and reprimanding there." The results were dramatic, according to her mentor: "the people became more responsive to efforts for their improvement and showed more concern about crime in their midst." Holtzclaw concluded that "It is this kind of work, done by the young men and women who we are able to send out from time to time, that will bring about the salvation of our people in the rural districts."<sup>187</sup>

Religion In addition to stressing the social regeneration of community life, Holtzclaw occasionally appealed to the "religiosity" of his students. He alluded in his autobiography to his institution's ties with God and Christianity by describing the required religious routines of his school. At Utica Institute, mid-week devotional services were conducted, while practically the entire Sabbath was devoted to religious worship. The Christian Endeavor Society met every Sunday morning at eight o'clock, a church service followed at eleven, and Sunday School convened at three o'clock in the afternoon. Every Sunday evening a "semi-religious service" was held in Booker T. Washington Hall.<sup>188</sup>

Holtzclaw did not have to battle with a local church over the founding of school as did Edwards. He acknowledged, in fact, the assistance of "A. C. Carter, head deacon of the Baptist Church, an influential man in the community who I was told usually made and unmade both the preachers and the teachers in his community." Holtzclaw also provided a brief assessment of the power of the black clergy from the perspective of a school founder: "If you cannot get on with the colored preachers in a place, your chances of success are slim in that community."<sup>189</sup> The Utica Principal did not indicate that his school made any provision for the continuing education of black ministers such as the Phelps Hall Bible Training School started by Washington at Tuskegee Institute.

## V. Summary

Holtzclaw devised a program of practical education based upon the realities of life for black people in Mississippi and decided to institutionalize the "Tuskegee Spirit." A study of some of the salient features of Utica Institute, the association between Holtzclaw, Washington, and Scott, as well as an analysis of The Black Man's Burden, disclosed how assiduously Holtzclaw claimed Tuskegee Institute as the model to follow in his work. The kind of leadership Washington provided for Tuskegee Institute was the kind of leadership that Holtzclaw wanted to provide for his own educational enterprise. Neither graduation from Tuskegee nor leaving Alabama meant an end to Holtzclaw's ties to his alma mater. As Hampton Institute provided Washington with faculty members, so Tuskegee Institute provided Holtzclaw with personnel to staff his school. Utica Institute became an outpost of Tuskegee Institute influence. When Monroe Nathan Work reported that by 1910 sixteen industrial schools "have been directly founded by graduates and former students of Tuskegee Institute, he also noted that Holtzclaw's school was the only one of these schools located in Mississippi.<sup>190</sup>

At the base of Holtzclaw's educational philosophy was his concept of education as a process of regeneration. Holtzclaw embraced change; he remembered his sharecropping family's efforts to be independent in a world of enforced dependence. His ontology included a belief in growth and aspiration within the tangible realities of a predominantly black rural environment and a racially hostile society. He preferred an empirical reality. He toured the Mississippi Delta, surveyed the

conditions and special needs of black people, and found poverty and ignorance. Holtzclaw was convinced that blacks needed schooling with more than the usual booklearning.

He believed that what his people needed was industrial education instead of education for the sake of culture. Holtzclaw designed his educational program to fit blacks to live in the South and improve their economic condition. He seemed less interested than Washington and Edwards in also developing a black professional class. Utica Normal and Industrial Institute was less "normal" than "industrial," while the industries that were taught primarily related to an agrarian society.

Holtzclaw believed also in a broad definition of education and consequently he led his school in undertaking numerous educational activities outside its walls. He became an impresario of educational outreach. The Teachers' Extension Service, the Black Belt Improvement Society, the Negro Farmers' Conferences, and the Community Court of Justice were monuments to Holtzclaw's conviction that education, in order to be relevant, must serve the needs of the people for whom it was designed. Holtzclaw accepted the proposition of his two mentors, Washington and Edwards, that education for the masses of southern blacks at the opening of this century must provide them with the means to understand their environment and to overcome the poverty in which they found themselves. Holtzclaw was an educator of his community: "From the beginning, the aim of the institution has been to make itself a power for good in this community...."<sup>191</sup>

The genesis of Utica Institute and the experiences of Holtzclaw as a school founder differed from the experiences of Washington and

Edwards. Washington was twenty-five years old when he accepted a call to Macon County, Alabama, to build Tuskegee Normal School, the result of a political collaboration of blacks and whites. Edwards returned to his home immediately after graduation from Tuskegee Institute and started his school in a familiar setting when he was twenty-four years old. Holtzclaw was thirty-three years old when he founded his school. Perhaps, the fact that Holtzclaw had taught for three years in Georgia and worked at Snow Hill Institute for four years enabled him to endure the frustrations that he encountered in finding a community conducive for his work. Despite the differences in experiences, however, the three Tuskegee Institute-affiliated educators preferred to develop private schooling for black people. Washington got the charter of his school changed from public to private twelve years (1893) after its founding. Edwards started a nondenominational private school without apparently considering a position in public education. Holtzclaw only worked in a public school for one year until he developed his plans for an independent school.

Holtzclaw, as did his Tuskegee and Snow Hill mentors, dealt with the process of social change by assuming that it was possible for conscious purposes to play a normative role. He realized that human purpose could not be achieved independently from the experiences that had been built into individual and group life. He accepted character building as a legitimate task besides industrial education to produce "Negro men and women who shall exemplify the highest type of life."<sup>192</sup> As a progeny of Tuskegee Institute, Holtzclaw tried to cultivate

individual ability to live above the difficulties of caste and transcend by means of a land-based black self-sufficiency what could not be immediately transformed.

## FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup>August Meier, Negro Thought in America, 1880-1915: Racial Ideologies in the Age of Booker T. Washington (Ann Arbor, Michigan: The University of Michigan Press, 1963), p. 124. Meier said that Washington used the term "Spirit of Tuskegee" frequently to indicate his educational efforts to uplift black people.

<sup>2</sup>Louis R. Harlan defined the "Tuskegee Machine," a term used often by Emmett Jay Scott, personal secretary to Washington, as "an intricate, nation-wide web of institutions in the black community that was conducted, dominated, or strongly influenced from the little town in the deep South where Washington had his base." See Louis R. Harlan, Booker T. Washington, The Making of a Black Leader, 1856-1901 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972), p. 254.

<sup>3</sup>Booker T. Washington, ed., Tuskegee and its People: Their Ideals and Achievements (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1905; reprint ed., New York: Negro Universities Press, 1969), p. 5.

<sup>4</sup>William H. Holtzclaw, The Black Man's Burden (New York: The Neale Publishing Company, 1915), p. 13. Holtzclaw, in contrast to William J. Edwards, was not born or raised in a predominantly black county. Roanoke, Alabama, had 353 blacks (20 percent) out of a total population of 1,750 in 1870. Randolph County, where Roanoke was located, had 1,641 blacks (14 percent) in a total population of 12,006. See U.S., Department of Interior, Census Office, Ninth Census of the United States, 1870: Population, 1: 12, 81.

<sup>5</sup>William H. Holtzclaw, "A Negro's Life Story," World's Work 12 (September 1906): 7990. For a brief sketch of Holtzclaw's life see Clement Richardson, ed., The National Cyclopedia of the Colored Race (Montgomery, Ala.: National Publishing Company, 1919), p. 450. One of Holtzclaw's sons has written a biography of his father. See R. Fulton Holtzclaw, William Henry Holtzclaw, Scholar in Ebony (Cleveland: Dillon/Liederbach, Inc., 1977). There are no personal papers of William H. Holtzclaw preserved at the institution that he founded. See Annie Harper, Librarian, Utica Junior College, to Arnold Cooper, 8 June 1982, Personal Files of Arnold Cooper, Ridgeland, South Carolina.

<sup>6</sup>Holtzclaw, "A Negro's Life Story," p. 7990.

<sup>7</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 7991. No further information about this incident was found. There was no mention of Holtzclaw's application in the Booker T. Washington Papers.

<sup>8</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>9</sup>Booker T. Washington remembered that "Like most of the students of that day... he [Holtzclaw] had had little preparation before entering

Tuskegee and he was therefore compelled to begin at the very bottom and work his way up." See Holtzclaw, The Black Man's Burden, p. 7. It is interesting to note that William J. Edwards was placed directly into the normal school curriculum at Tuskegee except for the subject of grammar that he took on the Preparatory School level. Edwards went to school four months a year prior to coming to Tuskegee and also read as much as he could during the three years of his illness.

<sup>10</sup>Holtzclaw, The Black Man's Burden, pp. 52-53. Holtzclaw had completed his first year of normal school training before he had to leave Tuskegee Institute. Unfortunately, little detail about his first teaching position was provided and it was not possible to develop this episode in his life any further.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid., p. 61.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid., p. 62. Washington referred to the 1898 class motto in Washington, Tuskegee, p. 263. Edwards 1894 class motto was "Deeds Not Words."

<sup>13</sup>Ibid.

<sup>14</sup>Holtzclaw, "A Negro's Life Story," p. 7992.

<sup>15</sup>Holtzclaw, The Black Man's Burden, p. 64.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid., pp. 64-65.

<sup>17</sup>Ibid., pp. 65-66.

<sup>18</sup>William H. Holtzclaw, "A School Principal's Story," in Tuskegee and its People: Their Ideals and Achievements, ed. Booker T. Washington (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1905; reprint ed., New York: Negro Universities Press, 1969), p. 132.

<sup>19</sup>Holtzclaw, The Black Man's Burden, p. 70. Mound Bayou is an all-black town founded in 1887 by Isaiah T. Montgomery, a former slave of Joseph E. Davis, brother of Jefferson Davis. The Mississippi Delta is located in the northwestern part of the State of Mississippi and Bolivar County, where Mound Bayou is located, had 31,197 blacks (88 percent) and 4,197 whites in 1900. See Louis R. Harlan, ed., The Booker T. Washington Papers, 12 vols. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1972-1982), 3 (1974): 84-85; U.S., Department of Interior, Census Office, Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900: Population, 1: 545.

<sup>20</sup>Holtzclaw, The Black Man's Burden, p. 66. Italics mine.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid., p. 86.

<sup>22</sup>William H. Holtzclaw to Booker T. Washington, 19 August 1902, Box 198, BTW Papers. Holtzclaw's son also mentioned his father's suspicion of white support for the education of blacks in Mississippi: "Father would never consider accepting any funds from the public treasury, lest the State assume powers in the school's administration. Utica remained a private school as long as Father lived." See Holtzclaw, William Henry Holtzclaw, p. 218.

<sup>23</sup>There were three black private schools in Jackson, Mississippi, thirty miles northeast of Utica: an elementary school operated by the Holy Ghost Fathers, an Order of the Catholic Church, an elementary-secondary school supported by the African Methodist Episcopal Church, and a similar school affiliated with the American Baptist Home Mission Society. The American Missionary Association of the Congregational Church operated an elementary school in Clinton, four miles west of Jackson, and an elementary-secondary school as part of Tougaloo College in Tougaloo, five miles north of Utica. The Christian Woman's Board of Methodist Missions operated an elementary-secondary school in Edwards, Mississippi, twenty-five miles northwest of Utica. See Thomas Jesse Jones, ed., Negro Education: A Study of the Private and Higher Schools for Colored People in the United States, Bureau of Education Bulletin No. 39, 1916, 2 vols. (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1917), 2: 351-358.

<sup>24</sup>Emma C. Penney, "A Light in the Black Belt of Mississippi," Alexander's Magazine 5 (November 15, 1907): 25. Penney was a teacher at Utica Institute.

<sup>25</sup>Holtzclaw, The Black Man's Burden, p. 97; Charter of Incorporation of the Utica Normal and Industrial Institute, 25 November 1903, copy in the Office of Secretary of State, State of Mississippi, Jackson, Mississippi.

<sup>26</sup>Penney, "A Light in the Black Belt," p. 26.

<sup>27</sup>Holtzclaw, The Black Man's Burden, p. 122.

<sup>28</sup>U.S., Department of Interior, Census Office, Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900: Population, 1: 545. There were 13,037 whites and 39,531 blacks living in Hinds County in 1900; U.S., Department of Interior, Census Office, Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910: Population, 2: 1048. There were 18,313 whites and 45,407 blacks living in Hinds County in 1910. The racial composition of Utica was not given in the United States Census.

<sup>29</sup>Holtzclaw, "A Principal's Story," p. 129.

<sup>30</sup>Penney, "A Light in the Black Belt," p. 27; William H. Holtzclaw to "My Dear Friend," 3 June 1908, Box 372, BTW Papers.

<sup>31</sup>Penney, "A Light in the Black Belt," pp. 25-27; Booker T. Washington to William H. Holtzclaw, 20 February 1909, Box 894, BTW Papers.

<sup>32</sup>Henry Allen Bullock, A History of Negro Education in the South from 1619 to the Present (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967), pp. 71-74.

<sup>33</sup>C. Vann Woodward, Origins of the New South, 1877-1913 (Baton Rouge, La.: Louisiana State University Press, 1951), p. 212.

<sup>34</sup>Stuart Grayson Noble, Forty Years of the Public Schools in Mississippi (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1918), pp. 53-54.

<sup>35</sup>Ibid., pp. 141-142.

<sup>36</sup>Bullock, A History of Negro Education, pp. 180-181.

<sup>37</sup>U.S., Department of Interior, Census Office, Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910: Population, 2: 1048. The Census Office defined illiteracy as the inability to read and write.

<sup>38</sup>Eugene E. White, "Anti-Racial Agitation in Politics: James Kimble Vardaman in the Mississippi Gubernatorial Campaign of 1903," Journal of Mississippi History 7 (April 1945): 91-110.

<sup>39</sup>Cited by Noble, Forty Years, p. 96. Italics mine.

<sup>40</sup>Ibid., p. 111.

<sup>41</sup>Albert D. Kirwan, Revolt of the Rednecks, Mississippi Politics, 1876-1925 (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1951), pp. 147-148.

<sup>42</sup>Holtzclaw, The Black Man's Burden, pp. 97-99. Unfortunately, Holtzclaw provided no specific names of those who constituted his first Board of Trustees. Holtzclaw had a tendency to list "Trustees" and "References" together on his stationary without distinguishing between the two designations. Holtzclaw did describe the local blacks who sat on his first Board: "These men were all farmers. All except two were tenant farmers.... They were unassuming, hardworking, and honest individuals." See Black Man's Burden, p. 100. It was possible that Holtzclaw benefited from the influence of Booker T. Washington in getting whites from the North to become members of the Utica Board of Trustees. It also appeared likely that Holtzclaw worked diligently during his first year at Utica in order to be in a position to assemble his Board of Trustees by November 1903.

<sup>43</sup>Booker T. Washington, "A Cheerful Journey through Mississippi," World's Work 17 (February 1909): 11280; William Pickens, "Utica," The Independent 72 (February 22, 1912): 406.

<sup>44</sup>"Utica Institute," Natchez (Miss.) Democrat, 5 March 1908, p. 5. Italics mine.

<sup>45</sup>Holtzclaw, The Black Man's Burden, p. 159. Holtzclaw purchased 1500 acres of land in 1910 and moved his school five miles southwest of the town of Utica.

<sup>46</sup>William H. Holtzclaw to Booker T. Washington, 14 February 1911, Box 406, BTW Papers.

<sup>47</sup>Thirty Years of Lynching in the United States, 1889-1918 (New York: National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 1919), pp. 35, 77-78. The lynchings in Hinds County occurred in 1899 (2), 1901 (1), and 1906 (1). None occurred in Utica.

<sup>48</sup>William H. Holtzclaw to E. F. Noel, 6 June 1909, Box 68, E. F. Noel Papers, Mississippi Department of Archives and History, Jackson, Mississippi.

<sup>49</sup>Ibid.

<sup>50</sup>E. F. Noel to William H. Holtzclaw, 13 June 1909, Box 68, E. F. Noel Papers, Mississippi Department of Archives and History, Jackson, Mississippi.

<sup>51</sup>Thirty Years of Lynching, p. 79.

<sup>52</sup>Postcard sent to Booker T. Washington, Box 894, BTW Papers.

<sup>53</sup>William H. Holtzclaw to Emmett Jay Scott, 10 November 1913, Box 478, BTW Papers.

<sup>54</sup>Holtzclaw, The Black Man's Burden, p. 102.

<sup>55</sup>Holtzclaw, "A School Principal's Story," pp. 137-138.

<sup>56</sup>Ibid., p. 139; Penney, "A Light in the Black Belt," p. 25; William H. Holtzclaw to Booker T. Washington, 2 June 1908, BTW Papers.

<sup>57</sup>U.S., Bureau of Education, Report of the Commissioner of Education for the Year 1908-1909, 2: 1116-1117; U.S., Bureau of Education, Report of the Commissioner of Education for the Year 1909-1910, 2: 1268-1269; U.S., Bureau of Education, Report of the Commissioner of Education for the Year 1910-1911, 2: 1296-1297; U.S., Bureau of Education, Report of the Commissioner of Education for the Year 1911-1912, 2: 584-585; U.S., Bureau of Education, Report of the Commissioner of Education for the Year 1912-1913, 2: 616; U.S., Bureau of Education, Report of the Commissioner of Education for the Year 1914-1915, 2: 595. The drop in enrollment from 1911-1912 to 1914-1915 may have been related in some way to the financial problems that faced Utica Institute. The total income, for example, of Holtzclaw's school for 1911-1912 was

reported to be \$22,243 but this figure declined to \$14,170 for the 1914-1915 school year. Holtzclaw had the same difficulties that William J. Edwards had in raising money from Northern philanthropists when World War I started.

<sup>58</sup>U.S., Bureau of Education, Report of the Commissioner of Education for the Year 1908-1909, 2: 1116; U.S., Bureau of Education, Report of the Commissioner of Education for the Year 1914-1915, 2: 595. At Snow Hill Institute, female enrollment comprised as much as 56 percent in 1906-1907 and as little as 53 percent in 1912-1913.

<sup>59</sup>U.S., Bureau of Education, Report of the Commissioner of Education for the Year 1908-1909, 2: 1116; U.S., Bureau of Education, Report of the Commissioner of Education for the Year 1909-1910, 2: 1268; U.S., Bureau of Education, Report of the Commissioner of Education for the Year 1914-1915, 2: 595. Utica Institute did not report enrollment for normal school students separately from secondary school students. All students above the elementary grades (1-8) were "Secondary School and Normal Students." It was, therefore, not possible to discern what percentage of the secondary students strictly pursued a teacher training program and what percentage studied an industrial education course.

<sup>60</sup>U.S., Bureau of Education, Report of the Commissioner of Education for the Year 1908-1909, 2: 1117; U.S., Bureau of Education, Report of the Commissioner of Education for the Year 1911-1912, 2: 585. It was possible that the fluctuation in the school year was related to a loss of income experienced by Utica Institute. When the school year was thirty-two weeks in 1908-1909, income for the school year was \$29,036. When the school year was twenty-six weeks in 1911-1912, income had fallen to \$22,243.

<sup>61</sup>Holtzclaw, The Black Man's Burden, p. 103.

<sup>62</sup>Ibid., p. 105.

<sup>63</sup>Ibid., p. 106.

<sup>64</sup>Lizette Strong to George Washington Carver, 23 January 1905, Reel 3, Series II, Microfilm Edition of the George Washington Carver Papers, Tuskegee Institute Archives, Tuskegee Institute, Alabama.

<sup>65</sup>Jones, Negro Education, 2: 348. Students who could not afford to pay for their room and board attended classes at night and worked during the day as did students at Tuskegee and Snow Hill. No information about boarding fees was found.

<sup>66</sup>Holtzclaw, The Black Man's Burden, p. 222. Italics mine. Holtzclaw indicated that this schedule was in operation by Fall 1904.

<sup>67</sup>Ibid., p. 106.

<sup>68</sup>Ibid.

<sup>69</sup>Penney, "A Light in the Black Belt," p. 26. Italics mine.

<sup>70</sup>Charles Alexander, "Down in Mississippi," Alexander's Magazine 7 (February 15, 1909): 177.

<sup>71</sup>Cited by Monroe Nathan Work, Industrial Work of Tuskegee Graduates and Former Students during the Year 1910 (Tuskegee Institute, Ala.: Institute Press, 1911), p. 57. William J. Edwards had reported thirty-seven graduates out of 500 students during the first twelve years (1893-1903) of Snow Hill Institute.

<sup>72</sup>Ibid. Holtzclaw claimed in his autobiography that by 1915 "about six hundred young men and women have been educated and sent into various parts of the state...." See The Black Man's Burden, p. 222. William J. Edwards indicated that by 1915 at least 1,000 students had attended Snow Hill Institute in the twenty-four years of its existence. See William J. Edwards, Twenty-Five Years in the Black Belt (Boston: The Cornhill Company, 1915), p. 8.

<sup>73</sup>Work, Industrial Work, p. 57. Holtzclaw did not name the student who established the Spring Hill Normal and Industrial School in Florence, Mississippi, about twenty-five miles east of Utica in Hinds County. In 1907, G. W. Williams, a graduate of Utica, established the Mississippi Industrial High School at Crystal Springs, Mississippi, eighteen miles southeast of Utica in Copiah County.

<sup>74</sup>Jones, Negro Education, 2: 348.

<sup>75</sup>Charles Alexander, "Tuskegee Graduates and their Achievements," Alexander's Magazine 2 (May 1906): 97; Penney, "A Light in the Black Belt," p. 25.

<sup>76</sup>See letterhead on stationary used by Laurence C. Jones to Director of the Roger's Fund, Tuskegee Institute, 29 March 1909, Box 153, BTW Papers.

<sup>77</sup>Jones, Negro Education, 2: 348.

<sup>78</sup>Holtzclaw, The Black Man's Burden, pp. 119-120.

<sup>79</sup>Penney, "A Light in the Black Belt," p. 25; Jones, Negro Education, 2: 348.

<sup>80</sup>William H. Holtzclaw to "My Dear Friend," 3 June 1908, Box 372, BTW Papers; William H. Holtzclaw to Booker T. Washington, 24 June 1908, Box 372, BTW Papers.

<sup>81</sup>William H. Holtzclaw to Emmett Jay Scott, 10 November 1913, Box 478, BTW Papers. Holtzclaw informed Scott that Utica Institute

was first prize for the best hog, chickens, and ducks "exhibited by a Negro school."

<sup>82</sup>Jones, Negro Education, 2: 348-349.

<sup>83</sup>Holtzclaw, The Black Man's Burden, p. 120.

<sup>84</sup>Ibid., p. 121.

<sup>85</sup>Holtzclaw, The Black Man's Burden, p. 98; Holtzclaw, "A School Principal's Story, p. 139; Penney, "A Light in the Black Belt," p. 25.

<sup>86</sup>U.S., Bureau of Education, Report of the Commissioner of Education for the Year 1911-1912, 2: 584; U.S., Bureau of Education, Report of the Commissioner of Education for the Year 1914-1915, 2: 595.

<sup>87</sup>H. D. Slatter, "Noble Work in the Black Belt," Alexander's Magazine 1 (May 15, 1905): 20.

<sup>88</sup>See letterhead on stationary used by Laurence C. Jones to Director of the Roger's Fund, Tuskegee Institute, 29 March 1909, Box 153, BTW Papers; Work, Industrial Work, p. 56. Holtzclaw's son noted that his mother became the postmistress when a United States Post Office was established on the Utica campus in 1913. See Holtzclaw, William Henry Holtzclaw, p. 224.

<sup>89</sup>Jones, Negro Education, 2: 348.

<sup>90</sup>Holtzclaw, The Black Man's Burden, p. 98; Lizette Strong to George Washington Carver, 23 January 1905, Reel 3, Series II, Microfilm Edition of the George Washington Carver Papers, Tuskegee Institute Archives, Tuskegee Institute, Alabama.

<sup>91</sup>See letterhead on stationary used by Laurence C. Jones to Director of the Roger's Fund, Tuskegee Institute, 29 March 1909, Box 153, BTW Papers.

<sup>92</sup>Holtzclaw, The Black Man's Burden, p. 164.

<sup>93</sup>Slatter, "Noble Work in the Black Belt," p. 20. Tougaloo was founded by the American Missionary Association in 1869 as a four-year normal school that also offered some industrial training. See The Moton Guide to American Colleges with a Black Heritage (Washington, D.C.: Robert R. Moton Memorial Institute, 1978), p. 57.

<sup>94</sup>See letterhead on stationary used by Laurence C. Jones to Director of the Roger's Fund, Tuskegee Institute, 29 March 1909, Box 153, BTW Papers. Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee, was founded by the American Missionary Association in 1866; Mary Holmes College, West Point, Mississippi, was a two-year institution founded by the United Presbyterian Church in 1892; Wilberforce University, Wilberforce, Ohio,

was founded by the African Methodist Episcopal Church in 1856; and Alcorn State College, Lorman, Mississippi, was founded as the black land-grant college for Mississippi in 1871. Laurence C. Jones was the faculty member who graduated from the University of Iowa. See The Moton Guide, pp. 19, 30, 41, 60.

<sup>95</sup>Pickens, "Utica," pp. 405-406. Pickens was a professor of Latin and Greek at Talladega College, a four-year historically black college founded by the American Missionary Association in 1867.

<sup>96</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 407.

<sup>97</sup>Holtzclaw, The Black Man's Burden, p. 197. Although no references to the salaries of Utica faculty were found, Holtzclaw's son indicated that his father's salary was set in 1903 at \$2,500 a year and that this figure remained constant through recession, depression, and inflation for forty years." See Holtzclaw, William Henry Holtzclaw, pp. 85-86.

<sup>98</sup>Jones, Negro Education, 2: 349. \$3,051 was owed to teachers for unpaid salaries.

<sup>99</sup>William H. Holtzclaw to Booker T. Washington, 21 January 1908, Box 32, BTW Papers. Holtzclaw said in his autobiography that the Teachers' Extension Movement still existed in 1915. See Holtzclaw, The Black Man's Burden, p. 138.

<sup>100</sup>Holtzclaw, "A School Principal's Story," p. 138.

<sup>101</sup>"Progress of Negro in Mississippi," Jackson (Miss.) Daily News, 12 February 1909, p. 2. Holtzclaw provided some examples of the testimonies of black farmers at the Utica Negro Farmers' Conferences in his autobiography. See Holtzclaw, The Black Man's Burden, pp. 146-151. The Farmers' Conferences were held in February of each year.

<sup>102</sup>Holtzclaw, The Black Man's Burden, pp. 134-135.

<sup>103</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 136.

<sup>104</sup>See footnote 61 in Chapter 2 for the objectives of the Black Belt Improvement Society as Edwards listed them in Tuskegee and its People; Holtzclaw, The Black Man's Burden, pp. 136-137.

<sup>105</sup>Holtzclaw, The Black Man's Burden, p. 139.

<sup>106</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 140.

<sup>107</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>108</sup>William H. Holtzclaw to "My Dear Friend," 3 June 1908, Box 372, BTW Papers.

<sup>109</sup>Jones, Negro Education, 2: 348. The normal course at Tuskegee and Snow Hill was four years. See page 165 of this chapter for a listing of the five industrial courses for males and the six industrial courses for females offered at Utica in 1915.

<sup>110</sup>Ibid., p. 349.

<sup>111</sup>Ibid. The Slater Fund was established by the Norwich, Connecticut, textile industrialist, John F. Slater, in 1882 to assist public and private black schools in the South.

<sup>112</sup>Holtzclaw cited by Penney, "A Light in the Black Belt," p. 26. William H. Holtzclaw died in 1943. In 1946, the school became the Hinds County Agricultural High School and lost its private status. Nine years later (1955), the school was again reorganized as Utica Junior College, a public two-year college. See Sam Cobbins, "Industrial Education for Black Americans in Mississippi, 1862-1965" (Ed.D. dissertation, Mississippi State University, 1975), pp. 89-91.

<sup>113</sup>Holtzclaw, The Black Man's Burden, pp. 62, 67-68.

<sup>114</sup>Ibid., pp. 114, 119; see letterhead on stationary used by William H. Holtzclaw to Emmett Jay Scott, 18 March 1906, Microfilm Reel #52, BTW Papers.

<sup>115</sup>Holtzclaw, The Black Man's Burden, p. 67. See Part II of Chapter 2 for Edwards' perspective on his relationship with Holtzclaw.

<sup>116</sup>William H. Holtzclaw to Booker T. Washington, 19 November 1902, Box 198, BTW Papers.

<sup>117</sup>William H. Holtzclaw to Booker T. Washington, 10 February 1904, Box 321, BTW Papers; Booker T. Washington to William H. Holtzclaw, 8 June 1904, Box 372 and William H. Holtzclaw to Booker T. Washington, 10 June 1908, Box 372, BTW Papers. Holtzclaw organized the Utica Singers in 1904. His friend, William J. Edwards, had organized a similar group in 1902. Holtzclaw received his largest donation since he started touring the North in 1904 when F. B. Ginn of Ginn and Publishers of Boston gave him \$500 in 1907. He attributed this donation to Washington's influence. See Holtzclaw, The Black Man's Burden, pp. 112-113.

<sup>118</sup>William H. Holtzclaw to Booker T. Washington, 2 June 1908, Box 372, BTW Papers; William H. Holtzclaw to My Dear Friend, 3 June 1908, Box 372, BTW Papers.

<sup>119</sup>William H. Holtzclaw to Booker T. Washington, 14 February 1909, Box 894, BTW Papers; Booker T. Washington to William H. Holtzclaw, 20 February 1909, Box 894, BTW Papers.

<sup>120</sup>Booker T. Washington to Jacob Henry Schiff, 18 September 1909, cited by Harlan, The Booker T. Washington Papers, 10 (1981): 175-176.

<sup>121</sup>Booker T. Washington to Sarah Newlin, 4 December 1909, cited by Harlan, The Booker T. Washington Papers, 10 (1981): 241.

<sup>122</sup>William H. Holtzclaw to Booker T. Washington, 10 June 1910, Box 406, BTW Papers; Booker T. Washington to William H. Holtzclaw, 16 June 1910, Box 406, BTW Papers.

<sup>123</sup>Booker T. Washington to E. H. Paul [Private Secretary to Jacob Henry Schiff], 28 July 1910, cited by Harlan, The Booker T. Washington Papers, 10 (1981): 357.

<sup>124</sup>William H. Holtzclaw to Booker T. Washington, 5 August 1910, Box 406, BTW Papers; Booker T. Washington to William H. Holtzclaw, 8 August 1910, Box 406, BTW Papers.

<sup>125</sup>William H. Holtzclaw to Booker T. Washington, 19 June 1908, Box 372, BTW Papers.

<sup>126</sup>Booker T. Washington to William H. Holtzclaw, 27 February 1915, Box 940, BTW Papers.

<sup>127</sup>William H. Holtzclaw to Booker T. Washington, 23 April 1915, Box 940, BTW Papers.

<sup>128</sup>Utica Institute was not listed as one of the schools that Park visited in 1913. See Robert E. Park, "Itinerary of Visit to Schools, 1913," Box 66, BTW Papers.

<sup>129</sup>William H. Holtzclaw to Booker T. Washington, 14 February 1913, Box 478, BTW Papers; Booker T. Washington to William H. Holtzclaw, 19 February 1913, Box 478, BTW Papers.

<sup>130</sup>H. T. Kealing, "Booker T. Washington's Tour through Mississippi a New Form of University Extension," Alexander's Magazine 7 (November 15, 1908): 35. Kealing was the black editor of the A.M.E. Church Review published in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; Washington, "A Cheerful Journey," pp. 11280-11281. The Negro Business League of Mississippi had invited Washington to tour Mississippi to learn firsthand of the progress of black people there.

<sup>131</sup>Holtzclaw, The Black Man's Burden, pp. 167-172.

<sup>132</sup>Louis R. Harlan, Booker T. Washington, pp. 260-261. Unfortunately, there is no extant correspondence between Scott and Holtzclaw in the Emmett Jay Scott Collection at the Soper Library of Morgan State University. See Victoria J. Punsalan, Special Collections Librarian, Morgan State University, 18 October 1982, Personal Files of Arnold Cooper, Ridgeland, South Carolina.

<sup>133</sup>Emmett Jay Scott to Julius Rosenwald, 29 April 1912, Box 456, BTW Papers. Italics mine; William H. Holtzclaw to Emmett Jay Scott, 2 May 1912, Box 456, BTW Papers.

<sup>134</sup>Julius Rosenwald to William H. Holtzclaw, 2 May 1912, Box 456, BTW Papers.

<sup>135</sup>William H. Holtzclaw to Emmett Jay Scott, 6 May 1912, Box 456, BTW Papers.

<sup>136</sup>Emmett Jay Scott to William H. Holtzclaw, 2 May 1915, Box 932, BTW Papers; Emmett Jay Scott to William H. Holtzclaw, 6 May 1915, Box 940, BTW Papers. The Phelps Stokes Fund was established in 1911 in accordance with the will of Carolina Phelps Stokes, heiress of a real estate fortune in New York City. The Fund manifested a special interest in black education in the South. See Anson Phelps Stokes, Tuskegee Institute: The First Fifty Years (Tuskegee, Ala.: Tuskegee Institute Press, 1931), p. 92.

<sup>137</sup>Henry Snyder Enck, "The Burden Borne: Northern White Philanthropy and Southern Black Industrial Education, 1900-1915" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Cincinnati, 1970), p. 456.

<sup>138</sup>Ibid., p. 456; U.S., Bureau of Education, Report of the Commissioner of Education for the Year 1913-1914, 2: 565; U.S., Bureau of Education, Report of the Commissioner of Education for the Year 1914-1915, 2: 595. The total income for Utica was \$14,170 for 1914-1915 compared to \$17,712, in 1913-1914.

<sup>139</sup>See letterhead of the ANISS on stationary used by Leslie Pinckney Hill to Oscar Garrison Villard, 2 November 1917, Folder #1323, Oscar Garrison Villard Papers, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

<sup>140</sup>Enck, "The Burden Borne," p. 459. Enck indicated that the most prominent white advocate of the ANISS was Oscar Garrison Villard, a white founder of the NAACP, grandson of William Lloyd Garrison, the abolitionist, a close associate of W. E. B. Dubois, and editor of the New York Evening Post at the time that the ANISS was founded. Louis R. Harlan maintained that Villard once supported Booker T. Washington but became disillusioned with Washington's conservative racial approach and that the relationship between the two men "cooled" by 1908. See Harlan, The Papers of Booker T. Washington, 5 (1976): 255. Enck was the only historian found who mentioned the ANISS and he did not provide much information. There is no extant correspondence between Villard and Holtzclaw or William J. Edwards in the Villard Papers. See Bridget P. Carr, Librarian, Manuscript Department, The Houghton Library, Harvard University, to Arnold Cooper, 15 January 1982, Personal Files of Arnold Cooper, Ridgeland, South Carolina.

<sup>141</sup>Emmett Jay Scott to William H. Holtzclaw, 3 October 1914, Box 478, BTW Papers. Italics mine.

<sup>142</sup>Enck, "The Burden Borne," pp. 458-459. Leslie Pinckney Hill was a black graduate of Harvard University who had taught at Tuskegee Institute from 1904 to 1907 and who was fired by Washington in 1907 because he disagreed with the increased industrial education focus of the school. Hill was President of the Institute for Colored Youth (now Cheyney State College) in Cheyney, Pennsylvania, when the ANISS was organized in 1914. See Harlan, The Papers of Booker T. Washington, 6 (1977): 410.

<sup>143</sup>William H. Holtzclaw to Emmett Jay Scott, 8 October 1914, Box 478, BTW Papers.

<sup>144</sup>William H. Holtzclaw to Emmett Jay Scott, 25 October 1914, Box 926, BTW Papers. Italics mine. Enck said that "some thirty-eight black industrial educators" attended the organizational meeting of the ANISS. See Enck, "The Burden Borne," p. 459.

<sup>145</sup>Emmett Jay Scott to William H. Holtzclaw, 3 November 1914, Box 926, BTW Papers; William H. Holtzclaw to Emmett Jay Scott, 25 November 1914, Box 926, BTW Papers.

<sup>146</sup>William H. Holtzclaw to Emmett Jay Scott, 29 November 1914, Box 478, BTW Papers; William H. Holtzclaw to Emmett Jay Scott, 2 December 1914, Box 478, BTW Papers; William H. Holtzclaw to Emmett Jay Scott, 16 December 1914, Box 478, BTW Papers.

<sup>147</sup>William H. Holtzclaw to Emmett Jay Scott, 31 March 1915, Box 512, BTW Papers. Holtzclaw was listed as a member of the Executive Committee of the ANISS in November 1917. See letterhead of the ANISS stationary used by Leslie Pinckney Hill to Oscar Garrison Villard, 2 November 1917, Folder #1323, Oscar Garrison Villard Papers, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

<sup>148</sup>By 1917, the total reported income of Utica Institute was only \$2,436, a significant decrease from the \$14,170 income for the year 1914-1915. See U.S., Bureau of Education, Report of the Commissioner of Education for the Year 1916-1917, 2: 620; Enck, "The Burden Borne," p. 460.

<sup>149</sup>William H. Holtzclaw to Booker T. Washington, 24 May 1915, Box 781, BTW Papers.

<sup>150</sup>Booker T. Washington to William H. Holtzclaw, 29 May 1915, Box 781, BTW Papers.

<sup>151</sup>Holtzclaw, The Black Man's Burden, p. 11. Emphasis in the original. Parts of Holtzclaw's autobiography appeared in Holtzclaw,

"A Negro's Life History," pp. 7988-7993 and Holtzclaw, "A School Principal's Story," pp. 111-140.

<sup>152</sup>Holtzclaw, The Black Man's Burden, pp. 7-8.

<sup>153</sup>Booker T. Washington to William H. Holtzclaw, 7 May 1915, Box 940, BTW Papers. Holtzclaw's son offered an explanation why his father decided to use the title he did: "In deciding upon a title for his book, he agonized hard and long.... Remembering that he had told his wife before they left Snow Hill Institute that poverty caused by ignorance was the black man's burden, he decided on the title." See Holtzclaw, William Henry Holtzclaw, pp. 167-168.

<sup>154</sup>Holtzclaw, The Black Man's Burden, p. 12.

<sup>155</sup>Booker T. Washington to William H. Holtzclaw, 7 May 1915, Box 940, BTW Papers. Italics mine.

<sup>156</sup>Lawrence J. Friedman, The White Savage: Racial Fantasies in the Postbellum South (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1970), p. 131.

<sup>157</sup>Kelly Miller's book, Race Adjustment, appeared in 1908, John R. Lynch's, The Facts of Reconstruction, was published in 1913, and William Pickens' book, The New Negro, appeared in 1916.

<sup>158</sup>Holtzclaw, The Black Man's Burden, p. 16.

<sup>159</sup>Ibid., p. 17.

<sup>160</sup>Ibid., pp. 17, 19. See Chapter 1, Part IV, herein for Washington's description of how his family was forced to eat their meals during slavery.

<sup>161</sup>Ibid., pp. 21, 26.

<sup>162</sup>Ibid., p. 32.

<sup>163</sup>Ibid., pp. 26, 30.

<sup>164</sup>Ibid., pp. 29, 31.

<sup>165</sup>Ibid., pp. 39, 41.

<sup>166</sup>Ibid., pp. 74-75, 79, 96-97, 125.

<sup>167</sup>Ibid., pp. 131, 153, 181.

<sup>168</sup>Ibid., p. 16.

- <sup>169</sup>Booker T. Washington, Up from Slavery (New York: Doubleday, Page and Company, 1901; reprint ed., Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, Doran and Company, Inc., 1929), p. 91.
- <sup>170</sup>Holtzclaw, The Black Man's Burden, pp. 124-125, 181.
- <sup>171</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 106, 123-124.
- <sup>172</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 159-164.
- <sup>173</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 183.
- <sup>174</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 16, 18.
- <sup>175</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 18.
- <sup>176</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 130. Emphasis in the original.
- <sup>177</sup>*Ibid.*
- <sup>178</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 131.
- <sup>179</sup>Washington, Up from Slavery, p. 75. See Chapter 1, Part IV, herein for Washington's interest in welding theory and practice.
- <sup>180</sup>Holtzclaw, The Black Man's Burden, p. 135. Italics mine.
- <sup>181</sup>Edwards, Twenty-Five Years, pp. 51-52. See Chapter 2, Part IV herein for a brief discussion of Edwards' ideas on knowledge and learning.
- <sup>182</sup>Holtzclaw, The Black Man's Burden, pp. 116, 181.
- <sup>183</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 44.
- <sup>184</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 44, 181.
- <sup>185</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 227-228. Italics mine.
- <sup>186</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 183, 140, 185. Italics mine.
- <sup>187</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 125, 190, 191.
- <sup>188</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 132.
- <sup>189</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 82, 96-97.
- <sup>190</sup>Work, Industrial Work, p. 47.

