The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860–1935

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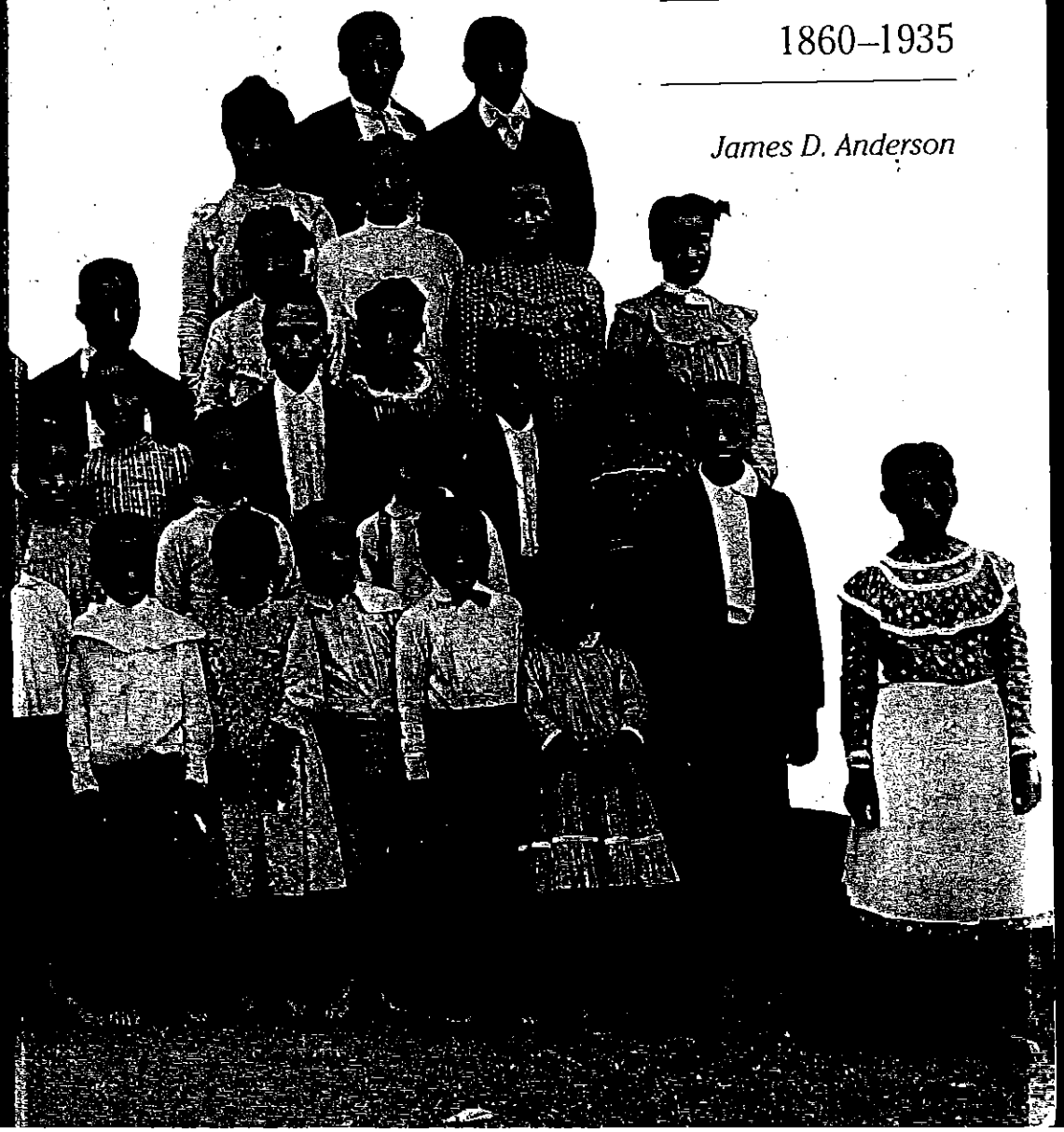

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THE HAMPTON MODEL OF NORMAL SCHOOL INDUSTRIAL EDUCATION, 1868–1915

IT IS ONE of the great ironies of Afro-American history that the ideological and programmatic challenge to the ex-slaves' conception of universal schooling and social progress was conceived and nurtured by a Yankee, Samuel Chapman Armstrong, and a former slave, Booker T. Washington. But even as the leaders of the ex-slave class struggled to build an educational system to help reinforce their conceptions of freedom and social order, there was born in Hampton, Virginia, in 1868, a conjuncture of educational pedagogy and social ideology of different origins and character. Armstrong represented a social class, ideology, and world outlook that was fundamentally different from and opposed to the interests of the freedmen. Thus in his establishment of the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute, he was neither unconscious nor contrarious, but honest. The institute's curriculum, values, and ethos represented his social class and ideology as properly as the moral foundation of the Sabbath schools, free schools, public schools, and colleges represented the social and cultural values of the ex-slaves. The ex-slaves struggled to develop a social and educational ideology singularly appropriate to their defense of emancipation and one that challenged the social power of the planter regime. Armstrong developed a pedagogy and ideology designed to avoid such confrontations and to maintain within the South a social consensus that did not challenge traditional inequalities of wealth and power. In time these two ideologies and programs of black education collided, and Armstrong's prized pupil, Booker T. Washington, was at the center of the confrontation. Washington founded Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute in 1881, and by the turn of the century, the "Hampton-Tuskegee Idea" represented the ideological antithesis of the educational and social movement begun by ex-slaves. The strife between these two ideologies and systems of education did not subside until the late 1920s, when Hampton and Tuskegee radically reformed

their curricula and moved closer to the ideological mainstream of black education.[1]