<sup>191</sup>Ibid., p. 56.

<sup>192</sup>Holtzclaw, The Black Man's Burden, p. 181.

## CHAPTER 4.

## "LIGHTING A PINE TORCH": LAURENCE C. JONES

## AND THE PINEY WOODS SCHOOL, 1909-1913

Laurence C. Jones founded a school in Mississippi in 1909 that was modeled on Tuskegee Institute and a study of his educational institution, The Piney Woods School, will illustrate the impact that the example of Booker T. Washington had upon an educator who was neither southern-born nor Tuskegee Institute-educated. This analysis of The Piney Woods School was primarily derived from a study of The Pine Torch, a monthly school newsletter that Jones started in 1911, and a source particularly helpful in illuminating both Jones' fund raising requests and his midwestern sources of financial support. Jones presented the ideas that embraced his educational philosophy in his autobiography written only four years (1913) after the founding of his school.

## I. The Piney Woods School, 1909-1913

A brief sketch of the founder

Laurence C. Jones is the only black educator studied in this dissertation who was not born, raised, and educated in the South. He was the product of a more favorable environment than the others in this study. Jones was born on November 21, 1882, a year after Washington had started Tuskegee Institute, and raised in the picturesque setting of St. Joseph, Missouri, "with its mills and locomotives and steamboats trafficking in trade; its white magnificent churches and schools, hotels, and parks, giving it civic pride...."<sup>1</sup> Commercial St. Joseph, on the

Missouri River in the northwestern section of Missouri, was a very different setting than Roanoke, Alabama, the birthplace of William H. Holtzclaw, who employed Jones at Utica Institute for two years (1907-1909), or Hale's Ford, Virginia, the birthplace of Washington, who provided an educational model for Jones to emulate when he started his own school. Jones' father, a hotel porter, was a native of Alabama, an ex-slave who had served in the United States Army from 1867 to 1876, and his mother, a Wisconsin native, was a seamstress. His maternal grandfather, Prior Foster, founded the Manual Labor Institute in Addison, Michigan, in 1848, a sort of prophecy of what Jones was to do sixty-one years later (1909) in Mississippi.<sup>2</sup>

As a youngster, Jones had various jobs, including shining shoes at the "largest white barbershop in town," and delivering a daily newspaper. He attended a segregated, all-black elementary school (grades 1-8), since Missouri's Constitution of 1875 had mandated that "separate schools shall be established for children of African descent" and an 1883 law had made it "the duty of the school board of any city to establish a school for Negro children whenever the number by enumeration was fifteen."<sup>3</sup> Although Missouri did not pass segregation laws covering public accommodations, "custom prohibited blacks from joining whites in hotels, restaurants, theaters, and hospitals."<sup>4</sup> Jones could use the public library in St. Joseph, but "In St. Joe, Mo., the color of my skin was a bar against joining or visiting the Young Men's Christian Association" and "for billiards or pool or bowling or checkers, the rear of some saloon was the only place open to us." Nellie Bass, Jones' sister, recalled in 1974 that "segregation was something that was

accepted. Missouri was just as segregated in those days as Mississippi was fifteen years ago."<sup>5</sup> While racial violence did not occur in St. Joseph during Jones' stay there, forty-four lynchings did take place in Missouri between 1889 and 1898.<sup>6</sup>

Jones left his hometown at the age of sixteen (1898) seeking "adventure" and an "untrammelled life" and lived with relatives in Rock Island, Illinois, for a year until they moved to Marshalltown, Iowa, in 1899.<sup>7</sup> Here, Jones entered Marshalltown High School, founded in 1873, and the only high school in the community. Black students could attend because the Iowa Supreme Court in 1874 had ruled in a Keokuk, Iowa, case that black children could not be excluded from the public schools nor could they be compelled to attend a separate school.<sup>8</sup> According to the United States Census of 1900, there were 148 blacks living in Marshalltown out of a total population of 11,544. There were only forty-one blacks of school age (5-17), but the census did not indicate how many attended school.<sup>9</sup> The course at Marshalltown High School required four years of English, two years of Algebra and Plane Geometry, two years of History (a year of Greek and Roman History in the ninth grade and a year of American History and Civics in the twelfth grade), and an assortment of electives including Latin, German, Physiology, and Music.<sup>10</sup>

Jones worked at odd jobs to help pay his expenses and on May 29, 1903, he became the first black student to graduate from Marshalltown High, an event that prompted the local newspaper to mention him by name for the first and only time since his arrival in 1899:

Laurence Jones is the first colored boy to graduate from the Marshalltown schools. Not a little interest that has elicited inquiry has been made regarding this young man who is one of the most popular members of the class. He has worked his way thru the high school while living with relatives.<sup>11</sup>

Encouraged by some "local white patrons" and "propelled by my desire for further elevation in the mental world," the twenty-one year old Jones entered the University of Iowa in September 1903.<sup>12</sup>

Jones was not the first black student to attend the University of Iowa. There were at least five blacks who graduated between 1879 and 1906.<sup>13</sup> He was one of three black students who graduated in 1907 out of a class of 300. The other two black graduates received degrees in Medicine and Pharmacy, the first blacks to receive degrees in these fields from the University of Iowa. Jones studied in the College of Liberal Arts, and was the "second negro to be awarded the degree of Bachelor of Arts at the University of Iowa."<sup>14</sup> (His actual degree was the Bachelor of Philosophy.) He waited on tables at a fraternity in return for board and a room "in the corner of the attic of the fraternity house." The routine of his college days started at "4:30 in the morning, when I would build a fire in the furnace, and I could hardly reach my room at night before nine o'clock."<sup>15</sup>

Jones completed such courses as Latin (two years), English Literature and Composition (four years), History (a year each of Ancient, English, and United States History), Algebra and Geometry (a year each), Botany, Chemistry, and Zoology (a year each), and Philosophy (three years).<sup>16</sup> He received his highest grade, an "88," in English Literature and Composition, and his lowest, a "75," in Plane Geometry. He presented two oral reports in one of his classes in his junior year (1906) that

warranted the only mention of his name in the college newspaper during his four-year tenure:

Mr. L. C. Jones has presented two reports on 'Education at Tuskegee.' The first concerned the life of Booker T. Washington and the second one took up the work done at Tuskegee in detail.<sup>17</sup>

Although Jones provided little detail about his college days in his autobiography, he reflected about what his education at the University of Iowa meant to him in a letter to a former teacher twenty-six years after his graduation (1933): "I am sure that I learned to observe closely and to classify the facts that I observed as a result of my education at the University of Iowa, and I know I gained many skills in thought processes."<sup>18</sup> An ability to "observe closely" and "to classify the facts" proved to be quite an asset when he started his own school in an environment so different from his alma mater.

When he graduated from college in June 1907, Jones "looked out upon the world and decided to go South. Perhaps it was my modernized version of 'Go West, Young Man.'"<sup>19</sup> His move South paralleled that of George Washington Carver, another Missourian, who went South in answer to Washington's call to teach at Tuskegee Institute in 1898. Jones' decision to cast his lot in the South was not a sudden decision and may have been made or at least seriously contemplated when he first matriculated at the University of Iowa. In a letter that Jones wrote to the Registrar in September 1903, he stated that "I am making my own way through school and am hungary [sic] for a thorough education which I intend using in the great work of helping to elevate my race in the south."<sup>20</sup> Four years (1911) after he had graduated from the University

of Iowa, during a fund raising trip to Des Moines, Iowa, Jones gave a newspaper reporter a different reason for his decision to go South: "I had traveled enough through the mid-west to know how fierce competition was for people of my race who sought to establish themselves in places higher up."<sup>21</sup>

It was possible that Jones' commitment to helping blacks in the South and his assessment of what he could or could not accomplish in the Midwest coalesced into his decision to leave Iowa. His decision to set the needle of his compass southward was not unique for college-educated blacks in the first decade of the twentieth century. When W. E. B. Dubois studied The College-Bred Negro American in 1910, he discovered that 75.6 percent of his sample of 785 four-year college graduates "of Negro descent" who graduated between 1900 and 1909 lived in the South. Although Dubois' sample covered only 48.6 percent of the 1,613 black graduates of colleges (black and white) from 1900 to 1909, he believed that the results of his survey were "typical of the whole group." He concluded that "the greater part of the labors of college-bred Negro Americans is expended in the South where the great masses of Negroes dwell," and that "there has been a continuous stream of northern born college-bred Negroes who have come to the South and joined in the work of lifting black people to higher planes of culture and intelligence."<sup>22</sup> Laurence C. Jones not only fit Dubois' profile of the "college-bred Negro American" as far as his intended southern residence, but also in his choice of profession. Dubois revealed that 53.8 percent of all black graduates of four-year colleges between 1900 and 1909 were teachers.<sup>23</sup>

Jones claimed that in the summer of 1907 he was "in correspondence with Dr. Booker T. Washington's great Tuskegee Institute, and was in line for a place there" but decided instead "to go into a little school near Utica [Mississippi], an outgrowth of Tuskegee and conducted by one of their graduates, at a smaller salary, because I felt that I could do the most good there."<sup>24</sup> It was possible that another reason that Jones did not yield to the temptation to work at an already well-established school such as Tuskegee Institute was a desire to advance rapidly and perhaps become a principal of his own school. Jones worked at Utica Institute, the school founded by Holtzclaw, as the Director of the Academic Department and as a teacher of Biology from 1907 to 1909, and he did use this opportunity, as did Holtzclaw when he went to Snow Hill Institute, to look for a school of his own. Jones, however, did not have to endure the frustrations that Holtzclaw faced in finding a community that would accept his services. He was teaching in his second year at Utica Institute when the opportunity for service beyond Utica came.

#### The founding

Jones spent Christmas of 1908 as a guest in the home of one of his students near Braxton, Mississippi, twenty-five miles east of Utica, in neighboring Rankin County. A District Sunday School Convention of black churches was in session and Jones, "one of the few outsiders who had ever been into their settlement" and an "object of great interest because of his education," was asked to attend. He learned that the "people had for twenty-two years been trying to organize a high school,

that being their name for a graded school that would carry their boys and girls to the seventh and eighth grade of our public school system in the north...."<sup>25</sup> Jones was moved by this interest in education and "promised the people that I would return in the spring to see what I could do for them."<sup>26</sup>

Jones fulfilled that promise the following June (1909), after he had completed his second year at Utica Institute. He had just enough money to get to Jackson, the state capitol, where he pawned for \$2.50 a watch that he had received as a graduation gift from the fraternity where he had worked at the University of Iowa. When he paid the eighty-five cent train fare to Braxton, twenty-two miles south of Jackson, he had "exactly \$1.65 in cash with which to begin my work."<sup>27</sup> From June to September 1909, Jones trudged throughout the county of Rankin in search of financial support for his projected school. Speaking to gatherings of Sunday School Associations did not bring the support or encouragement that Jones had received during his previous Christmas visit. He met with active enmity at one church gathering and found himself "completely frozen out on a sizzling August day by church leaders jealous of their positions as if they had been rulers of principalities." Jones attended another black church convention in September, but the president of the convention who had invited him "was accused of bringing down a 'furiner' to take away their convention from them, and a new president was elected."<sup>28</sup> The church resistance that Jones encountered was similar to the battle that William J. Edwards had with the local African Methodist Episcopal church at Snow Hill, Alabama, in 1893, and contrasted sharply with Holtzclaw's congenial

relations with local black churches at Utica, Mississippi.

Jones, however, remained undaunted. He realized "the difficulty of making a start; but I had burned my bridges behind me and was determined to do or be found trying."<sup>29</sup> He concluded that "the start must be made in some other way." As was his custom, he often went to an old spring about three miles from Braxton to read and think under the boughs of a large cedar tree. One afternoon in late September (1909), he decided "to open up school under the old cedar tree, with God's out-of-doors and his vast blue dome for our school house."<sup>30</sup>

Jones recalled that on October 1, 1909, "three boys met me. We assembled under the tree on some pine logs and I declared school open."<sup>31</sup> Nearby his open-air school was an old cabin where a drove of sheep "took nightly shelter. It was also inhabited by lizards, snakes, and owls." The cabin was owned by an ex-slave, Ed Taylor, who had once lived in Rockford, Illinois, where "he had obtained three terms of schooling." Taylor returned to his native state of Mississippi in the early 1900s, bought some land, and had become, in the words of one student at The Piney Woods School from 1909 to 1911, "one of the best livers in the settlement. He had more land than any other colored man around here."<sup>32</sup> Taylor befriended Jones and, in November 1909, he deeded to the new principal forty acres of land, the cabin as a schoolhouse, and donated fifty dollars in cash. Jones immediately took advantage of these contributions: "With the help of the boys and girls we straightened the cabin up, whitewashed it inside and outside, made some benches, and thus transformed it into our first schoolhouse."<sup>33</sup>

Jones, Ph.B., University of Iowa, aided by an ex-slave, his first

patron, was, at the age of twenty-seven, "happier than I had ever been before in my life."<sup>34</sup> His new school was the only black private school in Rankin County and in the contiguous counties of Scott, Smith, and Simpson<sup>35</sup> and represented, at least to one of Jones' earliest students, an alternative to inadequate public schooling: "The people around in the community, they really was [sic] in favor of him [Jones] starting that school because they knew that if he started a school and built it up, it would be so much better to educate the children there than it was in the little... you know... the little county schools."<sup>36</sup>

#### The setting

Jones described the location of his school as "three miles from the village of Braxton on the Gulf and Ship Island R.R., in the heart of the Black Belt...."<sup>37</sup> Rankin County, the setting for The Piney Woods School, was not as overwhelmingly black in population as neighboring Hinds County, where Jones had worked with Holtzclaw at Utica Institute. Black people comprised only 59 percent of the Rankin County population in 1910, compared to 75.2 percent of Hinds County.<sup>38</sup> Rankin County was part of the Piney Woods, a region originally covered by "an unbroken expanse of long-leaf pine timber and extending over the southern half of Mississippi." The settlers of this region came from the Carolinas and Georgia and "by and large were not slaveowners. The relatively poor soil of the pineywoods was not conducive to profitable large-scale farming as developed in the Delta and consequently large concentrations of Negroes were not found."<sup>39</sup> Although the population of Rankin County was more black than white, the contiguous counties of Simpson, Scott,

and Smith were predominantly white, a circumstance unlike the settings of Tuskegee Institute and its offshoots at Utica and Snow Hill.<sup>40</sup> One white visitor to Jones' school in 1913 commented on the surrounding white population: "I had never heard of the 'piney woods' country as offering unusual attractions for a colored school. It was supposed to be sort of a white man's country."<sup>41</sup>

Jones, however, regarded his immediate surroundings as the "heart of the black belt" and consistently described the locale of his school in such terms in many issues of his school newsletter, The Pine Torch, between 1911 and 1913. Once, he purposely highlighted the fact that predominantly white populated counties bordered his school: "Think of it, my friend, this is the only industrial school in an area surrounded by whites. It is the only graded school for negroes in this area."<sup>42</sup> Jones also deliberately identified his school with the wooded pine tree countryside of southeast Mississippi when he named his institution: "Because we liked the name of 'Piney Woods,' the local designation of the region, we chose it... the name appealed to us because many of the people, Negro and white, eked out a living from logging and working at the sawmills."<sup>43</sup>

#### Political and racial factors

When Jones arrived in Mississippi in 1907, he entered a society rife with the legal, social, and educational proscriptions against black people described in the previous chapter on Holtzclaw.<sup>44</sup> Black people in Rankin County, like those in Hinds County, were not immune to the adverse effects of poorly subsidized schooling. By 1910, in fact, the

illiteracy rate for blacks in Rankin County was 51 percent compared to 31.7 percent for blacks in Hinds County and only 3.9 percent for Rankin County whites.<sup>45</sup> Jones also labored during a time of racial violence in Mississippi as did William H. Holtzclaw. Eight months after Jones opened his school in October 1909, a black man was lynched in Braxton, three miles from The Piney Woods School. During the first four years (1909-1913) that Jones was a school principal, thirty-two blacks were lynched in Mississippi.<sup>46</sup>

The Missouri-born and Iowa-educated Jones classified southern whites into two types: "... the poor illiterate ones who were opposed to any advancement on the part of the colored man," and "the more prosperous, broad-minded Christian-hearted white men, who believed in every man having a fighting chance in life and who saw in... negroes... a valuable asset to the nation when properly educated."<sup>47</sup> The Principal of The Piney Woods School accepted the advice of an elderly black woman who informed him that his southern residency meant that "you now have your paw in the lion's mouth" and cautioned him "not to be rarin' and pitchin' to get it out," but rather "to just ease it out the best way you can."<sup>48</sup> "Easing it out" required Jones to devise strategies in order to receive the most benefit from the "broad-minded Christian-hearted white men" that he believed existed in southern society, while not antagonizing "poor illiterate" whites. Since Jones' community did not have the type of traditional planter class that Edwards of Snow Hill, Alabama, relied upon in the person of his patron, Randall O. Simpson, the Piney Woods educator had to depend upon a variety of local whites for support.

One strategy used by Jones to attract local white support was to encourage any sort of positive white involvement in the affairs of his school. When the cashier of the local Braxton Bank, W. P. Mangum, for example, decided in 1911 to give a "gold medal each year to the girl who made the most progress in the cooking department," Jones invited Mangum to present his award at the closing exercises of the school year and Mangum accepted. A year later (1912), Mangum's wife attended the close of school not only to bring the medal that her husband gave annually but to judge the contestants also. Jones was pleased and broadcast her presence in his monthly newsletter: "Our friends will be pleased to know that Mrs. W. P. Mangum, a southern white lady, judged the effort of the girls who entered the contest and certainly all were encouraged by her presence."<sup>49</sup>

Local white visitors were welcomed also to visit the campus anytime and when they did Jones publicized the visitations, perhaps, to illustrate to the northern readers of The Pine Torch the support that he received. When John R. Webster, the owner of a local sawmill visited The Piney Woods School in January 1913, Jones highlighted Webster's presence on the front page of his newsletter: "Mr. J. R. Webster, a southern white gentleman, came over and inspected the work a few days ago. After going through the dormitory, he exclaimed 'Why you've got a regular home here!'"<sup>50</sup> A month later, Jones informed the readers of The Pine Torch that "the following white neighbors have visited: Prof. John J. Niece, atty. J. C. Jones of Braxton, and Mr. E. M. Odom of Star, this being the first visit of Mr. Odom. He was so impressed [sic] with the various features that he left a donation of \$5.00."<sup>51</sup>

Jones was very interested in having local whites meet the northern visitors who came to see firsthand the work of his school. A local white resident remembered that "Jones had a way of bringing in big men from other places. He would frequently send me a note by a student to please come over and meet some distinguished person."<sup>52</sup> When Jones had a visitor from Iowa tour the campus in 1911, he "sent out invitations to all the white people to come on a certain day and hear his friend speak.... There were about fifty whites there.... Everyone enjoyed themselves and we departed in high spirits."<sup>53</sup> Jones' deliberate arrangements to bring northern guests and southern white residents together did not go unnoticed by one northerner who toured the school in 1913: "It is a great day for the principal [Jones] when he brings us together with local white people because it brings him warm approval and helpful assurances of men whose endorsement of his work would give it reputation and standing throughout the country."<sup>54</sup>

The Piney Woods School Principal adroitly made several local whites a part of his school and further developed a coalition of northern and southern whites when he organized his first Board of Trustees in May 1913. The Board consisted of four local blacks, two northern whites, and three southern whites. Jones, his wife, Grace Allen Jones, Ed Taylor, the ex-slave who donated the land that Jones needed to start his school, and Amon Gipson, a black farmer, a "staunch man who represented the poorer class of the people," comprised the black membership. The three southern whites included W. P. Mangum, the cashier of the Braxton Bank, donor of an annual medal to a Piney Woods School student, "one of the most progressive young white men in the State of

Mississippi," R. F. Everett, President of the Braxton Bank, "one of the oldest pioneers in the Piney Woods and a veritable patriarch in the country round about," and an unnamed businessman from Jackson, Mississippi, "who was in the 'Army of the Lost Cause.'" The two northern whites on the Board were described as a "farmer from the Midwest" and a "businessman from Evanston, Illinois."<sup>55</sup> Jones regarded the participation of the three white southerners as particularly significant, since "it was one thing to support privately a position as unpopular as education for negroes and quite another to go on public record."<sup>56</sup>

Jones' efforts to attract several of his local white neighbors into the orbit of his school were acknowledged publicly by a few southern whites. The principal of a nearby white school visited Jones in April 1912, and remarked

To the white people of Braxton, Jones was a welcome surprise. It was the first time in history that we white people of Braxton have seen a well educated colored man. Because of his willingness to include whites in his work, his influence for good is felt by all who know him, white or black.<sup>57</sup>

A white visitor from Jackson, Mississippi, a month later, reported that "On our way there [The Piney Woods School] we met some of the representative white people in Braxton and it was a pleasure to see how strongly Jones had won their confidence," while almost exactly a year later (May 1913), an editorial in the Jackson (Miss.) Daily News congratulated Jones because "he had gained the superlative appreciation and endorsement of the best white people of his community since he had given them a chance to become aware of his work."<sup>58</sup> John R. Webster, the white owner of a sawmill in Braxton, remembered how well Jones, a midwestern, had evaluated his tradition-bound southern surroundings: "Jones capitalized

on white people's human weakness to want to be consulted about things. It enhanced our self-respect and satisfied our ego...."<sup>59</sup>

Institution building

Students Jones started his school on October 1, 1909, with three students who assembled "under the long leaf yellow pine trees of South Mississippi." A student who enrolled in late October remembered "that Mr. Jones had us sitting on a big long oak log and he was sitting on a little homemade stool right in front of us teaching."<sup>60</sup> Jones claimed enrollment increased to twenty-nine by November 1 and, by May 1910, his reported student body consisted of "eighty-five illiterate boys and girls."<sup>61</sup> He informed a reporter for the Des Moines Register and Leader in June 1911, during a visit to Iowa, that, at the close of his second school year (1910-1911), "a hundred students were enrolled," he boasted of an enrollment of 139 by June 1912, and 169 exactly a year later.<sup>62</sup> Visitors from the United States Bureau of Education reported an enrollment of 158 in December 1913.<sup>63</sup> No enrollment data from Jones' school were reported to the United States Bureau of Education from 1909 to 1913.<sup>64</sup>

There were two categories of students at The Piney Woods School from 1909 to 1913: "community children" and boarding students. The former group could enter at the age of six and remain for eight grades. These students comprised 100 percent of the enrollment the first year (85 students by June 1911), 60 percent the second year (60 out of a total of 100 students), 50 percent the third year (68 of 139 students), and 44 percent by the fourth year (70 of 158 students). Jones dis-

covered that many local black children were quite anxious to attend his school: "Many as young as six and seven years walked four and five miles and got here by eight o'clock each morning and returned the same distance each evening."<sup>66</sup> All boarding students had to be at least twelve years old and usually had some prior educational training. These students also left the school when they completed the eighth grade.

There were scattered references to the geographical origins of the students who boarded at The Piney Woods School between 1910 and 1913 as well as to their social and economic backgrounds. Jones reported in October 1913, for instance, that "Boys and girls from ten counties of the state were flocking to the little school in the Piney Woods. Three states were already represented."<sup>67</sup> When Jones' autobiography was published in December 1913, he described the origins of his residential students differently: "They came from two states, Alabama and Mississippi, and they represented seven counties in Mississippi."<sup>68</sup>

Jones characterized the social backgrounds of his boarding students as "children of ex-slaves, many half-orphans, and some entirely orphans. Some had never seen a railroad and many had never been on a train in their lives." Since "all of our students were very poor," Jones decided to accept whatever his students could bring with them: "We accepted yearlings, chickens, hogs, and farm produce the same as cash money. If a student brought a cow or a colt, it would pay for a year's schooling -- or more."<sup>69</sup> A student who entered the school in 1910 recalled that

Piney Woods offered quite an opportunity for students who wanted to go to school and didn't have a lot of money to bare [sic] the expense. It [Piney Woods School] was in a farming section so the farmers, if they didn't have money, could pay with their produce -- corn, potatoes, etc.<sup>70</sup>

The boarding students were classified into two groups. There were those "who came to us with all their worldly possessions in a basket. These students were known as 'work students' because they labored through the day and attended school two hours at night." The other group consisted of "those who could pay four or five dollars a month for room and board, there being no charge for tuition, and who went to school half a day and worked half a day."<sup>71</sup> This group was in the minority. In a review of the first four years of his school, Jones reported that "well over a majority of our boarding students had to work during the day and attend classes at night since we got started."<sup>72</sup>

Some students who could do so stayed at school during the summer months, earned enough credit to pay for the following semester, and avoided, therefore, the necessity of working the entire day and attending classes for only two hours nightly. Jones boasted in the summer of 1912 that "a large number of our boys and girls have remained at the school all summer doing the work of the school and helping make the crop" and a year later (1913) he reviewed in The Pine Torch the summer work schedule: "We rose at 3:30 A.M., started to work as soon as breakfast was over, came out of the field at eleven o'clock, had dinner, rested until three P.M., returned to the field, and worked until dark."<sup>73</sup>

It was a hard and sacrificial life for boarding students at The Piney Woods School from 1910 to 1913. Jones noted in February 1912, that "because of overcrowding in the girls' building we were preparing to use the attic which had dormer windows." The male students did not fare as well because resources did not allow the building of a dormitory so "we erected a large barn and here the boys stayed...."<sup>74</sup> Evidently,

room in the barn became overcrowded because in January 1913, the Piney Woods School Principal informed the readers of his newsletter that "we expected to have another barn room ready soon."<sup>75</sup> Conditions worsened and in November 1913, Jones reported that male students "slept in sheds and attics and for want of mattresses, some of the male students slept on boards placed on slats and some also slept on the floor."<sup>76</sup>

Forced to economize as much as possible, Jones announced in November 1913, that "In our boarding department we have been able to feed, three times a day, an average of fifty per meal at \$1.50 per day. We have omitted from the bill of fare, sugar, meat and beverages and used the staples - field peas, corn bread, grits, rice, and syrup."<sup>77</sup> At least one male student must have complained about his diet because Jones printed in The Pine Torch a letter from a father to his student-son that advised "Now, as to your eating meat. If you can get enough else to eat, you must try to learn how to do without meat while you are going to school."<sup>78</sup>

The rigor of residential life was further accentuated by Jones' belief that his students needed to develop "the habit of punctuality" so that they could "complete a task in a regular and systematic way." Time was valuable, according to Jones, and idleness, a "Southern habit and not a Northern one, was unnecessary."<sup>79</sup> Bells governed the school day from 5 A.M. until 9:45 P.M. Jones wanted his school to be a "human beehive" and he devised a "Schedule of Bells" complete with "Regular Bells" and "Warning Bells:"<sup>80</sup>

Rising Bell	_____	5 o'clock
Warning Breakfast Bell	_____	5:45 "
Breakfast Bell	_____	6:00 "

Warning Work Bell _____	6:50	"
Work Bell _____	7:00	"
Warning Chapel and School Bell _	7:40	"
Chapel and School Bell _____	8:00	"
Warning Dinner Bell _____	12:00	"
Dinner Bell _____	12:15	"
Warning Work and School Bell ____	12:50	"
Work and School Bell _____	1:00	"
Warning Supper Bell _____	5:30	"
Supper Bell _____	5:40	"
Study Hour and Night School Bell	6:30	"
Chapel Bell _____	9:00	"
Retiring Bell _____	9:45	"

Students were informed that "Warning bel's [sic] meant that you were to get ready and start for your next place of operation, so that you will be ready to pick up your book or saw, or plow handles, or scrub brush, and go to work when the main bells ring." The bell schedule, said the Principal, "must be strictly observed and any infraction of these rules meant demerits."<sup>81</sup> Jones was no stranger to schedules. He witnessed a similar daily schedule when he worked for two years (1907-1909) with William H. Holtzclaw, who devised a "habit-forming routine" at Utica Institute.<sup>82</sup> He had also followed a precise daily schedule when he combined work and study at the University of Iowa. There may have been, however, another reason for the student routine at The Piney Woods School. The bells could have suggested a practical projection of Jones' belief that black students needed to cultivate certain habits because of their historical heritage: "We are just fifty years old as a free people, just children learning to walk and to catch hold onto a revolving 2,000 year old civilization."<sup>83</sup> The habits of punctuality, order, and rhythmic living promoted by Jones might have been regarded by him as necessary devices to help his students "catch hold" of their society.

Alumni The Piney Woods School had no official graduates from its eight elementary grades between 1909 and 1913, but did have several "ex-students" who, according to Jones, "justified the existence of this work."<sup>84</sup> Occasionally, he recorded in The Pine Torch stories and letters from these students who returned home and "set about making improvements in their homes and communities."<sup>85</sup> In March 1912, for example, Jones visited a fifteen year old female student who, for lack of funds to complete her schooling, left "to teach a little school in the rural district nearly sixty miles away." Jones found her trying to carry out what he had taught her about order and neatness: "She had taken the little dilapidated school, helped white wash it inside and outside, cleaned up the entire place, and the schoolroom showed evidence of the use of a scrub-brush."<sup>86</sup>

Jones reveled in the efforts of his former students and he was equally pleased in September 1913, when he received a "Dear Sir and teacher" letter from a student who informed him that "I am working hard everyday trying to help pay for our place," and who thanked him "because you have made me have a double determination to make a man out of myself...."<sup>87</sup> Jones did not regard his "ex-students" as failures because they did not complete the eight grades of his school. He seemed satisfied, at least in 1913, to "send out men and women of true service to help in the world's work whenever they were ready."<sup>88</sup>

Curriculum Three and a half years after Jones started his school (January 1913), he informed his newsletter readers that the "real purpose" of his school was "to make a home for poor boys and girls where they could educate their head and heart thru manual labor."<sup>89</sup> The Piney

Woods School was not originally a normal school as were the schools founded by Washington, Edwards, and Holtzclaw. The liberal arts graduate from the University of Iowa decided to teach students basic skills related to an agrarian lifestyle. John R. Webster, a white Braxton friend of Jones, remembered that Jones "would stress that this was not to be a book larnin' school, but one that would teach students how to work on the farm...."<sup>90</sup> Jones' school offered in its first year (1909-1910) four "industries" to students who were at least twelve years old: "sewing and cooking for girls, carpentry for boys, and shoe mending for both sexes," in addition to courses in English and mathematics. The Piney Woods School Principal had received the "shoe mending equipment from one of our friends in New York who requested that a girl also be allowed to try the work. It proved a successful venture."<sup>91</sup>

The industrial education curriculum by July 1911, included "basketry, cooking, sewing and gardening for female students," and "printing, carpentry, and agriculture for male students," in addition to "shoe mending for any interested student."<sup>92</sup> Agricultural training meant "the poultry industry," but Jones reported that "We were struggling with this industry and cannot make much headway due to the ravages of three different kinds of chicken hawks and the minks and other varmints that prowled in the woods...."<sup>93</sup> The curriculum remained the same for male students in the third year (1911-1912) of the school's history, but changed for female students in February 1912, with the addition of "housekeeping and laundrying." There was a further alteration in the course of study with the addition of broom-making for both male and female students in January 1913.<sup>94</sup>

All students at The Piney Woods School worked as well as studied. Jones acknowledged twenty-two years after he started his school (1931) that "the earlier students, without doubt, received far more education in doing than in books. It was they who would voluntarily disband classes to put out the washing or to get the fall crop in.... They worked early and late, and studied if there was any time left over."<sup>95</sup> As a result of the work-study arrangement, student labor produced salable commodities that Jones publicized in four issues of The Pine Torch in 1912 and 1913.

In March 1912, Jones informed his readers that "Early vegetables for the Northern market were successfully grown down here." A month later, he reported that his school's grist mill could "make corn meal for the public" and in November 1912, he announced that "Our sewing department is now turning out some Gingham kitchen aprons, forty inches long, with tie strings. If any of our friends are in need of such, we shall be glad to supply them at twenty-five cents each post paid."<sup>96</sup> Jones greeted his Pine Torch readers in January 1913, with the news that "we have our broom machinery in action and have sold four dozen." A local newspaper in the same month reported that "L. C. Jones, Principal of the Piney Woods School at Braxton, was in Brandon last week and showed us a sample broom that was made by the students of his school. The broom corn was grown on the school land, and the entire work of binding, etc., was done by the students."<sup>97</sup>

At least one white newspaper in Mississippi discovered social and racial connotations in the curriculum of The Piney Woods School and lauded Jones as a curriculum builder. The Jackson Daily News, a daily

newspaper published in the state capitol, cited Jones in May 1913, for his "real and tangible vision" because "he came along and set about in a practical way improving the country life of his people by offering a course of study in harmony with their lives. The millions of negroes of the south live in the country districts and as a country people they should be trained." The newspaper endorsed Jones' efforts "to educate his people in right directions."<sup>98</sup>

Faculty Jones opened his school under a cedar tree with three students and himself as the only teacher in October 1909. He reported that by early November two of his former students at Utica Institute, W. F. Yancy and Clara Meves, joined him as his "efficient assistants." Yancy was "a very good carpenter," while "the young lady was pretty well advanced."<sup>99</sup> When Ed Taylor, an ex-slave, donated an old sheep shed in that same month, Jones and Yancy shared "our living quarters in one side of our new schoolhouse and the other side we used as a study hall, recitation room, and office."<sup>100</sup> The first school year closed in the Spring of 1910, but "there was no money for salaries and what donations we could get were used for building up the school."<sup>101</sup>

The Piney Woods School opened its second year in October 1910, with five teachers: Yancy, Clara Meves, who married Yancy during the summer, another female teacher, Jones, and Louis Watson, a young man who met Jones when the new school principal made his first fund raising trip to Iowa during the summer of 1910. Watson had completed high school in Des Moines, but "had not been able to find anything other than the work of a porter to do. He was happy to cast his lot with us without a promise of salary despite the unfavorable comments of friends

concerning the South."<sup>102</sup> Watson taught in the "Academic Department" and was the "official bookkeeper." He, unfortunately, died in January 1911, and Jones remembered his associate as "a most faithful and conscientious young man who had overworked himself and the overwork, together with the poor food - we subsisted mostly on cowpeas and corn-bread - had taken all his strength."<sup>103</sup>

Jones replaced Watson in the summer of 1911 when he visited Iowa again and met William Franklin Reden, a fellow black student at the University of Iowa who had received a degree in law in 1908, but who, according to Jones, "had not been able to secure employment in Iowa." Reden returned with Jones "to enter the work like the rest of us without regard to salary as head of our academic department."<sup>104</sup> When Jones opened the third year of his school in October 1911, he had, including himself, "five teachers, all young colored people under thirty years of age" for a reported student enrollment of 139.<sup>105</sup>

The faculty increased by one in the summer of 1912 when Jones married Grace Morris Allen (1876-1928), a widow who had met Jones in 1906 at a church service in Iowa City. Grace Allen, a native of Burlington, Iowa, and six years older than Jones, had graduated from Burlington High School in 1894 and had studied at the Chicago Conservatory of Music from 1910 to 1912. She was "to have charge of the office work and domestic science department in the Piney Woods school."<sup>106</sup> Three of the six Piney Woods School teachers, then, by Fall 1912, had educational roots in Iowa. Visitors from the United States Bureau of Education in December 1913, reported a staff of eight, "all colored; male 4, female 4; academic 4, industrial 3, agriculture 1" for a

student body of 158.<sup>107</sup>

Jones acknowledged in 1911 his good fortune in being able "to draw around me as helpers some young people who were willing to work without a fixed salary [and] who were devoted to the cause." He revealed in his autobiography the criteria he used to select his staff: "The teachers were generally selected with regard to their ability to teach not only books but some industrial subject, so that they were found in the shops or field when not in the schoolroom."<sup>108</sup> Jones kept his teachers busy: "At night a part of the teachers had charge of the night school, while the others worked in the office. In this way everybody, students and teachers, were kept busy from the rising bell until the retiring bell."<sup>109</sup>

Some teachers also had responsibilities in the summer months when Jones traveled to raise funds. During the summer of 1911, Jones requested two of his teachers to stay on the campus and "with the help of a few students they made a little farm and garden." The next summer "some" of the teachers remained at school and "looked after a few students who stayed for the field work and also offered night school," while in the summer of 1913, "four teachers and sixteen students worked at school farming, canning fruit and vegetables, and looked after the upkeep of the plant."<sup>110</sup>

Extension Jones wanted his school to emerge as a positive community force in the lives of black people in Rankin County and to this end he envisioned The Piney Woods School as a "center of extension work, carrying out the gospel of better farming, better living, better schools and churches throughout a wide area."<sup>111</sup> Believing that most of his

black clientele had "not been touched by a progressive movement until this little school came into their midst," Jones developed at least two extension activities between 1909 and 1913 that sought to improve life for blacks: Farmers' Conferences and the Rural School Improvement Association.

The Piney Woods School Principal conducted his first informal Farmers' Conference in November 1909, when he "gathered a few area Negro farmers and conducted a farmers' experience meeting to show them their past mistakes in farming and point out the better way."<sup>112</sup> The initial formal Farmers' Conference met in January 1911, and Jones described this effort to a newspaper reporter five months later: "... the rough, horny-handed sons of the field came together and encouraged one another by telling how they got a start, or how they succeeded in some particular direction."<sup>113</sup> Jones noted in February 1912, that "hundreds of eager faced horny-handed tillers of the soil gathered at our school and heard lectures on proper care of the soil and on the best way to raise corn," and a year later (1913) he announced that a representative from "the International Harvester Company had delivered the Farmers' Conference address."<sup>114</sup>

Jones also attempted to make his school an example for local farmers. In February 1912, for example, he wrote of his plans to develop an "object lesson farm," two months later he indicated that his purchase of a small canning outfit "would mean an object lesson to our people," and in September he reported that "We were endeavoring to raise the better breeds of hogs and thereby be an object lesson for the farmers." Jones also noted in May 1913, that "during the year we went into the

various settlements and distributed seed and literature in order to stimulate interest concerning better methods of farming."<sup>115</sup>

The other major extension effort initiated by Jones was the Rural School Improvement Association started in May 1911. Jones asked one of his teachers to spend time "back in the forest among other rural Negro teachers where there had never been an upward, forward movement before, and organize cooking classes, corn clubs, and poultry clubs."<sup>116</sup> Jones also instructed his teacher "to encourage teachers to plant gardens, buy whitewash, put in glass windows, and improve their yards, and, most importantly, I told her to tell teachers she met to read and save their money and attend some school, if only for part of the year."<sup>117</sup> Since Jones' school was the only private school for blacks in Rankin County between 1909 and 1913, the Rural School Improvement Association assumed responsibility for helping black teachers in publicly-supported schools, a role that Jones accepted, perhaps, because of a lack of concern by white public school officials.

The Rural School Improvement Association also promoted continuing education for local black ministers and, after a year of "working among our colored preachers," Jones announced in May 1912, that "a representative group of ministers and deacons from this county met here and organized a ministerial institute. They have not had the advantages of very much education and our school had stimulated them to want more."<sup>118</sup> Eight months later (January 1913), Jones printed a picture in The Pine Torch of a minister who had attended the "ministerial institute" and who, as a result, was "one of the few educated ministers for miles around and his Sundays were always full."<sup>119</sup> Jones did not have, however, the

resources to establish a facility such as the Phelps Hall Bible Training School opened by Washington at Tuskegee Institute in 1893 for the educational improvement of black ministers.

Jones was convinced that his school's extension activities made a difference in the lives of black people in his community. Although he did not develop ambitious land projects as did Edwards and Holtzclaw with their Black Belt Improvement Societies, Jones expressed satisfaction, four years after he started his school (1913), with his efforts: "Few owned homes but now some have built new homes; those who are now using two horse plows had never heard of such a thing before we came; our ministers are better trained; now our people have a desire to be independent small farmers so that they can get ahead."<sup>120</sup>

Fund raising Jones assiduously tried to obtain financial support for his struggling institution from 1909 to 1913 by conducting a "Northern campaign" — written appeals and treks north in search of support from charitable people.<sup>121</sup> His initial effort to raise money by mail did not fare so well. He sent out 1,000 written appeals in December 1909, and received but one answer containing \$15.00. After a response of the exact same proportion to another 1,000 letters, this time "mostly to Iowa," in the Spring of 1910, Jones resorted to personal appeals because "it was more than ever necessary for us to try to place our effort before the public."<sup>122</sup> An examination of the available evidence indicated that the Piney Woods School received no financial assistance from any philanthropic organization between 1909-1913.

Jones' concern for his fledgling school took him to his adopted state of Iowa in the summer of 1910, where he first solicited in Keokuk.

There he discovered some unused broom-making machinery that could be purchased for \$35.00. It took him a week to raise that amount. From Keokuk, Jones went to Des Moines, where a fellow black alumnus of the University of Iowa, attorney S. Joe Brown, arranged a meeting in a white church. Not many attended, but Jones "raised a little money, secured some pledges, and, best of all, succeeded in getting my friend Brown to tell me of the mistakes I made."<sup>123</sup> Brown advised his friend to use "the personal touch. People will laugh or cry if you'll tell about the things that happened to you down there." Jones said that he accepted his advice and concluded three years later that "Brown was entirely correct."<sup>124</sup>

Jones returned to Iowa in the summer of 1911 and two important incidents of that summer occurred in Des Moines. He met a white man who pledged \$100 if the black people of Des Moines would equal that amount. Jones' efforts to raise money from the Des Moines black community were assisted by publicity in a weekly black-owned newspaper, the Iowa State Bystander, published in the Iowa capitol. This newspaper printed a front page headline entitled "Appeal to Race Pride" on June 9, 1911, and an accompanying article that challenged blacks to "Show your color. This is a test. The opportunity is yours." Calling Jones "one of our own boys" and celebrating his "sacrifice and labor," the Bystander published a list of fourteen contributors, their total contributions (\$39), and promised to publicize other gifts until Jones had raised the necessary amount. The newspaper also urged "Every church women's club, missionary society, and literary organization to join this movement and show your race pride and patriotism by sending from a dollar up."<sup>125</sup>

The Bystander published the same "Appeal" on June 16, and announced that Jones had "secured enough money to get the \$100 pledged to him by a white man."<sup>126</sup>

The Des Moines Register and Leader also publicized Jones' work in a feature story that occupied the entire front page of the Sunday magazine section on June 18, 1911. The reporter who interviewed Jones described him as "a slender, boyish looking fellow, quick, alert, unlike the typical Mississippi negro, and with much the scholar about him." Jones also received praise for being "enthusiastic and energetic, with a manner that quickly impressed one with his deep sincerity."<sup>127</sup> Jones later described the public attention that he received in Des Moines in the summer of 1911 as a "helping hand that enabled me to raise enough money to buy a horse, wagon, farm tools, winter clothing for the teachers, and also to pay some small bills made during the summer."<sup>128</sup>

When Jones traveled to Iowa in the summer of 1912, he took with him the Cotton Blossom Singers, a student quartet that he organized in April 1912. The performance of black school quartets was a "favorite attraction at Northern fund raising meetings," according to Henry Snyder Enck, an historian of northern white philanthropy between 1900 and 1915.<sup>129</sup> Jones no doubt knew about the Utica Singers organized by his former employer, Holtzclaw, in 1904. The Piney Woods School Principal not only had his singers perform at fund raising meetings in the summer of 1912, but on one occasion he had them serenade a white contributor in Cedar Rapids, Iowa, with "Old Black Joe." As Jones recalled a year later, his white supporter was "visibly affected. Never have I seen a strong man so deeply moved. In that quiet cool room, the voices of four

little colored boys had brought him a message of the faithfulness and goodwill of their race."<sup>130</sup> A year later (1913), Jones again took his singers to Iowa and reported that "they were passing the hat in order that the work continued to grow. They were happy to note that the friends of the piney woods were glad to see them and that many were doubling their former gifts."<sup>131</sup>

The task of traveling to raise funds each summer was often filled with difficulties for Jones. Not the least of his problems derived from the racial discrimination that he faced in the Midwest. In several particularly poignant passages in his autobiography, Jones revealed that "the pathway of a colored man who would help solve the problem of educating colored Americans was by no means always pleasant when your skin was the wrong color." Jones sometimes had difficulty in finding lodging in some of the towns in what he called "fair Iowa:" "Sometimes I slept in depots, once I stayed over night in a box-car, and once on a bunk in a cell in a police station, for hotels were generally 'full' if a colored person wished to sleep." The hostility that he faced midwest of the Mason-Dixon line caused Jones "whenever possible to find my own people, though very often very inconvenient, and it was always as a last resort that I risked going elsewhere."<sup>132</sup>

In addition to traveling to Iowa during the summers from 1910 to 1913, Jones reached supporters through his monthly newsletter, The Pine Torch, first published in May 1911.<sup>133</sup> An examination of the twenty-eight issues of this newsletter printed between May 1911, and December 1913, yielded information about the kinds of requests that Jones made, the donations that he received, and the sources of support

for his school. Jones wasted no time in informing readers of his "Needs" in the initial issue of The Pine Torch: "1. Agricultural papers and magazines, 2. Clothing of any kind for needy, but worthy students, 3. Money in small or large sums for current expenses."<sup>134</sup> This list appeared in every issue of Jones' newsletter from May 1911 to December 1913. In four issues, Jones requested items related to the agricultural nature of his school: fencing for the school's "poultry industry," a rice machine, a grist mill, and "tools for our farm and garden."<sup>135</sup> Readers of The Pine Torch found six requests for clothing, a sample of which appeared in October 1913: "Many students come to work their way and are without funds. Boxes of clothing are very helpful. This is an important item and comes next to money."<sup>136</sup> Requests that related to the curricular offerings of the school appeared three times: tools "for our carpentry department," a sewing machine for "one of the girls' industries," and "books and magazines because this is a country of few books and a place where last year's magazine is current literature."<sup>137</sup>

The geographical sources of support for The Piney Woods School were also mentioned in the pages of The Pine Torch, although the reader should be reminded that there were no doubt many contributions that were not recorded in the school newsletter, as there were many requests for donations that never appeared in its pages. Jones acknowledged receiving books from New Haven, Connecticut, dictionaries from Prophetstown, Illinois, farm journals from Philadelphia, and printing materials from Minnesota.<sup>138</sup> Patrons in Iowa contributed the most frequently, according to the disclosures of The Pine Torch: cash (amount unspecified) from Des Moines, Marshalltown, and Mason City, a

typewriter and a mower rake from Des Moines, Sunday School "materials" from Iowa City, magazines and newspapers from Clinton, and clothes from Marshalltown.<sup>139</sup> Jones recognized his dependence upon patronage from outside of Mississippi in the last issue of The Pine Torch for 1913 when, in a reflective mood, he surveyed the donated contents of his office and counted a typewriter, a desk, a clock, books, and "a dozen letter files containing hundreds of happy, helping, inspiring letters from our dear friends in whose veins flow 'the milk of human kindness.'"<sup>140</sup>

Jones did not have a Booker T. Washington to act as an intermediary for donations to his school as did Edwards and Holtzclaw, nor did he have the endorsement of a John D. Rockefeller, Sr. or an Andrew Carnegie as Washington had. The Piney Woods School Principal did not benefit from a close association with a local white patron as Edwards did in the person of Randall O. Simpson, nor did he have the opportunities to speak to "Tuskegee audiences." Raising funds for his new school was a lonely venture and Jones recalled "Walking the hard pavements day after day in the sweltering sun or cutting winds and blinding snows...."<sup>141</sup> Jones appealed for funds personally in Iowa, the state where he had received his high school and college education, and his focus on this midwestern state differed from the orientation of Tuskegee Institute and its two offshoots, Snow Hill and Utica Institutes.<sup>142</sup> While Edwards and Holtzclaw traveled to Boston and New York City, Jones sought financial assistance in Keokuk and Des Moines, Iowa.

After visitors from the United States Bureau of Education toured The Piney Woods School in December 1913, they found that the "financial

accounts were carefully kept and that a full statement of income and expenditure was available." The financial status of Jones' school reflected the importance of financial patronage: \$2,745 of the \$3,269 budget for 1912-1913 came from donations. The school had an indebtedness of \$350. The visitors recognized the efforts that Jones had made towards sustaining his school: "The support [of the school] was largely due to the principal's energy in securing funds."<sup>143</sup>

The Piney Woods School in 1913 Visitors from the United States Bureau of Education in December 1913 described the school that Jones founded as "an elementary school with provision for simple industrial training." The visitors counted 158 students taught by an "all-colored" staff of eight, and noted a "lack of equipment" and concluded that "the effort to teach only a few industries was wise."<sup>144</sup> The campus had expanded from the original gift of forty acres from the ex-slave, Ed Taylor, in November 1909, to 169 acres by December 1913. The school used only five acres for the campus, had eighty acres in pasture and cultivated eighty-four acres, an indication, perhaps, of Jones' efforts toward economic self-sufficiency. The buildings of the four-year old school were "all frame. The main building was a two-story structure. There were several small structures. The buildings, built entirely with student labor, were crudely built, but well kept."<sup>145</sup> The visitors to Jones' school concluded their report with the plaudit that "the school had won the friendship of the local people and had exerted a helpful influence on the county."<sup>146</sup>

Seven months before the Bureau of Education visitors arrived, Jones secured a charter for his school from the State of Mississippi, and

legally incorporated the name "Piney Woods Country Life School," a name that Jones shortened to "The Piney Woods School" in his autobiography. The charter, recorded May 17, 1913, four years after its founding, stated the purpose of the school: "to establish and develop a country life school to train colored boys and girls for a life of character and service." An article in the charter referred specifically to the kind of student body that Laurence C. Jones intended to educate: "every reasonable effort shall be made to bring education for country life within the ability of the poorer classes of the 'Black Belt.'"<sup>147</sup>

Jones came alone to Rankin County from nearby Utica in the summer of 1909. Nobody had sent him. He had no missionary society behind him and no substantial backers. He founded his school in October 1909 under a cedar tree by a log cabin. His initial capital was \$1.65. He started by teaching three students and used a pine stump for his outdoor desk. In four years, he had made a beginning and "transformed the old log cabin into an institute throbbing with service."<sup>148</sup>

## II. Laurence C. Jones' Relations with the other Black Educators in this Study

### Booker T. Washington

Jones claimed in his autobiography that when he graduated from the University of Iowa in May 1907, "I was in correspondence with Dr. Booker T. Washington's great Tuskegee Institute and was in line for a place there, but decided to go into a little school near Utica...."<sup>149</sup> There is, unfortunately, no extant correspondence between Jones and

Washington in the Booker T. Washington Papers or elsewhere to elaborate upon this job offer. Jones mentioned the founder of Tuskegee Institute only one other time in his autobiography, when he referred to the oral reports that he delivered on Washington's life to one of his classes in his junior year at college. His account of these reports revealed Jones' contention that "the Negro race had many other great men... who happened not to be so well known as Dr. Washington," and his belief that "one of the highest expressions of Negro life and achievement was found in the life and personality of W. E. B. Dubois."<sup>150</sup>

Jones' acknowledgment in 1906 of Dubois' importance to black culture was not surprising, considering that Jones was one of the college-trained "Talented Tenth" that Dubois thought was so vital to the progress of black people. Although there is not sufficient evidence to elaborate upon what Jones thought of Dubois after he graduated from the University of Iowa, the Piney Woods School Principal acknowledged an article written about his school by an agent of the Slater Fund that appeared in the July 1913 issue of The Crisis, the monthly magazine of the NAACP edited by Dubois. Jones informed his Pine Torch readers in August 1913, that the article had appeared "In the July 'Crisis,' a splendid magazine which is a record of the Darker races published [at] 26 Vesey St. New York City."<sup>151</sup>

Jones mentioned Washington's name only once in The Pine Torch from May 1911 to December 1913, and this was in the form of an undated "Extract From a Letter From Dr. Booker T. Washington" that appeared in the October 1913 issue of his school newsletter: "You have an opportunity in that section to do a much needed work and I am glad to

note through the enclosed clippings that you have received the support of the colored and white citizens alike."<sup>152</sup> This "extract" suggested that Jones had informed Washington about his school. Although Jones used The Pine Torch as an important medium to raise funds, not once in the issues of this newsletter between 1911 and 1913 did he evoke Washington's name. Jones, unlike Edwards or Holtzclaw, never publicly claimed his school as a replica of Tuskegee Institute although the type of education that he offered certainly complemented the ideals and practices of Washington.

William H. Holtzclaw

Jones never referred to Holtzclaw or his two-year tenure at Utica Institute (1907-1909) in the pages of The Pine Torch between 1911 and 1913, and his only reference to his former employer in his autobiography was the claim that "In his report of my work the principal [of Utica Institute], Mr. Holtzclaw, said 'The Academic work has been in the hands of Mr. L. C. Jones of the University of Iowa, and he has conducted it with prudence and wisdom.'"<sup>153</sup> There is no extant correspondence between Jones and Holtzclaw.<sup>154</sup> In response to a question about his stay at Utica Institute, Jones, in his ninety-second year (1974), replied: "Oh, I don't recall much of anything about that because I was travelling most of the time, going around seeing things and trying to learn what was being accomplished. I visited a lot of different schools...."<sup>155</sup> Jones founded his school twenty-five miles east of Utica in an adjoining county. The first two members of his faculty were "two of the students at Utica Institute whom I taught before coming to the piney woods."<sup>156</sup>

There is no record of how Holtzclaw felt about losing two of his students to Jones as staff members or how he reacted to the location of The Piney Woods School. No evidence has been discovered that Jones ever commented upon the educational efforts of Edwards at Snow Hill or Thomas O. Fuller, the subject of the next chapter.

### III. The Autobiography of Laurence C. Jones

Up through Difficulties, a title suggestive of Washington's Up from Slavery, was published in 1913, when Jones was thirty-one years old (the youngest autobiographer studied in this dissertation), the Principal of The Piney Woods School for four years, and sixty-one years before he retired in 1974.<sup>157</sup> Jones' autobiography, unlike those written by Washington, Edwards, and Holtzclaw, did not originate as a series of periodical articles prior to publication in the form of a book. Jones used none of the authenticating devices (pictures, testimonials, speeches, etc.) to substantiate his narrative as did the other black educator-autobiographers studied in this dissertation. He claimed that he wrote his book "at the suggestions of several of my friends who made it possible," suggesting that he had received financial assistance to publish his book under the imprint "The Pine Torch Press, Braxton, Mississippi." His autobiography was published in the South rather than in the North, where Washington, Edwards, and Holtzclaw had their autobiographies published. Unlike the other educators in this study, Jones made an overt appeal for funds on the last page of his book when he wrote, "This my dear reader, is the first chapter of my

work. You can help to answer how the succeeding chapters shall be written." Then he appended a "Form of Bequest" that readers could complete and mail to him.<sup>158</sup>

#### IV. The Educational Philosophy of Laurence C. Jones as Revealed in Up through Difficulties

##### Ontology: The world of Laurence C. Jones

As a child growing up in St. Joseph, Missouri, Jones experienced little of the economic miseries that had haunted the childhoods of the other black educators studied so far in this dissertation. Jones' father, the head porter at a hotel, brought home a "living" that afforded ample food and shelter. John Jones, an ex-slave from Alabama, did not have the advantage of formal schooling, but his son described him as "shrewd and practical, hard-working and home-loving, sober and intelligent."<sup>159</sup> Jones' mother, Mary, in addition to her work as a homemaker, was a seamstress. She was "from Wisconsin and had attended their good old schools..."<sup>160</sup> Four children made up this family, all girls except Laurence Clifton. His home was "clean and attractive," no "dirty floor cabin 14 feet by 16 feet," as Holtzclaw remembered his initial surroundings.<sup>161</sup> Jones' mother used to dress him in a "white blouse and tight little velvet trousers" and he experienced none of the "miserable, desolate, and discouraging" childhood circumstances that Washington recalled in Up from Slavery.<sup>162</sup> Jones attended a public elementary school and "persisted through all the grades of the primary department into the grammar department" unlike Edwards, for example, who

recollected that "much of the time I was out of school because I had nothing to eat or to wear."<sup>163</sup> Jones, in effect, pictured life in St. Joseph in the 1880s and 1890s as a beneficent world where generosity and satisfaction abounded.

Reality of aspiration Jones manifested a reality of aspiration not in spite of an impoverished upbringing, but as a consequence of parental guidance. Jones absorbed the example of his father, "Whenever it was in his power to do so, my father saw to it that things came his way. He was ambitious for me... and taught me to be 'the right man in the right place,'" and his mother, whose creed reflected an insistence upon industriousness and ambition: "...to do well according to one's strength was a plain, unvarnished duty. It was what we were here for...."<sup>164</sup> Since Jones was the only boy in the family, all "the maternal hopes and ambitions" were centered on him. He was expected to possess "all the commendable traits of my ancestors," to emulate "all the men of my race who had come into prominence since the founding of America," and "to add something of my own." His family hoped that "I might be 'cut out' for a lawyer, a doctor, an editor, a minister, a 'big' business man, a professor. I might get into Congress."<sup>165</sup>

Jones expressed none of the wonderment nor attributed any transforming influences to the University of Iowa as Washington did about Hampton Institute in Up from Slavery or as Edwards and Holtzclaw did about Tuskegee Institute. Hampton Institute was "the greatest place on earth," according to Washington. Edwards remembered Tuskegee Institute as a "place that changed the course of my life," while Holtzclaw recalled that "I had at last found the looked-for opportunity."<sup>166</sup> Jones

referred only to the "superior advantages of schooling that were mine at Iowa," and gave the impression in his autobiography that his collegiate experience was the natural consequence of prior familial expectations.<sup>167</sup> Edwards and Holtzclaw, however, conveyed the feeling that Washington's school nurtured aspirations more hoped for than expected.

Empirical reality When Jones made his first trip to Rankin County during Christmas of 1908, he wasted no time in surveying the educational facilities available for black people: "Their little rural schools were many miles apart... and were unsealed, black with soot, without glass windows, rude benches and no blackboards." He also acted as an investigator and "looked into the moral condition of the people and found that it was much higher than I had expected to find it...."<sup>168</sup> When he returned to Rankin County in May 1909, he became, in his words, a "Wanderlehrer," and visited homes, churches, and "neighborhood gatherings under trees at noontime or anywhere I could gather facts." Jones traveled across the county "sometimes astride a mule, sometimes in an ox-drawn wagon, but more frequently afoot.... In this way I studied the people and spent the entire summer."<sup>169</sup> His preference for a reality of self-discovery resembled Washington's month-long scrutiny of Macon County, Alabama, before he opened Tuskegee Institute in July 1881, Edwards' three-month tour of Wilcox and surrounding counties prior to opening Snow Hill Institute in 1893, and Holtzclaw's reconnoitering of the Mississippi Delta preceding the genesis of Utica Institute in 1903. It was only after "a summer's work and time" that Jones decided that "I could do something for these people out here

in the great piney woods...."<sup>170</sup>

Jones, self-described as a "Missourian by birth [and] an Iowan boy by education," committed himself to black ruralism and anchored his vision of education in the land of Dixie. He stated that his was a "country school in an ideal location with plenty of fresh, pure water and woods for years to come..." and rhetorically asked, "How could I demonstrate Agriculture in a city?" He believed that the future of black people "must be as countryfolk in the South."<sup>171</sup> His embrace of southern agrarianism was all the more interesting because, unlike the other black educators in this study, Jones became a southerner by adoption and not birth. In his autobiography, he treated his twenty-five year residency in the Midwest as an interlude that served primarily as a period of education, while he expressed a positive commitment to claim the South, "big with the destiny of the American Negro," as his own. His stay in the Piney Woods enlivened a faith in a black folk existence: "the humanity, the simplicity, and the universal peacefulness of American Negroes when they were in the South impressed me the most."<sup>172</sup>

Change One of Jones' initial challenges as an educational leader was to create an opinion for change in the black community. The magnitude of the problem of eliciting the cooperation of local blacks for their rehabilitation could be seen from Jones' depiction of the old farmer who still described his antebellum trip from Virginia to Mississippi as a journey that included "five of us — myself and brother and three mules." Jones recognized the interrelation between the material and the psychological condition of his people. Blacks in

Rankin County felt paralyzed by the future and could only cry out as one old man, "'I do want to change, I want to do something for my wife and children, but I do not know how - I do not know what to do.'"<sup>173</sup>

According to Jones, educating blacks in his community to a new concept of land utilization would help to change the lifestyle of his Black Belt neighbors. His modus operandi was to talk diversified farming, "discussing the cost of raising ten cent cotton and buying fifteen cent bacon and ninety cent corn..."<sup>174</sup> Jones' acceptance of the premise that reform could come from within black people resembled the ideas of the other black educators studied so far in this dissertation. Although he considered himself an agent of change, he counseled patience: "In our desire to see a better condition of affairs, we were too often inclined to grow impatient because a whole race was not elevated in a short time, very much as a home was built."<sup>175</sup> Jones recognized the impediments that blocked "the path of the Negro" but maintained that "when judged by the obstacles overcome, few races, if any, in history have made progress commensurate with that of the colored people of the United States, in the same length of time."<sup>176</sup>

Adjustment Jones was careful to do nothing "within my understanding" that offended whites in his community. He answered the "often posed question of how I fared during my years in Mississippi" by relating a parable about the black woman who went to a "conjure doctor" for a remedy for her husband's disagreeable temper; the vicarious cure took place when she followed the directions to hold a clear liquid in her mouth for "not under a quarter of an hour." When she asked the doctor in astonishment the nature of the medicine, he replied, "'cold

water — but it kept your tongue still!"<sup>177</sup>

Jones knew when to "keep still." He related an incident when "I was in a community in Mississippi where I went to try to inspire my people for better living." He met a white plantation owner who told him "'These har niggers don't need no education, all they need is a little money at Christmas time and a barl of whiskey once and awhile, so you'd better get out of yehr....'" The Piney Woods School Principal recognized the full meaning of a confrontation that could have cost him his life and "took his advice, for from the look of his face, I felt that he meant what he said...."<sup>178</sup> On another occasion, Jones "suddenly found himself face to face with a gang of young white desperdoes" but, with a sure sense of himself, he "knew they were as surprised to see me as I was to see them, so I politely and firmly said 'Good evening, Gentlemen,' passed around them, and was down the road by the time they had realized the situation."<sup>179</sup> Jones managed to maintain an even balance in the face of white hostility and these autobiographical vignettes illustrated his ability to circumvent the deep-rooted prejudices and suspicions of his Mississippi environment.

### Epistemology

Sources of knowledge Jones stated unequivocally in his autobiography that he intended "to put Negro education on a sound and rational basis by teaching the masses that the way to build up a race was to begin at the bottom...." He devised a program of studies suited, in his opinion, to the special needs of rural black students: "We do not try to teach these boys and girls who are to live in the country

an education for city life. In short, it is 'real farm education' reduced to its simplest terms, stripped of every frill...."<sup>180</sup> An education "stripped of every frill" was similar to Washington's admonition that black people needed to draw "the line between the superficial and the substantial," and to Holtzclaw's insistence that "we must stick to that which is fundamental and enduring."<sup>181</sup> Jones informed his students that "you will notice that our course of study is planned with the thought of teaching what will be best for you under the circumstances." The Ph.B. recipient from the University of Iowa boasted that "You will find no Latin, no Greek, no calculus here."<sup>182</sup>

In a land where Jones saw a woman trying to cut out a dress with a butcher knife and another feeding a child alum for a snake bite, Jones decided that his students needed simple survival skills. The economic and social conditions under which poor black people lived in Rankin County became the blocks that undergirded Jones' pedagogical platform. While Edwards and Washington expressed the belief that industrial education was not meant to circumscribe the growth of black people, Jones, as did Holtzclaw at Utica Institute, never publicly acknowledged or admitted that his educational program could be interpreted as an effort that assigned black students to a narrow sphere of life.

Learning Jones was as adamant about linking theory with practice as Washington: "It was our constant endeavor to teach these boys and girls in terms of their everyday life and classes were taken out of doors to measure and study objects."<sup>183</sup> He provided these examples: "our students learned that 'rithmetic' could be applied in determining the cost of making cotton as against the cost of growing corn and they

learned that chemistry had something to do with curing the hams of a Berkshire [hog] and that it had to do with sanitation about their homes...."<sup>184</sup> He greeted his students in October 1913, with the news that "you will learn how to make a broom and then make it; you will talk about sour soil and then test some; girls will be taught how to make a dress and then sit down to the machine and make one."<sup>185</sup>

Jones was not, however, content with championing the practical application of knowledge only on the campus of The Piney Woods School. In what he called the "Button Connection," Jones related the story of how he helped a teacher connect "schoolroom work with real life." He was called into a nearby community to devise a compromise between parents and a teacher who was "earnest" and a "hard worker" but who was "on the outs" with the parents of her students. The chief parental complaint was that "the teacher did not seem to accomplish any good."<sup>186</sup> Jones spent time in the teacher's classroom and discovered that she was using a textbook to teach embroidery. The students were required first to read lessons from the book and then "instructed in the art of embroidery in the most up-to-date fashion." The teacher, however, complained that "although she had gone to considerable expense to prepare to teach embroidery, her students showed no interest in what she was trying to do for them."<sup>187</sup>

What went wrong? As Jones told it, "about half of the children were more than half naked and so embroidery was not what they needed most." As "gently and tactfully" as he could, The Piney Woods School Principal suggested to the teacher that "she had missed a step in the evolution of the people in this community, and that from no garments

to embroidery was too sudden a transition...." Jones then advised the teacher "to defer her lessons in embroidery until she could work the people up by gradual processes to the point where they needed embroidered garments...."<sup>188</sup> The teacher "readily consented" and the "Button Connection" began.

The teacher first asked her students to count the missing buttons on their garments: "The number was amazing. Here was an interesting problem in mathematics." Students were requested next to bring to school all the garments from home that needed buttons sewed on. Jones related what happened: "... we had about all the spare clothing in that community. The pupils looked forward to the class because they now felt that the lesson in sewing on buttons was of vital interest to them."<sup>189</sup> The teacher was now a success because "she taught and touched life." A "new teaching" had occurred: "real problems in arithmetic were constructed - problems as to the cost of cloth, of buttons, and the time required to sew on buttons." Students wrote compositions that "described how the teacher and the pupils worked together. The children no longer dreaded the sound of the word 'composition' because in a natural, simple way they were describing something that they were all genuinely interested in."<sup>190</sup> The "Button Connection" had started it all.

Jones' story was similar to Washington's account about teaching geography in Malden, West Virginia, and Holtzclaw's report of how he taught a class at Utica Institute after he had discovered that one of his teachers stressed memorization over manipulation.<sup>191</sup> Jones' celebration of the "Button Connection" was not surprising. His preference for an empirical reality led naturally to an interest in

having students discover for themselves the relevance of their learning environment. Pedagogy for Jones grew out of the environment of his students and their needs, abilities, and future prospects as he conceived them.

### Axiology

Regeneration Jones considered himself a "maker of men and women." He likened his work to the spraying of orchards "which, as we all know, are attacked by parasites and insects that can be destroyed only by spraying. So we tend to the human orchard, training it to produce fine and perfect fruit...."<sup>192</sup> Jones portrayed his students, his "human orchards," in need of regeneration. He found upon his arrival in Rankin County "little dark-skinned faces who were still in the gloom, awkward, clumsy, unlettered boys and girls, many with all their worldly possessions tied up in a bandanna handkerchief and all the petty sins of their community tied up in their heads too."<sup>193</sup> Jones decided that his school would "spread the light of intelligence and regenerate boys and girls who traveled a path of ignorance." The Piney Woods School would be a portal of hope and light for those who lived far from main-traveled roads: "You would have an idea of what this little school meant if you could picture in your mind a wayward pilgrim who saw the light of a little house, high up on a hill, and who was consoled with the thought that there he could find comfort, rest, and reform...."<sup>194</sup>

Jones attempted with alacrity to regenerate his "wayward pilgrims." He discovered in 1909 "boys and girls from the ages of seven and eight

using snuff and tobacco," campaigned against such evils, and in a short time maintained that "now it was a rare thing to see such a thing."<sup>195</sup> He was concerned about personal cleanliness. He told his students, "Water was free, soap cost but little, and, although many of you had only the clothing that you wore here, you should keep your bodies clean and your under-clothing washed often, even if you had to wash it every night."<sup>196</sup>

Jones also referred to the "Spirit of Piney Woods," a phrase that resembled Washington's "Spirit of Tuskegee." The Piney Woods Spirit encompassed the virtues of "kindness in the home," "honesty in business," "courtesy in society," "help in meeting the weak," "resistance in meeting evil," and "forgiveness in meeting the penitent."<sup>197</sup> The Piney Woods Spirit meant "service at home, by mending fences, straightening up barns, and rebuilding houses,"<sup>198</sup> and related also to the "dignity of all honest labor."<sup>199</sup>

Religion Jones did not neglect the "spiritual side" of his students, although he reminded the reader of his autobiography that his school was "strictly undenominational."<sup>200</sup> Religion became part of the daily routine with chapel services each morning and evening. Sundays were devoted to church-related activities: a "wide-awake" Sunday School at nine o'clock, followed by a "preaching service when we got a minister," a Christian Endeavor meeting at three o'clock in the afternoon, and an "evening chapel service at seven." At these meetings "every student and teacher on the campus was to be found."<sup>201</sup>

Although Jones paid proper deference to the "religious spirit of the folk in this community," he sought also to secularize a "passive religion

that taught that suffering on earth would be rewarded eventually in heaven." He described a "practical kind of religion that manifested itself in work." He believed in prayer but "we do not want to stop with that: We want every furrow we turn, every nail we drive, every dish we wash, and every dress we iron to have that something put into the task that represented the spirit of our prayers. Only in this way will our prayers be worthwhile."<sup>202</sup>

Jones, with an evident degree of satisfaction, took credit for extending the influence of his school and its emphasis upon the practical to a local black minister and his church. He described how this minister stopped preaching about the "horrors of hell and the glories of heaven" and that "at the present time the sermons that were preached had a vital connection with the life of the community thanks to our work." Jones told how the black minister once chose for his text "The earth is full of Thy riches," and illustrated his sermon by placing on the pulpit "two bushels of prize corn which he himself had grown on his farm." The minister then "pointed with pride to his little agricultural exhibit as an indication of the real significance of this sentence from the Bible, which had never before had any definite meaning for him."<sup>203</sup> The interest that Jones expressed in the practical value of religion resembled Washington's assertion in Up from Slavery that "the religion of Christ is a real and helpful thing," and Edwards' claim in his autobiography that "Our religion should be made practical. It must be real and not visionary. No other will suffice."<sup>204</sup>

## V. Summary

When Jones opened the fifth year of his school on October 18, 1913, he welcomed his students and bid them "to enter into the spirit of this institution" and "light up with a new understanding of the meaning of real education - books and manual training."<sup>205</sup> The Missouri-born, Iowa-educated college graduate, also told his student audience that they were part of an effort "to blaze an educational trail throughout the piney woods." Jones could have also reminded his young charges that their "educational trail" was marked with signposts reminiscent of the tradition of Washington. In his attempt to foster the educational growth of black people in Rankin County, Jones created a paradigm of Tuskegee Institute.

Although Jones mentioned Washington by name only once in his autobiography and once in twenty-eight issues of The Pine Torch from May 1911 to December 1913, his speech to his students on the third Monday of October 1913, reflected his adoption of attitudes and actions congruent with those of Washington, Edwards, and Holtzclaw. Jones told his students why he thought they had come to his school: "You have come to educate your mind, your morals, and your muscles. You want to know how to think clearly, how to live in the right way, and how to make some material progress in the world." He assured his students that they would not be disappointed: "The lessons for success were here - the virtues of honesty, carefulness, attention to details and economy - were waiting for you to learn."<sup>206</sup> Washington would have been pleased.

Jones also acquainted the class of 1913 with the demanding routine

that awaited them: "You have come to work, to wash and iron, and sew and mend, and make brooms, and care for the mules, and horses and cows and sheep, to plow and hoe and fill the barn with corn and hay and the school's commissary with meal and molasses."<sup>207</sup> Students at The Piney Woods School were going to be kept as busy as their peers at Tuskegee or Snow Hill or Utica Institute.

Jones not only sounded like the other Tuskegee educators in this study, but he acted like them in many respects. He studied the conditions of black people in Rankin County as avidly as Washington, Edwards, and Holtzclaw did in their respective locales. He adopted a similar belief in change and accepted the necessity of adjustment to an environment that was racially hostile. He committed himself to an agrarian lifestyle and celebrated its virtues as enthusiastically as Washington and his progenies. His school offered a "common school education, applying arithmetic, geography, and theoretical agriculture in a practical way,"<sup>208</sup> a program of study that wedded student and rural society, and one that his fellow educators from Tuskegee Institute would deem compatible with their course offerings.

The differences between The Piney Woods School and the Tuskegee Institute offshoots stemmed from organizational structure and formal affiliation with Washington. Although the appellations "normal and industrial" belied significant enrollments in the elementary grades at Snow Hill and Utica Institutes, these schools did originate with the intent to train teachers, a purpose that Jones did not formally adopt until 1918.<sup>209</sup> While Jones promoted his school as a rural education center, he did not seem interested in developing ambitious land ventures

such as those sponsored by the Black Belt Improvement Societies at the Institutes in Snow Hill and Utica. Nor did Jones benefit philanthropically from the kinds of fund raising contacts that Washington made for Edwards, or that Washington and Scott generated for Holtzclaw. Jones had to rely upon his own efforts, his annual summer treks to the Midwest, and his four-page monthly newsletter to engender financial assistance for his school between 1909 and 1913. He did not benefit from the publicity that Washington gained for Edwards and Holtzclaw in books and periodicals. Despite these differences, however, Jones accepted the "Tuskegee Spirit" as his own and adopted the model of Tuskegee Institute as the crucible of educational advancement for black people.

## FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup>Leslie Harper Purcell, Miracle in Mississippi, Laurence C. Jones of Piney Woods (New York: Comet Press Books, 1956), p. 1.

<sup>2</sup>George A. Sewell, Mississippi Black History Makers (Jackson, Miss.: University Press of Mississippi, 1977), pp. 166-167. Jones mentioned Prior Foster in his autobiography but provided no details about his work. See Laurence C. Jones, Up through Difficulties (Braxton, Miss.: The Pine Torch Press, 1913), p. 5. The Manual Labor Institute was founded on February 19, 1848, by Prior Foster with the assistance of his two brothers, Joseph and Levi. The school provided manual training primarily related to agriculture and closed by 1856. See Reginald R. Larrie, Makin' Free: African-Americans in the Northwest Territory (Detroit: Blaine Ethridge Books, 1981), pp. 52, 57.

<sup>3</sup>Missouri Constitution of 1875, Article XI, Section 2, and Laws of Missouri, 1883, cited by W. Sherman Savage, "The Legal Provisions for Negro Schools in Missouri from 1865 to 1890," The Journal of Negro History 16 (July 1931): 313, 316. Jones described the barbershop where he worked and the racial character of his schooling in Up through Difficulties, p. 4.

<sup>4</sup>Lorenzo J. Greene, Gary R. Kremer, and Anthony F. Holland, Missouri's Black Heritage (St. Louis: Forum Press, 1980), p. 95.

<sup>5</sup>Jones, Up through Difficulties, pp. 11-12; Nellie Bass, interview by Alferdteen Harrison, 24 February 1974, interview OH01.3b, transcript, Oral History Study of Black Educational Institutions in Mississippi, Jackson State University, Jackson, Miss. Nellie Bass worked as the post-mistress of The Piney Woods School from 1925 to 1972.

<sup>6</sup>Black people comprised 10 percent of the population of St. Joseph, Missouri, in 1880. There were 29,201 whites and 3,227 blacks. See U.S., Department of Interior, Census Office, Tenth Census of the United States, 1880: Population, 1: 421. Statistics on lynchings are found in Thirty Years of Lynching in the United States, 1889-1918 (New York: National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 1919), pp. 34, 80-81.

<sup>7</sup>Jones, Up through Difficulties, pp. 4-6.

<sup>8</sup>Leola N. Bergmann, "The Negro in Iowa," The Iowa Journal of History and Politics 46 (January 1948): 50; William Batlin and F. A. Moscrip, Past and Present of Marshall County, Iowa (Indianapolis: B. F. Bowen and Company, 1912), p. 304.

<sup>9</sup>U.S., Department of Interior, Census Office, Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900: Population, 1: 219, 617. A study of the Population Schedules of the 1900 Census for Marshalltown and Marshall County

did not reveal Laurence C. Jones' name on the census list. Since the census was taken in June when the school term was over, it was possible that Jones might have visited his family in St. Joseph, Missouri.

<sup>10</sup>Clarence R. Aurner, History of Education in Iowa, 4 vols. (Iowa City: The State Historical Society of Iowa, 1914-1916), 3: 358-361. Aurner conveniently listed the required and elective courses available at Marshalltown High School for 1900-1903.

<sup>11</sup>"High School Class of '03 Graduates," Marshalltown (Ia.) Times-Republican, 29 May 1903, p. 7. A study of this newspaper from January 1899 to May 1903 revealed that this article was the only one printed that mentioned Jones during the four years of his residence in Marshalltown. The 1903 graduating class numbered twenty-nine. See Batlin and Moscrip, Past and Present, p. 307. Records at Marshalltown High School did not indicate the race of students and it was not possible, therefore, to discover if and when other blacks attended the school before Jones did. See Ray Linehan, Research Department, Marshalltown Senior High School, to Arnold Cooper, 21 December 1982, Personal Files of Arnold Cooper, Ridgeland, South Carolina.

<sup>12</sup>Jones, Up through Difficulties, p. 13.

<sup>13</sup>The first black student to enter the University of Iowa was Alexander Clark, Jr., and he received the LL.B. in 1879. See Bergmann, "The Negro in Iowa," p. 82. The Des Moines Iowa State Bystander, presently known as The Iowa Bystander, a weekly black newspaper started in 1894, published an article entitled "Iowa's College and Professional School Negro Graduates" on May 31, 1907, p. 6, that also mentioned Clark as the first black student to enter the University of Iowa.

<sup>14</sup>"Three Negroes Win Degrees at University," Des Moines Iowa State Bystander, 14 June 1907, p. 1. The Bystander gave front page coverage to the 1907 graduation of the three black graduates from the University of Iowa including pictures of each graduate. This Bystander article was quite informative, since the race of students at the University of Iowa was not officially recorded before 1922 and since racial designations of students ended in the 1960s and were also deleted at that time from existing records. See Earl M. Rogers, Curator of Archives, University of Iowa, to Arnold Cooper, 13 October 1982, Personal Files of Arnold Cooper, Ridgeland, South Carolina.

<sup>15</sup>Jones, Up through Difficulties, p. 14.

<sup>16</sup>Laurence C. Jones Alumni Vertical Information Folder, University of Iowa Archives, Iowa City, Iowa.

<sup>17</sup>"Education at Tuskegee," Daily Iowan, 3 May 1906, p. 3. A study of the Daily Iowan, the newspaper of the University of Iowa, from September 1903 to June 1907, revealed that the article on Jones' reports

about Booker T. Washington was the only time that Jones was mentioned by name in the Daily Iowan.

<sup>18</sup> Laurence C. Jones to Thomas H. Macbride, 21 November 1933, Folder 2, Box 8, Thomas H. Macbride Papers, University of Iowa Archives, Iowa City, Iowa. Macbride was President of the University of Iowa from 1914 to 1916 and Head of the Botany Department from 1884 to 1914.

<sup>19</sup> Jones, Up through Difficulties, p. 16.

<sup>20</sup> Laurence C. Jones to William G. McChesney, 4 September 1903, Laurence C. Jones Alumni Information Vertical Folder, University of Iowa Archives, Iowa City, Iowa. Italics mine.

<sup>21</sup> F. N. Beckman, "An Iowan's Unique Work for Human Uplift in the Piney Woods," Des Moines Register and Leader, 18 June 1911, magazine section, p. 1.

<sup>22</sup> W. E. B. Dubois, The College-Bred Negro American (Atlanta: The Atlanta University Press, 1910), pp. 45, 56. Italics mine. Dubois indicated that there were 133 black graduates of four-year colleges (black and white) in 1907, the year that Jones graduated from the University of Iowa. There were 9,647 white recipients of undergraduate degrees in 1907. See U.S., Bureau of Education, Report of the Commissioner of Education for the Year 1906-1907, 2: 739.

<sup>23</sup> Dubois, The College-Bred Negro American, p. 66. The three occupations pursued by black graduates of four-year colleges between 1900 and 1909 that drew the largest numbers after teaching were preaching (20 percent), medicine (7 percent), and law (3.8 percent). Dubois claimed that between 1823 and 1909, there were 3,856 black graduates of four-year colleges in America and that 2,965 (76.8 percent) graduated from historically black colleges. Laurence C. Jones, then, was one of the 892 blacks who graduated from an historically white four-year college between 1823 and 1909. See Dubois, The College-Bred Negro American, pp. 45, 50.