The traditional emphasis on Hampton as a trade or technical school has obscured the fact that it was founded and maintained as a normal school and that its mission was the training of common school teachers for the South's black educational system. The Hampton-Tuskegee curriculum was not centered on trade or agricultural training; it was centered on the training of teachers. A condition for admission to Hampton was the "intention to remain through the whole course and become a teacher." This goal was achieved because approximately 84 percent of the 723 graduates from Hampton's first twenty classes became teachers. Moreover, Hampton did not offer any trade certificates until 1895, twenty-seven years after the school's founding. This was long after it had been embraced by northern and southern white educational reformers as the most appropriate form of education to assist in bringing racial peace, political stability, and material prosperity to the American South. Still, in 1900, only 45 of Hampton's 656 students were enrolled in its trade school division, and only 4 students were listed as majoring in agriculture. These programs were secondary and relatively insignificant. From its inception until well into the twentieth century, Hampton was almost wholly devoted to teacher training. A normal school became confused with trade training and economic development because Armstrong, and later Washington, employed a unique manual labor routine and an ideology of "self-help" as the practical and moral foundation of their teacher training process. Both established farms and small shops to give their prospective teachers the required manual labor experience. In these routinized work situations, however, the development of persons skilled in trades or farming was a secondary aim, seldom acquired by the students. The primary aim was to work the prospective teachers long and hard so that they would embody, accept, and preach an ethic of hard toil or the "dignity of labor." Then, and only then, believed Armstrong, could his normal school graduates develop the appropriate values and character to teach the children of the South's distinctive black laboring class.[2]

As a normal school Hampton was markedly different in structure and content from black teachers' colleges and liberal arts colleges. Like other normal schools of the nineteenth century, Hampton offered a curriculum of two or three years in length and did not grant a bachelor's degree. Moreover, the completion of a four-year secondary school curriculum was not required for admission to Hampton and other normal schools. Most of Hampton's beginning students arrived with a less than adequate elementary school education and successfully completed the normal school program with an education equivalent in quality to that of a

fair tenth grade program. A good high school offered a superior academic program. In contrast to the normal school's precollegiate academic program, a teachers' college or department was a state, municipal, or incorporated private institution or an independent unit of a recognized college or university having at least one four-year unified curriculum. It was devoted also to the preparation of teachers but required for admission to its curriculum a standard four-year secondary program and granted a standard bachelor's degree. Hampton was neither a college nor a trade school but a normal school composed of elementary school graduates who were seeking two additional years of schooling and teacher preparation courses so that they might qualify for a common school teaching certificate. Normal school students tended to be much less educated, older, and more economically disadvantaged than college students. Further, unlike students pursuing trade and technical training, normal school students sought professional education courses to achieve their major goal of becoming elementary school teachers.

Thus Hampton should be analyzed more in the context of post–Civil War black normal school training than as part of the era's general trend toward technical, trade, and manual education. Unlike Hampton's concern with teacher training, the late nineteenth-century industrial education movement did not include the training of teachers but instead stressed three basic types of vocational training. First, and of the highest status, were the schools of applied science and technology, whose purpose was to train engineers, architects, chemists, and the like for professional work in the emerging technology-based economy. A second and widely different class of industrial schools encompassed the trade schools, organized to train workers in industry and to educate them for their prospective individual occupations in life. In contrast to technical schools, which trained the overseers and superintendents of labor, the trade schools sought to educate individual operatives. The third class of schools consisted of those in which manual instruction was introduced, mainly as a supplement to the traditional academic curriculum, to promote habits of industry, thrift, and morality. Several years before Hampton was established, institutions such as Mt. Holyoke Seminary for Women, Wellesley College, and Oberlin College had required students to do some manual labor to acquire fixed habits of industry and to provide financial support for the colleges. At such schools simple manual training was not a basic part of the instructional program; at Hampton, manual labor formed the core of the teacher training program and intruded into every aspect of both curricular and extracurricular activities.[3]