<sup>24</sup> Jones, Up through Difficulties, pp. 16-17. There is no extant correspondence between Jones and Booker T. Washington in the Booker T. Washington Papers in the Library of Congress while Jones was at Piney Woods School. There is one letter that Jones wrote to Washington when he served as the Director of the Academic Department at Utica Institute. There is, unfortunately, no extant correspondence or any other manuscripts of Laurence C. Jones deposited at The Piney Woods Country Life School. See James S. Wade, President, The Piney Woods Country Life School, to Arnold Cooper, 11 October 1982, Personal Files of Arnold Cooper, Ridgeland, South Carolina.

<sup>25</sup> Jones related this account to F. W. Beckman, a reporter for the Des Moines Register and Leader on June 18, 1911. See Beckman, "An Iowan's Unique Work," p. 1. Jones gave a similar account of his first trip to Braxton in Up through Difficulties, pp. 17-18.

- <sup>26</sup>Beckman, "An Iowan's Unique Work," p. 1. Italics mine.
- <sup>27</sup>Ibid., Jones, Up through Difficulties, pp. 20-21.
- <sup>28</sup>Jones, Up through Difficulties, pp. 23, 25. Italics mine.
- <sup>29</sup>Ibid., p. 25.
- <sup>30</sup>Ibid., pp. 25-26.
- <sup>31</sup>Ibid., p. 26.
- <sup>32</sup>Leola Hughes, interview by Alferdteen Harrison, 5 September 1978, interview OH01.4b, transcript, Oral History Study of Black Educational Institutions in Mississippi, Jackson State University, Jackson, Miss.
- <sup>33</sup>Jones cited by Beckman, "An Iowan's Unique Work," p. 1; Jones, Up through Difficulties, pp. 27-29.
- <sup>34</sup>Jones, Up through Difficulties, p. 29.
- <sup>35</sup>Thomas Jesse Jones, ed., Negro Education: A Study of the Private and Higher Schools for Colored People in the United States, Bureau of Education Bulletin No. 39, 1916, 2 vols. (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1917), 2: 367.
- <sup>36</sup>Leola Hughes, interview by Alferdteen Harrison, 5 September 1978, interview OH01.4b, transcript, Oral History Study of Black Educational Institutions in Mississippi, Jackson State University, Jackson, Miss.
- <sup>37</sup>The Pine Torch 2 (February 1912): 2. Braxton, a community of 286 in 1910, was three miles south of the location of Jones' school.
- <sup>38</sup>U.S., Department of Interior, Census Office, Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910: Population, 2: 1048, 1056. There were 14,249 blacks in Rankin County out of a total population of 23,944 in 1910 and 39,531 blacks in Hinds County out of a population of 52,568.
- <sup>39</sup>Richard A. McLemore, A History of Mississippi, 2 vols. (Hattiesburg, Miss.: University and College Press of Mississippi, 1973), 2: 354.
- <sup>40</sup>Simpson County, which bordered Rankin on the south, had 11,232 whites and 5,969 blacks in 1910. Scott County on the east had 9,703 whites and 6,896 blacks, while Smith County on the southeast had 13,695 whites and 2,899 blacks in 1910. See U.S., Department of Interior, Census Office, Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910: Population, 2: 1057.

<sup>41</sup>G. S. Dickerman, "From Iowa to Mississippi," The Crisis 6 (July 1913): 137. Dickerman was a field agent for the Slater Fund.

<sup>42</sup>The Pine Torch 1 (May 1911): 1.

<sup>43</sup>Laurence C. Jones, "Piney Woods School," Southern Workman 60 (June 1931): 20. Jones also decided to identify his school with its locale when he named his school newsletter The Pine Torch: "we decided to call [the school newsletter] 'The Pine Torch' because it was to be a record of how we were spreading the light of civilization over 'the Piney Woods'...." See Up through Difficulties, p. 35.

<sup>44</sup>See Chapter 3, Part I, herein for a discussion of some of the most important racial and political factors affecting black people in Mississippi from 1903 to 1913.

<sup>45</sup>U.S., Department of Interior, Census Office, Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910: Population, 2: 1057. In 1910, 35.6 percent of the black population in Mississippi was illiterate, while only 5.2 percent of the entire white population of the state could not read and write.

<sup>46</sup>Thirty Years of Lynching, pp. 35, 79-80. The lynching in Braxton occurred on June 28, 1910. Jones did not mention the lynching in his autobiography or in The Pine Torch.

<sup>47</sup>Jones, Up through Difficulties, p. 53.

<sup>48</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 16.

<sup>49</sup>The Pine Torch 1 (July 1911): 2-3; The Pine Torch 2 (May 1912): 1.

<sup>50</sup>*Ibid.*, 3 (January 1913): 1.

<sup>51</sup>*Ibid.*, 3 (February 1913): 2.

<sup>52</sup>John R. Webster, A Brief Historical Sketch of the Early Days of the Piney Woods School (n.p.: 1952), p. 20. Italics mine. Webster owned a sawmill in Braxton and was an early patron of Laurence Jones. He donated lumber for the first building on the Piney Woods School campus. Jones referred to Webster as a "fine Southern gentleman who wished the Negro well." See Up through Difficulties, p. 55.

<sup>53</sup>Webster, A Brief Historical Sketch, p. 22.

<sup>54</sup>Dickerman, "From Iowa to Mississippi," p. 138. Italics mine.

<sup>55</sup>Jones, Up through Difficulties, pp. 74-75.

<sup>56</sup>Ibid., p. 76.

<sup>57</sup>J. C. Jones, "A Southern White Man's View of the Work of The Piney Woods Industrial School," Jackson (Miss.) Daily News, 8 April 1912, p. 2. Italics mine.

<sup>58</sup>J. B. Lehman, "A Visit to Braxton," Jackson (Miss.) Daily News, 10 May 1912, p. 3; "A Piney Woods School," Jackson (Miss.) Daily News, 20 May 1913, p. 5.

<sup>59</sup>Webster, A Brief Historical Sketch, pp. 7, 26. Italics mine.

<sup>60</sup>The Pine Torch 1 (July 1911): 4; Leola Hughes, interview by Alferdteen Harrison, 5 September 1978, interview OH01.4b, transcript, Oral History Study of Black Educational Institutions in Mississippi, Jackson State University, Jackson, Miss.

<sup>61</sup>The Pine Torch 1 (July 1911): 3; Jones also informed a reporter for the Des Moines Register and Leader on June 18, 1911, that eighty-five students were enrolled at the close of his first school year. See Beckman, "An Iowan's Unique Work," p. 1.

<sup>62</sup>Beckman "An Iowan's Unique Work," p. 1; The Pine Torch 2 (June 1912): 4; The Pine Torch 3 (June 1913): 2.

<sup>63</sup>Jones, Negro Education, 2: 368.

<sup>64</sup>The Piney Woods School first reported enrollment data in 1916, when 205 students were reported enrolled for the 1915-1916 school year. See U.S., Bureau of Education, Report of the Commissioner for Education for the Year 1915-1916, 2: 595.

<sup>65</sup>The Pine Torch 1 (May 1911): 2, The Pine Torch, 4 (October 1913): 1; Jones, Negro Education, 2: 368.

<sup>66</sup>Jones, Up through Difficulties, p. 63.

<sup>67</sup>The Pine Torch 3 (October 1913): 1.

<sup>68</sup>Jones, Up through Difficulties, p. 63.

<sup>69</sup>Ibid., The Pine Torch 1 (October 1911): 4. Italics mine.

<sup>70</sup>Eva Weathersby, interview by Alferdteen Harrison, 27 June 1973, interview OH01.11B transcript, Oral History Study of Black Educational Institutions in Mississippi, Jackson State University, Jackson, Miss.

<sup>71</sup>The Pine Torch 1 (May 1911): 1.

<sup>72</sup>Ibid., 3 (December 1913): 4.

- <sup>73</sup>Ibid., 2 (August 1912): 3; Ibid., 3 (August 1913): 1.
- <sup>74</sup>Ibid., 3 (February 1912): 3; Ibid., 3 (May 1912): 2.
- <sup>75</sup>Ibid., 3 (January 1913): 4.
- <sup>76</sup>Ibid., 3 (November 1913): 1.
- <sup>77</sup>Ibid., p. 3. *Italics mine.* When Jones wrote a brief account of his school in 1931, he recalled the "constant rice and gravy diet that seemingly sufficed in the older days." See Jones, "Piney Woods School," p. 22.
- <sup>78</sup>The Pine Torch 3 (November 1913): 1.
- <sup>79</sup>Ibid., 3 (January 1913): 3.
- <sup>80</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>81</sup>Ibid. *Italics mine.*
- <sup>82</sup>William H. Holtzclaw, The Black Man's Burden (New York: The Neale Publishing Company, 1915), p. 222.
- <sup>83</sup>The Pine Torch 3 (February 1913): 3.
- <sup>84</sup>Ibid., 2 (March 1912): 3; The Piney Woods School graduated its first official class of five students in May 1918. See Jones, "Piney Woods School," p. 21.
- <sup>85</sup>Jones, Up through Difficulties, p. 70.
- <sup>86</sup>The Pine Torch 2 (March 1912): 3. *Italics mine.*
- <sup>87</sup>Ibid., 3 (September 1913): 1.
- <sup>88</sup>Jones, Up through Difficulties, p. 71.
- <sup>89</sup>The Pine Torch 3 (January 1913): 1.
- <sup>90</sup>Webster, A Brief Historical Sketch, p. 7.
- <sup>91</sup>Jones cited by Beckman, "An Iowan's Unique Work," p. 1.
- <sup>92</sup>The Pine Torch 1 (July 1911): 3.
- <sup>93</sup>Ibid., 1 (July 1911): 2.
- <sup>94</sup>The Pine Torch 2 (February 1912): 4; 3 (January 1913): 2.

<sup>95</sup>Jones, "Piney Woods School," p. 21. Emphasis in the original.

<sup>96</sup>The Pine Torch 2 (March 1912): 3; 2 (April 1912): 3; 3 (November 1912): 2.

<sup>97</sup>Ibid., 3 (January 1913): 4; Brandon (Miss.) News, 30 January 1913, p. 2. Brandon was the county seat of Rankin County and was ten miles northwest of Braxton.

<sup>98</sup>"A Piney Woods School," Jackson (Miss.) Daily News, 20 May 1913, p. 5. Italics mine.

<sup>99</sup>Jones cited by Beckman, "An Iowan's Unique Work," p. 1.

<sup>100</sup>Ibid.

<sup>101</sup>Jones, Up through Difficulties, pp. 32-33.

<sup>102</sup>The Pine Torch 1 (July 1911): 4.

<sup>103</sup>Jones, Up through Difficulties, pp. 36-37.

<sup>104</sup>Ibid., p. 41. Reden was born at Rock Island, Illinois, in 1885. Jones announced in the October 1912 issue of The Pine Torch that Reden and a female teacher on the Piney Woods School staff had married, the only mention of Reden in the school newspaper between August 1911 and December 1913. The Alumni Directory of the University of Iowa, 1911 (Iowa City, Ia.: University of Iowa Alumni Publications, 1911), p. 107, listed Reden's name under the College of Law but his address and occupation were left out. The Alumni Directory of the University of Iowa, 1924 (Iowa City, Ia.: University of Iowa Alumni Publications, 1924) listed Reden in education in Mississippi but provided no address (p. 365). The Law Directory of the University of Iowa, 1866-1936 (Iowa City, Ia.: University of Iowa College of Law, 1936), p. 788, listed Reden's address as Sioux Falls, South Dakota, and The Alumni Directory of the Iowa Law School, 1866-1961 (Iowa City, Ia.: University of Iowa College of Law, 1961), p. 2051, indicated that he was deceased. These references were consulted at the University of Iowa Archives, Iowa City, Iowa. Jones said in his autobiography that Reden was still a faculty member in October 1913. See Up through Difficulties, p. 68.

<sup>105</sup>Jones, Up through Difficulties, p. 41; The Pine Torch 3 (June 1912): 4.

<sup>106</sup>"L. C. Jones and Grace M. Allen Married," Des Moines Iowa State Bystander, 12 July 1912, p. 1. The Bystander, a weekly black newspaper, gave front page coverage to the Jones' wedding and described Grace Morris Allen as a "noted Young Colored Woman." Since racially identifiable records were not kept at the time that Grace Morris Allen graduated from Burlington High School in 1894, it was not possible to discern if she was the first black graduate of that high school or if other black

students attended at the same time or before she matriculated. See Lyle E. Elmer, Principal, Burlington High School, to Arnold Cooper, 6 November 1982, Personal Files of Arnold Cooper, Ridgeland, South Carolina. The Bystander printed a brief, front-page obituary of Grace Jones. See "Former Ia. Woman Buried in Mississippi," Des Moines Iowa State Bystander, 10 March 1928, p. 1. Another brief obituary of Grace Jones was also printed in the Burlington, Iowa, newspaper. See "Mrs. L. C. Jones of Pineywoods School Is Dead," Burlington (Ia.) Hawkeye, 3 March 1928, p. 5.

<sup>107</sup>Jones, Negro Education, 2: 368.

<sup>108</sup>Jones cited by Beckman, "An Iowan's Unique Work," p. 1; Jones, Up through Difficulties, pp. 42-43.

<sup>109</sup>Jones, Up through Difficulties, p. 43. Italics mine.

<sup>110</sup>Ibid., p. 39; The Pine Torch 2 (August 1912): 4; 3 (August 1913): 1.

<sup>111</sup>The Pine Torch, 2 (May 1912): 1.

<sup>112</sup>Jones, Up through Difficulties, p. 30.

<sup>113</sup>Jones cited by Beckman, "An Iowan's Unique Work," p. 1.

<sup>114</sup>The Pine Torch 2 (February 1912): 1; 3 (February 1913): 2.

<sup>115</sup>Ibid., 2 (February 1912): 4; 4 (April 1912): 2; 2 (September 1912): 1; 3 (May 1912): 1.

<sup>116</sup>Ibid., 2 (May 1911): 2.

<sup>117</sup>Jones cited by Beckman, "An Iowan's Unique Work," p. 1.

<sup>118</sup>The Pine Torch 2 (May 1912): 3.

<sup>119</sup>Ibid., 3 (January 1913): 4.

<sup>120</sup>Ibid., 3 (November 1913): 4.

<sup>121</sup>Jones, Up through Difficulties, p. 33.

<sup>122</sup>Ibid., p. 77.

<sup>123</sup>Ibid., p. 79. S. Joe Brown received the first degree in liberal arts awarded to a black student at the University of Iowa in 1898 and was the first black student at that school to be elected to Phi Beta Kappa. He also received the LL.B. degree in 1901. In 1906, Brown was a candidate for Judge of the Polk County District Court and in 1910 a candidate for councilman at large for the city of Des Moines. Though

defeated in these elections, Brown was regarded, according to one historian, "as one of the seven or eight most important Negro lawyers in America during the early period of the 1900's." See Bergmann, "The Negro in Iowa," pp. 82-83. Brown died in 1947.

<sup>124</sup> Jones, Up through Difficulties, pp. 79-80.

<sup>125</sup> "Appeal to Race Pride," Des Moines Iowa State Bystander, 9 June 1911, p. 1. Italics mine. The Bystander was started in 1894.

<sup>126</sup> "Appeal to Race Pride," Des Moines Iowa State Bystander, 16 June 1911, p. 6.

<sup>127</sup> Beckman, "An Iowan's Unique Work," p. 1.

<sup>128</sup> Jones, Up through Difficulties, p. 41.

<sup>129</sup> Henry Snyder Enck, "The Burden Borne: Northern White Philanthropy and Southern Black Industrial Education, 1900-1915" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Cincinnati, 1970), p. 425. Booker T. Washington formed the Tuskegee Student Singers in 1887, and William J. Edwards originated the Snow Hill Singers in 1902. Fisk University began the practice of sending groups North in 1875.

<sup>130</sup> Jones, Up through Difficulties, p. 41.

<sup>131</sup> The Pine Torch 3 (August 1913): 1.

<sup>132</sup> Jones, Up through Difficulties, pp. 57-58, 61. Italics mine.

<sup>133</sup> A visitor to The Piney Woods School in 1913 described Jones' school newsletter as "an odd little sheet, printed from type of many sorts and sizes, but alive in every line with the spirit of the man who gets it up, who is author, editor, compositor, printer, and publisher, all in one." See Dickerman, "From Iowa to Mississippi," pp. 139-140. The Pine Torch cost fifty cents per year during the period 1911-1913.

<sup>134</sup> The Pine Torch 1 (May 1911): 2.

<sup>135</sup> *Ibid.*, 2 (May 1912): 2; 2 (April 1912): 3, 2 (October 1912): 3.

<sup>136</sup> *Ibid.*, 2 (October 1912): 3; other requests for clothing appeared in these issues of The Pine Torch: 1 (May 1911): 1; 2 (November 1912): 1, 2; 3 (May 1913): 3; 3 (August 1913): 1; 3 (September 1913): 1.

<sup>137</sup> *Ibid.*, 1 (May 1911): 2; 2 (February 1912): 3; 3 (October 1912): 3.

<sup>138</sup> *Ibid.*, 2 (February 1912): 2; 2 (April 1912): 2; 3 (January 1913): 1.

<sup>139</sup>Ibid., 1 (May 1911): 1; 2 (February 1912): 2; 2 (March 1912): 2; 2 (May 1912): 2; 2 (November 1912): 2; 3 (January 1913): 4; 3 (August 1913): 3; 3 (October 1913): 4.

<sup>140</sup>Ibid., 4 (December 1913): 2. Jones mentioned no donations from Mississippi in the pages of The Pine Torch from May 1911 to December 1913.

<sup>141</sup>Jones, Up through Difficulties, p. 57.

<sup>142</sup>Henry Snyder Enck has documented the northeastern orientation of Tuskegee Institute's fund raising efforts between 1900 and 1915 in "The Burden Borne," pp. 461-514.

<sup>143</sup>Jones, Negro Education, 2: 368. The remainder of the 1912-1913 budget was derived from boarding fees (\$56) and income earned from the industrial departments (\$468).

<sup>144</sup>Ibid., pp. 367-368.

<sup>145</sup>Ibid., p. 368. The Piney Woods School campus was always described in The Pine Torch from May 1911 to April 1913, as "40 acres of land." In the May 1913 issue, Jones said "we have 169 acres of land." See The Pine Torch 3 (May 1913): 4.

<sup>146</sup>Jones, Negro Education, 2: 367.

<sup>147</sup>Character of Incorporation of the Piney Woods Country Life School, 17 May 1913, copy in the Office of Secretary of State, State of Mississippi, Jackson, Miss. Italics mine. It is interesting to note that in August 1908, President Theodore Roosevelt appointed a Country Life Commission to "ascertain what are the general, economic, social, educational, and sanitary conditions of the open country, and what, if anything, the farmers themselves can do to help themselves and how the Government can help them." The report of the Commission, completed February 1909, was a "landmark in national thinking about the melioration of almost every aspect of rural life." See John Morton Blum, The Republican Roosevelt (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1965), p. 111. There is no evidence linking the currency of the name Country Life Commission in 1909 to Jones' adoption of the name "The Piney Woods Country Life School" but Jones did start his school in October 1909 and, although he did not legally incorporate the name until May 1913, it is possible that he had the name of his school in mind well before the formal incorporation.

<sup>148</sup>The Pine Torch 3 (December 1913): 2.

<sup>149</sup>Jones, Up through Difficulties, pp. 16-17.

<sup>150</sup>Ibid., pp. 15-16. There is no extant correspondence between W. E. B. Dubois and Laurence C. Jones in the W. E. B. Dubois Papers at

the University of Massachusetts Library. See Brenda Phillips, Librarian, Manuscript Collections, University of Massachusetts, to Arnold Cooper, 7 September 1982, Personal Files of Arnold Cooper, Ridgeland, South Carolina.

151. The Pine Torch 3 (August 1913): 1. The article by G. S. Dickerman was a very flattering account of Jones' efforts to promote "education and character." See Dickerman, "From Iowa to Mississippi," pp. 137-140.

152. The Pine Torch 3 (October 1913): 1.

153. Jones, Up through Difficulties, p. 17.

154. See Annie Harper, Librarian, Utica Junior College, to Arnold Cooper, 8 June 1982, and James S. Wade, President, The Piney Woods Country Life School, to Arnold Cooper, 11 October 1982, Personal Files of Arnold Cooper, Ridgeland, South Carolina.

155. Laurence C. Jones, interview by Alferdteen Harrison, 23 February 1974, interview OH01.3a, transcript, Oral History Study of Black Educational Institutions in Mississippi, Jackson State University, Jackson, Miss.

156. Jones, Up through Difficulties, p. 26.

157. Jones retired in 1974 and died at the age of ninety-two on July 15, 1975. He was succeeded in 1974 by James S. Wade, a public school administrator from Columbus, Ohio. See Sam Cobbins, "Industrial Education for Black Americans in Mississippi, 1862-1965" (Ed.D. dissertation, Mississippi State University, 1975), p. 100. Jones also wrote Piney Woods and its Story (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1922), an almost verbatim copy of his autobiography of 1913 plus an update of the progress of his school from 1918 to 1922.

158. Jones, Up through Difficulties, p. 79. The "Form of Bequest" read: "I give and devise to the Trustees of the Piney Woods School, Braxton, Mississippi, the sum of \_\_\_\_\_ DOLLARS payable etc."

159. *Ibid.*, pp. 2, 5.

160. *Ibid.*, pp. 2-3.

161. *Ibid.*, p. 3; William H. Holtzclaw, The Black Man's Burden (New York: The Neale Publishing Company, 1915), p. 16.

162. Jones, Up through Difficulties, p. 19; Booker T. Washington, Up from Slavery (New York: Doubleday, Page and Company, 1901; reprint ed., Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, Doran and Company, Inc., 1929), pp. 1-4.

- <sup>163</sup>Jones, Up through Difficulties, p. 4; William J. Edwards, Twenty-Five Years in the Black Belt (Boston: The Cornhill Company, 1915), pp. 5-6.
- <sup>164</sup>Jones, Up through Difficulties, pp. 25-26.
- <sup>165</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 31.
- <sup>166</sup>Washington, Up from Slavery, pp. 42-43; Edwards, Twenty-Five Years, pp. 23-24; Holtzclaw, The Black Man's Burden, pp. 39-41.
- <sup>167</sup>Jones, Up through Difficulties, p. 16.
- <sup>168</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 18-19.
- <sup>169</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 21-23.
- <sup>170</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 25. Jones continued his study of black people and their educational needs after he started his own school. In the October 1913 issue of The Pine Torch, for example, he informed his readers that "We have been greatly benefited this year by visiting many other Negro schools and gathering and studying their methods and the needs of our people in general...." See The Pine Torch 3 (August 1913): 2.
- <sup>171</sup>Jones, Up through Difficulties, pp. 2, 21, 116.
- <sup>172</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 116.
- <sup>173</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 23, 25.
- <sup>174</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 22.
- <sup>175</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 90.23.
- <sup>176</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 25.
- <sup>177</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 27.
- <sup>178</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 53.
- <sup>179</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 54-55.
- <sup>180</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 21, 44. Italics mine.
- <sup>181</sup>Washington, Up from Slavery, p. 91; Holtzclaw, The Black Man's Burden, p. 18.
- <sup>182</sup>Jones, Up through Difficulties, pp. 31-32. Italics mine.
- <sup>183</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 72.

- 184 Ibid.
- 185 Ibid., p. 73.
- 186 Ibid., p. 47.
- 187 Ibid., p. 48.
- 188 Ibid., p. 51.
- 189 Ibid., p. 53.
- 190 Ibid.
- 191 Washington, Up from Slavery, p. 75; Holtzclaw, The Black Man's Burden, p. 131.
- 192 Jones, Up through Difficulties, pp. 28-29. Italics mine.
- 193 Ibid., p. 21.
- 194 Ibid., p. 23. Italics mine.
- 195 Ibid., p. 22.
- 196 Ibid.
- 197 Ibid., p. 78.
- 198 Ibid., p. 77.
- 199 Ibid., p. 75.
- 200 Ibid., p. 71.
- 201 Ibid.
- 202 Ibid.
- 203 Ibid., p. 73. Italics mine.
- 204 Washington, Up from slavery, p. 198; Edwards, Twenty-Five Years, p. 43.
- 205 The Pine Torch, 3 (October 1913): 1. Italics mine.
- 206 Ibid., p. 4.
- 207 Ibid.

<sup>208</sup>Jones, Up through Difficulties, p. 72.

<sup>209</sup>Cobbins, "Industrial Education," p. 99.

## CHAPTER 5.

## "AN EDUCATOR AND AN HUMBLE CHRISTIAN WORKER":

## THOMAS O. FULLER AND HOWE INSTITUTE, 1900-1910

Thomas O. Fuller was a minister, a politician, and an educator and his experiences differed considerably from the other educators discussed in this study. Fuller helped to establish two black Baptist schools in his native state of North Carolina during the 1890s and he served a term in the North Carolina Senate (1899) before he left that state for Tennessee in 1900. A study of his career as a preacher, politician, and principal in North Carolina from 1867 until 1900 revealed that he had no avowed interest in industrial education and that he had adopted a racial stance that included accommodation and compromise rather than protest.

Fuller came to Memphis, Tennessee in 1900 as a minister, but in 1902 he was selected Principal of Howe Institute, a Baptist school founded in 1883. Fuller inherited a school that had never offered industrial education to its students and he proceeded to change the curricular focus of Howe Institute between 1902 and 1910. A review of Howe Institute under Fuller's leadership provides a case study of how one educator accepted the model of Tuskegee Institute and adapted it to an urban environment. Fuller revealed the ideas that comprised his educational philosophy in an autobiography that he wrote in 1910.

I. Thomas O. Fuller: Principal, Preacher, Politician, 1867-1900

Early life and education

Thomas O. Fuller was born in North Carolina on October 25, 1867, in Franklinton, North Carolina, the county seat of Franklin County, twenty-seven miles north of Raleigh, the state capitol. Franklinton had 305 residents in 1870, 105 of whom were black. Franklin County, part of North Carolina's Piedmont, had a black majority of 53 percent.<sup>1</sup> Fuller's parents had worn the badge of servitude. J. Henderson Fuller was a carpenter and a wheelwright (skills he learned as a slave) and Fuller's mother, Mary Eliza Fuller, was a housewife and the mother of fourteen children. Their youngest child, Thomas, remembered his parents as "old time Christians, of deep piety and consecrated common sense, though uneducated in books."<sup>2</sup>

Fuller first attended a private school for blacks at age five where "the three 'R's' had the right-of-way. I remember well how our teachers would teach us to 'fractions,' sometimes through, as our terms' work, and the next session start us back at the beginning."<sup>3</sup> He matriculated at a state normal school for black students that opened at Franklinton, his hometown, in 1882, a member of the first class. Admission requirements enabled "any Negro youth between fifteen and twenty-five who was able to pass a good examination in reading, spelling, writing, and the fundamental rules of arithmetic to enroll for training."<sup>4</sup> Fuller graduated from the Franklinton Normal School for Negroes in 1885 and in that same year, at the age of eighteen, he entered Shaw University in Raleigh, North Carolina.

Shaw University was founded in 1865 by Henry Martin Tupper, a white Baptist clergyman from Massachusetts, who received a commission from the American Baptist Home Mission Society to go South as a missionary to the newly freed slaves ("freedmen"). Tupper opened a class in theology for freedmen on December 1, 1865, in a Raleigh hotel. The school, originally known as Raleigh Institute, took the name Shaw Collegiate Institute in 1872 when Elijah Shaw, a white patron from Massachusetts, donated \$5,000 for a new building. The institution was chartered by the State of North Carolina as Shaw University in 1875 for the training of the Baptist Ministry. By the time that Fuller enrolled in 1885, the school offered an elementary and secondary education, a two-year course for prospective teachers (both males and females), and a four-year liberal arts curriculum with an emphasis upon theology for the training of ministers.<sup>5</sup> Courses in industrial education were not offered at the time that Fuller was a student at Shaw. One historian has noted that the "major work of Shaw in the 1880s and 1890s was the training of teachers and ministers and most of the schools in the eastern part of the state looked to Shaw for their teachers...."<sup>6</sup>

Fuller described his college days as "both interesting and eventful." He enrolled in the four-year theology program. In 1886, at the age of nineteen, he "felt a call to the gospel ministry and with the approval of my church at Franklinton, I entered upon that blessed work."<sup>7</sup> His education was not gained without struggle. His limited resources made it necessary for him to work to meet school and living expenses. Fuller was "trained for service" at Shaw and participated in an "afternoon mission Sunday School where I gathered many idle children from the

streets of the city and placed them under the instruction of volunteer teachers who gave them a foretaste of the better life."<sup>8</sup>

Fuller was particularly pleased with his teachers. Although the original faculty at Shaw University was entirely white, 38 percent of the teachers (ten out of twenty-six) were black in 1890.<sup>9</sup> Fuller had at least two black teachers while he was a student at Shaw.<sup>10</sup> A visitor to the school in 1885, the year that Fuller entered, described the white teachers as "the scrawniest, severest, primmest, ugliest, most forbidding New England type, - with whom duty - in all matters, - is always a business and never a pleasure."<sup>11</sup> One of his teachers had been a slaveowner who was, according to Fuller, "now engaged in emancipating the minds of the descendants of former slaves from the thralldom of ignorance." Fuller rated all of his teachers as "able and consecrated." In May, 1890, Fuller received "the Bachelor of Arts after five years of hard work (I had to work and study)" and became one of only ninety-five blacks who received a four-year college degree in the United States in 1890.<sup>12</sup>

School founder and pastor: The Girls' Training School

Fuller began his career as a teacher in 1890 in a black public school in Granville County, North Carolina, a county with a 50 percent black population on the northern border of the state.<sup>13</sup> He earned thirty dollars a month and stayed two years (1890-1892). He accepted his first pastorate in 1890 also, a congregation of four members "faithful and true" who worshipped "in a log hut used for public school purposes" four miles from where he taught school.<sup>14</sup> In the course of two years,

Fuller claimed that membership in his first church increased from four to 150 members. He managed to get a building site for his church from a local white patron and "other white friends gave us lumber and trees standing." Then, he "organized a crew, cut the trees, hauled them to the sawmill,.... visited the white Baptist church, secured a collection, and enlisted the cooperation of the entire Negro neighborhood."<sup>15</sup>

Fuller "kept the people together by holding prayer-meetings" and organized the men of his church who "gave us work each day until our lovely house of worship was ready for dedication." According to the recent Shaw graduate, he had received calls to pastor eleven different churches in 1891 because the "success of my work at this place [Granville County] gave me much prestige." He accepted, in addition to his first church, four of the charges that were offered him.<sup>16</sup>

At the request of "the Negro Baptists of Franklinton," his hometown, Fuller left Granville County and founded the Girls' Training School in 1892. The stated purpose of this institution was "to maintain and carry on a school of high grade, as well as of elementary learning, for females of the colored race from the age of six years and up."<sup>17</sup> The school was primarily funded by local black Baptists but an association of black Baptist churches in a neighboring county "became deeply interested in its welfare and made annual appropriations."<sup>18</sup> Although Fuller provided little detail about the school in his autobiography, he did acknowledge that the school offered "the basic subjects and no industrial training" and that he had received financial assistance from a "prominent white lawyer" in Franklinton who "not only gave a personal donation, but who secured for us a loan to aid

in the erection of the building."<sup>19</sup>

Fuller did provide a clue, however, as to the importance of the Girls' Training School to the local black Baptist community when he noted that "other denominations had good schools and were largely in control of this erstwhile Baptist community. When summoned for a conference, I met Negro Baptists who were anxious for a school which they regarded as necessary if they expected to hold their ground at Franklinton."<sup>20</sup> A study of private schooling for blacks revealed that in 1892, the year that Fuller returned to Franklinton to establish his school, there was one elementary-secondary school in his hometown established and operated by the Presbyterian Board of Missions for Freedmen.<sup>21</sup> Perhaps, this was one of the schools that threatened the "ground" of black Baptists in Franklinton, North Carolina.

The establishment of a black Baptist elementary-secondary school in 1892 was not a phenomenon in North Carolina. Hugh Victor Brown, an historian of education for blacks in North Carolina, maintained that "because of numerical superiority, Negro Baptists in North Carolina established more secondary schools than any other Negro religious denomination in the 1890s. Almost every district association (and there were many) endeavored to set up a school." Brown listed thirty-three black Baptist elementary-secondary schools besides the one at Franklinton that existed in North Carolina by 1892.<sup>22</sup> Rufus Clement, another historian of religious schooling for blacks in North Carolina, believed that black Baptists turned to private schooling not only out of religious motivations, but because "the poorly-housed, inadequately-supported, meagerly equipped public schools did not offer opportunities

in quite the measure that Negroes were seeking."<sup>23</sup> Public schools in North Carolina did not receive state appropriations until 1899, and "prior to 1899, public schools in operation were almost wholly the products of county or local community initiative and the efforts made were primarily in behalf of the whites."<sup>24</sup> Public elementary schools for black children in North Carolina were "occasionally found" but received no "systematic financial aid from public funds" until 1910. The first public secondary schools for blacks in North Carolina appeared in 1918.<sup>25</sup>

### Shiloh Institute

Fuller remained two years (1892-1894) in Franklinton as Principal of the Girls' Training School before he moved to Warrenton, North Carolina, thirty-five miles northeast of his hometown, to accept another call to establish a Baptist school for black students and to assume the pulpit of a local black Baptist church. He did not explain in his autobiography or elsewhere why he left after so short a stay. Warren County bordered the state of Virginia and, according to one historian, "politically and socially the most important feature of Warren County was its large Negro population."<sup>26</sup> Black people comprised 70 percent of the population of Warren County in 1890.<sup>27</sup> Fuller started Shiloh Institute in October 1894. The school was owned and supported by the Shiloh Association of Baptist Churches, an organization of sixty black Baptist churches in Warren County that originated in 1871.<sup>28</sup> Shiloh Institute was the only private school for blacks, secular or religious, in Warren County from 1894 to 1900, a circumstance unlike the setting of Fuller's

first school in Franklinton.<sup>29</sup>

The stated purpose of Shiloh Institute almost replicated that of The Girls' Training School: "To maintain and carry on a school of high grade, as well as of elementary learning, for the colored race in the town of Warrenton."<sup>30</sup> Shiloh Institute reported data about its students, staff, and programs to the United States Bureau of Education only once between 1894 and 1900, when it claimed a first-year enrollment (1894-1895) of ninety-five students (fifty-five females and forty males) and four "colored" teachers, two males and two females. More students were enrolled in secondary grades (fifty-four) than in the elementary grades (forty-one). Although no specific subjects in the curriculum were listed, Shiloh Institute did report that students were enrolled in "Classical," "Scientific," and "Normal School" courses with no enrollment reported in "Industrial branches."<sup>31</sup> The school was located on "eight acres of land beautifully situated within the corporate limits of Warrenton and had one building by 1895."<sup>32</sup> A local news account vividly demonstrated a possible reason why some black Baptists could have been attracted to Fuller's new school. The Warrenton (N.C.) Gazette, a white-owned weekly newspaper, described the "deplorable condition of the colored public schools" in Warrenton a month (September 1894) before Shiloh Institute opened: "the negro school houses are packed like sardine boxes scarcely giving comfortable standing room much less sitting room. What can the most competent teacher do in such a howling wilderness?"<sup>33</sup>

The sources of support for Shiloh Institute came from the Baptist churches that comprised the Shiloh Baptist Association and money received

from tuition. In the 1894-1895 report to the United States Bureau of Education, Shiloh Institute listed \$250 from tuition and \$260 received from churches in the Association as the total income for the year.<sup>34</sup> An examination of the Proceedings of two sessions of the Shiloh Association revealed the commitment that black Baptists had to their school. In 1895, the Shiloh Association decided "not to send a representative to the state Baptist Convention but to use the means required for representation towards aiding the school [Shiloh Institute]." Member churches in the Association also agreed that "each ordained minister belonging to this Association shall pay \$5 and each licentiate pay \$1 for the budget of the school."<sup>35</sup> The Association also accepted a recommendation of the "Committee on Ways and Means" that "each Pastor belonging to this Association shall bring from his churches or church the sum of \$5.00 at the next meeting of this body."<sup>36</sup>

Fuller received for Shiloh Institute "cash contributions amounting to \$17 besides the money pledged by churches and their ministers" in 1896, and he also learned that forty-six members of the Association had pledged \$84.50, an amount that "each person who made a pledge will pay to his pastor or send to our Treasurer on or before December 1st, 1896."<sup>37</sup> When Fuller reported to the Association in 1896, he listed several material contributions to his school: a "stove and a wire fence from the Warren County Sunday School Convention," timber for benches from "Bro. M. F. Thornton," curtains from a member church, and chairs "donated by various individuals." The 1896 Association also resolved that "each pastor be requested to preach a sermon on Education, and take up a collection for the Shiloh School, and forward the money

before the last Sunday in December, 1896, because intelligence and energy should be respected and encouraged."<sup>38</sup>

Fuller remained at Shiloh as Principal until 1900. His experiences as a school builder between 1892 and 1900 were different in several respects from those of the other black educators in this analysis. Fuller accepted the principalship of the Girls' Training School and Shiloh Institute at the behest of black Baptists in two communities. He did not have to survey the conditions of these communities before he initiated his work as did Booker T. Washington, his progenies, William J. Edwards and William H. Holtzclaw, or Laurence C. Jones. He did not have to endure the frustrations of making three trips to another state before he found a community receptive to his plans as Holtzclaw had to do. Fuller, the minister-educator, had a constituency in the black Baptist communities of Franklinton and Warrenton that had requested his leadership. There was no evidence, also, that either of the two schools that Fuller helped to establish offered industrial education courses. No evidence was discovered that either of the two schools engaged in extension activities, although it could perhaps be argued that the existence of these schools symbolized the educational outreach of black Baptists in North Carolina.

Compared with Alabama and Mississippi, North Carolina presented a somewhat ameliorative social climate from 1890, the year that Fuller graduated from Shaw University, to 1900, the year that he left the state for Tennessee. As late as 1898, North Carolina had avoided the movement to "institutionalize by legalization the subordinate status of Blacks."<sup>39</sup> In 1899, the North Carolina Legislature did require separate

accommodations for whites and blacks on trains and in railway stations, eight years after a similar law passed in Alabama (1891), and eleven years after Mississippi mandated segregated travel (1888).<sup>40</sup> There was no law in North Carolina that prohibited interracial marriages during Fuller's stay in North Carolina as there was in Alabama and Mississippi.<sup>41</sup> The lynching rate in North Carolina was far below that of other southern states during the 1890s, due in part to an anti-lynch bill passed in 1893. According to Frenise A. Logan, an historian of black life in North Carolina, "in no other southern state of the former Confederacy did Negroes live in comparative safety from lynchings than they did in North Carolina."<sup>42</sup> From 1890 to 1900, twenty-three blacks were lynched in North Carolina compared to 173 in Alabama during the same decade, a time when both Washington and Edwards were school principals in that state.<sup>43</sup>

### Politician

Although Fuller's educational and religious activities remained his overriding concerns throughout his years in North Carolina (1867-1900), his participation in the political events surrounding the state elections of 1898 reflected a unique addition to his career as a minister and educator. His role as a politician was not, he claimed, the result of a long-held cherished political aspiration on his part. In 1894, Republicans and Populists in North Carolina entered into a "fusion" or cooperative agreement whereby both parties would support a single ticket on which both were represented against the Democrats. The Republican-Populist Fusion ticket ("Fusionists") won "virtually all of the state

and congressional offices and captured control of both houses of the legislature by large majorities in 1894 and continued this political dominance until 1898."<sup>44</sup> Fusion rule led to increased political activity by blacks, since they tended to be Republican in politics. Black voters in Warren County, for example, elected black representatives to the North Carolina General Assembly in 1894, 1895, and 1896.<sup>45</sup>

In 1898, a vacancy occurred on the Republican ticket for State Senator in the predominantly black Eleventh Senatorial District of Warren and Vance Counties and the Executive Committee of the Republican Party offered the nomination to Fuller, who accepted "on being assured that I would be relieved from making campaign speeches. I was a school principal and pastor and didn't care to mix politics with the situation."<sup>46</sup> The elections of 1898 were of "unprecedented bitterness and confusion" because a "resurgent Democratic party inaugurated an emotional white supremacy campaign."<sup>47</sup> "White Supremacy Clubs" appeared as did the "Red Shirts," a symbol of terrorism, "mounted men in red shirts, [who] armed with Winchesters, shotguns, and pistols, ... paraded through Negro communities, and appeared at political rallies, especially Republican rallies."<sup>48</sup>

The Democrats regained control of the state legislature in 1898. Only four of fifty Senators were Republicans. Fuller was one of these and the sole representative of his race in the North Carolina Senate. Fuller did not envision his new role as one of vigorous protest against the white Democratic backlash. He reminded his constituents before he took his seat that "I am not a politician nor do I pose as your political leader. It is well known that I am an educator and an

humble Christian worker."<sup>49</sup> He announced further that "I shall DEMAND nothing, but shall gently and earnestly PLEAD for a continuance of the sympathetic and friendly relations which have been the proud boast of us all."<sup>50</sup>

As a State Senator, Fuller represented a case of black alienation, "standing alone as the representative of Negro people in the State."<sup>51</sup> Taking office in the wake of extreme racial tension on January 4, 1899, Fuller's name was reserved for last when the roll of the State Senate was called in alphabetical order. He remembered: "When you are reminded of the fact that I was the only colored member on the list and that all 'kissed the Bible,' you can readily account for my being the last to take the oath."<sup>52</sup> He was denied "the courtesy of a committee assignment" and became "the most observed of all members.... Some were curious to see my signature so they marched up to my desk to see my handwriting.... Many visitors to the Senate expressed surprise at seeing a 'Negro in the Senate.'"<sup>53</sup>

Fuller's bills included realistic measures. In March 1899, he drafted, introduced, and successfully secured the passage of a bill that gave the Superior Court of Warren County concurrent jurisdiction in all criminal cases. Since the Warren County Criminal Court met only once every six months, the criminal jurisdiction of the Superior Court made it possible for the county prisons to "clear the jail every three months, and was beneficial to all parties concerned."<sup>54</sup> Fuller aided the temperance forces in Warren County by voting for a bill that permitted only the sale of liquor in packages in his county. The bill passed.<sup>55</sup> He also voted to provide state funds for the publication of a book that

heralded North Carolina's participation in the Confederacy and was quoted as saying when the bill passed that "I am without prejudice and take pride in all the achievements of North Carolina's sons."<sup>56</sup>

When the Democrats in the Senate proposed an amendment to the State Constitution that would disenfranchise black voters, Fuller claimed that "Negro domination was impossible in a state such as North Carolina, one with a white majority." He argued further that the state could lose representation in the federal congress if it tampered with the Fifteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution. He based his opposition to the proposed amendment on practical rather than moral grounds. He did not claim the disenfranchisement plan was "wrong;" he asserted that it was "impractical" and "unrealistic."<sup>57</sup> The Democrats prevailed and in August 1900, voters in North Carolina approved the amendment that ended black suffrage.<sup>58</sup>

Fuller returned to Shiloh Institute and "to my chosen field and work, preaching the Gospel and training young men and women in the schoolroom," after the term of the North Carolina Legislature ended in November, 1899. He had no further interest in running for a political office. He claimed that "my friends and constituents were appreciative of the work I had done.... They knew that I had answered a call of duty and performed it to the best of my ability under the circumstances."<sup>59</sup> The Warrenton (N.C.) Gazette praised Fuller as "one of the ablest members of his race in the State" and maintained that "his exemplary character had won for him the respect of the white as well as colored people of his county."<sup>60</sup> The Raleigh (N.C.) News and Observer, a white-owned daily newspaper published in the state Capitol, was also laudatory:

"Thomas O. Fuller stands a glowing tribute to his race. Senator Fuller is a man who believes that the Negro has been greatly benefited by his contact with the white man."<sup>61</sup> The fact that Fuller did not attempt to use his position in the State Senate for protest leadership perhaps accounted for these commendations.

A year after he completed his work in the Senate (1900), Fuller accepted a call from a black Baptist church in Memphis, Tennessee. He had been recommended for the position by one of his "colored professors" at Shaw University.<sup>62</sup> The chance to become pastor in a large city excited him and the challenge of building a new church inspired him even more.<sup>63</sup> In his autobiography, Fuller never expressed the sentiment that his decision to leave North Carolina related to his brief political career and the political tensions of the period. He did not intend to go to Tennessee to break from his work; indeed, he believed that he had "seized a wider opportunity to labor for my race in the South."<sup>64</sup> In December 1900, at the age of thirty-three, Fuller left his native North Carolina where he had been educated, had helped to establish two schools, pastored at least six churches, and served a brief tenure in politics. He was "off to Tennessee."<sup>65</sup>

## II. Thomas O. Fuller at Howe Institute, 1901-1910

### The founding

Fuller came to Memphis, Tennessee, in December 1900, to become the pastor of the First Missionary Baptist Church and not to be a principal of a school. He had learned the "true condition" of his new church prior

to his arrival: the congregation had fifty members, worshipped in a lodge hall, had \$100 in savings and had plans to purchase property for a building. As he recalled, "I set to work, both to increase the congregation, and raise money for a new church."<sup>66</sup> By Fall 1906, a new church was built and in 1908 the church had a reported membership of 350.<sup>67</sup> Although Fuller came to Memphis to preach and to build a church, he was asked in January 1901, to teach a course in religion to a class of ministers at Howe Institute, an elementary-secondary school owned and operated by black Baptists in Tennessee. Fuller gained favorable publicity for his teaching efforts in the Memphis Commercial Appeal, a white-owned daily newspaper in the largest city of the state: "The theological class of Howe Institute was fortunate this year to secure the services of the Rev. T. O. Fuller, a graduate of Shaw University. Too much can not [sic] be said commendatory of the faithful services of Rev. Fuller, who has already been a blessing to Memphis."<sup>68</sup> Fuller recalled in his autobiography that "the ministers' class served as an introduction for me, as to ability and scholarship," while a local black educator remembered Fuller, the religious educator, bringing to local ministers "that skillful technical training resulting from a thorough college education, a facility of execution, a clearness of exposition, a brilliant rhetorical display, and an astonishing erudition which simply overwhelmed and swept everything before him."<sup>69</sup>

When a vacancy in the principalship at Howe Institute occurred in 1902, the Board of Trustees offered the position to Fuller. He accepted and promised that once in charge he would "make it [Howe Institute] hum."<sup>70</sup> Howe Institute was conceived in 1883 when ten black Baptist

ministers in Memphis requested the West Tennessee Baptist Convention (WTBC), an association of black Baptist churches," to take immediate steps to purchase a site in the city of Memphis for the erection of a school."<sup>71</sup> Without land or buildings, a school began in the Tabernacle Baptist Colored Church in Memphis. The pastor of the church that housed the new school was sent north by the WTBC in 1887 to raise funds and "succeeded in interesting a family named Howe in Illinois, white people who believed Negroes should be educated, in donating money for a building." In 1888, a "large, commodious, three-story brick building was built and the school was known as Howe Institute in honor of its northern benefactors."<sup>72</sup> The school was "of elementary and secondary grade with Departments of Literary and Ministerial Studies and no provision for industrial training."<sup>73</sup>

At the time that Fuller assumed his new duties (June 1902), Howe Institute had fallen upon "evil days." It was "staggering" under a "great debt" and its only building was "in a state of dilapidation." These conditions had "alienated many of the best and most loyal members of the denomination."<sup>74</sup> The school had four principals before Fuller and "from 1888 to 1902 the school struggled for existence, to say nothing of enlargement or improvement. A motion was once made in a meeting of the Trustees to close the school but the motion was not seconded."<sup>75</sup> Fuller remembered that "Things looked dark... few of the rooms in the one building were used for class work. The grounds were not enclosed."<sup>76</sup> Fuller, however, was not a novice in school management. He had helped establish two institutions in North Carolina and he came to the principalship of Howe having already worked with groups of black Baptist churches

that supported financially education for their denomination. His new school was the only elementary-secondary school operated by black Baptists in Memphis and one of three schools in that city to offer secondary education for black students.<sup>77</sup> By 1902, Fuller was a pastor and a principal again.<sup>78</sup>

### The setting

Fuller was the only black educator in this study who lived and worked in an urban setting. The black population of Memphis in 1870 numbered 15,471, and had increased by 1900, the year that Fuller arrived, to 59,910, a figure that amounted to 48.8 percent of the total population. Only five cities in America had a larger black population in 1900.<sup>79</sup> Most of the black population in Memphis resulted from a "swelling tide of immigrants from the countryside of West Tennessee, Mississippi, and Arkansas," after yellow fever epidemics of 1878 and 1879 had "practically depopulated the city."<sup>80</sup> Fuller publicly identified his school with the black population of Memphis and its environs: "The school is located at Memphis, in the heart of a dense Negro population. There are thousands of Negroes alone in Memphis, saying nothing about the large numbers in Arkansas, just across the Mississippi River, and the State of Mississippi, within fifteen minutes' ride from Memphis."<sup>81</sup>

The "dense Negro population" that Fuller claimed as a potential constituency for his school may have also been responsible for the leadership role assumed by the black clergy in Memphis during the 1900s. According to Lester C. Lamon, an historian of black life in Tennessee,

one of the characteristics exhibited by a "majority of the rural migrants to Memphis in the first decade of the new century was the habit of looking to black clergymen for social, economic, and political guidance." Lamon has argued that because Memphis, unlike Nashville, did not have a "significant black middle class," black ministers assumed important community roles: "Lack of strong community ties and constant mobility left Memphis without black civic, business, and social clubs. Consequently, black leaders in Memphis from 1900 to 1910 were more often ministers."<sup>82</sup> David M. Tucker, in his book Black Pastors and Leaders, agreed with Lamon's thesis and concluded that black clergymen in Memphis during the 1900s exercised "influence and became dominant in the black community."<sup>83</sup>

Fuller was not unaware of his opportunity for leadership and status. In 1908, he told a group of black Memphis ministers that "the Negro preacher needs to know how to utilize the various elements of strength about him, and should use these elements of strength with which he is surrounded."<sup>84</sup> The Principal of Howe Institute did not neglect the benefits of his own social status in the black community. Although he did not express any interest in black establishments in his autobiography, a study of another source revealed his extensive business interests in Memphis. G. P. Hamilton, the principal of the only public high school for black students in Memphis during the 1900s, described Fuller in 1911 as a "first-class businessman" and noted that Fuller was President of the Mount Carmel Cemetary of Memphis, a "company that was organized in the year of 1909 and capitalized at \$60,000. This cemetary contains twenty-five acres of high and rolling ground, and is splendidly

located as a 'Home for the Dead.'"85

Fuller had also acquired stocks in various businesses throughout the South and by 1908 was "one of the largest realty holders of color in the city of Memphis. Since locating here, he has bought and practically paid for nearly sixty pieces of improved and unimproved property." Hamilton credited Fuller with being "in a class by himself as a financier" and, although Hamilton never explained how Fuller got enough money in the first place to develop his business portfolio, he suggested that Fuller had a "keen eye for a business proposition. He [Fuller] believes in the potency of investment and the benefit that must accrue from the use of dollars which work by night and day..."86 This business profile of Fuller offered by a contemporary, who claimed "access to the doctor's [Fuller] legal and official papers," indicated, at least to Hamilton, that the Principal of Howe Institute was "just not an impractical school man."87

#### Political and racial factors

When Fuller arrived in Tennessee in December 1900, he entered a "social system that had established itself on the principles of racial separation."88 A "racially defined caste system" filled the void left by the abolition of slavery and the Tennessee Legislature opened the way in 1870 when public education had been segregated by law. Specific legislation soon spelled out the demands for segregation. In 1881, the legislature passed a bill requiring railroad companies operating in the state to provide separate first-class facilities for black passengers. A series of suffrage restrictions in 1889-1890 virtually

"removed blacks from any serious political influence."<sup>89</sup> When Tennessee celebrated its Centennial as a state in 1897, blacks had their separate exhibit hall, instead of being treated as a part of the mainstream of the state's history.<sup>90</sup> Although segregated public schools had been mandated in 1870, the Tennessee Legislature in 1901 acted on their belief that only blacks should educate other blacks and passed a law that prevented private institutions from educating blacks and whites together or from being taught by a member of a different race.<sup>91</sup>

At the turn of the century, Memphis, Fuller's new home, palpably embodied an adherence to segregation. Public schools were segregated as were residential neighborhoods, theaters, and parks.<sup>92</sup> According to William D. Miller, an historian of Memphis, "Consciously the white people of Memphis by 1900 still looked to the past, to the old South, for their ideals. Of these ideals, the most passionately upheld was that of white supremacy. It was held above religion, morality, or law...."<sup>93</sup>

The issues of white supremacy was given ringing affirmation in at least one daily newspaper in Memphis. An examination of the Memphis Commercial Appeal from 1900 to 1902 revealed a concern with race mixing and a refusal to dispose of the matter of race in general. When the Boston Women's Club admitted black women as members in 1900, the Commercial Appeal called it a "coon club composed of negresses and degenerate white women."<sup>94</sup> Readers were advised in 1901 that "The Anglo-Saxon will not be ruled no matter what the odds are against him. He possesses that imperious and unyielding despotism of conscious superiority...."<sup>95</sup> When Theodore Roosevelt had Washington to lunch

at the White House in 1901, the Commercial Appeal called Roosevelt a "fluteplayer and tin cowboy" who had turned the White House into a "nigger restaurant."<sup>96</sup> Despite Washington's accomplishments, he was still, to the Commercial Appeal, "an Alabama Coon."<sup>97</sup> W. H. Council, President of the Alabama Agricultural and Mechanical College for Negroes (Normal, Ala.), was praised "since at no time has he misled his people into believing that they are anything other than inferior to the Anglo-Saxon." Gratuitously, the paper added that "he [Council] was a negro through and through - black as coal, kinky hair and big feet."<sup>98</sup>

How did Fuller react to the racial climate of Memphis? The first documented response by the principal-preacher occurred in 1905. In March 1905, the Tennessee Legislature passed a law segregating passengers on streetcars effective July 5.<sup>99</sup> The Commercial Appeal supported the new state law because "there can be no doubt that many of the negroes who travel on streetcars are offensive to the white passengers. It is the conduct of these creatures that has aroused sentiment against the negro generally."<sup>100</sup> Blacks in Chattanooga and Nashville made "full-fledged attempts to provide competing black-owned transportation companies" in August and September 1905, while "calls for boycotts of the streetcars led to brief symbolic protests in Jackson and Knoxville" in the summer of 1905.<sup>101</sup>

The black community of Memphis was not united in its response to streetcar segregation. A black man was arrested on July 15, 1905, for sitting in the section assigned to whites, and another black man was ejected from a streetcar for doing the same thing in August.<sup>102</sup> The Principal of Howe Institute, however, refused to protest the streetcar

segregation law. Two days before the law went into effect (July 3, 1905), Fuller publicly urged compliance in a letter to the Commercial Appeal. Fuller informed black people that they should do nothing but respect the law and obey the conductors, "whose position, under the circumstances, is both trying and hazardous." His letter was prompted, he said, by a sense of "duty as a citizen of Memphis, having religious, educational, and property interests that demand the most peaceable conditions and the most perfect harmony and cooperation between the races that can be secured."<sup>103</sup>

Although Fuller did not mention the streetcar segregation law in his autobiography, he did state that "Colored ministers of the Gospel are in the best position to cultivate goodwill between the races."<sup>104</sup> He was unwilling to resist openly the dictates of a segregated society and, according to historian David M. Tucker, "Fuller elevated racial adjustment to a major ministerial art."<sup>105</sup> Fuller, however, was not alone. Lester C. Lamon has argued that the "conservative accommodationism of Memphis' entire black ministerial leadership hindered wouldbe boycott leaders or protestors in 1905."<sup>106</sup> There were no organized boycotts or alternative ways to travel promoted in Memphis as there were in several other cities in Tennessee. Fuller's public acquiescence to racial restrictions was not suddenly developed in Memphis. He had decided when he was elected to the North Carolina Senate in 1898 that he would not offer protest leadership. He brought his conservatism to Memphis with him.

Fuller regarded himself as a spokesperson for better communication between the races. His willingness to write to the Commercial Appeal

just before the streetcar segregation law became law may have been part of an effort not only to get a forum for his moderate racial views but to attract students to his school. He revealed to a gathering of black ministers in Memphis in 1908 that "I meet white editors, and I write editorials for papers like the Commercial Appeal. By coming into contact with them [white editors], I am enabled in this way to reach the white people of the community. I can get into the papers whatever I wish..."<sup>107</sup> He concluded that "The white publications have been a silent force helping us. As the Negro leaders read in the daily papers, they have talked among themselves, and the boys and girls hear it and so knowledge about Howe is spread."<sup>108</sup> Fuller seemed convinced that his strategy of race leadership was appropriate for his environment: "In the Southland, where the warp and woof of the social fabric are most complicated, discretion is most essential... if a colored man is to lead his people without friction in the paths of wisdom, peace, happiness, and prosperity."<sup>109</sup>

#### Institution building

Students When Fuller became Principal of Howe Institute in 1902, the school had graduated fifty-four students since its incorporation in 1888.<sup>110</sup> Howe Institute reported no enrollment data to the United States Bureau of Education from 1900 to 1910, but a study of the available evidence suggested an increase in the number of students who attended the school until 1908 and then a decline. In 1904, Fuller reported that the 241 students "enrolled from seven States point to the largest attendance in our history. We enrolled 143 last year [1903]."<sup>111</sup>

A year later (1905), Fuller informed the Commercial Appeal that 301 students, 281 from Memphis and twenty from "seven other states" were enrolled, and he reported in 1906 that "four hundred and sixty-four students from nine states are here to receive instruction."<sup>112</sup> Enrollment increased dramatically to 729 by October 1908, but 205 of these students were transferred to Howe from Roger Williams University, an elementary-secondary school owned and operated by the American Missionary Association in Nashville, that was destroyed by fire in 1908.<sup>113</sup> Enrollment in 1909 was 455 and an examination of the school catalog printed in the Fall, 1910, revealed a further decline in enrollment to 323 students.<sup>114</sup>

Besides the occasional comments that Fuller offered about the geographical origins of the student body at Howe, the Fall 1910 catalog listed every student by name and hometown and a study of this evidence suggested that Fuller's school served a local and regional student body. Most of the students at Howe in the Fall of 1910 lived in Memphis (230 of 323 students or 71 percent). Students who lived in eastern Arkansas accounted for 13 percent of the enrollment (42), while students from northern Mississippi comprised 7 percent (22). Students from Tennessee communities other than Memphis constituted 8 percent (25) of the student body and students whose hometowns were not located in any southern state accounted for 1 percent (4) of the total enrollment.<sup>115</sup>

Students at Howe Institute paid tuition. Fuller reported in 1906 that he only collected \$1,749 in tuition from 464 students (an average of \$3.77 per student), but in 1908 a tuition fee schedule was printed

that exacted \$1.25 a month for the first five grades and \$1.50 per month for students above the fifth grade.<sup>116</sup> Secondary school female students (grades 9-11) who enrolled in stenography and typewriting had to pay \$4 per month and those in sewing and millinery classes were charged \$1 a month above the regular tuition charge.<sup>117</sup> Evidently, these tuition charges were not easily met because in 1909 Fuller informed the Commercial Appeal that "60 percent of the pupils are earning their way, wholly or in part, through the various courses." Fuller further reported that "Seventy percent of the boy students work as servants in white families in Memphis, giving their time before and after school hours and on Saturdays in exchange for their room and board where they are employed and a small wage."<sup>118</sup> Since Howe Institute had very limited space to house male students, the fact that these students lived at the homes of their white employers enabled them to find housing and "often receive as much as \$10.00 per month."<sup>119</sup>

Female students at Howe who needed to work were not permitted to do so away from the school because "Fuller has found that housing and protection are inadequate for them [female students] in the average servant's room and they are safer in the school." Female students could earn money for tuition and fees by "working at so much per hour at school if they wished."<sup>120</sup> Howe Institute became a boarding school in 1903 when the third floor of the school's only building (Howe Building) was used to house "only out of town negro girls in the secondary school who attended the institution."<sup>121</sup> A one-floor dormitory proved unsatisfactory, but it was not until November 1908, that Fuller could report that the "foundations of the women's building

have been laid" and another year (1909) before he could announce the opening of a "commodious and substantial three story brick and concrete building which will be used as a dormitory for girls and for Domestic Science and Industrial Training."<sup>122</sup> The new dormitory for female students enabled the school to use the third floor of the school's original building to house male students and for the first time in the history of the school dormitory living for secondary school males and females was maintained in 1909 at Howe.<sup>123</sup>

Students at Howe had to follow a daily routine as did their peers at the schools established by the other black educators in this study. All students were "expected to be in their seats in the chapel each morning before 9 o'clock bell strikes," and residential students were required "to study in the study hall from 7:30 to 9:30 p.m. each evening" and were also informed that "the hour for retiring was 10 o'clock."<sup>124</sup> Students were expected to be "polite, honest, and substantial citizens" and "Quiet and respectful deportment" rather than "loud or boisterous talking" was required "at all times." Discipline was "mild but firm and positive."<sup>125</sup> Students were to dress "neatly but not extravagantly," while a "special dress requirement" for female students was introduced in 1910: "A modest uniform has been adopted for the girls to save expense in dress. Navy blue tailored suits for winter wear, white shirt-waists with blue skirts for early fall and spring wear. College caps in the winter and sailor hats in the spring."<sup>126</sup>

Religious life at Howe Institute was not neglected. Students were "expected to identify themselves with some church, and to attend religious service at least once every Sunday." A chapel service was

conducted each morning, a prayer meeting every Wednesday evening, and a "Sabbath School meeting is held every Friday evening when the students meet to discuss the lessons for the following Sabbath."<sup>127</sup> Fuller was particularly proud of the "Soul-saving Meetings" presided over by his wife in the church that he pastored, conveniently located across the street from the school. Fuller claimed that at these gatherings "scores of students, many of them on the eve of graduation, have been made to 'Know Christ.'"<sup>128</sup>

Alumni Fuller told the Commercial Appeal in December 1909 that graduates of Howe Institute "have no false notions of life. They have been taught to believe in the dignity of labor and not to despise honest toil."<sup>129</sup> A listing of graduates from Howe from 1891 to 1909 appeared in the 1910 school catalog and a study of this data revealed a significant change in occupations for those students who graduated after 1902, the year that Fuller became the Principal. Fifty-four students had graduated from Howe from 1891 to 1901 and occupations were listed for all but fourteen graduates. Of the forty alumni with an identifiable occupation, there were twenty-one teachers (52.5 percent), six physicians (15 percent), six ministers (15 percent), two lawyers (5 percent), one "vocalist" (2.5 percent), a "trained nurse" (2.5 percent), two seamstresses (5 percent), and a printer (2.5 percent). Since Howe Institute was an elementary-secondary school with no industrial training before Fuller became Principal, it was perhaps logical that an overwhelming number of the graduates of Howe from 1891-1901 eventually entered the professions.<sup>130</sup>

A study of the Howe Institute alumni lists for the years 1902 to

1909 disclosed a different kind of graduate. Howe had 170 graduates from 1902 to 1909 for which occupational status was listed for 153. Of these 153 alumni, there were eighty-six stenographers (56 percent), fifty "milliners and sewers" (33 percent), eight teachers (5 percent), four physicians (2.5 percent), three ministers (2 percent), a "gov't employe [sic] and one "domestic."<sup>131</sup> The alumni of Howe Institute after eight years of the principalship of Fuller were oriented more towards careers in nonacademic and nonprofessional areas than the graduates between 1891 and 1901. Fuller was not bashful about claiming credit for such a change in his school's direction. In December 1909, he was quoted as saying, "Many years ago some northern visitors came to Memphis to visit the school. They found some good Latin and Greek exercises on the blackboard but the windows were dim with dirt and the trades and domestic sciences were not in evidence. It has been my intention to elaborate on the industrial features."<sup>132</sup> Fuller's mention of Latin and Greek exercises amidst "windows dim with dirt" resembled Washington's assertion in Up from Slavery that "one of the saddest thing I saw... was a young man, who had attended some high school, sitting down in a one-room cabin, with grease on his clothing, filth all around him, and weeds in the yard and garden, engaged in studying a French grammar."<sup>133</sup>

Curriculum From its founding in 1883 until 1902, Howe Institute offered an elementary ("the regular eight grades") and secondary education (grades 9-11) for the "academic and religious training of Negroes" with no provision for industrial training.<sup>134</sup> Fuller decided to develop industrial education at Howe and to keep intact the liberal

arts aspect of the curriculum that he had inherited. In 1905, he reported that "an urgent priority is a facility for Manual and Industrial Training. Our people must work and training that better fits them for honest toil is a blessing." A year later (1906), he noted that "In addition to the Literary Course, instruction in stenography, typewriting, sewing and basketry, printing and domestic science is now being given," and in 1908 the Howe Institute Principal disclosed that "the school teaches stenography, typewriting, bookkeeping, printing, carpentry, and domestic science in addition to the academic work."<sup>135</sup>

Industrial training for female students at Howe received an important boost when a new dormitory for women was completed in December 1909. The new facility contained a "model kitchen, laundry, ironing room and dining room" and Fuller announced that "all girls will now be expected to enroll in the domestic science classes. Our equipment is exceptionally fine for such work." As an indication, perhaps, of Fuller's friendly relations with some Memphis whites, the Memphis Consolidated Gas and Electric Company equipped a room in the new dormitory free of charge with gas ranges and even provided a "demonstrator to teach all the girls the use of this equipment." Fuller decided to make the most of this patronage and he invited "any Negro cook in Memphis who wishes to know how to operate her mistress' gas range to come to Howe Institute to learn, free of charge, any and all things needful. This is to prevent wastefulness in using gas and to minimize danger that may arise from ignorance."<sup>136</sup>

Howe Institute became a sort of demonstration center where black female students in grades nine through eleven could learn "domestic

sciences." Fuller informed the Memphis Commercial Appeal in 1909 that he had invited members of various "Housekeepers Clubs" to "appear before the student body and talk on the relation of mistress and maid, [and] to offer suggestions as to what is expected of a good, well-equipped domestic. This is an innovation that is expected to result in much mutual benefit."<sup>137</sup> Howe Institute offered female students a three-year certificate in "Domestic Science" that included courses in "study and Care of the Kitchen," "Canning and Pickling," "Serving a Luncheon," and "Invalid Cookery," a three-year certificate in Sewing, and a one-year certificate in millinery," the study of the hat in detail." The purpose of these courses was to "prepare students for home-making and to provide sure means of making a living." Every female student in grades nine through eleven was listed in the 1910 school catalog as a candidate for one of these certificates. Female students could also choose an eight-month stenography course with a required proficiency of "100, and not less than 85 words per minute, before graduation" and a three-year typewriting course.<sup>138</sup>

Industrial education for male students was not as extensive at Howe Institute. Fuller reported in 1905 that "an industrial shop is in course of erection, which will provide instruction in printing and carpentry." Three years later (1908), carpentry and printing were still the only industrial training courses offered.<sup>139</sup> Fuller admitted in 1909 that "industrial education for male students was, as yet, inadequate" but he was taking an important step to remedy this situation: "One of my graduates is now at Tuskegee Institute fitting himself to teach the trades in the shops at an early date." Fuller's former student

evidently did return to his alma mater because, in addition to carpentry and printing, "mechanical and freehand drawing," bricklaying, and painting were listed in the 1910 catalog as subjects "taught by one of our graduates who trained at Booker T. Washington's great school."<sup>140</sup>

Courses in industrial education at Howe were offered only to students in grades nine through eleven. Students in the first five grades were given a "thorough beginning in the rudiments" and were required to take courses in "Reading, Arithmetic, Writing, and Spelling" each year. Students in grades six through eight continued their study of "Practical Arithmetic, Reading, Spelling, Grammar, and Composition." All students in grades nine through eleven were required to study Mathematics and English for three years, History for two years (a year of United States and a year of "General History," a record of "ancient, mediaeval, and modern history") in addition to an industrial education course.<sup>141</sup> Course offerings in science were limited to physiology in grades five, six, and eight, while electives in 1910 were confined to two-year courses in Latin and Greek (first offered in 1888) and were designed especially for "those few who expect to continue their education at some college."<sup>142</sup> Fuller also reported in 1908 that "we study the Bible each day and we have our organized work along these lines," but no courses in religion were listed in the 1910 catalog.<sup>143</sup>

Fuller never publicized the academic programs of his school in the interviews he gave to reporters from the Memphis Commercial Appeal in 1905 and 1909. He spoke, instead, about industrial training. The historian August Meier has contended that often industrial education at black schools "bought Southern good will" and a study of the evidence

did reveal that Howe Institute under Fuller between 1902 and 1910 received a favorable press as well as the gift of eighteen gas ranges from a local utility company.<sup>144</sup> Fuller's moderate racial stance might have had as much to do with the positive publicity and the gift of equipment as his emphasis upon industrial education. In his autobiography, Fuller interpreted whatever he received as a result of "Southern good will" only in terms of an improved economic status for his students: "Our students enjoyed the opportunity of being taught the use of the gas range. This enabled them to command better wages, as they could reduce the expenses of their employers."<sup>145</sup>

Fuller had more in common with the other black educators in this study when he worked in Memphis than he did when he was a principal in North Carolina from 1892 to 1900. For example, the curriculum of Howe Institute became oriented towards industrial education. Fuller, as did Jones, brought to his position a background in the liberal arts and embraced industrial training as avidly as did Jones. Howe Institute, as did The Piney Woods School, eschewed the function of training prospective teachers. Although the urban setting of his school contrasted vividly with the rural environments in which the other four black educators in this study worked, Fuller adjusted as well to the political and racial constraints of his surroundings. He seemed to fit as comfortably into the ambience of Memphis as did the other educators into their respective milieus.

Faculty When Fuller became Principal of Howe Institute in 1902, he inherited two restrictions on the kind of faculty members that he could hire. The original charter (1888) of the school stipulated that

no one could serve as a teacher who was not "a member of good standing in a Baptist church." The other limitation was imposed in 1901 when the Tennessee Legislature prohibited racial integration of staff and students in private schools. The staff at Howe, therefore, had to be black and Baptist. In his autobiography, Fuller claimed that he never had any difficulty in "employing persons of unblemished Christian character who were Baptists."<sup>146</sup>

The number of faculty members at Howe Institute did not change dramatically between 1902 and 1910 even though enrollment increased from 241 in 1904 to 729 in 1908 and then declined to 323 in 1910. Fuller inherited a teaching staff of ten and, in 1905, he reported a "faculty of ten, all colored" for a student body of 301. There were eleven faculty members in 1906 when enrollment increased to 474 and only twelve when 729 students enrolled in 1908.<sup>147</sup> When enrollment declined to 323 in 1910, there were still twelve teachers at Howe.

Fuller used his school's graduates and those from Roger Williams University in Nashville as the key sources for his faculty, according to an examination of a faculty list printed in 1908 and a faculty listing in the 1910 school catalog. G. P. Hamilton provided a list of "Howe Institute Faculty" in his book The Bright Side of Memphis (1908) that included four graduates from Howe, a third of the faculty. Howe graduates on the 1908 staff taught "elementary grade work," "girls' industries," "Intermediate grade work," and stenography. Three teachers at Howe in 1908 were alumni of Roger Williams University, a combination elementary-secondary school (grades 1-11), founded in 1867 by the American Baptist Home Mission Society and owned and operated by the

by the Society in 1908.<sup>148</sup> One alumnus of Roger Williams University taught "elementary grade work," another was responsible for "High English," and a third instructed students in grammar, composition, Latin, and "General History."<sup>149</sup>

The remaining five teachers at Howe in 1908 included a graduate from the public high school for blacks in Memphis who taught "elementary grade work," a printing teacher from LeMoyne Institute, an elementary-secondary school founded by the American Missionary Association (AMA) of the Congregational Church in 1869 in Memphis and still owned and operated by the AMA in 1908, a stenography and typewriting teacher who graduated from Walden University, an elementary-secondary school started in 1866 in Nashville and operated by the Freedmen's Aid Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, a mathematics teacher who was an alumnus of Geneva College, a four-year college established by the Reformed Presbyterian Church of North America in 1848 in Beaver Falls, Pennsylvania, and Fuller, a graduate of Shaw University, who taught English.<sup>150</sup>

Eleven of the twelve faculty members at Howe in 1908, then, were graduates of private, religiously-affiliated schools, and ten of these teachers were graduates of schools located in Tennessee. Only one teacher graduated from a school located in the North. The faculty of Howe in 1908 reflected none of the diversity of a Tuskegee Institute by 1901 nor the infusion of teachers with midwestern educational origins as in the case of The Piney Woods School. Fuller employed graduates from his school and those from Roger Williams University as significant sources of staff the same way that Edwards and Holtzclaw used Tuskegee Institute graduates as an important source for their staffs.

The faculty at Howe in 1908 was comprised of eight women and four men. Only one of these female teachers taught an academic subject (Mathematics) on the secondary school level. Holtzclaw's Utica Institute, by contrast, had eight women out of thirteen faculty members in its Academic Department in 1909.<sup>151</sup> Fuller and two male faculty members who had graduated from Roger Williams were responsible for teaching most of the secondary school academic offerings in 1908. The faculty in 1910 changed only with the replacement of the printing teacher, a graduate of LeMoyne Institute, with a Howe Institute graduate, who studied at Tuskegee Institute.<sup>152</sup> Fuller expressed, in his autobiography, his pleasure at the "valuable assistance rendered by our teachers in the development of Howe" and also indicated that his faculty "used their influence to secure students," a function that was needed when enrollment declined after 1908.<sup>153</sup>

Extension Fuller was as interested as the other black educators in this study in extending the influence of his school into the black community. His approach, however, was different and reflected the religious nature of his school. There were no Farmers' Conferences or Black Belt Improvement Societies at Howe Institute. The Principal of Howe, instead, initiated a Women's Bible Training Class (WBTC) in 1902, and continued an extension activity that had existed before he came to Memphis, the Ministerial Training Class.

The Women's Bible Training Class started in January 1903, when seventy-five "colored women, their ages ranging from 25 to 55, and nearly all of them married," accepted Fuller's invitation "to follow a special course of Bible study at no cost." The Bible Training Class met at

Howe Institute from "9:30 each morning until 11:30 a.m. during the months of January, February, and March. They [women] could attend better during these months... it was winter and but little could be done at home except the routine work of the housekeeper."<sup>154</sup> Attendance reportedly increased to 117 women by 1906 and in 1908 Fuller boasted that "we have two hundred and sixteen women from twenty-six churches and six denominations." The 1910 school catalog had a membership list of 317 women in the WBTC from "thirty churches and seven denominations."<sup>155</sup>

The Women's Bible Training Class combined biblical study with what Fuller called "self-improvement." A "systematic course of Bible instruction" was offered and "on Friday mornings the Sunday School lessons are studied."<sup>156</sup> In 1909, a black minister, alarmed at the fact that women in Fuller's Training Class were studying the Bible "so thoroughly," reportedly asked one of the participants if they intended to preach. "No," replied one of them, 'but we shall learn so much about the Bible that nobody can preach to us but a preacher.'" Fuller recalled in his autobiography that the women he taught in the Training Class were "teaching the Bible in their churches and neighborhoods and so enlightening the masses that the demand for a better prepared ministry is steadily increasing."<sup>157</sup>

Another feature of the WBTC was an emphasis upon "how to live better and more useful lives." Fuller believed that "Christian women are prepared for the work in their homes" and he claimed that he had witnessed the transformation of some of his adult female students as a result of their participation in the Bible Training Class: "Many of the women were known to lay aside certain habits of life and the use of

snuff, tobacco, and beverages as they learned their injurious effects." Changed women led to changed children: "The women have systematically studied the Bible and we see its results in the boys and girls. The women were taught to take what they learn into their homes and to use it in a practical way. All the children are taught to be thoughtful, careful, and helpful to their neighbors."<sup>158</sup>

By 1910, Fuller had developed a three-month course of study for his WBTC that reflected a mixture of the theoretical and the practical. Lessons included not only Bible study but "the organization and development of a well-ordered home life, the care of children and the sick, and industrial education." Fuller taught the Bible courses and secured "the services of a tactful woman to teach many things about home life:"<sup>159</sup>

#### Course of Study for the Women's Bible Training Class

##### First Month

1. Bible Study, 'The Life of Christ'
2. Mission Fields and Workers; Domestic Science
3. Cooking, Sewing, etc.
4. Laws of Health and Hygiene

##### Second Month

1. Bible Study, 'Life of Christ' continued
2. Mission Fields and Workers
3. Domestic Science
4. Laws of Health and Hygiene

##### Third Month

1. Bible Lessons Outlined
2. Garments Completed. Food Products prepared for exhibition. Articles laundered for exhibition.<sup>160</sup>

Fuller was pleased with this curriculum because the "'Needle' and the 'Word' worked in happy cooperation in inculcating principles of

industry and righteousness."<sup>161</sup>

The other extension effort at Howe Institute was a weekly Ministerial Training Class for "those ministers whose circumstances prevented them from remaining in school for a long time because of their work."

Fuller did not initiate this continuing education course for ministers; the effort to educate black ministers who already had churches was a tradition at Howe since its inception.<sup>162</sup> The number of black ministers who studied at Howe did increase, however, under Fuller's administration. In 1904, ten ministers were reported taking "special Bible studies and paying a dollar a month for this program," the number reportedly increased to nineteen in 1908, and reached fifty by 1910.<sup>163</sup> Fuller taught "theology, church history, and homiletics" to black ministers and kept attendance high by distributing weekly sermon outlines. This last feature proved, according to Fuller, "quite a drawing card for our class. The ministers went to their pulpits on Sunday with a fresh, live message and their congregations were delighted and were so free in expressing their approval of their pastor's new gift that the pastor found it a necessity to continue studying."<sup>164</sup>

The Principal of Howe Institute, a college graduate, sought a better trained black clergy. Although the Ministerial Training Class was described in the 1910 school catalog as a "simple English course, arranged to meet the demands of ministers in the active pastorate," Fuller claimed in the Preface to that catalog that "Our training of pastors already active is meant to change their character. It is necessary that church leaders be trained if they wish to hold the people."<sup>165</sup> Fuller's interest in a better educated clergy resembled Washington's

endeavor to educate black ministers at the Phelps Hall Bible Training School of Tuskegee Institute, Edwards' invitation to black ministers to attend the Snow Hill Workers' Conferences and his concern about "illiterate preachers who had not had any particular training for their profession," as well as the "ministerial institutes" initiated by Jones at The Piney Woods School.<sup>166</sup>

Fund raising Howe Institute originated in 1883 when ten black Baptist ministers petitioned an association of Memphis area black Baptist churches known as the West Tennessee Baptist Convention (WTBC) for assistance in starting a school. The Convention granted permission to these ministers to seek financing for a building and in 1887 one of these ministers persuaded a Howe family in Illinois to donate enough money to start a building. The school was owned and operated by the WTBC until 1890 when the State Baptist Convention (Colored) of Tennessee, an organization of black Baptist churches throughout Tennessee, assumed responsibility for financial support.<sup>167</sup> Howe Institute never had whites on its Board of Trustees from its incorporation in 1888 to its closing in 1927. By 1910, fifteen black men selected by the State Baptist Convention comprised the Howe Institute Board.<sup>168</sup> When Fuller became Principal in 1902, the school was "staggering under a great debt." A restriction in the 1888 school charter stipulated that the "Board of Trustees shall under no circumstances raise money for the school by fairs, festivals, suppers, excursions, or by advertising any articles of trade or business." This restriction hampered fund raising and caused the school to rely upon three black field agents between 1888

and 1902 to "raise money for the operation of the school among Negroes in Tennessee."<sup>169</sup>

Fuller inherited, then, a tradition of initial northern financial support (the Howe family) and a "spirit of Negro self-help." He alluded to his school's financial sources when he informed the Memphis Commercial Appeal in October 1905, that "With no endowment, the school depends for its support upon tuition, donations from Negro churches, associations, and individuals, plus money from the North."<sup>170</sup> He revealed the exact proportions of such support in a report a year later (1906). The expense of running Howe Institute for 1905-1906 was \$4,000. Money raised from tuition amounted to \$1,750, 44 percent of the total budget. Black churches in Tennessee contributed \$1,630, an amount that accounted for 41 percent of the school budget. The remaining \$620 came from the American Baptist Home Mission Society (ABHMS) of New York City. For the 1905-1906 budget, then, support from black people comprised 85 percent of the Howe Institute budget.<sup>171</sup>

The Principal of Howe Institute was particularly pleased with the financial assistance that his school received from the ABHMS. This organization of northern Baptists, established in 1832, first sent teachers to the South to teach newly freed slaves how to read and write in 1863. By 1876, the ABHMS was "carrying on a major effort for freedmen's education" and by 1899, the Society had founded eight four-year colleges for black students in six southern states.<sup>172</sup> The ABHMS also aided but did not operate twenty Baptist elementary-secondary schools for black students in the South owned by various State Baptist Colored Conventions. By 1902, Howe Institute was in this latter category.