Hampton's manual labor routine was designed partly to teach students steady work habits, practical knowledge, and Christian morals. Most

important, however, Armstrong viewed industrial education primarily as an ideological force that would provide instruction suitable for adjusting blacks to a subordinate social role in the emergent New South. Significantly, he identified Hampton with the conservative wing of southern reconstructionists who supported new forms of external control over blacks, including disfranchisement, segregation, and civil inequality. Armstrong's philosophy of "Black Reconstruction," widely publicized as the "Hampton Idea," essentially called for the effective removal of black voters and politicians from southern political life, the relegation of black workers to the lowest forms of labor in the southern economy, and the establishment of a general southern racial hierarchy. He expected that the work of adjusting blacks to this social arrangement would be carried out by indigenous black educators, particularly teachers and principals, aided by Hampton-styled industrial normal schools, state departments of education, local school boards, and northern white philanthropists. Hence Hampton developed an extensive manual labor routine because the school's faculty believed that a particular combination of hard work, political socialization, and social discipline would mold appropriately conservative black teachers. In 1888 Atticus G. Haygood, the general agent of the John F. Slater Fund, touched upon Hampton's central mission when he stated that the school's faculty viewed industrial training as the best intellectual and moral discipline for "those who are to be teachers and guides of their people." Haygood went to the heart of the matter. Hampton's teacher training program and its attendant political values focused mainly on the relationship of black "teachers and guides" to the larger issues of southern political and economic reconstruction.[4]

Hampton's ideological and pedagogical framework was derived mainly from the racial, political, and economic views of Armstrong, the principal from 1868 until his death in 1893, and from Hollis Burke Frissell, the vice-principal and chaplain from 1880 to 1893, who succeeded Armstrong and served as principal until 1917. Armstrong, with the help of the American Missionary Association, founded Hampton Institute in April 1868. Four years after the institute was established he initiated and edited the *Southern Workman*, an illustrated monthly, to present his views on the freedmen's place in the developing New South. The paper was created ostensibly as Hampton's official news organ; but from the outset, Armstrong aimed to create a forum much more far-reaching than a typical school newspaper. As he wrote to his friend and Hampton trustee Robert C. Ogden, "We mean to push it by mail, up and forwards—think of this—the paper may become, and I mean it will be a power." The *Southern Workman* became a "power," especially among northern philanthropists and southern white moderates, who favored elementary school and normal school education for blacks and who were

basically opposed to black higher education, equal job opportunities, civil equality, and equal political rights. Although Armstrong attempted to promote the *Southern Workman* as a nonpolitical "instructive monthly," the paper, which expressed vividly his ideas of black reconstruction, sided with conservative political groups who wanted to disfranchise the freedmen and create a legal and customary racial hierarchy. Two years after the founding of the *Southern Workman*, a black newspaper concluded that Armstrong's monthly had "become so conservative that it leans the other way," meaning that it had become reactionary.[5]

To Armstrong, the removal of black people from any effective role in southern politics was the first step toward "proper" reconstruction. He wrote almost exclusively of the immorality and irresponsibility of black voters; he excoriated black politicians and labeled the freedmen's enfranchisement as dangerous to the South and the nation. In his view, the "Colored people" could "afford to let politics severely alone." He maintained, for instance, that black participation in politics in South Carolina resulted in a "shameless legislature" that had "ruined the credit of a great state." Armstrong instructed black leaders to stay out of politics because they were "not capable of self-government," and he blamed the black voters for creating situations which "no white race on this earth ought to endure or will endure." "The votes of Negroes have enabled some of the worst men who ever figured in American politics to hold high places of honor and trust," argued Armstrong. "Such votes marshalled by cunning knavery are dangerous to the country in proportion to their numbers." Thus he advised black men to refrain from voting and urged "every colored leader" to refuse public office for generations to come.[6]

Armstrong waged a campaign against black political rights that should have embarrassed a self-proclaimed "friend of the Negro race," and occasionally it apparently did. He stated in 1876 that he did not intend to "denounce as such every colored man who takes part in politics." In 1882 he even admitted that a few "colored politicians" could be "trusted." But these isolated statements tended to appear when Armstrong perceived that black political power was disintegrating. He was convinced that the withdrawal of Union soldiers from the South in 1877 meant the end of black influence in southern politics. In 1879, however, William Mahone, with the aid of black voters, led Virginia's Readjusters to victory in the state legislative elections. After assuming full control of Virginia's government in 1881, the Readjusters pumped money into public education and enacted several measures to please their black supporters, including abolishing the whipping post and the poll tax and creating Virginia Normal and Collegiate Institute in Petersburg. Armstrong was greatly disturbed by the continuing black participation in Virginia poli-

tics. In 1879 he stated angrily that "the colored vote was reappearing as a political force." When this vote influenced the 1879 elections in Virginia, few "rebels" were more reactionary than Samuel Armstrong: "The Colored vote has suddenly the balance of power and gives victory to the readjusters. There is a split in Conservative ranks. Ex-Confederate leaders are arrayed against each other. The heroes of the war are replacing one-legged soldiers who fought under them with colored men who might have fought against them." In Armstrong's view, this "calamity" threatened "Virginia's honor or standing in the markets of the world." The black race, he warned, "will act up to its light, but its best light is dim and therefore unsafe." The masses were "weak and blind," and "their so-called leaders" were, according to Armstrong, "ignorant, immoral preachers or selfish politicians."[7]