Fuller's alma mater, Shaw University, was owned and operated by the ABHMS and in 1908 he noted that the "American Baptist Missionary Society has given us \$620 a year since 1902. I went to one of the Home Mission Schools and I am happy that the Society is now contributing to a school run by one of its sons."<sup>173</sup>

Black financial support continued to account for the largest share of the Howe Institute budget as the 1900s progressed. For the school year 1907-1908, for example, contributions from "colored churches and individuals" (\$3,655) plus the amount raised by tuition (\$1,900) totaled \$5,555 (89 percent) out of a budget of \$6,175. By the school year 1909-1910, the amount derived from "colored sources" (\$2,855) plus the amount received from tuition (\$2,650) totaled \$5,505 (89 percent) of a budget that amounted to \$6,125.<sup>174</sup> Considering these figures, it was perhaps understandable for Fuller to praise the "forty-three Negro churches of this faith [Baptist] in Memphis, with its 10,000 members, and the others throughout the state who see that money is raised for the school when needed."<sup>175</sup>

Fuller enlisted the cooperation of black Baptists in Tennessee and northern philanthropy in developing the campus of his school from one building in 1902 to four buildings by 1910. He requested the Baptist Young People's Union (BYPU) of Memphis, an organization of local black Baptist youth, to "inaugurate a splendid financial rally for Howe" in 1903 that resulted in the B.Y.P.U. Industrial Shop a year later. This building "gave us room for our printing, sewing, and laundry departments" and "its erection marked the beginning of additions and improvements at Howe."<sup>176</sup> When Fuller decided that enrollment warranted

the building of a combined dormitory for females and domestic science building, he asked the General Education Board (GEB), headquartered in New York City, for assistance in 1907. Incorporated in 1903, the GEB was established by John D. Rockefeller, Sr., who donated \$53 million to it in a series of gifts between 1902 and 1909. The donor indicated his "special interest in the needs of Southern education, including Negro schools." Rockefeller, a prominent Baptist, had "already made notable contributions to the education of the Negro, principally through the American Baptist Home Missionary Association."<sup>177</sup> The GEB appropriated \$3,000 to Howe Institute in 1907 provided "we [Howe Institute] raised a like amount and that it would be paid thousand for thousand as we raised our part, so that the work of the building could go forward." The donation from the GEB "cheered the Negro Baptists of Tennessee to a high pitch of enthusiasm. Ministers, churches, missionary societies, and individuals caught the spirit and rallied to our support." Fuller raised the \$3,000 needed to match the GEB grant in one year.<sup>178</sup>

When the combined Girls' Dormitory and Domestic Science Building, a "three-story concrete and brick building," was completed in the Fall, 1909, Fuller persuaded several local black churches to furnish each room: "The West Tennessee Association furnished in royal style the reception room and the St. John Church furnished one of the bedrooms, which was done in beautiful fashion." Faculty members raised money "by giving concerts" and "several of the grades of the school made gifts of supplies and money which helped us no little in the struggle."<sup>179</sup> The Women's Bible Training Class (WBTC) of 1907 had pledged to donate

at least a dollar each towards the dormitory-classroom building and each member of that class agreed "to earn the money by some special work or deny herself of some comfort." Fuller described the WBTC commitment: "Some earned their money by 'patching,' selling lye, hominy and scaly barks, 'laundry work,' selling literature, walking miles to the class and saving car fare, selling pies, and many other ways." Fuller termed these donations "self-denial money."<sup>180</sup> He also acknowledged the donation of "the plumbing and lavatory outfit from a white-owned company in Kentucky contacted by one of our faithful teachers."<sup>181</sup> A year after the new classroom and dormitory building was completed (1910), the "Teachers' Cottage," the name given to the home of the Principal, was built and paid for after a "campaign conducted among our Negro friends in West Tennessee."<sup>182</sup>

There were some important differences between the fund raising activities of Fuller from 1902 to 1910 and the efforts to raise money by the other black educators in this study. There was no evidence that Fuller received money for his school from any secular northern philanthropy other than the General Education Board. He relied upon the denominational affiliation of his school for his funds. Washington, by contrast, had received money for Tuskegee Institute between 1881 and 1901 from the Slater Fund and the Peabody Fund as well as personal donations from such philanthropists as Andrew Carnegie and John D. Rockefeller, Sr. Edwards, as a fund raiser, benefited from his association with Washington and, as an offshoot of Tuskegee Institute, Snow Hill Institute received grants from the Slater Fund and Rosenwald Fund as well as a \$10,000 donation from Andrew Carnegie. Holtzclaw also received money

for his school as a result of his fraternity with Washington and Emmett J. Scott, personal secretary to the Principal of Tuskegee Institute, while Jones received no money from a philanthropic organization during the first four years (1909-1913) of his school.

Unlike the other black educators in this study, Fuller did not travel outside of Tennessee seeking funds nor did he organize a school singing group to help raise money. Neither the "Dear Friend" letters written by Edwards and Holtzclaw nor a school newsletter such as The Pine Torch were part of Fuller's fund raising repertoire. A study of the extant evidence revealed that Fuller relied upon tuition as a very important source of revenue at least for the school years 1905-1906, 1907-1908, and 1909-1910. Tuskegee Institute, by contrast, charged no tuition between 1881-1901, nor did Utica Institute from 1903 to 1915. Tuition at Snow Hill Institute in 1910 was seventy-five cents a month, while students at The Piney Woods School paid only for room and board and could bring animals and farm produce in lieu of cash. Expenses at Howe Institute by 1910, on the other hand, included not only tuition but also additional fees for certain courses. Students were informed in 1910 that "All payments should be made in advance. Students owing old accounts will not be admitted until such accounts have been satisfactorily adjusted. No trunks taken out of the buildings until bills are paid."<sup>183</sup>

Fuller's black Baptist constituency of "various Negro Baptist churches, clubs, societies, and individuals" put his school "on a substantial working basis," according to one Memphis observer.<sup>184</sup> Fuller had status in the community as the pastor of a church with a

reported membership of 350, the fifth largest of forty-three black Baptist churches in the city of Memphis in 1908, and "one of the leading churches in the city."<sup>185</sup> He had, also, according to historian Lester C. Lamon, a "natural following" among many of the rural blacks from Arkansas and Mississippi who had migrated to Memphis in the 1900s and who were accustomed to granting significant leadership roles to black ministers.<sup>186</sup> One contemporary observer noted that Fuller was "in great demand upon all demonstrative occasions." Another historian, David M. Tucker, concluded that Fuller was "the most prominent local black pastor in [Memphis] during the age of accommodation."<sup>187</sup> Fuller's ministerial status was probably as important to his fund raising efforts as Booker T. Washington's status as a racial spokesperson was to his role as a fund raiser for Tuskegee Institute.

Howe Institute in 1910 G. P. Hamilton, principal of a public high school for black students in Memphis during the 1900s, considered the selection of Fuller to take charge of Howe Institute in 1902 as "the great turning point in the life of that school. The school seemed to have fallen on evil days. Fuller's taking hold of the reins of authority at that crucial time was the beginning of better days for the school."<sup>188</sup> Howe Institute did change from 1902 to 1910 in several important respects. The school plant increased from one to four buildings in eight years. The original three-story Howe Building (1888) "stood like a sentinel on the corner of the campus." Nearby were the Domestic Science-Dormitory facility for female students, the Industrial Shop, and Fuller's home. These properties comprised one-fourth of a city block.<sup>189</sup> Unlike the rural campuses presided over by the other black educators in

this study, none of the buildings of Fuller's urban school was student-built.

When Fuller became Principal of Howe in 1902, there was no bookkeeper and the "management of accounts was in disarray." Tuition often went unpaid. He hired a bookkeeper and claimed that "Few were able to escape her vigilance. During her incumbency, collections have increased each year."<sup>190</sup> Fuller seemed satisfied with his eight-year tenure (1902-1910) at Howe Institute: "My connection with Howe has been a most enjoyable relationship. When I entered upon the work, the conditions were not encouraging. I came to Memphis as a minister. I found myself as a principal and took the lead in the development of the school."<sup>191</sup> In 1909, a reporter from the Memphis Commercial Appeal offered another appraisal: "His progress is sure; his aims are practical; the upbuilding of the race here in this center of a great negro population has received a needed impetus."<sup>192</sup>

### III. Thomas O. Fuller's Relations with the other Black Educators in this Study

#### Booker T. Washington

Fuller made no reference to any of the black educators in this study other than Washington. An examination of the evidence revealed that Fuller alluded to the founder of Tuskegee Institute in at least two speeches between 1898 and 1906, that he visited Tuskegee Institute in 1907, and that he offered brief but fulsome praise for Washington in his autobiography. Before Fuller took his seat in the North Carolina Senate, he reminded his constituents in Warren County on November 14,

1898, that he was "just an humble Christian worker" who would not engage in a career of political protest. In this same speech, he evoked the name of Washington to substantiate his claim that black people should concentrate upon self-improvement rather than remonstrance: "I believe with Prof. Booker T. Washington that the Negro must prepare to stand upon his own feet; that whatever place he is to occupy in the civil and political life of this country, must depend upon the individual worth of the Negro in the community and state in which he lives."<sup>193</sup>

Fuller made a brief reference to Washington again when he delivered a speech to a "colored audience" in Memphis on January 1, 1906, the forty-third anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation. He praised Washington for bringing "fresh and lasting glory to the African name" and included the founder of Tuskegee Institute among a "pantheon of Negro heroes that include Crispus Attucks, who enriched the soil of Boston with the first blood of the Revolution, and the black troopers of the Army of the Republic who saved the name and fame of Teddy Roosevelt."<sup>194</sup> Fuller's speech was delivered six months after he had urged black people in Memphis to obey rather than protest the state law that segregated passengers on streetcars and his reference to Washington as a hero was a pointed reminder of Fuller's own moderate racial position.

A year later (1907), Fuller attended a Farmers' Conference at Tuskegee Institute and, in his autobiography, he remembered "I felt like going back home and helping everybody and pushing every good thing. Never did I feel more determined to cultivate friendly relations with all my neighbors."<sup>195</sup> Fuller included "Some Impressions from

Contact with Booker T. Washington" in one of the chapters of his autobiography. The Principal of Howe Institute offered an apotheosis of the Principal of Tuskegee Institute worthy of Edwards and Holtzclaw. Fuller, writing as a disciple, believed that Washington's life should be "carefully studied and his teachings followed." Washington offered respectability to black people: "If we followed him [BTW], homes would be built up by our people, and wives and children supported. Poll and other taxes would be paid and the obligations of life faithfully kept."<sup>196</sup> The ideas of Washington, according to Fuller, led to racial harmony: "If we followed him [BTW], there would be no more race antagonism, as mutual help and friendly cooperation would characterize the relations between the races." Washington's embrace of the South as the place where black people should "cast down their bucket" was wise: "The South has much to gain from the Washington idea of the farm and country life for the masses of the race. Labor is more reliable here and the innocent have ample protection."<sup>197</sup> Fuller's glowing "impressions" of Washington contrasted sharply with the less effusive comments about the Tuskegee Institute founder offered by Jones, the other college graduate in this study.

#### IV. The Autobiography of Thomas O. Fuller

Twenty Years in Public Life, 1890-1910 was published in 1910, when Fuller was forty-three years old, the Principal of Howe Institute for eight years, and twenty-one years before he retired.<sup>198</sup> Fuller's autobiography did not originate in the form of periodical articles

prior to publication as did the autobiographical accounts of Washington, Edwards, and Holtzclaw. Fuller's use of authenticating devices to corroborate his account far exceeded the use made of such devices by the other black educators in this study. Fuller included the roster of the North Carolina Senate for 1899, several undated speeches, seven pictures of his years in North Carolina, nine pictures of Howe Institute, and eight pictures of black Baptist leaders in Tennessee.

Fuller stated the purpose for writing his autobiography in the Preface: "I have decided to make a brief review of my efforts and labors... as an inspiration to those younger than myself, who may be encouraged by reading these brief lines to battle on to the attainment of greater heights, not dismayed nor discouraged by the ruggedness of the path." He wanted his autobiography, however, to do more than inspire. He sought to "identify those agencies that have assisted me in my struggle." He wrote in the capacities of "pastor, teacher, and helper."<sup>199</sup>

Fuller's autobiography, as in the case of Jones, was published in the South. The National Baptist Publishing Board (NBPB) in Nashville, Tennessee, printed Fuller's life account. The NBPB was "founded in 1896 and sustained wholly by Negro enterprise," and was charged "with the production and distribution" of Sunday School literature for the National Baptist Convention, a national association of black Baptist churches organized in 1895.<sup>200</sup> Support for the NBPB was not unanimous, since many black Baptists wanted to continue to use the literature of the American Baptist Publication Society, the publications branch of the predominantly white American Baptist Home Mission Society.<sup>201</sup>

Fuller supported the efforts of black Baptists to publish their own religious literature and in 1907 he was appointed to one of four Assistant Secretary positions by the President of the National Baptist Convention.<sup>202</sup> It was possible that Fuller's entry into the hierarchy of the NBC accounted for the publication of his autobiography by its publishing affiliate.

V. The Educational Philosophy of Thomas O. Fuller  
as Revealed in Twenty Years in Public Life

Ontology: The world of Thomas O. Fuller

Unlike Washington and his two students, Edwards and Holtzclaw, Fuller's childhood memories did not include hunger, an ever-continuing need for clothes and shoes, or desultory schooling. Fuller's father, a former slave, was a carpenter and a wheelwright whose services were "in constant demand." Fuller's mother, also an ex-slave, raised fourteen children and "wielded the hoe, handled the plough, cooked, sewed, and was an expert at hand-laundering."<sup>203</sup> Fuller remembered a well-managed home environment where "the duties were distributed and the hours for going and coming well regulated," where his brothers and sisters were "trained to be polite and courteous to all we met," and where "our lessons at school had to be learned and, if we were punished at school, we got the 'second dose' when we returned home."<sup>204</sup> Fuller's formal education began at the age of five in a private school, continued in a state normal school, and culminated in a college degree without any interruption necessitated by economic difficulties, an educational

journey that resembled the experiences of Jones more so than any of the Tuskegee Institute autobiographers.

Reality of aspiration Fuller was encouraged toward an upwardly mobile life by the example of his father, who was trained in slavery as a carpenter. Fuller's father was allowed to "hire his time from his master" and subsequently he built "houses by contract. The houses were very substantial and remained as landmarks for many generations."<sup>205</sup> Not only did J. Henderson Fuller earn money for his master, but he saved enough to "hire the time of his wife" so that both could live together and raise their children. Fuller's father also learned to read during slavery and, when freedom came, he served "during the reconstruction period as a delegate to the various state conventions of his Republican Party. For many years he also served as a magistrate and his decisions had weight in the community."<sup>206</sup> Fuller, the youngest child in the family, remembered the "rich legacy of industry" that his father had left him and how he was expected "to go out in the world and assist in doing the world's work."<sup>207</sup>

While a student at Shaw University (1885-1890), Fuller showed "some of the ambition that I inherited from my father." He had to work to meet his expenses and "the teacher in charge of one of the buildings assigned me to do sweeping. I did my best, knowing it made a record for me." From the humble duties of "master of the sweeping brush," Fuller was promoted to "keeper-in charge of the library reading-room" where he had "unlimited" access to "many of the leading papers, journals, magazines, periodicals, and other literary works of the day."<sup>208</sup> While Edwards worked on the school farm as a student at Tuskegee Institute and

Holtzclaw earned his way in the print shop, Fuller "cultivated a habit of reading papers and magazines on my student job." He also became president of his dining-hall, secretary of his Sunday School class, and an officer in a student club that arranged lectures. He learned the "value of small capital" when he bought cakes at twenty-five cents and sold them for thirty cents to students. He also earned extra money "teaching my fellow students privately and also shaving them."<sup>209</sup>

When Fuller graduated from Shaw University in 1890, he believed that "the whole world was an open door." He found "nothing to warrant the presumption that pluck and energy would not take me to the highest realms of greatness in any department of human endeavor."<sup>210</sup>

Empirical reality When Fuller started his teaching career in 1890, he "studied the neighborhood and drew upon my reserve force of information," since "I was a stranger." Although he taught in the public schools of Granville County, North Carolina, only two years (1890-1892), he claimed that he "never stopped being a student of my environment. I wanted to discover for myself the needs of my community."<sup>211</sup> Fuller's preference for a self-discovered reality was similar to the other black educators in this study. He transferred his predilection for self-discovery to Tennessee. He once advised a fellow Memphis clergyman not to invest in a "colored bookstore" because "first-hand investigation will convince you that Bibles usually last a generation and Sunday-school literature was purchased once in three months." He was pleased with his own advice: "So many men have failed in their efforts because they did not carefully consider their undertaking by an empirical investigation of all sides before starting in business."<sup>212</sup>

A preference for investigation also convinced Fuller that the South was the best place for black people. From his experience of combining pastoral duties with educational leadership in North Carolina during the 1890s, he prescribed the rural districts and small towns to his people as "no better places to cultivate the real and the tangible in life."<sup>213</sup> Although Fuller left his rural roots for Memphis in 1900 and a career oriented towards work in an urban center, he tried to confront the growth of cities. He believed that the future augured a division of labor between the city and the country: "Agriculture and manufacturing are striving for the master. Out of these two contending elements grow a division of labor, upon a proper adjustment and expansion of which depends the industrial progress of our country."<sup>214</sup> Fuller, unlike the other black educators in this study, did not distrust or disdain urban life. He insisted that black people in Memphis could make progress and help develop the resources of that city. He saw no need for blacks to migrate to the North. The fact that a study of a source other than his autobiography revealed Fuller's extensive business interests can help us understand a possible basis for his conservative pronouncement on migration and his belief in the economic potential of black people in an urban setting.

Change Fuller believed in change and he stressed that progress was in the hands of his people: "It [change] is with you and with me." He maintained that black people were better off if they did not rely upon the "office-seeker or the professional politician," an opinion that reflected, perhaps, the racial turmoil of North Carolina in 1898 when he was elected to the State Senate and his own refusal to protest

vigorously against the white Democratic backlash of that time. As a minister, he offered blacks no advice to rely upon divine guidance for change. Black people, instead, should help one another and "those who are helped should learn to stand upon their own feet at the earliest moment possible."<sup>215</sup> He offered his own life as an example of success through self-reliance: "In my struggle upward, I took courage to reach my goals by my own efforts."<sup>216</sup>

Although Fuller said that "we [black people] can work out our progress," he made an explicit comparison between the upper and lower black social classes. He separated the nonpropertied urban masses, about whom he said, "the idea of moving into a new ward is not a serious question" from business and professional men, ostensibly like himself, "who are educating their children and who feel a lively interest in their community." Bearing out his upper class view, Fuller also noted that "the lawyer, the doctor, the teacher, the preacher, and Negro business and professional men are dependent upon the laboring masses for the wages and salaries and fees that increase our bank accounts, build our homes and give us standing in the communities in which we live."<sup>217</sup> Fuller could not be assured, without a laboring class in the South, of the benefits of his own social status, although he expressed an interest in racial betterment for all blacks.

Adjustment Fuller was sensitive to white opinion. He admitted that he cultivated a "carefulness of speech" and "tactful patience" as a legislator in North Carolina and as an educator in Memphis. He made it a point "to gain the friendship of the leading white citizens in any community in which I have labored. This I regarded as a very, very

wise thing on the part of a man who labored in the South...."<sup>218</sup> A notable example of his reticence and restrained posture in his autobiography was his circumspect silence about violence against blacks in Wilmington, North Carolina. The 1898 elections so stirred the emotions of some North Carolinians that two days after the November election (November 11, 1898) a white mob burned the office of a black-owned newspaper in Wilmington and shot down a dozen blacks.<sup>219</sup> Fuller's only comment about the incident in Wilmington was his remark that "Following the election [of 1898] came the famous 'Wilmington Riot' in which many lives were lost."<sup>220</sup>

Taking political office in the wake of extreme racial tension, Fuller decided not to use his forum to offer protest leadership, but to recommend nonresistance. "Let unnecessary agitation cease," he claimed he said to his black constituency. "Go to work, be at peace, and hold the friendship of your neighborhood and your future in politics will take care of itself."<sup>221</sup> Fuller did not revile his limited position in the North Carolina Senate nor place blame on whites, and perhaps this can be understood in light of the interracial associations Fuller had enjoyed during the formative years he spent in North Carolina. At Shaw University in Raleigh during the 1880s he had studied theology under a "kindly old white preacher" who examined him on Baptist doctrine and who recommended him for ordination as a Baptist minister in 1890.<sup>222</sup> When Fuller built his first church the next year, a white man donated the building site. Rather than shaking Fuller's relationships with whites, it appeared that the racist campaign of 1898 and the violence in Wilmington reinforced his desire for maintaining

racial harmony.

Fuller, moreover, attributed those racial incidents to the fact, as he explained it, that southern whites had suffered a "psychic shock" right after the Civil War. For at the very time whites were "grieved by the loss of property, friends, and relatives," they were "forced to watch ignorant Negroes rise to public office." This combination of circumstances so tormented white people that they "lapsed into a kind of insanity whenever they saw black men in political office."<sup>223</sup> For all this, however, Fuller would not accept the white rationale of racial inferiority. He insisted that "neither in the turn of his foot nor the texture of his hair, neither in the size of his nose or the color of his skin" could evidences of inferiority be found in Negro people."<sup>224</sup>

### Epistemology

Sources of knowledge As Principal of Howe Institute in Memphis, Fuller devised an educational program relevant to the needs of his urban black students as he conceived these needs to be. The status of the masses of black people in his city environment determined for Fuller the type of education that would best serve to effect the advancement of black individuals. Fuller believed that "the only hope for the masses of Negroes in my generation lay in the widespread dissemination of industrial training." He had evaluated the prospects for urban blacks when he remarked that "in the cities everywhere there is a demand for intelligent help. The cook, the chambermaid, the bootblack, the bank porter, the errand boy...."<sup>225</sup> Fuller was aware of the "occupational discrimination" faced by blacks. He advocated training to

prepare his students for those "limited occupations" that remained open to them. He explained that "industrial education is necessary as a guarantee against the idleness so often prevalent among those who have had some school advantages without practical training along lines that would insure remunerative employment."<sup>226</sup>

Although the industrial education courses taught at Howe Institute between 1902 and 1910 were not designed to prepare black students for technical careers, Fuller, nevertheless, realized that the South was changing and that "diversified industries and a systematic division of labor giving each the mastery of some particular branch of industry" was "bringing into play the creative and inventive genius of the mind of men." Fuller valued this progress and claimed a role for black people as privates rather than captains of industry: "The Negro is the choicest laborer available in the South to-day [sic] and my race should grasp and hold the key to the industrial development of the South."<sup>227</sup> The kinds of vocations that black students were being prepared for at Howe Institute did not seem to trouble Fuller, perhaps because he defined industrial education as a "means to develop intelligent citizenship, and trained labor able to know when it is doing well and is treated right, with sufficient wants to demand regular employment."<sup>228</sup> Fuller, the B.A. recipient from Shaw University, assumed the responsibility of providing an education that, according to him, would make "the Negro a strong, substantial, reliable industrial factor."<sup>229</sup>

Learning Fuller was interested in linking theory with practice. He admired "teaching ability that helped students apply knowledge" and he urged teachers to be "orthodox, never speculative in your

methods. Stay by the landmarks."<sup>230</sup> In a story reminiscent of Jones' "Button Connection," Holtzclaw's "concrete illustration," and Washington's description of how he taught a geography lesson at Malden, West Virginia, Fuller related a vignette that he called "Rocks and Bones." In 1890, Fuller accepted his first teaching position in Granville County, North Carolina. After several months, the parents of his students became annoyed with the recent Shaw University graduate because "I had technical scholarship only" and student attendance began to decline. He decided to change his teaching style and one day he instructed his students to "bring me every peculiarly-shaped rock you find along the way to school. They obeyed me and soon a supply of rocks of well nigh every shape ornamented the tables and desks." Instead of devoting the class period to a lecture on geology as he had planned, Fuller had his students examine the rocks and "try to discover what gave them [the rocks] their queer shapes." He claimed that "almost immediately the children became intensely interested, as were their parents, a large number of them being present. They had never discovered information in this way before."<sup>231</sup>

Fuller sensed a "rift in the hostile cloud" and decided not to end his new teaching technique. He requested his students to "bring me every bone you find in the woods between your homes and the schoolhouse." The students complied and "pretty soon our schoolhouse resembled a zoological museum.... We talked of bones, we examined bones, we measured bones, we compared bones. The interest was at fever heat."<sup>232</sup> A formerly disgruntled parent later told Fuller "'if I don't send my children to school they'll go crazy.'" Fuller, who was now "quite a success,"

welcomed his new students and the friendship of another black patron. As Principal of Howe Institute, Fuller evidently remembered the efficacy of "rocks and bones" because he claimed that "aside from the textbook, instruction at Howe is made practical and the work to be done by the student when he leaves school is ever kept in mind."<sup>233</sup>

### Axiology

"Beacon Lights" Fuller's motives as Principal of Howe Institute transcended instruction in basic skills and industrial education. He also expressed a concern for the personal development of his students and claimed as a goal the making of "beacon lights for our race" out of "all who come upon our grounds."<sup>234</sup> The virtues that students at Howe Institute needed to develop were primarily secular. Fuller wanted his students to be "industrious" and "useful." Idleness was abhorrent to him and he insisted that "Howe students get busy and keep busy and an idler among them is seldom found." An idle student was dangerous: "The idler is a menace to society and a danger to civilization. His brain is but a hot bed of vice and crime." Fuller sought to "weed out" the "shiftless" from his school as a "duty to the other students who are efficient and active."<sup>235</sup>

The Principal of Howe Institute wanted his school to be a stepping-stone to respectability. He advised members of the Senior Class in 1908 that "honor is won through service" and that "there was nothing so powerful as truth, and nothing so lasting." He stressed hard work and perseverance in the face of obstacles. Success, said Fuller, resulted from a "determined will."<sup>236</sup> He wanted students to build "well-regulated

homes" and he celebrated thriftiness, advising perspective graduates that "If you would benefit your state, save your earnings and become a factor in the life of your community." He criticized black people who "usually toil and suffer on account of their failure to practice the first principles of economy."<sup>237</sup> He required the male students who worked as servants for white families to sign a pledge to be "honest, neat in appearance and industrious, and not to leave a place without giving due notice and to be as faithful for small wages as for larger wages."<sup>238</sup>

Although Fuller never referred in his autobiography or in other documents to a "Spirit of Howe" as did Washington to the "Tuskegee Spirit" and as did Jones to the "Spirit of Piney Woods," the Principal of Howe Institute was as interested in building character as the other black educators in this study. Fuller, however, did not refer, as did Edwards, to "lost boys" and "lost girls," he did not claim, as did Jones, that his students were "human orchards" in need of reform, nor did he celebrate the "Gospel of the toothbrush" as did Washington.<sup>239</sup> Fuller did seem as concerned as Washington about stressing the Protestant ethic, but he directed his remarks to a student body that was urban rather than rural. Fuller's emphasis upon an acculturation to middle class values may have also reflected his status as an individual with vested financial interests in Memphis.

Religion Fuller wanted his students at Howe to be "good Christians." His definition of a "good Christian" included the "spirit of friendship," a "charitable view of your brother and of his action," and "an adherence to the Golden Rule."<sup>240</sup> Students at Howe were required

to attend daily chapel services and weekly prayer meetings as were their peers at The Piney Woods School, Utica Institute, and Tuskegee Institute. Fuller referred to the "religious tone of our school" in connection with these attendance requirements and to the all-Baptist membership of his faculty, a necessity demanded by a provision in the original school charter. Fuller was proud of the two religious extension activities of his school, the Women's Bible Training Class and the Ministerial Training Class, claiming that these efforts represented "a new field invaded" in Memphis.<sup>241</sup>

Fuller appeared to be as interested as the other black educators in this study in conveying to his students the belief that religion was a practical matter. He once told a class at Howe that "God knows there is nothing impossible but it remains for you to solve the world's unsolved problems. Pray and work." Success, said Fuller, came as a result of a "determined will" because "God won't do for you what you should do for yourselves. Prayer is fine to get you started."<sup>242</sup> While Jones encouraged a "practical kind of religion that manifested itself in work," and Washington informed his students that "the religion of Christ is a real and helpful thing," Fuller once told his male students at Howe to "let your religion work for you when you go out to work in these white families. Jesus said 'My Father Worketh Hitherto and I Work' and you should do the same. God only helps those who help themselves."<sup>243</sup> Fuller represented a ministerial leadership with an evident secular outlook. He described, for example, the "ideal church" as one that had an "orderly service and an accurate, honest, and businesslike handling of the Lord's money."<sup>244</sup>

## VI. Summary

When Fuller assessed his life at the end of his autobiography, he noted that "every race in order to reach its highest possibilities must have intelligent and progressive leadership. A fountain cannot rise higher than its source, and this principle may be applied to the fortunes of my race."<sup>245</sup> Fuller was convinced that as a minister and educator he had "devoted much time to helping the Negro better appreciate his ability to help himself." He had helped establish two schools for black Baptists in North Carolina and he "took the lead in the development of Howe Institute." Between 1902 and 1910, Fuller used the resources offered to him by his black Baptist brethren in Tennessee and his school also received assistance for the first time from the American Baptist Home Mission Society and the General Education Board. "Negro self-help" and northern philanthropy enabled Fuller to expand the physical plant of Howe from one to four buildings.<sup>246</sup>

An examination of the available evidence revealed that Fuller did not restrict his interest to the spiritual welfare of black people. He remained vitally in touch with the here-and-now and rarely indulged, in print at any rate, in other wordly rhetoric. He assumed a political role as a State Senator in North Carolina (1899) but, confronted with a rampant white racism, he saw his role not as one of remonstrance, but rather as a position from which he could raise only a "feeble voice" opposing the direction of events. While in Memphis, Fuller did not protest against the 1905 Tennessee law that segregated passengers on streetcars. He accepted the tactic of accommodation and

publicly urged compliance and not complaint.<sup>247</sup> Fuller explained his acceptance of the segregation ordinance on the grounds that only "the most peaceable conditions and the most perfect harmony and cooperation between the races" could protect his "religious, educational, and property interests."<sup>248</sup> He had been a school principal in Memphis for only three years when streetcar segregation became an issue, but he had already increased enrollment and raised enough money to have an Industrial Shop built on his campus.

When Fuller became Principal of Howe Institute in 1902, he assumed the leadership of a school that had provided elementary and secondary education with no industrial training since its founding in 1888. The B.A. graduate, described as an "alumnus of the classical department of Shaw University," decided to introduce such courses as cooking, printing, carpentry, and stenography, while keeping Latin and Greek for those "few students" who might decide to attend college.<sup>249</sup> Whenever the Memphis Commercial Appeal publicized Fuller's school between 1902 and 1910, only the school's industrial training was mentioned. Either Fuller never volunteered information about the liberal arts aspect of his school or the Commercial Appeal chose not to print such information. Fuller's decision to introduce industrial education at Howe was particularly interesting because there was no evidence that he had done so at the two Baptist schools that he had helped start in North Carolina.

Fuller made the most of his southern urban environment. He received eighteen gas stoves from a Memphis utility and urged black female domestics in the city to come to his school to learn how to use his new

equipment free of charge. He solved the problem of finding dormitory space for a majority of his male students and perhaps helped many of them stay in school by finding them jobs as servants for white families who provided room and board. He presided over the building of a new church for the congregation that he had come to pastor in 1900 and located it in front of his school, "accessible to the students of Howe."<sup>250</sup> He maintained several financial interests in Memphis and, after a residency of eight years, he concluded that "Memphis was a great city, rapidly growing in wealth, population, and industrial enterprises."<sup>251</sup>

There were differences between Howe Institute, The Piney Woods School, Tuskegee Institute and its offshoots at Snow Hill, Alabama, and Utica, Mississippi. Howe was owned and operated by black Baptists and most of its financial support came from black Baptist churches and the money generated by tuition. The industrial education courses offered by Fuller's school for male students between 1902 and 1910 were limited to carpentry and printing. The extension efforts at Howe Institute during the same period were confined to religious education for adult women and practicing ministers. Fuller did not seem as interested as the other black educators in this study in changing the social and economic conditions of black people other than those who attended his school. Perhaps he relied upon other agencies such as settlement houses or churches in his urban environment to help blacks in Memphis.

Despite these differences and the others mentioned throughout this chapter, Fuller accepted the school that Washington founded as a model

and did so as avidly as Jones, a black educator who was also educated in a liberal arts tradition. Jones, the Ph.B. degree holder from the University of Iowa, endeavored to replicate the educational approach of Tuskegee Institute in a rural area of Mississippi. Fuller, with a B.A. earned at Shaw University, decided to make industrial education a significant feature of his school, if not to reproduce Tuskegee Institute in an urban environment. Fuller chose to join Jones, Edwards, and Holtzclaw, as a satellite in a black educational firmament dominated by the constellation of Washington from 1881 to 1915.

## FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup>A very helpful sketch of Fuller's life can be found in G. P. Hamilton, Beacon Lights of the Race (Memphis: E. H. Clarke and Brothers, 1911), pp. 185-204; U.S., Department of Interior, Ninth Census of the United States, 1870: Population, 1: 52-53, 222. There were 7,501 blacks and 6,633 whites in Franklin County in 1870.

<sup>2</sup>Thomas O. Fuller, Twenty Years in Public Life, 1890-1910 (Nashville: The National Baptist Publishing Board, 1910), p. 11.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 15.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid. Admission standards cited by Frenise A. Logan, The Negro in North Carolina, 1876-1894 (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1964), p. 145.

<sup>5</sup>J. A. Whitted, A History of the Negro Baptists in North Carolina (Raleigh, N.C.: Edwards and Broughton Printing Co., 1918), pp. 19-20. The American Baptist Home Mission Society was started in 1832 "to carry the Gospel of Jesus into destitute regions, especially the western part of the United States." After the Civil War, the Society altered its program to minister to the needs of newly freed slaves. See Rufus E. Clement, "A History of Negro Education in North Carolina, 1865-1928" (Ph.D. dissertation, Northwestern University, 1930), pp. 73-74.

<sup>6</sup>Whitted, A History of the Negro Baptists, p. 19. Shaw University was the first college for black Baptists in North Carolina. There were two other black, church-related four-year colleges in North Carolina when Fuller entered Shaw in 1885: Livingstone College, located in Salisbury and founded in 1879 by the African Methodist Episcopal Church and Biddle University (now known as Johnson C. Smith University), located in Charlotte and founded by the Presbyterian Church in 1867. See The Moton Guide to American Colleges with a Black Heritage (Washington, D.C.: The Robert R. Moton Memorial Institute, 1978), pp. 36, 40.

<sup>7</sup>Fuller, Twenty Years, p. 16.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., pp. 17-18.

<sup>9</sup>James M. McPherson, The Abolitionist Legacy from Reconstruction to the NAACP (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975), p. 413. Shaw University did not have a black President until 1931. See Hugh Victor Brown, A History of the Education of Negroes in North Carolina (Raleigh, N.C.: Irving Swain Press, Inc., 1961), p. 69.

<sup>10</sup>Fuller, Twenty Years, pp. 194-195.

<sup>11</sup>Cited by McPherson, The Abolitionist Legacy, p. 164.

<sup>12</sup>Fuller, Twenty Years, pp. 18, 199; W. E. B. Dubois, The College-Bred Negro American (Atlanta: Atlanta University Press, 1910), p. 45. Unfortunately, there are no extant records of Fuller's years of Shaw University. See Raymona A. Jones, Librarian, Shaw University, to Arnold Cooper, 29 November 1982, Personal Files of Arnold Cooper, Ridgeland, South Carolina. There were 3,128 whites who received college degrees in 1890. See U.S., Bureau of Education, Report of the Commissioner of Education for the Year 1889-1890, 2: 776.

<sup>13</sup>According to the United States Census of 1890, there were 12,360 blacks and 12,122 whites living in Graville County, North Carolina, in 1890. See U.S., Department of Interior, Eleventh Census of the United States, 1890: Population, 1: 423. Fuller did not name the specific community where he first started his teaching career.

<sup>14</sup>Fuller, Twenty Years, pp. 25-26, 29.

<sup>15</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 29-30.

<sup>16</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 30.

<sup>17</sup>Charter of Incorporation of the Girls' Training School, Franklinton, North Carolina, 1 October 1892, copy in the Office of Secretary of State, State of North Carolina, Raleigh, N.C.

<sup>18</sup>Whitted, A History of Negro Baptists, pp. 173-174.

<sup>19</sup>Fuller, Twenty Years, p. 32. The Girls' Training School made no reports of its enrollment or its programs to the United States Bureau of Education between 1892 and 1900 or to North Carolina school officials from 1892 to 1900. The school had grades 1-11.

<sup>20</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 200-210. Italics mine.

<sup>21</sup>Thomas Jesse Jones, ed., Negro Education: A Study of the Private and Higher Schools for Colored People in the United States, Bureau of Education Bulletin No. 39, 1916, 2 vols. (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1917), 2: 407-408. The Presbyterian Board of Missions to Freedmen was organized in 1869 as the General Committee on Missions to Freedmen and changed its name in 1883. The PBMF represented northern and not southern Presbyterians. The Presbyterian-operated school in Franklinton was established in 1891. See McPherson, The Abolitionist Legacy, p. 154. The Principal of the Presbyterian school in Franklinton was a black man.

<sup>22</sup>Brown, A History of the Education of Negroes, pp. 27-28.

<sup>23</sup>Clement, "A History of Negro Education," p. 167; Brown, A History of the Education of Negroes, p. 27.

<sup>24</sup>Hollis Moody Long, Public Secondary Education for Negroes in North Carolina (New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1932), p. 3.

<sup>25</sup>Ibid. Long indicated that a "state-wide system of public secondary education began to develop in North Carolina in 1907."

<sup>26</sup>Eric Anderson, Race and Politics in North Carolina, 1872-1901 (Baton Rouge, La.: Louisiana State University, 1981), p. 4.

<sup>27</sup>U.S., Department of Interior, Census Office, Eleventh Census of the United States, 1890: Population, 1: 34. There were 13,480 blacks and 5,880 whites in Warren County in 1890 and Warrenton had a population of 740 in 1890 but the Census provided no racial percentages.

<sup>28</sup>Whitted, A History of the Negro Baptists, p. 167.

<sup>29</sup>Jones, Negro Education, 2: 451.

<sup>30</sup>Charter of Incorporation of Shiloh Institute, Warrenton, North Carolina, 13 October 1894, copy in the Office of Secretary of State, State of North Carolina, Raleigh, N.C.

<sup>31</sup>U.S., Bureau of Education, Report of the Commissioner of Education for the Year 1894-1895, 2: 1342-1343. "Elementary" included grades seven through eleven.

<sup>32</sup>Whitted, A History of the Negro Baptists, pp. 167-168.

<sup>33</sup>"Public School," Warrenton (N.C.) Gazette, 22 September 1894, p. 2. Italics mine.

<sup>34</sup>U.S., Bureau of Education, Report of the Commissioner of Education for the Year 1894-1895, 2: 1351.

<sup>35</sup>Proceedings of the Eleventh Annual Session of the Shiloh Baptist Association of North Carolina, August 14th, 15th, 16th, 1895, p. 7.

<sup>36</sup>Ibid., p. 11.

<sup>37</sup>Proceedings of the Twelfth Annual Session of the Shiloh Baptist Association of North Carolina, August 21st, 22d, and 23d, 1896, pp. 5,7.

<sup>38</sup>Ibid., pp. 9, 11.

<sup>39</sup>H. Leon Prather, Sr., Resurgent Politics and Educational Progressivism in the New South, North Carolina, 1890-1913 (Rutherford, N.J.: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1979), p. 175.

<sup>40</sup>Frenise A. Logan, The Negro in North Carolina, 1876-1894 (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1964), p. 180.

<sup>41</sup>C. Vann Woodward, Origins of the New South, 1877-1913 (Baton Rouge, La.: Louisiana State University Press, 1951), p. 212. Alabama and Mississippi made interracial marriages illegal in 1895.

<sup>42</sup>Logan, The Negro in North Carolina, pp. 185-186.

<sup>43</sup>Thirty Years of Lynching in the United States, 1889-1918 (New York: National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 1919), pp. 35, 44-45, 84. None of the lynchings in North Carolina during the 1890s occurred near Franklinton or Warrenton, the settings for Fuller's two schools.

<sup>44</sup>Hugh T. Lefler and Albert R. Newsome, The History of a Southern State, North Carolina (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1973), pp. 548-549. The Populist or People's Party referred to was organized in North Carolina in 1892. North Carolina Populists were farmers who left the Democratic Party. A national Populist Party was started in 1890.

<sup>45</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 551.

<sup>46</sup>Fuller, Twenty Years, pp. 37-38.

<sup>47</sup>Lefler and Newsome, The History of a Southern State, p. 552.

<sup>48</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 556.

<sup>49</sup>Warrenton (N.C.) Gazette, 14 November 1898, p. 2. Italics mine.

<sup>50</sup>*Ibid.* Capitalized letters in the original.

<sup>51</sup>Fuller, Twenty Years, p. 75.

<sup>52</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 49.

<sup>53</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 49.

<sup>54</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 64; Hamilton, Beacon Lights, p. 198; Journal of the North Carolina Senate, 1899, p. 177.

<sup>55</sup>Fuller, Twenty Years, pp. 64-65; Hamilton, Beacon Lights, p. 198.

<sup>56</sup>Raleigh (N.C.) News and Observer, 5 March 1899, p. 2; Journal of the North Carolina Senate, 1899, p. 231.

<sup>57</sup>"Speech by T. O. Fuller," Raleigh (N.C.) News and Observer, 19 February 1899, p. 5; Fuller, Twenty Years, pp. 80-81; Journal of the North Carolina Senate, 1899, p. 197; Prather, Resurgent Politics, p. 179.

<sup>58</sup>Woodward, Origins of the New South, p. 321.

<sup>59</sup>Fuller, Twenty Years, pp. 94, 96. Members of the North Carolina General Assembly and Senate served nine-month terms and had to offer for reelection each year until terms were extended to four years for Senators and two for General Assembly candidates in 1908. See Fuller, Twenty Years, p. 65.

<sup>60</sup>Warrenton (N.C.) Gazette, 11 December 1899, p. 2. This was the only mention of Fuller in this newspaper from June 1894 to December 1900.

<sup>61</sup>"Eleventh Senatorial District," Raleigh (N.C.) News and Observer, 27 November 1899, p. 7. Unfortunately, there are no extant records of Fuller's political career besides the sources already cited. See Department of Cultural Resources of North Carolina, Division of Archives and History, to Arnold Cooper, 2 December 1981 and 20 October 1982, Personal Files of Arnold Cooper, Ridgeland, South Carolina.

<sup>62</sup>Fuller, Twenty Years, p. 108.

<sup>63</sup>Ibid., pp. 109-110. Although Fuller had spent five years in Raleigh, N.C., as a student at Shaw University, that city had only a population of 12,675 in 1890. See U.S., Department of Interior, Census Office, Eleventh Census of the United States, 1890, Population, 1: 557.

<sup>64</sup>Fuller, Twenty Years, p. 109.

<sup>65</sup>Ibid., p. 107.

<sup>66</sup>Ibid., pp. 111-112.

<sup>67</sup>G. P. Hamilton, The Bright Side of Memphis (Memphis: Burke's Book Co., 1908), pp. 140-141.

<sup>68</sup>"Howe Institute," Memphis Commercial Appeal, 30 March 1901, p. 7. It was possible that this article about the Theological Class at Howe was submitted to the Commercial Appeal by the school itself. There was, however, no evidence in the article that the comments about Fuller were quoted from a school source. The Memphis Commercial Appeal was published in the largest city in the State of Tennessee. Memphis had a population in 1900 of 102,320, while Nashville, the second largest city in the state, had 80,865. See U.S., Department of Interior, Census Office, Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900, Population, 1: 430, 432.

<sup>69</sup>Hamilton, Beacon Lights, p. 188. G. P. Hamilton was the Principal of Kortrecht High School, the only public secondary school (grades 9-11) for black students in Memphis from 1890 to 1915. See Jones, Negro Education, 2: 558.

<sup>70</sup>Fuller, Twenty Years, p. 117. Italics in the original.

<sup>71</sup>Minutes of the West Tennessee Baptist Convention, October 11-15, 1883, Memphis, p. 12.

<sup>72</sup>The Catalogue of Howe Institute, Session 1910-1911, p. 9; Ruth Marie Powell. "A History of Negro Educational Institutions Sponsored by the Baptists of Tennessee from 1864-1934" (M.S. thesis, Tennessee A and I University, 1954), pp. 35-37.

<sup>73</sup>The Catalogue of Howe Institute, p. 9. Howe Institute was not the first school for black Baptists in Tennessee. In 1866, the American Baptist Home Mission Society of New York City founded the Nashville Baptist Institute, subsequently known as Roger Williams University, a combination elementary-secondary school. Black Baptists in Jefferson City, Tennessee, started the Nelson-Merry College, an elementary school, in 1895. See Powell, "A History of Negro Educational Institutions," pp. 34-35.

<sup>74</sup>Hamilton, Beacon Lights, p. 191.

<sup>75</sup>Powell, "A History of Negro Educational Institutions," p. 38. The first two principals of Howe Institute were white ministers and by 1892 Howe had its first black Principal. A white person never served as Principal at Howe after 1892. Unfortunately, there was no evidence discovered about the principals before Fuller except the information provided by Powell.

<sup>76</sup>Fuller, Twenty Years, p. 115.

<sup>77</sup>Jones, Negro Education, 2: 558. Kortrecht High School, the only public high school for black students in Memphis, was founded in 1890. LeMoyne Institute, an elementary-secondary school with an emphasis upon normal school training, was founded by the American Missionary Association in 1869. LeMoyne was owned and supported by the AMA of the Congregational Church. See Hamilton, The Bright Side, pp. 13-14, for a brief history of LeMoyne.

<sup>78</sup>Personal papers of Thomas O. Fuller and his tenure at Howe Institute have not been preserved. See John H. Thweatt, Senior Archivist, Tennessee State Library and Archives, to Arnold Cooper, 16 December 1981, Personal Files of Arnold Cooper, Ridgeland, South Carolina. Unfortunately, records of Fuller's church activities are not extant. See Brenda J. Holland, Associate Director of Public Relations, Sunday School Publishing Board, National Baptist Convention,

U.S.A., Inc., to Arnold Cooper, 28 September 1982, Personal Files of Arnold Cooper, Ridgeland, South Carolina.

<sup>79</sup>U.S., Department of Interior, Census Office, Ninth Census of the United States, 1870: Population, 1: 268; U.S., Department of Interior, Census Office, Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900: Population, 1: 642. There were 49,910 blacks and 52,380 whites living in Memphis in 1900. The five cities that had larger black populations than Memphis in 1900 were in descending order: Washington, D.C., Baltimore, New Orleans, Philadelphia, and New York City. See U.S., Department of Commerce, Bureau of Census, Negro Population, 1790-1915 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1918), p. 93.

<sup>80</sup>William D. Miller, Memphis during the Progressive Era, 1900-1917 (Memphis: The Memphis State University Press, 1957), p. 7.

<sup>81</sup>The Catalogue of Howe Institute, pp. 9-10.

<sup>82</sup>Lester C. Lamon, "Negroes in Tennessee, 1900-1930," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of North Carolina, 1971), p. 278. Lamon believed that the impact of black colleges such as Fisk and Meharry on black life in Nashville was very significant and he noted that Memphis did not develop during the 1900s a cadre of well-educated black leaders as was the case in Nashville.

<sup>83</sup>David M. Tucker, Black Pastors and Leaders: Memphis, 1819-1972 (Memphis: Memphis State University Press, 1975), pp. 7, 10.

<sup>84</sup>Cited by W. N. Hartshorn, ed., An Era of Progress and Promise, 1863-1910: The Religious, Moral, and Educational Development of the American Negro since his Emancipation (Boston: Priscilla Publishing Company, 1910), p. 117.

<sup>85</sup>Hamilton, Beacon Lights, p. 202.

<sup>86</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 202-203.

<sup>87</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 203.

<sup>88</sup>Lamon, "Negroes in Tennessee," p. 4.

<sup>89</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 59. Lamon (p. 59) noted that the restrictions included a poll tax requirement and precise registration procedures that "in effect and intent had a disproportionately negative impact upon black voting. Illiteracy, mobility, and poverty were highest among blacks, and the new election laws took advantage of each of these characteristics."

<sup>90</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 67.

<sup>91</sup>Cynthia G. Fleming, "The Development of Black Education in Tennessee, 1865-1920" (Ph.D. dissertation, Duke University, 1977), pp. 148-149. The target of this legislation was the northern Presbyterian-supported Maryville College in Maryville, Tennessee, where black students had been admitted to classes and where a black woman was a teacher.

<sup>92</sup>David M. Tucker, Lieutenant Lee of Beale Street (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1971), p. 14.

<sup>93</sup>Miller, Memphis, p. 19; Memphis was not the scene of lynchings from 1900 to 1910. There were lynchings in the city in 1892 (2) and a lynching did occur in Memphis in 1912 and 1917. See Thirty Years of Lynching, pp. 92-94.

<sup>94</sup>Editorial, Memphis Commercial Appeal, 18 June 1900, p. 15.

<sup>95</sup>Ibid., 10 August 1901, p. 17.

<sup>96</sup>Ibid., 22 October 1901, p. 19.

<sup>97</sup>Ibid., 17 March 1902, p. 11.

<sup>98</sup>Ibid., 1 August 1902, p. 13.

<sup>99</sup>Lamon, "Negroes in Tennessee," p. 46.

<sup>100</sup>Editorial, Memphis Commercial Appeal, 7 March 1905, p. 27.

<sup>101</sup>Lamon, "Negroes in Tennessee," pp. 50-53.

<sup>102</sup>Memphis Commercial Appeal, 16 July 1905, p. 5; Ibid., 8 August 1905, p. 7.

<sup>103</sup>Thomas O. Fuller, "The People's Forum, 3 July 1905, Memphis Commercial Appeal, p. 6. Italics mine. Boycotts organized in southern cities against segregated streetcars did not start in Tennessee. August Meier has noted that blacks boycotted streetcars in Atlanta in 1892 after the City Council passed a law segregating passengers and that "Between 1898 and 1904 citizens of Augusts [Ga.], Atlanta, Columbia [S.C.], New Orleans, Mobile [Ala.], and Houston boycotted streetcars to protest segregation. See August Meier, Negro Thought in America, 1880-1915: Racial Ideologies in the Age of Booker T. Washington (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1963), p. 175. Lamon indicated that "resistance to the streetcar segregation law in Tennessee cities other than Nashville was ended by October 1905." Blacks in Nashville formed the Union Transportation Company in August 1905 and operated trolley cars from January 1906 to April 1906 when a tax imposed on streetcars put the company out of business. See Lamon, "Negroes in Tennessee," pp. 48-52.

<sup>104</sup>Fuller, Twenty Years, p. 34.

- <sup>105</sup>Tucker, Black Pastors, p. 55.
- <sup>106</sup>Lamon, "Negroes in Tennessee," pp. 55-56.
- <sup>107</sup>Cited by Hartshorn, An Era of Progress, p. 117. Italics mine.
- <sup>108</sup>Ibid. Italics mine. An examination of the Memphis Commercial Appeal between 1900 and 1910 revealed three articles that mentioned Fuller and his work as an educator besides the letter that he wrote in July 1905 about the streetcar segregation law. These articles appeared March 30, 1901, October 18, 1905, and December 5, 1909.
- <sup>109</sup>Cited by Hartshorn, An Era of Progress, p. 117. Italics mine.
- <sup>110</sup>Powell, "A History of Negro Educational Institutions," p. 61.
- <sup>111</sup>"Howe Institute," The Baptist Home Mission Monthly 26 (October 1904): 73. Enrollment figures reported between 1904 and 1910 did not reflect adults who participated in adult religious extension classes. A study of the annual Reports of the United States Commissioner of Education between 1883 and 1900 revealed no report from Howe Institute.
- <sup>112</sup>"A Negro Institution Which Is Doing Great Work," Memphis Commercial Appeal, 18 October 1905, p. 13; Minutes of the Tennessee Baptist Missionary and Education Convention, 1906, p. 20.
- <sup>113</sup>Powell, "A History of Negro Educational Institutions," p. 39.
- <sup>114</sup>"Howe Institute," The Baptist Home Mission Monthly 31 (October 1909): 457; The Catalogue of Howe Institute, pp. 44-51. The decline in the reported enrollment of 729 in October 1908 to 455 in October 1909, was not as great as it appeared, considering that the 205 students who had transferred from Roger Williams University in 1908 had left a year later. Fluctuations in enrollment during the 1900s also plagued the schools founded by William J. Edwards and William H. Holtzclaw. Fuller never commented on the changing enrollment figures of his school in his autobiography nor did this writer discover any evidence that referred to the enrollment patterns at Howe between 1900 and 1910.
- <sup>115</sup>The Catalogue of Howe Institute, pp. 44-51. The four students from outside the South came from Washington, D.C. (2), Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, and Albuquerque, New Mexico. Fuller never reported the number of students by grade level but an examination of the 1910 Howe Institute Catalogue revealed that there were 100 students in grades one through five, 132 students in grades six through eight, and 119 enrolled in grades nine through eleven. The school had no twelfth grade. Unfortunately, enrollment data for Kortrecht High School, the only public secondary school (grades 9-11) for blacks in Memphis during the 1900s, was reported only for the years 1902-1903 and 1903-1904 school years, making comparison with Howe Institute for 1910 impossible. The other school in Memphis that offered secondary school instruction (grades 9-11)

was LeMoyne Institute. By 1910, 190 students were enrolled at the secondary school level at LeMoyne. See U.S., Bureau of Education, Report of the Commissioner of Education for the Year 1909-1910, 2: 1272-1273. Fuller never reported the number of male and female students at Howe. A study of the student lists printed in the 1910 school Catalogue indicated that 163 males and 160 females were enrolled at Howe Institute in the Fall 1910.

<sup>116</sup>Minutes of the Tennessee Baptist Missionary and Education Convention, 1906, p. 20; Hamilton, The Bright Side, p. 254. The tuition schedule was also printed in the 1910 school Catalogue on page 15.

<sup>117</sup>Hamilton, The Bright Side, p. 254; The Catalogue of Howe Institute, p. 15. There were no special fees listed for male students in carpentry and printing classes.

<sup>118</sup>"Howe Institute," 5 December 1909, Memphis Commercial Appeal, p. 9. Italics mine.

<sup>119</sup>Ibid.

<sup>120</sup>Ibid.

<sup>121</sup>The Catalogue of Howe Institute, p. 11.

<sup>122</sup>"Howe Institute," The Baptist Home Mission Monthly 30 (November 1908): 497; "Howe Institute," The Baptist Home Mission Monthly 31 (October 1909): 457.

<sup>123</sup>Fuller, Twenty Years, p. 168; Powell, "A History of Negro Educational Institutions," p. 81. The 1910 school Catalogue on page 54 stipulated that "all girls who did not live in Memphis had to reside in the dormitory or at places approved by the Principal." There were sixty-four female students listed in the 1910 School Catalogue with hometown addresses other than Memphis and it was probable that most of these students lived in the new dormitory. There were twenty-nine male students listed in the 1910 Catalogue with hometowns other than Memphis, but considering that Fuller indicated to the Memphis Commercial Appeal in 1909 that 70 percent of the male students at his school lived as servants in white homes, it was possible that many of the twenty-nine students found housing in this fashion. Since there was space for male students on only one floor of a building by 1909, it was likely that the number of male residential students was not large in 1910. The 1910 Catalogue (p. 15) listed boarding expenses at \$9 per month.

<sup>124</sup>The Catalogue of Howe Institute, p. 14.

<sup>125</sup>Ibid., p. 14.

<sup>126</sup>Ibid., p. 54. By 1901, male students at Tuskegee Institute had to wear an official school cap whenever they went to town. See U.S., Bureau of Labor, Seventeenth Annual Report of the Commissioner of Labor,

1902, pp. 286-287. No evidence was discovered that Edwards, Holtzclaw, or Jones required specific dress of their students.

<sup>127</sup>The Catalogue of Howe Institute, p. 12. The 1910 school Catalogue did not stipulate that students had to be Baptists.

<sup>128</sup>Fuller, Twenty Years, p. 171. Fuller provided little information about his wife or family. He did mention that he married Rose Fuller in 1898 after he had been a widower for five years and that he had a son at the time that he remarried in 1898.

<sup>129</sup>"Howe Institute," Memphis Commercial Appeal, 5 December 1909, p. 9.

<sup>130</sup>The Catalogue of Howe Institute, pp. 35-37.

<sup>131</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 37-41.

<sup>132</sup>"Howe Institute," Memphis Commercial Appeal, 5 December 1909, p. 9. *Italics mine.*

<sup>133</sup>Booker T. Washington, Up from Slavery (New York: Doubleday, Page and Company, 1901; reprint ed., Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, Doran and Company, Inc., 1929), p. 88.

<sup>134</sup>Powell, "A History of Negro Educational Institutions," p. 79.

<sup>135</sup>"Howe Institute," The Baptist Hime Mission Monthly 26 (October 1904), p. 73; Minutes of the Tennessee Missionary Baptist and Educational Convention, 1906, p. 20; Fuller cited in Hartshorn, An Era of Progress, p. 116.

<sup>136</sup>"Howe Institute," Memphis Commercial Appeal, 5 December 1909, p. 9. *Italics mine.* In his autobiography, Fuller said that as a result of the gift from the Memphis Gas and Electric Company "eighteen girls can do individual cooking at the same time." See Fuller, Twenty Years, p. 169.

<sup>137</sup>"Howe Institute," Memphis Commercial Appeal, 5 December 1909, p. 9.

<sup>138</sup>The Catalogue of Howe Institute, pp. 11, 20, 22, 24, 30-31.

<sup>139</sup>"A Negro Institution Which Is Doing Great Work," Memphis Commercial Appeal, 18 October 1905; Hamilton, The Bright Side, p. 254.

<sup>140</sup>"Howe Institute," Memphis Commercial Appeal, 5 December 1909, p. 9. *Italics mine*; Catalogue of Howe Institute, p. 32.

<sup>141</sup>The Catalogue of Howe Institute, pp. 15-16, 52-53.

- <sup>142</sup>Ibid., pp. 52-53.
- <sup>143</sup>Fuller cited in Hartshorn, An Era of Progress, p. 117.
- <sup>144</sup>Meier, Negro Thought in America, p. 93.
- <sup>145</sup>Fuller, Twenty Years, p. 173.
- <sup>146</sup>Article 8 of the 1888 Charter of Howe Institute cited in The Catalogue of Howe Institute, p. 9; Fleming, "The Development of Black Education," pp. 148-149; Fuller, Twenty Years, p. 176.
- <sup>147</sup>"A Negro Institution Which Is Doing Great Work," Memphis Commercial Appeal, 18 October 1905, p. 13; Minutes of the Tennessee Baptist Missionary and Education Convention, 1906, p. 20; Hamilton, The Bright Side, p. 254. A faculty of twelve at Howe Institute in 1909 for 729 students was reported twice in Hartshorn, An Era of Progress, pp. 74, 117. There was no evidence that faculty members from Roger Williams University in Nashville transferred to the Howe Institute staff when 205 Roger Williams University students enrolled at Howe for the 1909-1910 school year when their school was destroyed by fire.
- <sup>148</sup>Hamilton, The Bright Side, p. 254; Hartshorn, An Era of Progress, p. 125.
- <sup>149</sup>Hamilton, The Bright Side, p. 254. One of three alumni from Roger Williams University was a minister. The use of teachers at Howe Institute who graduated from Roger Williams University was a tradition. The first and only teacher at Howe in 1888 was an alumnus of Roger Williams. See Powell, "A History of Negro Educational Institutions," p. 41.
- <sup>150</sup>Hamilton, The Bright Side, p. 254. A brief sketch of LeMoyné Institute can be found in Hamilton, The Bright Side, p. 255. Walden University is described in Hartshorn, An Era of Progress, p. 174. The founding of Geneva College is described in The College Blue Book, 18th ed. (New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1981), p. 597. Hamilton described Geneva College as a "Presbyterian School in Beaver Falls, Pa." in The Bright Side, p. 256.
- <sup>151</sup>See letterhead on stationary used by Laurence C. Jones to Director of the Roger's Fund, Tuskegee Institute, 29 March 1909, Box 153, BTW Papers.
- <sup>152</sup>The Catalogue of Howe Institute, p. 5.
- <sup>153</sup>Fuller, Twenty Years, p. 176.
- <sup>154</sup>Thomas O. Fuller, "Bible Training at Howe Institute," The Baptist Home Mission Monthly 26 (June 1904): 232.

155 Minutes of the Tennessee Baptist Missionary and Education Convention, 1906, p. 20; Fuller cited in Hartshorn, An Era of Progress, p. 117; The Catalogue of Howe Institute, p. 19.

156 Minutes of the Tennessee Baptist Missionary and Education Convention, 1906, p. 20.

157 Fuller cited in "Howe Institute," Memphis Commercial Appeal, 5 December 1909, p. 9; Fuller, Twenty Years, p. 172.

158 Fuller cited in Hartshorn, An Era of Progress, p. 117.

159 The Catalogue of Howe Institute, p. 21.

160 Ibid., pp. 21-22.

161 Ibid., p. 22.

162 Fuller, "Bible Training," p. 232; Powell, "A History of Negro Educational Institutions," p. 80.

163 "Howe Institute," The Baptist Home Mission Monthly 26 (October 1904): 73; Hartshorn, An Era of Progress, p. 116; The Catalogue of Howe Institute, p. 43. The fee charged for the Ministerial Training Class was still a dollar a month in 1910.

164 Fuller, Twenty Years, p. 113.

165 The Catalogue of Howe Institute, pp. 19, 11.

166 William J. Edwards, Twenty-Five Years in the Black Belt (Boston: The Cornhill Company, 1915), p. 36.

167 The State Baptist Convention (Colored) of Tennessee was started in 1872. Howe Institute was the first black Baptist school that it agreed to support financially. See Powell, "A History of Negro Educational Institutions," p. 123.

168 Ibid., p. 78. Eleven of the fifteen members of the Board of Trustees were identified as ministers in The Catalogue of Howe Institute, p. 4.

169 Hamilton, Beacon Lights, p. 191; Article 6 of the Howe Institute Charter (1888) cited in The Catalogue of Howe Institute, p. 9; Powell, "A History of Negro Educational Institutions," p. 80.

170 The Catalogue of Howe Institute, p. 9; "A Negro Institution Which Is Doing Great Work," Memphis Commercial Appeal, 18 October 1905, p. 13.

171 Minutes of the Tennessee Baptist Missionary and Education Convention, 1906, p. 20.

<sup>172</sup>McPherson, The Abolitionist Legacy, pp. 144, 412-413. The original focus of the American Baptist Home Mission Society was the American West. This orientation changed after the Civil War. See Clements, "A History of Negro Education," pp. 73-74.

<sup>173</sup>Fuller cited by Hartshorn, An Era of Progress, p. 117. The ABHMS had not contributed money to Howe Institute before Fuller became Principal, according to Hamilton, Beacon Lights, p. 193. Unfortunately, no records of the relationship between the ABHMS and Howe Institute are extant. See Charles W. Deweese, Director of Editorial Services, The Dargan-Carver Library, The Historical Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention, to Arnold Cooper, 14 September 1982, and Susan Eltscher, Archival/Reference Assistant, The American Baptist Historical Society, to Arnold Cooper, 23 August 1982, Personal Files of Arnold Cooper, Ridgeland, South Carolina.

<sup>174</sup>R. R. Wright, Sr., Self-Help in Negro Education (Cheyney, Pa.: Committee of Twelve for the Advancement of the Interests of the Negro Race, 1912), p. 13.

<sup>175</sup>Fuller cited in "Howe Institute," Memphis Commercial Appeal, 5 December 1909, p. 9. It was possible that the ABHMS donated \$620 for the 1907-1908 school year and that this amount accounted for the difference between the total school budget of \$6,175 and the \$5,555 raised by black people. The same could have been the case for the 1909-1910 budget when the total budget was \$6,125 and blacks contributed \$5,505 of that amount.

<sup>176</sup>Ibid. Church work with young people among black Baptists was organized officially in 1899 by the National Baptist Convention of America, an association of black Baptist churches in the United States, when the NBC created the National Baptist Young People's Union Board. See James D. Tyms, The Rise of Religious Education among Negro Baptists (New York: Exposition Press, 1965), pp. 311-313.

<sup>177</sup>Woodward, Origins, p. 403; Horace Mann Bond, The Education of the Negro in the American Social Order (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1934), p. 137.

<sup>178</sup>Fuller, Twenty Years, pp. 137, 153. The Archives of the General Education Board are closed to researchers. See Walter Schatz, Directory of Afro-American Resources (New York: R. R. Bowker Company, 1970), p. 208.

<sup>179</sup>Fuller, Twenty Years, pp. 168-169, 171.

<sup>180</sup>Fuller cited in "Howe Institute," Memphis Commercial Appeal, 5 December 1909, p. 9.

<sup>181</sup>Fuller, Twenty Years, p. 169.

<sup>182</sup>Ibid., p. 155. Despite the name "Teachers Cottage," Fuller provided no indication in his autobiography or elsewhere that anyone besides his immediate family lived in the house. Fuller and his family had lived on the third floor of the Howe Building, the school's original building, since 1902.

<sup>183</sup>The Catalogue of Howe Institute, p. 15. There was not enough evidence to conclude that urban middle class blacks attended Howe Institute and that, therefore, the student body at Howe was very different economically than the students who attended the schools of the other educators in this study.

<sup>184</sup>Hamilton, Beacon Lights, p. 193.

<sup>185</sup>Ibid., p. 195; Hamilton, The Bright Side, p. 140.

<sup>186</sup>Lamon, "Negroes in Tennessee," p. 278.

<sup>187</sup>Hamilton, Beacon Lights, p. 199; Tucker, Black Pastors, p. 55. Tucker considered the period 1890 to 1920 an "Age of Accommodation" in Memphis and referred to the racial moderation of most black ministers in Memphis during that time.

<sup>188</sup>Hamilton, Beacon Lights, p. 191.

<sup>189</sup>The Catalogue of Howe Institute, p. 11.

<sup>190</sup>Powell, "A History of Negro Educational Institutions," p. 79; Fuller, Twenty Years, p. 176.

<sup>191</sup>Fuller, Twenty Years, p. 179.

<sup>192</sup>"Howe Institute," Memphis Commercial Appeal, 5 December 1909, p. 9. Visitors from the United States Bureau of Education did not visit Howe Institute until 1914 and comments from this visit are not included in this study. It was noted, however, that enrollment had declined to 270 by 1914 and that the school had a debt of \$4500, an indication, perhaps, that Fuller experienced some of the same difficulties that Edwards and Holtzclaw did in raising funds once World War I started. See Jones, Negro Education, 2: 559.

<sup>193</sup>Fuller cited in Warrenton (N.C.) Gazette, 14 November 1898, p. 2.

<sup>194</sup>"An Emancipation Address," Memphis Commercial Appeal, 2 January 1906, p. 17. Although the Army of the Republic usually refers to the Northern Army in the Civil War, Fuller used the phrase with reference to the Spanish-American War.

<sup>195</sup>Fuller, Twenty Years, pp. 188-189. In his autobiography, Fuller did not specify the year that he had visited Tuskegee Institute. Fuller is noted as having attended the Tuskegee Farmers' Conference of January

17, 18, 19, 1907. See "Tennessee Attendance-Farmers' Conference, 1907," Box 992, BTW Papers. This was the only reference to Fuller found in the BTW Papers.

<sup>196</sup> Fuller, Twenty Years, p. 191.

<sup>197</sup> Ibid.

<sup>198</sup> Fuller retired in 1931 after he had served as Principal of Howe Institute for twenty-nine years. Howe Institute closed in 1937 as a result of an "outstanding indebtedness amounting to about \$15,000," according to Powell, "A History of Negro Educational Institutions," pp. 86-87. Fuller died at the age of seventy-five on June 21, 1942. See "Dr. T. O. Fuller, Negro Leader, Son of Slave Parents, Dies," Memphis Commercial Appeal, 22 June 1942, p. 1.

<sup>199</sup> Fuller, Twenty Years, p. 5.

<sup>200</sup> Hartshorn, An Era of Progress, p. 517. Black Baptists established their publishing company later than several other predominantly black religious denominations. The African Methodist Episcopal Church started to publish their own religious literature in 1824, while the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church organized its publishing department in 1891. See Hartshorn, An Era of Progress, pp. 527-528.

<sup>201</sup> Ibid., p. 517.

<sup>202</sup> Fuller, Twenty Years, p. 159.

<sup>203</sup> Ibid., p. 11. Fuller did not provide details about his family other than the references already quoted.

<sup>204</sup> Ibid., pp. 12-13.

<sup>205</sup> Ibid., p. 11.

<sup>206</sup> Ibid., p. 12.

<sup>207</sup> Ibid., p. 13. Fuller provided no information about whether or not his brothers and sisters got an education.

<sup>208</sup> Ibid., p. 17.

<sup>209</sup> Ibid., p. 21.

<sup>210</sup> Ibid., p. 221.

<sup>211</sup> Ibid., pp. 26-27.

<sup>212</sup> Ibid., p. 113. Italics mine.

- 213 Ibid., p. 108. Italics mine.
- 214 Ibid., pp. 228-229.
- 215 Ibid., pp. 44, 183.
- 216 Ibid., p. 216.
- 217 Ibid., pp. 257, 259.
- 218 Ibid., pp. 95, 159, 193.
- 219 Helen G. Edmonds, The Negro and Fusion Politics in North Carolina, 1894-1901 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1951), pp. 158, 159-179; Woodward, Origins, p. 350.
- 220 Fuller, Twenty Years, p. 39.
- 221 Ibid., p. 45.
- 222 Ibid., p. 25.
- 223 Ibid., p. 208.
- 224 Ibid., p. 221.
- 225 Ibid., p. 257.
- 226 Ibid., p. 259.
- 227 Ibid., pp. 228, 258-259.
- 228 Ibid., p. 191.
- 229 Ibid., p. 45.
- 230 Ibid., p. 195.
- 231 Ibid., p. 27.
- 232 Ibid., pp. 27-28.
- 233 Ibid., p. 168.
- 234 Ibid., p. 96.
- 235 Ibid., pp. 179, 229, 259.
- 236 Ibid., pp. 44, 224.
- 237 Ibid., pp. 105, 104, 177.

<sup>238</sup>Ibid., p. 26.

<sup>239</sup>Edwards, Twenty-Five Years, p. 51; Laurence C. Jones, Up through Difficulties (Braxton, Miss.: The Pine Torch Press, 1913), pp. 28-29; Washington, Up from Slavery, p. 55.

<sup>240</sup>Fuller, Twenty Years, p. 104.

<sup>241</sup>Ibid., p. 105.

<sup>242</sup>Ibid., p. 221.

<sup>243</sup>Jones, Up through Difficulties, p. 71; Washington, Up from Slavery, p. 198; Fuller, Twenty Years, p. 225.

<sup>244</sup>Fuller, Twenty Years, p. 149.

<sup>245</sup>Ibid., p. 245.

<sup>246</sup>Ibid., p. 247.

<sup>247</sup>Tucker, Black Pastors, p. 5; Lamson, "Negroes in Tennessee," p. 278.

<sup>248</sup>Thomas O. Fuller, "The People's Forum," Memphis Commercial Appeal, 3 July 1905, p. 6.

<sup>249</sup>Hamilton, The Bright Side, p. 141; The Catalogue of Howe Institute, pp. 52-53. There was no evidence found about how many students at Howe actually enrolled in courses such as Latin and Greek.

<sup>250</sup>Fuller, Twenty Years, p. 147.

<sup>251</sup>Ibid., p. 109.

## CHAPTER 6.

## CONCLUSION

The educational history and philosophy of five black educators and the institutional practices of the schools that they founded and served as principals between 1881 and 1915 in the South were described and analyzed in this dissertation. The nature of these institutions was accounted for by a study of theory and practice to discover how the basic orientation of each institution became fixed. Specifically, the political and racial factors that influenced the programs of each school were examined, the development of six features of each institution — students, alumni, faculty, curriculum, extension, and fund raising — was traced from the founding of each school until the publication of the founder's autobiography, and the educational philosophy of each school founder as revealed in his autobiography was interpreted. Certain perspectives, methodologies, and associations remained constant between 1881 and 1915. For a better understanding of the nature of these schools, identification of these constant elements are important and will serve as the basis for this Conclusion.

## I. The Philosophical Perspective

Explicit in the educational philosophy of the five educators in this study was the assumption that education was the avenue to progress and that education could change the condition of black Americans. These educators shared a belief that education should inspire and enable individuals to interact with life as they find it and make it better.

Each educator manifested a theory of reality based upon change and aspiration. These educators believed that education could regenerate their students and that education had the power to establish their students as useful members of society. Important in the regeneration of students was the attitude of these educators toward their immediate surroundings. To create a feeling of discontent with unfavorable living conditions appeared to have been a definite mission of these men. They wanted to bring about a state of mind among their students and the black residents of their respective communities that would stimulate a desire for the better things of life.

Each of the educators expressed a strong belief that black people could improve their lives through education in a Southern homeland. These educators did not regard the North as generous life-giver and the South as implacable oppressor. They did not envision a phenomenon of mass northern migration or build an ideological basis for such a movement, but rather they shared a belief in a basic doctrine of black permanence in the South. The southern roots of four of the educators were strong and for them the South was both womb and crucible, point of origin and preparation for greater fulfillment. Although Jones was not born in the South, he had left the Midwest at the age of twenty-five to return only periodically to raise funds for his school. He accepted the South as his home.

With the exception of Fuller, the other educators shared a mental set that blacks were an agrarian people. The schools at Tuskegee, Snow Hill, Utica, and Braxton became laboratories where solutions were sought for the problems of rural living. At the foundation of these

four schools lay the hope of economic development. Through agricultural instruction for increased productivity, manual training for self-sufficiency, experience in cooperative techniques (Black Belt Improvement Societies), and reform of the life of the community (Farmers' Conferences), Washington, Edwards, Holtzclaw, and Jones sought to foster land ownership and an acceptance of rural living.

These four educators were avid proponents of what historian Richard Hofstadter has called the "agrarian myth," a belief that the farmer was the "ideal man and the ideal citizen" and that people could develop fundamental attitudes and values of correct living over time if they could be kept away from the dangers and temptations of the city.<sup>1</sup> A "myth," as Hofstadter defined it, was not an idea that was false, but rather one "that so effectively embodies men's values that it profoundly influences their way of perceiving reality and hence their behavior."<sup>2</sup> In recognition of this myth, none of the persons in this study, with the exception of Fuller, operated their schools in a manner that would promote migration from the country to the city. As Washington said: "We found that most of our students came from the country districts, where agriculture in some form or other was the main dependence of the people. Since this was true, we wanted to be careful not to educate our students out of sympathy with agricultural life...."<sup>3</sup> In sum, the programs of four of the educators were designed to improve life in the country, so that black students would see an opportunity there for advancement and work to lift themselves up.

Basic to the educational thinking of each of the educators was the principle that an educational program should be oriented to the life

of the people. These men sought, accordingly, to demonstrate a close interplay of ideas and practice. As they entered upon their work, Washington, Edwards, Holtzclaw, and Jones set out first to compile information about their rural communities. Their preliminary investigations eventuated in the amassing of data about the needs of the people to the end that the potential service of these schools might be enhanced. Fuller, working in a different milieu, evaluated the employment prospects for urban blacks as the basis for his curricular emphasis at Howe Institute. Each educator believed that an educational program should be undergirded by a functional philosophy of education. "Institutions, like individuals," wrote Washington, "are properly judged by their ideals, their methods, and their achievement in the production of men and women who are to do the world's work."<sup>4</sup>

Proceeding from the reality of the physical conditions among black people as a point of departure, the five educators decided upon an educational plan. This plan was divested of all nonessentials; it contained little that could not find immediate application in the lives of black students or their families. The substance of this version of industrial education appeared to have been as follows:

1. Consider the teaching of useful things before teaching things of cultural value only.
2. Prepare students to work skillfully with their hands.
3. Develop learning under the real conditions of life rather than in the artificial conditions of the laboratory.
4. Build character.
5. Improve home life and neighborhood conditions and strive to free individuals from vice, poverty, ignorance.

A basic tenet of this educational plan was that the curriculum should be utilitarian. The five educators regarded knowledge, until used, as merely information, and that to be of value, knowledge must be placed in a crucible to be tested in action — it must be put to some practical use. Since knowledge, according to these educators, had its origin in experience, a student learned best by doing, reacting, and undergoing. Such a doctrine taught that knowing "how to do" transcended in importance "what one knows."<sup>5</sup> The emphasis that these educators gave to doing reflected their belief that the measure of the worth of an education was the extent to which it was usable. To test the usability of education was to determine whether it served as a mainspring of action; whether it gave meaning and direction to life and prepared students for the work that they must do and that was demanded by the times in which they lived.

While the five black educators stressed the practical and sought to prepare their students for earning a living, this was not enough. These educators also believed that an essential element of their educational efforts should be moral instruction. Moral edification, therefore, became important in each of the five schools described in this study. An examination of the available evidence suggested that the desire to build "character" was a significant preoccupation of each of the educators. "Character" communicated a host of values, especially a reverence for the Protestant ethic: the virtues of industry, thrift, reliability, self-discipline, and self-reliance. The opposite of these virtues were idleness, carelessness, dependency, and unreliability. Students at the five schools founded by these educators were expected

to obey a regime of rules and regulations and follow a precise daily schedule that would, according to the school principals, build character.

Character development attempted to make up for deficiencies in students' home training. Washington stressed personal cleanliness and students at Tuskegee Institute were required to follow the "Gospel of the Toothbrush."<sup>6</sup> Edwards described "lost boys" and "lost girls" who became, under his care, "better men [and] better women," while Holtzclaw reveled in the student who was transformed into "a new creature because of the new atmosphere in which she has been permitted to live."<sup>7</sup> Jones likened his students to "human orchards" in need of "spraying" and Fuller claimed as a goal the development of "beacon lights for the race."<sup>8</sup> Each educator held that training was an essential factor in moral and personal development and that the cultivation of certain virtues would uplift a race not long emancipated from slavery.

The concept of character building was not original with the five educators in this study. Traditionally, the development of character had been a primary goal of American education, but the family and the church had aided that developmental process. With the creation of what historian Timothy L. Smith has called an "uprooted multitude," however, as a result of urbanization, immigration, and black emancipation, the old supporting institutions could no longer be counted on to instill traditional values. Increasingly, society turned to the schools by the late nineteenth century to perform the necessary functions of "preparing" young people "for life." At the core of this preparation was the inclusion of "character." Industrial education was one manifestation of this call for an "education for life."<sup>9</sup> Thomas Jesse Jones, author

of the United States Bureau of Education study, Negro Education in 1916, described the "ultimate aim" of industrial education "as applied to colored schools" as "always the development of manhood and womanhood. In other words, the ultimate aim was the character development of the colored people."<sup>10</sup>

The assumptions underlying the ideas of the five educators were neither spawned in cynicism nor designed for unworthy ends. Four of the educators believed that their black students could find a place in American society that would allow them a measure of dignity if they gained basic skills leading to economic independence that a rural southern community needed. Fuller wanted his students to learn skills (stenography, sewing, carpentry) that could be marketable in a southern urban environment. The meaning of education to each of the educators included more than providing a skill and preparing students to earn a living. An important goal was character development, the promotion of certain virtues that promoted self-reliance as well as personal development. An examination of the theories and practices of the five educators did not reveal an exploitation of the aspirations of black students as some interpreters of industrial education for blacks have charged.