Armstrong insisted that the freedmen should refrain from participating in southern political life because they were culturally and morally deficient and therefore unfit to vote and hold office in "civilized" society. He fell heir to a particular theory of racial subordination while growing up as the son of a missionary in the Hawaiian Islands. His father, Richard Armstrong, entered Hawaii as a missionary in 1831 and by 1840 was minister of public instruction; he eventually became president of the Board of Education. Samuel Armstrong was told that his father's missionary career was "noble work for the savage race." This missionary inheritance was reinforced and consolidated in the milieu of the postwar South. The southern "darkies," like the Polynesian "savages," were "so possessed with strange notions" that they had to be "most carefully watched over." The "darkies" were "emotional in their nature," improvident by habit, and "not capable of self-government." The Hampton principal easily shifted his missionary views from the Polynesians to the black southerners. Indeed, he observed that "there was worked out in the Hawaiian Islands the problem of emancipation, and civilization of the dark-skinned Polynesian people in many respects like the Negro race." In both instances, Armstrong maintained that it was the duty of the superior white race to rule over the weaker dark-skinned races until they were appropriately civilized. This civilization process, in Armstrong's estimate, would require several generations of moral and religious development.[8]

In his political and educational thought, Armstrong attributed the "barbarism" of dark-skinned people largely to historical and environmental conditions. He occasionally invoked genetic arguments in his attempt to rationalize the dominance of whites over blacks. But the heredity concept set unchangeable patterns that did not readily support the moral and social goals of educational reform movements. Mental or academic achievement was more measurable and came much sooner

than moral development, thus supporting more rapid social change than Armstrong was willing to concede. To justify his position that all blacks, educated and noneducated, be excluded indefinitely from active participation in southern politics, Armstrong proclaimed moral development instead of mental development as the chief criterion for political enfranchisement. He believed exclusive white rule was justified because whites had developed exceptionally "in moral strength, in guiding instincts, in power to 'sense things' in the genius for this or that." The Negro, on the other hand, could not "see the point of life clearly, he lacks foresight, judgment and hard sense." The critical problem with the black race, according to Armstrong, was "not one of brains, but of right instincts, of morals and hard work." The freedmen's chief misfortunes were "low ideas of honor, and morality, want of foresight and energy, and vanity." In short, Armstrong contended that the white race was mentally and morally strong, and the black race was mentally capable but morally feeble. He attributed the moral capacity of the different races to historically determined conditions: "The [American] white race has had three centuries of experience in organizing the forces about him, political, social and physical. The Negro has had three centuries of experience in general demoralization and behind that, paganism." This historical legacy, Armstrong argued, robbed the black race of the moral wisdom and foresight necessary for responsible political activity.[9]

Armstrong used concepts such as "guiding instincts" and "moral strength" with slight regard for definition or accurate meaning. But despite the theoretical poverty of his social philosophy, it was a convenient doctrine to support his Reconstruction policy of white rule and black disfranchisement. In 1877, when three black men were elected from the Hampton district to serve in the Virginia state legislature, Armstrong commented: "This district will be represented in both houses by men of intelligence, but of no moral standing." In his view, "political ambition had proved unhealthy for the brightest minds of the [black] race." Until a moral foundation was broadly laid, he counseled, "no sensible colored man could wish to see his race take a leading part in government." In the long run, however, the black race could "develop those guiding instincts and institutions that the Anglo-Saxon has reached through ages of hard experience." Moral intuition was largely automatic, instinctive, and culturally determined. Groups lacking it could acquire it over time but "only by a series of experimental tests, which must of necessity include successive generations." Because the Anglo-Saxon race was morally strong, precisely because of its unique historical experiences, it seemed logical to Armstrong that whites would preside over the ex-slaves' gradual evolution into "civilized" life.[10]

In posing morality, rather than intelligence, as the criterion for admis-

sion to the body politic, Armstrong rejected the idea of literate culture as either a civilizing force or appropriate preparation for morally responsible citizenship. In his cultural theory of racial subordination, mental aptness was not an important measure of moral development; on the contrary, it was a characteristic of primitive existence. As Armstrong put it, "Most savage races are not mentally sluggish. The African Zulu tests the wit and resources of an educated missionary. The Polynesian cannibal is a natural orator and takes to law and theology with readiness. The Aborigines of Australia are quickwitted." Similarly, Armstrong observed that black children were mentally "capable of acquiring knowledge to any degree, and to a certain age, at least, with about the same facility as white children." "Most savage people," Armstrong explained, "are not like 'dumb driven cattle;' yet their life is little better than that of brutes because the moral nature is dormant." Thus, as long as the Negro's moral nature remained underdeveloped, Armstrong believed that it was the whites' duty to prevent blacks from voting and running for political office. In establishing moral development as the decisive cultural basis of political and civil equality, Armstrong, wittingly or unwittingly, ideologically precluded even property-owning and educated blacks from participation in the body politic. Property and education, he argued, could be acquired in a generation, but moral development, and by extension readiness for parliamentary government, took centuries.[11]

To apprehend fully Armstrong's preoccupation with black political development it is imperative to recall that those southerners defined in law and custom as "Negroes" constituted over one-third of the region's population. In 1870, as illustrated in Table 2.1, black persons formed a majority of the total population in Louisiana, Mississippi, and South Carolina. In Alabama, Florida, Georgia, and Virginia the black populations ranged from 42 to 49 percent of the totals. North Carolina and Tennessee reported 37 and 26 percent of their populations as black persons, and Texas reported 31 percent. These citizens and voters deserved a considerable share of the region's political power and the lion's share in some states and districts. That blacks might achieve their fair share of political power was Armstrong's nightmare and a problem he wished to solve in the realm of education and culture, rather than through political struggle.