## II. Theory into Practice

### Methods of teaching

It was possible to identify two principal methods of teaching employed at the five schools described in this study: (1) an interest

on the part of Washington that the work of the classroom correlate with industrial training, and (2) the endeavors by four of the school principals to relate the outcomes of education to life situations. Washington used the term "correlation" to describe his efforts to relate as closely as possible the work of the Academic Department with that of the Industrial Department at Tuskegee Institute. Correlation meant that students would be given work in their various academic classes that had relevance to the work that they might be learning in their particular "industry." A student, for example, taking carpentry might be asked to write a composition in English class on making and hanging a door. The assumption of this instructional method was that theory and practice should be complementary. Washington wrote several memos to various staff members in 1895 and 1896 insisting that correlation be actually carried out by subordinates.<sup>11</sup> None of the other educators specifically referred to correlation, but the founder of Tuskegee Institute expected to find the method used in the schools founded by his students. When three staff members from Tuskegee Institute visited Edwards' school, Snow Hill Institute, in April 1910, they discovered a "gap" between the academic and industrial work because correlation was not in use and excoriated Edwards for his staff's inattention to correlation.<sup>12</sup>

Although a study of the evidence revealed an avowed interest in correlation only by Washington and a reported lack of use of the method at Snow Hill Institute, at least four of the educators did provide illustrations in their autobiographies of the importance of training students to analyze, study, and compare actual things. Washington

claimed that he learned the difference "between studying about things through the medium of books and studying things themselves without the medium of books" in his first teaching position at Malden, West Virginia, when his students readily learned a geography lesson by exploration of their surroundings rather than by "mere book education."<sup>13</sup> Holtzclaw described the use of what he called the "concrete illustration," an effort to demonstrate to an errant faculty member the connection between "schoolroom work with real life."<sup>14</sup> Jones had his "Button Connection" and Fuller relied upon his "Rocks and Bones" story to make the point that the study of actual things improved learning.<sup>15</sup>

There has been agreement among several historians concerning the degree to which the teaching methods encouraged by Washington at Tuskegee Institute reflected prevailing educational methodology. William H. Martin stated that "obviously, the Tuskegee idea could not have been influenced by the thinking of John Dewey, since the program at the Alabama institution was developed before his influence in American education." Martin, however, also believed that "some of the teaching principles applied [at Tuskegee Institute] were consistent with Dewey's point of view."<sup>16</sup> Booker T. Gardner maintained that "Washington's program exhibited an enthusiasm for 'learning by doing' and for teaching with concrete objects and from the actual experiences of life. All these were stressed by progressive educators."<sup>17</sup> Elizabeth Jacoway insisted that "industrial education and progressive education were one and the same thing." In her study of the Penn School, an industrial elementary and secondary school for black students started in 1900 in South Carolina, Jacoway discovered the same teaching methods touted by

the five educators in this study. She concluded that the "emphasis on the whole child — his head, hand, and his heart, the adaptation of the school to the needs of the pupil, and learning by doing were the methods of progressive educators."<sup>18</sup> Although the educators in this study lived and worked in racially separate communities, the teaching practices that they advocated were not unique. Ideas and practices that had contributed to the development of the American educational system were in evidence at each of the five schools.

### III. The Ties that Bind

#### Setting and sentiments

The five educators in this study were keenly aware of the decisive significance of their contemporary milieu. They did not establish their institutions in a vacuum. They founded their schools with due regard for the conditions and problems that created the atmosphere in which their schools were to live. It is difficult to imagine how conditions and circumstances could have been more inauspicious for the founding of their institutions. By the 1890s, statutory segregation and custom had conspired to consign black people to an existence separate from white society. As historian C. Vann Woodward has demonstrated, these laws and customs did not fix the status of blacks, but rather constantly pushed them further and further down the societal ladder.<sup>19</sup> The flames of racism had fanned to white heat in Alabama, Mississippi, Tennessee, and North Carolina by 1900. Political disenfranchisement was an accomplished fact. A large number of black people in the South also lived

in a state of "virtual peonage," chained to "worn out soil most did not own, with little hope for an improvement in their lives."<sup>20</sup> Such conditions as these prompted historian Rayford W. Logan to refer to the years 1877-1914 as the "Nadir" of black life in America.<sup>21</sup>

The five educators were modern realists of the first order. Education for blacks in each of their states was built about the race issue; black educational leaders could not afford to offend anyone. To southern whites, they showed the proper respect; to black people, they made it clear that industrial education, with its emphasis upon work, did not mean the return to slavery. Each educator was aware of the function of industrial education as a platform of compromise between the races. Washington articulated this idea succinctly: "Just here is where the great mission of industrial education comes in. It secures the cooperation of the whites, and does the best possible thing for the black man."<sup>22</sup>

The five educators, bound together by time and place, advocated conciliatory rather than aggressive tactics in race relations. Each was quite adept at adjusting to his racially hostile environment. Historian Horace Mann Bond noted Washington's "keen knowledge of human nature" as the key to his ability to nurture Tuskegee Institute in an Alabama environment and concluded that "In many respects, Washington the educator, was hardly superior to Washington, the realistic student of applied social psychology."<sup>23</sup> Edwards was able to further his educational cause through a personal relationship with Randall O. Simpson, a white planter who donated money and land. Holtzclaw, unlike Edwards, did not rely upon a representative of the planter class, but did conceive

of the role of the black principal as an individual who "can get in touch with the white officials and press his cause."<sup>24</sup> Fuller seemed to agree with Holtzclaw and once admitted to using the Memphis Commercial Appeal not only as a forum to advance his racial views, but also to attract attention to his school. Because of his status as a minister, Fuller had a base other than his school from which to hold the attention of whites in Memphis and in North Carolina.

Perhaps the most interesting example of an ability to adjust to a southern environment was Jones. He had attended segregated schools in St. Joseph, Missouri, but there was little, if anything, in his Missouri and Iowa background that prepared him for life in Mississippi. Despite the prevailing social and political climate, Jones managed to cultivate support from local blacks without antagonizing whites. John R. Webster, the white owner of a sawmill in Braxton, Mississippi, remembered how adeptly Jones "capitalized on white people's human weakness to want to be consulted about things." One of the first black students to attend ThePiney Woods School also recalled that "he [Jones] just seemed like he got along just fine with the white people around here. If he ever had any trouble with any white folks it was off somewhere else. It wasn't here."<sup>25</sup>

### The allegiance

Graduation from Tuskegee Institute did not mean an end to a relationship with Washington or his school on the part of Edwards and Holtzclaw. Both the founder of Tuskegee Institute and his two students came to do certain things for each other and came to expect certain things

of each other. Washington performed some important services for his graduates. He first took Edwards with him to the North in 1898 and gave the Snow Hill Institute Principal a chance "to meet some of the best people of the country and thereby gain support for my work."<sup>26</sup> Washington interceded with philanthropists on behalf of Edwards and one result of this intercession was a gift of \$10,000 from Andrew Carnegie for Snow Hill Institute in 1906.

Holtzclaw first traveled with Washington to Boston and Philadelphia in 1904 and was permitted to address "Tuskegee audiences."<sup>27</sup> Washington also endorsed "Dear Friend" letters from Holtzclaw to potential patrons and wrote letters on his behalf. Holtzclaw also benefited from his association with Emmett Jay Scott, Washington's personal secretary, who suggested Utica Institute as a worthy recipient of philanthropy to sources close to Washington. Tuskegee Institute provided both Edwards and Holtzclaw with faculty to staff their educational enterprises, while Washington called the public's attention to the work of these two graduates in books and articles. As an examination of the evidence revealed, Washington fulfilled the roles of fund raiser, advisor and critic, and initiator of visits by Tuskegee Institute staff to Snow Hill and Utica Institutes.

Washington expected Edwards and Holtzclaw in their educational work to follow closely the traditions of Tuskegee Institute. The relationship between Washington and Edwards was not always congenial. A Tuskegee Institute visitation committee severely criticized Snow Hill Institute and its founder, after a four-day visit in April 1910, revealed inadequate instructional techniques, an unclean campus, the

teaching of Latin and Greek, and other weaknesses. Robert E. Park, a white associate of Washington's, discovered instances of mismanagement at Snow Hill Institute in April 1913, leading to a sharp reprimand of Edwards from Washington, and to a threat by Edwards to resign if he lost the support of the Principal of Tuskegee Institute. When Edwards briefly flirted in 1914 with the idea of joining an association of other industrial schools that faced similar financial difficulties, Washington rebuked him because the association was founded by organizers sympathetic to the views of W. E. B. Dubois. Edwards meekly resigned from the group. For Edwards, it was no easy task trying to follow in the footsteps of the founder of Tuskegee Institute.

Holtzclaw and his school did not receive the same personal attention from Washington as did Edwards, his classmate, but Holtzclaw's association with and dependence upon Scott illustrated that the influence of Tuskegee Institute over the affairs of Utica Institute was significant. Holtzclaw was as interested in gaining Scott's approbation as Edwards was in pleasing Washington. When Holtzclaw, for example, joined the Association of Negro Industrial Schools, the organization that Edwards resigned from, the Principal of Utica Institute provided information about the organization's inner workings to Scott and seemed quite anxious to do so. There was not sufficient evidence to determine if Scott requested the information that Holtzclaw supplied.

As case studies of what historian August Meier labeled the "Tuskegee daughter schools," Snow Hill Institute and Utica Institute reflected the spirit of Tuskegee Institute indelibly institutionalized. Both Edwards and Holtzclaw adopted the use of Farmers' Conferences initiated by

Washington, both school founders insisted upon student routines similar to those of their alma mater, and both schools provided students a chance to work and study. Beyond the adoption of Washington's school as a model, Edwards and Holtzclaw both acknowledged the profound personal impact of Washington. Edwards claimed that "I owe all to him [Washington]. It was he who changed my life. He changed me from the visionary to the substantial, from the shadow to the substance, from the artificial to the real, and from words to deeds." Holtzclaw was more succinct: "I loved him [Washington] and would do anything for him."<sup>28</sup>

The influence that Washington had on the two non-Tuskegee Institute graduates, Fuller and Jones, was less direct. Fuller publicly expressed admiration for Washington in several speeches, offered an encomium to the founder of Tuskegee Institute in his autobiography, and visited Tuskegee Institute at least once between 1900 and 1910. Compared to the relationships between Washington, Edwards, and Holtzclaw, however, the personal connections between Fuller and Washington appeared almost inconsequential. The denominational status of Howe Institute meant that Fuller could seek funds among his black Baptist constituency without having to rely upon Washington for assistance in fund raising as did Edwards and Holtzclaw. Nor did Fuller have to depend upon Tuskegee Institute for faculty members, since he appeared content to staff his school with his own graduates and from other religiously-affiliated schools, particularly Roger Williams University, a Baptist school in Nashville. Howe Institute, however, was not unlike the model developed by Washington. Students at Howe, as did their peers at Tuskegee Institute and its offshoots, followed a strict daily routine, had work-

study opportunities, and pursued industrial education courses. Howe Institute did not sponsor Farmers' Conferences, but the school did have several extension activities that sought a closer union of school and community.

It would, as well, be a mistake not to mention the appeal that Washington had for a rising black middle class in the urban South. According to historian August Meier, Washington's message of industrial education and his emphasis upon thrift and industry especially appealed to "self-made middle-class Negroes in the South, to the leaders and supporters of Negro fraternal enterprises, and to businessmen who depended on the Negro community for their livelihood."<sup>29</sup> Fuller was part of a small middle class in Memphis with vested business interests and it was this class, "composed of men whose economic roots were in the newly urbanized masses," that "naturally found the educational philosophy of self-help congenial to its experience and interests...." While it is easier to evaluate the extent that Washington directly and personally influenced Edwards and Holtzclaw, the prestige of the Tuskegee Institute founder and his emergence by 1895 as "the national Negro leader,"<sup>30</sup> surely must have had an impact on Fuller, reinforcing if not helping to initiate Fuller's educational practices.

Jones had an even more limited personal relationship with Washington than did Fuller, since a study of the available evidence revealed no visits by Jones to Tuskegee Institute between 1909-1913 and only one letter from Washington to Jones (reprinted in The Pine Torch). As a student at the University of Iowa, Jones had praised W. E. B. Dubois as well as Washington in several oral reports that he had delivered in

one of his classes. Jones also claimed that he refused an offer to teach at Tuskegee Institute. Jones sought his faculty from the Midwest rather than from Tuskegee Institute and he cultivated fund raising sources in Iowa rather than the northeast, the region that Washington depended upon for financial support. A study of the evidence did reveal, however, that Jones developed The Piney Woods School in the tradition of Tuskegee Institute and that he did advocate industrial education to address the educational needs of his students despite his own liberal arts background. Students at The Piney Woods School and at Tuskegee Institute followed a similar daily routine, had opportunities to work and study, and members of the Rankin County community could attend Farmers' Conferences and Ministerial Institutes as could their peers in Macon County, Alabama. Jones, indeed, worked in the shadow of Washington's example, but he did not publicly acknowledge the influence of Washington nor did he offer the effusive praise for the Tuskegee Institute founder that was a hallmark of the other autobiographers. Jones appeared, at least in print, personally aloof from the adulation offered to Washington by his fellow black educators in this study.

#### IV. The Inside View: The Autobiographies as Sources

The autobiographies of the five educators were analyzed and interpreted for the ideas that each individual had about life and learning as part of an attempt to relate these ideas to the practices and policies of the school that each educator founded. A study of each autobiography yielded abundantly rich data on the way that each educator adjusted to

his society, confirming the belief of anthropologist Clyde Kluckhohn, that the study of autobiography helped "in establishing the range of conformity to patterns as well as to variances in society."<sup>31</sup> An investigation of the autobiographers also led to a better understanding of how reality became structured for each educator, substantiating the view of another anthropologist, A. Irving Hallowell, that the autobiography could be used to study the development of a person's self-awareness.<sup>32</sup> An examination of each autobiography, likewise, provided insights into what still another anthropologist, Lawrence C. Watson, has called a "phenomenal consciousness" that was inherent in autobiographical evidence, a consciousness that Watson defined as "the way a person conceptualized the stream of experiences that constituted his life as he knew it."<sup>33</sup>

The five autobiographers formed a cohort group in the sense that they chose a common model around which to organize their life's experiences. Each educator became, in effect, the historian of his own institution and organized the materials in his autobiography in terms of its relevance to the founding and development of his school. The educators used their autobiographies to leave a record of their work. The men and their institutions often merged in their accounts with the result, for example, that Edwards was anxious to present details about the "problems and difficulties that confront those who labor for the educational future of the race," and Fuller wanted to provide information about "the agencies that have assisted me in my struggle."<sup>34</sup> Washington was aware of the tendency to use the autobiography as evidence about the development of black education as an institution. When he wrote

the Introduction to Holtzclaw's autobiography, the founder of Tuskegee Institute remarked that "Books of this kind... serve to give an insight... into the actual conditions under which education is carried on in the South.... To those who are interested in learning something of the spirit of Negro education... a personal narrative such as this is valuable."<sup>35</sup> The predilection on the part of the five educators to make their autobiographies historical documents by the inclusion of a variety of authenticating devices (pictures, speeches, testimonials) was not unusual. According to historian John W. Blassingame, "With the exception of articles in a few short-lived Negro magazines, the autobiography was the chief form of historical literature written by blacks before the Journal of Negro History was established in 1916."<sup>36</sup>

As historical documents and personal revelations, the autobiographies depicted the development of an inexorable dynamic of change within a tightly closed southern milieu. These sources represented, in the case of Edwards and Holtzclaw, the manifestation of Washington's assiduous cultivation of southern black educational leadership. Fuller's account reflected leadership in both rural and urban southern settings, while Jones' narrative portrayed educational stewardship in the South by an individual with midwestern roots. The autobiographies served, deliberately or not, as a correction to a white stereotype of blacks prevalent in the South in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Southerners of the period often depicted black people as a folk dominated by a lack of seriousness about work, especially imbued with a hedonistic spirit of play, and forced to work only through coercion. Blacks were also thought to be untrustworthy and likely

possessed of a penchant for sexual looseness and petty crime.<sup>37</sup> The five autobiographers, by contrast, presented images of sober, industrious black men, and were counterweights to a prevailing caricature of black life.

A study of the five autobiographies not only revealed articulated educational philosophies and institutional data, but it can be concluded also that there were at least three principal motifs that surfaced in each account: (1) parental encouragement, (2) education as the key factor in a plan of personal advancement, and (3) an inveterate optimism. Each of the educators paid homage to the influence of at least one parent or parental figure who fostered aspiration and striving. Washington remembered that "In all my efforts to learn to read my mother shared fully my ambition, and sympathized with me and aided me in every way she could. Though she was totally ignorant, so far as mere book knowledge was concerned, she had high ambitions for her children."<sup>38</sup> Edwards, orphaned at the age of six, was raised by an aunt who, when she learned of her nephew's desire to go to Tuskegee Institute, agreed to help him rent and work a small plot of ground, the only aid she could give.

Holtzclaw was inspired by his sharecropper father's attempt, albeit abortive, to become economically independent and by his mother's determination that he receive an education. It was Holtzclaw's mother who hid her son "behind the skillets, ovens, and pots, throwing some old rags over me," whenever the family's landlord came to the Holtzclaw home searching for workers to pick cotton. Holtzclaw remembered how his mother would "slip me off to school through the back way" and he clung

to the memory of his mother "as she bid me good-bye, whereupon she would return to the plantation and try to make up to the landlord for the work of us both in the field as cotton pickers."<sup>39</sup> Jones recalled that his father was "ambitious for me" and that his mother expected him to emulate "all the men of my race who had come into prominence."<sup>40</sup>

Fuller, likewise, was encouraged by his father, formerly a slave who had become a community magistrate and political delegate during freedom.

Once introduced to learning, each autobiographer made education the major architectural element in his personal scheme of advancement. Washington's desire for education was acute: "From the time that I can remember having any thoughts about anything, I recall that I had an intense longing to learn.... I determined, when quite a small child, that, if I accomplished nothing else in my life, I would in some way get enough education to read common books and newspapers."<sup>41</sup> Edwards, despite the debilitation of his illness (scrofula), found time to read. Unable to afford oil, he used "light-wood pine" to read by until late at night and claimed that "during all those years the one thing uppermost in my mind was the desire to attend some school."<sup>42</sup> When Holtzclaw reached the age where his school days were for the time at an end, he was hired out to a white man for wages in order to help support his family. He recalled his great disappointment over being taken out of school. He "became morose, disheartened, and pulled away from all social life...." The future founder of Utica Institute, nevertheless, gathered as many books as he could find, "trying to satisfy my desire for knowledge...."<sup>43</sup> Jones, in addition to his early schooling, was a regular visitor to the public library in St. Joseph, Missouri, was the

first black graduate of his Iowa high school, and managed to continue his college studies without interruption. Fuller also had the advantage of uninterrupted schooling from elementary to college.

With the exception of Jones and Fuller, the obstacles faced by the Tuskegee autobiographers when they sought higher education were legion. First, they were practically penniless. Washington claimed that he walked 500 miles, had only fifty cents when he reached Hampton Institute, and remembered that "Everything that I possessed was in a small hand satchel."<sup>44</sup> When Edwards' food ran out, he lived on bread and water rather than mortgage the crop that he had cultivated so that he would have at least a dollar when he got to Tuskegee Institute. Holtzclaw had to borrow clothes to wear before he left his Roanoke, Alabama, home for Tuskegee. Second, each Tuskegee autobiographer showed the effects of an economically deprived background. Washington recalled that when he first went to Hampton, he had to learn how to sleep on a bed with sheets on it: "The sheets were quite a puzzle to me. The first night I slept under both of them, and the second night I slept on top of both of them." Edwards had to watch the other students at Tuskegee Institute in order to learn how to use knives and forks at the age of twenty, while Holtzclaw remembered that when he entered Tuskegee Institute at the age of twenty he knew little about "night-shirts, comb, brush, and toothbrush."<sup>45</sup>

The educators in this study were fired with a sense of optimism in spite of the obstacles that each had to face. It was no easy task to establish and maintain the schools that they did start. Although Washington no doubt benefited from the political bargain that created

Tuskegee Institute before he arrived in Macon County in 1881, the twenty-five year old Hampton Institute graduate still had to cultivate a constituency and find a site upon which to build a campus. Undaunted, Washington, who had himself overcome the hopelessness and the deadening effects of an impoverished background, determined that he would help other blacks to do what he had done. At Tuskegee, Alabama, he had found "my life - work."<sup>46</sup> Edwards started Snow Hill Institute in "an old dilapidated one-room log cabin" with three students in 1893, faced an immediate crisis when his own church opposed his efforts, but instead of fighting the church, Edwards continued "working for the people and not a certain class" and Snow Hill Institute progressed.<sup>47</sup>

Holtzclaw succeeded in his effort to organize a school in Utica, Mississippi, in 1903, but only after he had made three trips to that state in search of a community where he could work. Jones left Iowa and began his school under a tree. Impressed by such sacrifice, the first material help Jones received was from an ex-slave who gave \$50 toward the establishment of the school and deeded forty acres of land to it.<sup>48</sup> While Fuller did not have the initial struggle that the others did, he still had to superintend the development of the schools that he founded in North Carolina. When he assumed the leadership of a faltering Howe Institute in Memphis in 1902, "things looked dark," but Fuller intended to "make it [Howe] hum."<sup>49</sup>

While the obstacles were formidable, the five educators were living proof that with perseverance one could succeed and build a viable school. The lives and experiences of the five men represented an embodiment of the possibility of self-improvement. Each educator,

in his own way, assumed a responsibility for the educational uplift of his students and his community. Each educator, in his own way, believed that education was the pathway for black people to reach their potential and that industrial education would provide black students with a chance to be honest, self-respecting, and hard-working members of society.

## FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup>Richard C. Hofstadter, The Age of Reform: From Bryan to F. D. R. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1955), pp. 24-25.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 24.

<sup>3</sup>Booker T. Washington, Up from Slavery (New York: Doubleday, Page and Company, 1901; reprint ed., Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, Doran and Company, Inc., 1929), p. 127.

<sup>4</sup>Booker T. Washington, ed., Tuskegee and its People: Their Ideals and Achievements (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1905; reprint ed., New York: Negro Universities Press, 1969), p. 1.

<sup>5</sup>William J. Edwards, Twenty-Five Years in the Black Belt (Boston: The Cornhill Company, 1915), p. 37.

<sup>6</sup>Washington, Up from Slavery, pp. 174-175. Washington said that the phrase "gospel of the toothbrush" originated with his mentor, Samuel Chapman Armstrong, the founder of Hampton Institute.

<sup>7</sup>Edwards, Twenty-Five Years, p. 51; William H. Holtzclaw, The Black Man's Burden (New York: The Neale Publishing Company, 1915), pp. 227-228.

<sup>8</sup>Laurence C. Jones, Up through Difficulties (Braxton: The Pine Torch Press, 1913), pp. 28-29; Thomas O. Fuller, Twenty Years in Public Life, 1890-1910 (Nashville: The National Baptist Publishing Board, 1910), p. 96.

<sup>9</sup>Timothy L. Smith, "Progressivism in American Education, 1888-1900," Harvard Educational Review 31 (Spring 1961): 170, 172-173.

<sup>10</sup>Thomas Jesse Jones, ed., Negro Education: A Study of the Private and Higher Schools for Colored People in the United States, Bureau of Education Bulletin No. 39, 1916, 2 vols. (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1917), 1: 10, 82.

<sup>11</sup>For example, see Chapter 1, Part I, for a brief discussion of Washington's directives on correlation.

<sup>12</sup>See Chapter 2, Part II, on the April 10-14, 1910, visit by the Tuskegee Institute staff members and their subsequent report to Washington and Edwards.

<sup>13</sup>Washington, Up from Slavery, p. 75.

<sup>14</sup>Holtzclaw, The Black Man's Burden, pp. 130-131.

- <sup>15</sup>Jones, Up through Difficulties, p. 48; Fuller, Twenty Years, p. 27.
- <sup>16</sup>William H. Martin, "Unique Contributions of Negro Educators," in Virgil A. Clift, Archibald W. Anderson, and H. Gordon Hullfish, eds. Negro Education in America (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1962), p. 87.
- <sup>17</sup>Booker T. Gardner, "The Educational Philosophy of Booker T. Washington and its Implications for Social Mobility" (Ph.D. dissertation, Southern Illinois University, 1972), p. 195.
- <sup>18</sup>Elizabeth Jacoway, Yankee Missionaries in the South: The Penn School Experiment (Baton Rouge, La.: Louisiana State University Press, 1980), p. 11. Penn School was founded by northern missionaries and was not affiliated with Tuskegee Institute.
- <sup>19</sup>C. Vann Woodward, The Strange Career of Jim Crow (New York: Oxford University Press, 1955), pp. 67-109.
- <sup>20</sup>Ibid., p. 71.
- <sup>21</sup>Rayford W. Logan, The Betrayal of the Negro: From Rutherford B. Hayes to Woodrow Wilson (New York: Collier Books, 1968), p. 11.
- <sup>22</sup>Washington, Up from Slavery, p. 81.
- <sup>23</sup>Horace Mann Bond, The Education of the Negro in the American Social Order (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1934), p. 122.
- <sup>24</sup>Holtzclaw, The Black Man's Burden, pp. 123-124.
- <sup>25</sup>John R. Webster, A Brief Historical Sketch of the Early Days of the Piney Woods School (n.p.: 1952), p. 20; Leola Hughes, interview by Alferdteen Harrison, 5 September 1978, interview OH01.4b, transcript, Oral History Study of Black Educational Institutions in Mississippi, Jackson State University, Jackson, Miss.
- <sup>26</sup>Edwards, Twenty-Five Years, pp. 44-45.
- <sup>27</sup>Holtzclaw, The Black Man's Burden, pp. 112-113.
- <sup>28</sup>August Meier, Negro Thought in America, 1880-1915: Racial Ideologies in the Age of Booker T. Washington (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1963), p. 124; Edwards, Twenty-Five Years, p. 58; Ibid., p. 61.
- <sup>29</sup>August Meier, "Negro Class Structure and Ideology in the Age of Booker T. Washington," Phylon 23 (Fall 1962): 258.
- <sup>30</sup>Meier, Negro Thought in America, p. 99.

<sup>31</sup>Clyde Kluckhohn, "Needed Refinements in the Biographical Approach," in S. Stansfield Sargent and Marion W. Smith, eds., Culture and Personality (New York: Cooper Square Publishers, 1974), p. 77.

<sup>32</sup>A. Irving Hallowell, "The Self and its Behavioral Environment," in A. Irving Hallowell, ed., Culture and Experience (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1955), p. 79.

<sup>33</sup>Lawrence C. Watson, "Understanding a Life History as a Subjective Document: Hermeneutical and Phenomenological Perspectives," Ethos 4 (Spring 1976): 127. Currently, the popular approach known as "emic" analysis or ethnoscience covers this same kind of data to get at the "insiders point of view." See Pertti J. Pelto, Anthropological Research: The Structure of Inquiry (New York: Harper and Row, 1970), pp. 67-88.

<sup>34</sup>Edwards, Twenty-Five Years, p. 11; Fuller, Twenty Years, p. 5.

<sup>35</sup>Holtzclaw, The Black Man's Burden, p. 8.

<sup>36</sup>John W. Blassingame, "Black Autobiographies as History and Literature," The Black Scholar 5 (December 1973-January 1974): 6. Italics in original.

<sup>37</sup>George M. Fredrickson, The Black Image in the White Mind: The Debate on Afro-American Character and Destiny, 1817-1914 (New York: Harper and Row, 1971), pp. 256-282. See also Lawrence J. Friedman, "The Search for Docility: Racial Thought in the White South, 1861-1917," Phylon 31 (Fall 1970): 313-323.

<sup>38</sup>Washington, Up from Slavery, pp. 27-28.

<sup>39</sup>Holtzclaw, The Black Man's Burden, p. 30.

<sup>40</sup>Jones, Up through Difficulties, p. 31.

<sup>41</sup>Washington, Up from Slavery, pp. 27-28.

<sup>42</sup>Edwards, Twenty-Five Years, pp. 15-16.

<sup>43</sup>Holtzclaw, The Black Man's Burden, p. 31.

<sup>44</sup>Washington, Up from Slavery, p. 60.

<sup>45</sup>Ibid., pp. 60-61; Edwards, Twenty-Five Years, p. 21; Holtzclaw, The Black Man's Burden, p. 39.

<sup>46</sup>Washington, Up from Slavery, p. 106.

<sup>47</sup>Edwards, Twenty-Five Years, pp. 35-36.

<sup>48</sup>Jones, Up through Difficulties, pp. 27-29.

<sup>49</sup>Fuller, Twenty Years, pp. 111, 117. Italics in the original.

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## APPENDIX A.

## THE SEARCH FOR MORGAN LONDON LATTA

The educator who founded an industrial school and who authored an autobiography between 1881 and 1915 and for which information about both the man and the institution was too scant to include in this study was Morgan London Latta. Latta wrote a 370-page autobiography in 1903 entitled The History of My Life and Work and published it himself.<sup>1</sup>

Latta said that he was born a slave in North Carolina in 1853, that he was a theology graduate of Shaw University, the same school from which Thomas O. Fuller graduated, that he had been a teacher outside of Raleigh, and that in 1894 he had founded an industrial school called Latta University. He advertised his school in his book as "one of the largest schools in the South in every respect, having the capacity to accommodate more than fourteen hundred students. We have twenty-three buildings on the campus."<sup>2</sup> Latta also claimed in his book that he had traveled to Paris and London to gain financial support for his school and that he had tea with Queen Victoria.<sup>3</sup> He also said that he once had a "very lengthy interview with [the] Hon. Fred Douglas [sic]."<sup>4</sup>

After reading Latta's book, I initiated my search for information about him and his school. My first step was to contact the North Carolina Archives to locate manuscript materials. There was none.<sup>5</sup> My second step was to contact Shaw University, Latta's claimed alma mater, in a futile attempt to find school records. A member of the library staff at Shaw replied that their search "found no indication of Morgan London Latta."<sup>6</sup> I decided to contact by phone the Office of the

Secretary of State of North Carolina (Raleigh) for a copy of any incorporation papers of Latta University but none was found. I decided that a scrutiny of the Raleigh City Directories might prove helpful and reviewed these Directories on microfilm for the period 1890-1915, the years that encompassed the founding of Latta University, the publication of Latta's autobiography, and the general time frame of my study. An analysis of the Directories revealed a mention of "Latta, Morgan, colored, teacher and founder of industrial school" in a Directory for 1901, and a listing for "Latta, Morgan L. Rev., pres. Latta's University" in a Directory for 1905-1906.<sup>7</sup>

I decided next to search for vital statistics. I received on microfilm Wake County Record Books (Raleigh is the county seat of Wake County) and found an entry in the Wake County Marriage Register (CR099.6006) for February 7, 1888: "Morgan Latta (23) and Eliza Evans, license ret. unused." Latta gave the year of his birth as 1853 in his autobiography. It was possible that the Morgan Latta that I found in the Marriage Register was a different person. If it was the person that I was studying, then Latta would have been born in 1865. Latta did not mention in his autobiography the year of his marriage.<sup>8</sup>

I also found an appearance bond recorded in the Wake County Deed Book 94 (p. 324) in which land was given as security for Latta's appearance in court on a charge of forgery. A hearing was scheduled for January 11, 1887. The bond was cancelled, indicating that Latta appeared to answer the charge. I checked the Raleigh (N.C.) News and Observer and discovered a brief account that gave some of the details about Latta's transgression. It seemed that in 1886 Latta wanted to

teach in a public school near Raleigh and "circulated a petition to secure the appointment, but failed to get enough names, or the names of the gentlemen whom he wanted, on his paper." The account continued:

Morgan Latta, a colored man of some education, then took the matter in hand alone and signed to his petition the name of Mr. Alfred Jones. Mr. Jones heard of the fact and had Latta arrested and brought before Justice Barber to answer a charge of forgery. In the hearing, the fact of his having made the forgery was clearly established and he was sent to jail to await trial at the present term of the superior court.<sup>9</sup>

I read the News and Observer through June 1887 and found no account of what happened in this case. I requested and received from the Wake County Records Department a copy of the "Wake County Superior Court Docket for 1887-1892," but no mention was made of Latta's case either. He made no reference to this episode in his autobiography.

With a questionable birthdate, an aborted marriage, and a forgery charge, I had a most interesting subject. I searched the issues of the News and Observer for the years 1890 to 1915 and could find no mention of Latta or his school. There were no reports of the school made to the North Carolina Superintendent of Public Instruction or to the United States Bureau of Education for the years 1892 to 1915. Latta provided a clue that some black people in Raleigh did not trust him. In his autobiography, he denied rumors "among some colored people" that his school had been established only to create positions for his relatives.<sup>10</sup>

When officials from the United States Bureau of Education visited Latta's school in 1914, eleven years after the publication of his autobiography, they reported that

at one time, it appears, a few pupils attended as elementary day pupils, but all pretense of teaching was abandoned many

years ago. The name 'Latta University' has been used for a number of years as a means of soliciting funds, ostensibly for the school, but actually for the principal.<sup>11</sup>

The Bureau of Education did find the Latta University campus:

The property, at the present time [1914], consists of 300 acres of valuable land on the outskirts of Raleigh, a comfortable cottage used for the home of the principal, and a dilapidated frame building formerly used for teaching a few pupils.<sup>12</sup>

The visitors concluded in 1914 that Latta University was a "fraud."<sup>13</sup>

Interviews with several persons who had known Latta were conducted by historian Wilmoth A. Carter for her book on urban blacks. One informant told Carter in 1961: "Latta was a smooth character. He went north and begged for this university and got a lot of money for it... and built him a fine home. Most of his students were members of his family.... He was a real crook...." Another acquaintance of Latta's informed Carter that "Latta's University was all bogus. It wasn't even a good primary industrial school. He had only two wooden buildings and they weren't even good barns."<sup>14</sup>

Although the information that I did manage to accumulate was interesting, it was not enough for me to use if I wanted to analyze the practice of education as conceived by Latta. A friend of mine in Raleigh did contact a black lawyer who knew some of Latta's relatives and this lawyer sent to me the name and address of a daughter-in-law of Latta. I contacted her in Silver Spring, Maryland, and we had two telephone conversations in the Fall of 1982. Her family had no materials about Latta other than the autobiography. I did learn that two daughters of Latta were living, and I wrote to both of them explaining my search for information about their father. One daughter, who lives in

Philadelphia, informed me by telephone that she knew of no extant family letters or of any other information that could help me. I did not receive a reply from the other surviving daughter who lives in New York City.

I decided not to include Latta in this study because of a dearth of concrete evidence about him and his school, and not because some of his actions might have been unsavory. I have appended this account of my search as an example of the difficulty that I encountered in an attempt to find corroborative evidence about a subject that could have been of value to the study.

## FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup>Morgan London Latta, The History of My Life and Work (Raleigh, N.C.: By the Author, 1903).

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 55.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., pp. 283-284.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 101.

<sup>5</sup>See Department of Cultural Resources of North Carolina, Division of Archives and History, to Arnold Cooper, 2 December 1981, Personal Files of Arnold Cooper, Ridgeland, South Carolina.

<sup>6</sup>See Raymona A. Jones, Librarian, Shaw University, to Arnold Cooper, 29 November 1981, Personal Files of Arnold Cooper, Ridgeland, South Carolina.

<sup>7</sup>Maloney's 1901 Raleigh City Directory (Atlanta, Ga.: The Maloney Directory Co., 1901), p. 190; Raleigh, N.C. Directory 1905-1906 (Richmond, Va.: Hill Directory Co., 1906), p. 215.

<sup>8</sup>There were no state or local census schedules available for 1853 or 1868.

<sup>9</sup>"A Would-Be Teacher Makes a Forgery," Raleigh (N.C.) News and Observer, 16 January 1887, p. 1.

<sup>10</sup>Latta, The History of My Life and Work, p. 159.

<sup>11</sup>Thomas Jesse Jones, ed., Negro Education: A Study of the Private and Higher Schools for Colored People in the United States, Bureau of Education Bulletin No. 39, 1916, 2 vols. (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1917), 2: 459.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid.

<sup>14</sup>Wilmoth A. Carter, The Urban Negro in the South (New York: Russell and Russell, 1961), pp. 119-120.

APPENDIX B.

THE PERSONAL BACKGROUNDS OF THE FIVE BLACK  
EDUCATORS IN THIS STUDY

	Year of birth	Place of birth	Slave heritage of immediate family	Family unit	Siblings
Booker T. Washington	1856	Hale's Ford, Va.	Mother was a slave as was stepfather	Raised by mother and step- father	2 brothers and 1 sister
William J. Edwards	1869	Snow Hill, Ala.	Both parents were slaves	Orphaned at age six; aunt and pater- nal grand- mother raised him	1 brother
William H. Holtzclaw	1870	Roanoke, Ala.	Both parents were slaves	Raised by both parents	14 brothers and sisters
Laurence C. Jones	1882	St. Jo., Missouri	Father was a slave	Raised by both parents	3 sisters
Thomas O. Fuller	1869	Frank- linton, N.C.	Both parents were slaves	Raised by both parents	13 brothers and sisters

Father's occupation	Mother's occupation	Early educational experiences	Highest level of schooling
Stepfather worked in salt mines	Cook on plantation	Infrequent formal schooling. Tutored at night by teacher	Hampton Institute (1872-1875)
Not revealed	Not revealed	Illness interrupted schooling for six years (1881-1887). Borrowed books from neighboring children	Tuskegee Institute (1889-1893)
Share-cropper	Cook	Rotated attendance at school with brother	Tuskegee Institute (1890-93; 1896-98)
Hotel porter	Seamstress	First eight grades completed in St. Joseph, Mo. Four-year high school education in Ia.	University of Iowa (1903-1907)
Carpenter and wheelwright	Took in laundry	Uninterrupted schooling from first grade to normal school	Shaw University (1885-1890)

APPENDIX C.

NATURE OF THE SCHOOLS FOUNDED BY THE FIVE  
BLACK EDUCATORS IN THIS STUDY

	Year of founding	Place	Black pop. of setting	Founder's age at school opening	Cooperation of black church
Tuskegee Institute	1881	Tuskegee, Ala.	74% (1880)	25	Black Methodist church loaned original building
Snow Hill Institute	1893	Snow Hill, Ala.	78% (1890)	24	Local A.M.E. church opposed school
Utica Institute	1903	Utica, Miss.	75.2% (1900)	33	Congenial relations with local church of- ficials
The Piney Woods School	1909	Braxton, Miss.	59% (1910)	27	Initial encourage- ment but opposition developed once work began
Girls' Training School	1892	Franklinton, N.C.	49% (1890)	23	Local black Baptists started school
Shiloh Institute	1894	Warrenton, N.C.	70% (1890)	25	Supported by an as- sociation of churches
Howe Institute	1883	Memphis, Tenn.	49% when Fuller ar- rived in 1900	Fuller was 33 when he became Principal	Strong black Bap- tist con- stituency

Tuition charged	Work-study opportunities provided for students	Boarding facilities available	Alumni who founded schools
None (1881-1901)	Yes	Yes	16 schools founded by 1910
75 cents a month (1910)	Yes	Yes	3 schools between 1904 and 1906
None (1903-1915)	Yes	Yes	2 schools between 1904 and 1907
None (1909-1913)	Yes	Yes	No evidence available
No evidence available	No evidence available	No evidence available	No evidence available
No evidence available	No evidence available	No evidence available	No evidence available
\$1.25 per month for grades 1-5/ \$1.50 for grades 6-11 (1908) Special fees for certain courses	Yes	Yes	No evidence available

	Primary source of original faculty	Racial composition of faculty	Levels of instruction
Tuskegee Institute	Hampton Institute	All black	First 8 grades/3 yr. preparatory program/4 year normal school
Snow Hill Institute	Tuskegee Institute	All black	First 8 grades/4 yr. normal school
Utica Institute	Tuskegee Institute	All black	First 8 grades/3 yr. normal school
The Piney Woods School	Iowa high school graduate	All black	First 8 grades
Girls' Training School	No evidence available	No evidence available	Grades 1-11
Shiloh Institute	No evidence available	No evidence available	Grades 1-11
Howe Institute	Howe/Roger Williams University (between 1902-1910)	All black between 1902-1910	Grades 1-11

Extension activities	Fund raising: use of school singers	Principal sources of funds
Farmers' Conference Phelps Hall Bible Training School	Tuskegee Quartet (1887)	Slater Fund/northern philanthropists-Carnegie/ Rockefeller Target: Northeastern U.S.A.
Farmers' Conferences Snow Hill Workers' Conf. Black Belt Improvement Society	Snow Hill Singers (1902)	Southern Education Fund/Carnegie (\$10,000 in 1906)/Rosenwald/ Slater Target: Northeastern U.S.A.
Farmers' Conferences Teacher Extension Movement/Black Belt Improvement Society Community Court of Justice	Utica Singers (1904)	Southern Education Fund Rosenwald/F. B. Ginn (\$500 in 1907) Target: Northeastern U.S.A.
Farmers' Conferences Rural School Improve- ment Association Ministerial Institutes	Cotton Blossom Singers (1912)	No assistance from an organized philanthropy from 1909-1913 Target: Midwest (Iowa)
No evidence available	No evidence available	Local black Baptist churches
No evidence available	No evidence available	Shiloh Association of Baptist Churches
Women's Bible Training Class Ministerial Training Class	Singers not used	State Baptist Conven- tion of Tennessee/West Tennessee Baptist Con- vention/Howe Family/ American Baptist Home Mission Society Target: Tennessee black Baptists