Armstrong had much in common with the white planters of the South, who, in general, believed that blacks should be politically disfranchised and fitted for the physical drudgery of unskilled farm and domestic labor. But he differed from them on the question of universal schooling. The planters believed that schooling would raise blacks' political and economic aspirations and ruin them as agricultural and domestic laborers. Armstrong held a deep faith in the powerful capacity of moral and

TABLE 2.1

Number and Percent of Blacks in Total Population of Southern States, 1870–1930

State	1870		1880		1890		1900		1910		1920		1930	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Alabama	475,510	47.7	600,103	47.5	678,489	44.8	827,307	45.2	908,282	42.5	900,652	38.4	944,834	35.7
Arkansas	122,169	25.2	210,666	26.3	309,117	27.4	366,856	28.0	442,891	28.1	472,220	27.0	478,463	25.8
Delaware	22,794	18.2	26,442	18.0	28,386	16.8	30,697	16.6	31,181	15.4	30,335	13.6	32,602	13.7
Florida	91,689	48.8	126,690	47.0	166,180	42.5	230,730	43.7	308,669	41.0	329,487	34.0	431,828	29.4
Georgia	545,142	46.0	725,133	47.0	858,815	46.7	1,034,813	46.7	1,176,987	45.1	1,206,365	41.7	1,071,125	36.8
Kentucky	222,210	16.8	271,451	16.5	268,071	14.4	284,706	13.3	261,656	11.4	225,938	9.8	226,040	8.6
Louisiana	364,210	50.1	483,655	51.5	559,193	50.0	650,804	47.1	713,784	43.1	700,257	38.9	776,326	36.9
Maryland	175,391	22.5	210,230	22.5	215,657	20.7	235,064	19.8	232,250	17.9	244,479	16.9	276,379	16.9
Mississippi	444,201	53.7	650,291	57.5	742,559	57.6	907,630	58.5	1,009,487	56.2	935,184	52.2	1,009,718	50.2
Missouri	118,071	6.9	145,350	6.7	150,184	5.6	161,234	5.2	157,452	4.8	178,241	5.2	223,840	6.2
North Carolina	391,650	36.6	531,277	38.0	561,018	34.7	624,469	33.0	697,843	31.6	763,407	29.8	918,647	29.0
South Carolina	415,814	58.9	604,332	60.7	688,934	59.8	782,321	58.4	835,843	55.2	864,719	51.4	793,681	45.6
Tennessee	322,331	25.6	403,151	26.1	430,678	24.4	480,243	23.8	473,088	21.7	451,758	19.3	477,646	18.3
Texas	253,475	31.0	393,384	24.7	488,171	21.8	620,722	20.4	690,049	17.7	741,694	15.9	854,964	14.7
Virginia	512,841	41.9	631,616	41.8	635,438	38.4	660,722	35.6	671,096	32.6	690,017	29.9	650,165	26.8
West Virginia	17,980	4.1	25,886	4.2	32,690	4.3	43,499	4.5	64,173	5.3	86,345	5.9	114,893	6.6

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Negroes in the United States, 1920–32* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1935), pp. 9–10, 15.

industrial education to socialize blacks to understand and accept their disfranchisement and to make them more productive laborers. As the right moral education would ultimately prepare blacks for self-government, he believed, the right industrial training would make them an economic asset instead of a burden to the South. Hence the other fundamental dimension of Armstrong's educational and social philosophy focused on the methods and content to develop black teachers and leaders who would prepare the black masses for efficient service in racially prescribed occupational niches.

When Armstrong maintained, as he frequently did, that the black race was "low but not degraded," he usually meant that it was the habit of labor, acquired under slavery, that saved the race from complete "moral ruin." "The Negro has one source of strength," he argued, "the habit of industry acquired in the time of slavery." This source of strength was important to Armstrong's platform of southern economic reconstruction. "Southerners must make the best of Negro labor," he said, "they cannot afford to do otherwise, with them it is that or none." In Armstrong's view, northern capital and cheap black labor were critical to southern economic reconstruction and reunion with the Northeast. "The Eastern states have the capital and experience," he announced in 1875, "while the South has the cheap labor; to bring the two together is to cement a real peace between the sections." This union, he believed, was hindered mainly by the political and racial turmoil in the South, which discouraged capital investments from the Northeast. To Armstrong, the debate over black political participation "kindled the passions of war" and blocked the "swift return of southern prosperity through immigration and capital from the North." The return of order and prosperity in the South was largely dependent upon "the rapidity with which the power of the politician is undermined by the gradual growth of the moneyed classes, whose pecuniary interests depend upon peace, and upon the respect and goodwill of the rest of the world, outside the South." Realizing that the racial upheaval in the postwar South resulted in "scarcity of capital" and "demoralized labor," Armstrong consistently called for racial peace and political stability, but nearly always at the expense of southern blacks. Because northern capitalists would not eagerly invest in a region characterized by labor disorders and race riots, "liberalism must be organized into outward forms to induce northern men and capital to cross the border lines of the southern states." He urgently demanded a quick resolution of political and racial conflict so that economic leaders could set in motion the wheel of material prosperity.[12]

Armstrong attempted to organize Hampton Institute as a model for the emerging southern economy. Early on, he appealed for small busi-

nessmen to experiment with student and community labor. In December 1877 he explored the idea of engaging the Hampton students in the manufacturing of cotton clothing for northern markets. Armstrong instructed Charles Whiting, a white member of the Hampton staff, "to work up Negro labor, compete with New York labor in manufacturing for northern markets." The students regularly performed hard labor for cheap rates in the school's workshops. According to the 1880 annual report, the school's Knitting Department produced "fifteen thousand dozen pairs of mittens for S. B. Pratt and Company of Boston, who sell them chiefly in the Northwest." The young men in the trade school department were also required to make products for the market economy. Advertising the manufacture of doors, sashes, and blinds for the general market, Armstrong reported that the workshop did a prosperous business of "six thousand dollars a month, cutting over two million feet of lumber every year." On several occasions he invited entrepreneurs to take advantage of the "cheap labor in and out of the institution; students are paid from six to ten cents per hour."[13]

These work experiments extended beyond the typical industrial educational activities of the era. The Hampton model resembled the industrial training that first appeared during the 1820s in the reform schools established in New York City, Boston, and Philadelphia. Like the reformatories, Hampton sometimes contracted student labor to outside entrepreneurs who assigned the students routine and repetitive tasks similar to those done by unskilled factory or agricultural laborers. Tileston T. Bryce, Hampton's financial agent, opened a meat-packing and canning factory on the institute's grounds in 1879. After two years he reported employing "hundreds of poor people" in "the large canning business," both student and community laborers. In a similar experiment, C. D. Cake, a white Virginia businessman, employed "ten colored and five Indian students," who "cut daily from six to eight thousand feet of yellow pine lumber." The Hampton staff observed the adaptation of black workers in these industries and developed theories that supported the extension of white dominance over black labor. After observing black workers in his canning factory, Bryce reported: "I have found that the colored people, if the same chance be given them, work as diligently as the whites but not so intelligently. With intelligent direction they are admirable laborers, obeying orders and willingly; but when they attempt the direction of their own labor, it is apt to amount to but little."[14]

In an attempt to convince black leaders and workers to remain in the South as cheap and contented laborers, Armstrong and his associates spread propaganda that white opposition to black participation in southern politics was not a barrier to black opportunity in the educational and economic arenas. He insisted that "there was no power and

little disposition on the part of leading white conservatives to prevent the colored people from acquiring wealth and education." Indeed, he argued that "competition in the North" held back skilled Afro-American workers "more than prejudice at the South." Southern black mechanics, according to Armstrong, had "a fair field." Armstrong's propaganda well illustrates the economic consciousness that he expected Hampton-trained teachers and leaders to model for the black community. Booker T. Washington, his devoted student, often told black southerners that "when one comes to business pure and simple, stripped of all ideas of sentiment, the Negro is given almost as good an opportunity to rise as is given to the white man." Like Armstrong, the Tuskegee principal forthrightly claimed that "the black man has a better chance in the South than in the North" for economic progress. Thus, "In spite of all talk of exodus," said Washington in 1885, "the Negro's home is permanently in the South." Washington epitomized the type of black educator Armstrong desired to train and in whom Armstrong wanted the black working class to place its trust. It is safe to say that the educational theory and method at Hampton were formulated to train an army of Booker T. Washingtons.[15]

The Hampton-Tuskegee philosophy, which requested black southerners to eschew politics and concentrate on economic development, was not, as it has been hailed, a great compromise. It was the logical extension of an ideology that rejected black political power while recognizing that the South's agricultural economy rested on the backs of black agricultural workers. The United States Bureau of the Census did not classify agricultural laborers by race in the 1870 and 1880 censuses. But the data from the 1890 census, as shown in Table 2.2, documented the substantial presence of black workers in southern agriculture. In the Deep South (Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, and South Carolina) black agricultural workers ranged from 48 to 68 percent of the totals, and they were from 23 to 40 percent of the totals in Delaware, Arkansas, Maryland, North Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia. Because the South's economy was essentially agricultural, its prosperity depended heavily on black workers. The philosophy that embraced blacks as agricultural laborers and rejected them as voters and politicians was a one-way street, not a compromise. From Armstrong's standpoint, it addressed the region's most fundamental social realities—political power and economic development. In both instances he sought to preserve the region's traditional inequalities of wealth and power. His major task was to carry this message to black southerners and seek to obtain their conscious or half-conscious complicity in their own victimization.

The great educational question absorbing Armstrong's attention and intruding itself into every aspect of Hampton Institute was the nature and role of teachers in shaping the social, economic, and political con-

TABLE 2.2
Black Workers as a Percentage of All Workers in Agricultural Occupations by Southern States, 1890–1930

State	1890	1900	1910	1920	1930
Alabama	57	54	53	47	45
Arkansas	34	34	38	36	34
Delaware	23	21	23	21	21
Florida	48	49	51	43	42
Georgia	54	53	56	53	46
Kentucky	12	9	8	8	1
Louisiana	67	64	61	56	54
Maryland	33	28	29	27	26
Mississippi	68	69	70	65	65
Missouri	4	3	2	3	4
North Carolina	39	35	37	36	36
South Carolina	68	68	69	66	62
Tennessee	26	22	23	20	19
Texas	25	23	23	22	20
Virginia	40	34	34	32	30
West Virginia	4	1	2	1	1

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900*, cxxxv–cxxxvi; Henry Gannett, *Occupations of the Negroes* (Baltimore, 1895); U.S. Bureau of Education, *Negro Education: A Study of the Private and Higher Schools for Colored People in the United States* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1917), 1:98; U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Fifteenth Census of the United States* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1933), vol. 4, Table 11, p. 874.

sciousness of the black masses. Armstrong expected the sociopolitical views embodied in the Hampton Idea to be propagated among the black masses primarily by black teachers. He conjectured that schools and churches were the best institutions to socialize or "civilize" the black population. They were viewed as agencies of amelioration and control, and they were the agencies under which most of the freedmen were organized. Therefore, said Armstrong, "Let us make the teachers and we will make the people." Surely the teachers and the people could be easily molded because they were "in the early stages of civilization." "Our students," stated Armstrong, "are docile, impressible, imitative and earnest, and come to us as a *tabula rasa* so far as real culture is concerned." Hampton was designed to form an ideological foundation in these "blank minds" and return them to the outside world not as "polished scholars" but as "guides and civilizers, whose power shall be that

of character and example, not of sounding words." Armstrong believed that Hampton Institute had taken "a new departure" in the education of freedmen; it was a "civilizing power" that would encourage through its exemplars the "right ideas of life and duty."[16]

Armstrong's 1880 call, "Politicians to the background and schoolmasters to the front," echoed at once his disdain for black politicians and his vision of black teachers propagating the Hampton Idea of economic efficiency throughout the Afro-American South. His was not merely another naive view of the ameliorative and modifying powers of common schooling. Armstrong's emphasis on the training of teachers or "guides" had even deeper roots in his awareness that black teachers could mold the ideologies of the black masses. As he reasoned, black teachers were "usually the best educated of their society, are leaders of its thought, and give it tone by their superior wisdom and culture." Moreover, "The colored teacher is looked up to for his wisdom, is often chosen magistrate or other local dignitary, and is sometimes the only source of information from the outside world." Armstrong's concern with the potential role of black teachers in the black community led him to consider the forces that enhanced and threatened his aims. He feared the influence of black teachers and ministers who rejected the ideological discipline he propagandized. "The real trouble of the colored teachers," he complained, "is with a class of preachers, politicians, and editors of their own race who resent the introduction of intelligent ideas into religion and into the relations of life. They could easily be conciliated by substituting Latin for labor." Armstrong opposed the existing system of college and normal school training for blacks and campaigned relentlessly for the Hampton model.[17]

Armstrong sought to regulate the flow and quality of black teachers through careful admissions processes and independent boarding schools. In 1881 he asked Virginia and other southern public school officials to notify Hampton Institute of "worthy colored youth" who would make the best teachers. Through this process conservative whites could "do much to select wise leaders for the colored race." The teachers would be bound to the white establishment, and "any conflict of the races will be impossible." These recruits would be properly trained in independent boarding schools like Hampton. The "average Negro student," according to Armstrong, needed a boarding school so that his teachers could "control the entire twenty-four hours of each day—only thus can old ideas and ways be pushed out and new ones take their place." "When his whole routine of life is controlled," Armstrong believed, "the Negro pupil is like clay in the potter's hands." From this "clay" he intended to "create a class or guild who will be a nucleus of civilization" and would

transmit the Hampton doctrines of politics and economics to the black race.[18]

Armstrong viewed his own brand of industrial education as the appropriate pedagogy to mold the economic and political consciousness of prospective black leaders and educators. Hampton's curriculum, therefore, was not intended primarily to create "small individualistic entrepreneurs" or to offer "Negroes the technical training necessary for effective competition in an industrial age." It was designed mainly to train black ideologues, who were expected to exemplify and propagate Armstrong's philosophy of southern Reconstruction to the Afro-American working class. "The Negroes, who are to form the working classes of the South," he maintained, "must be taught not only to do their work well, but to know what their work means." But first it was necessary to condition the personalities and attitudes of the teachers. Armstrong believed that "a teacher does more by virtue of what he is than of what he says; the most powerful constructive influence is indirect." He envisioned Hampton students as the embodiment of "habits of living and labor . . . in order that graduates may be qualified to teach others these important lessons of life." To him, hard labor was the first principle of civilized life, and he drilled his students in manual labor routines so that they could effectively teach the value of routinized labor to the black masses. "If you are the right sort of man you will engage in any sort of labor, and dignify it," declared Armstrong. Indeed, "A man had better work for nothing and find himself than to spend his time in idling and loafing." Therefore, he instructed blacks to "plow, hoe, ditch, grub; do anything rather than nothing." To be sure, Armstrong was not opposed to teaching trades to a few individuals, but he primarily sought to cultivate through his graduates a nonskilled or semiskilled black work force that would support the southern economy. If the South were to achieve industrial and agricultural greatness, black workers needed to be taught to "love" labor and to understand the meaning of work more than they needed trade or technical skills. Consequently, Armstrong was almost exclusively concerned with the ideological and psychological value of industrial teacher training.[19]

Routine and repetitive manual labor activities were developed to screen and condition students to serve as missionaries of the Hampton Idea. Armstrong held a lifelong suspicion of highly educated blacks, believing that their aspirations were vain and dysfunctional to his views of southern Reconstruction. His idealized student was a hard worker with elementary education and industrial training. He did not believe that highly educated blacks would remain as "civilizers" among the rural masses. "There is such a thing as over-education," he warned. "A highly

The prospective female teachers of Hampton Institute (top) *were compelled to do field work in order to internalize the value of hard work that they were expected to transmit to their students. The normal school students* (bottom) *found that plowing was an important part of Hampton's teacher preparation program. Courtesy F. B. Johnston Collection, Library of Congress.*

educated Negro is as little likely as a highly educated white man to do a work against which his tastes and sensibilities would every day rebel." The highly educated could not serve as models for the masses, who, according to Armstrong, were destined to plow, hoe, ditch, and grub. Therefore, manual labor rather than scholarship became Hampton's chief criterion for educational excellence. "One who shirks labor may be a fine mathematician," noted Armstrong, but "the blockhead at the black board may be a shining example in the cornfield." The idealized "blockhead" or "plodders," as they were called, became the standard by which all students were evaluated. In 1882 Armstrong reported: "A good labor record has often saved one from being dropped as incompetent while one brilliant in studies is sometimes sent away for inefficiency in the shop or farm." The students with good labor records were thought the best potential exponents of the Hampton Idea. Vice-Principal H. B. Frissell, after visiting Hampton graduates in the field, reported in 1885 "that very frequently the dull plodder at Hampton is the real leader of his people toward better things, while the bright scholar who was our pride and delight at school, because of his mental acuteness, either yields to temptation or leaves school work for the more tempting offers of clerkships or political appointments." Similarly, Armstrong argued that "the plodding ones make good teachers."[20]

Hampton's industrial teacher training system consisted of three main areas: the elementary academic program, the manual labor system, and a strict social discipline routine. The entire operation was systematically ordered to provide moral and intellectual discipline to a conservative black teachers corps; however, each division emphasized certain specifics. The academic program, aside from preparing students to teach grade school and to pass varied state teachers' certification examinations, was planned mainly for the ideological training of potential Hampton missionaries. The manual labor system, organized to shape attitudes and build character through steady, hard labor, was designed to connect the theoretical and practical lessons. The daily discipline routine served to rid the school of students at variance with the Hampton Idea.

The Hampton academic program consisted of an English course of study embracing reading and elocution, elementary mathematics, history, literature, moral science, and political economy. Armstrong excluded classical studies because he believed that such training stimulated "vanity" in black students, which propelled them toward high-flown notions of politics and professional life. Hampton sought to impress upon its students their "true" place in the southern social order largely through courses in political economy, civil government, and practical morality. Whereas the other academic courses were taught by white women teachers, these courses were taught by Armstrong and Hollis

Frissell with assistance from Tileston T. Bryce. Armstrong began the courses in the 1870s with triweekly talks on the important economic and political questions of the era. In 1882 he reported that the political economy course included the "discussion of labor, wages, money value, and the tariff." The course was developed to promote proper relations between capitalists and laborers, and the courses in practical morals and civil government were aimed at correcting the students' "wrong notions" regarding the "rights of persons and property, the origins of these rights, and how they may be violated."[21]

The *Southern Workman*, the main text in the political economy course, was used in all reading classes. Armstrong recommended the paper to other "colored normal schools and colleges." He was particularly satisfied with Tileston T. Bryce's series of articles on political economy that were eventually gathered into the Hampton textbook *Economic Crumbs, or Plain Talks for the People about Labor, Capital, Money, Tariff, etc.* In 1878 Bryce initiated a series of essays that were structured around questions which appeared repeatedly on the students' senior examination in political economy. The Hampton students, examined annually by a committee appointed by the Board of Trustees, were required to answer the following questions: "What is labor? Who are the laboring classes? Show how all men are mutually dependent. What are wages? Who determines the price of wages? What is capital? Show the relationship of capital to labor. How are all men capitalists?" Bryce's essays on these questions were consistent with the basic premises of the Hampton Idea.[22]

Bryce saw no inherent or legitimate conflict between capital and labor. It was erroneous "to speak of the 'laboring classes' as distinct divisions of society" because "every man who puts forth any exertion, in order to obtain something in return, is a laborer." If the expression "laboring classes" had any distinctive meaning, it signified "free men as opposed to slaves." Bryce concluded that there were "no class feelings to irritate, no color line to fight over":

> The most pernicious quack, who peddles political nostrums, is he who attempts to excite the multitude by declaring that "all the ills that flesh is to heir" come from the employers of labor. People of this sort hold it as an axiom that there is an unending feud between capital and labor; and that the former ever seeks to extinguish the latter. Some of these mischief-makers, assuming this statement to be true, are logical enough to declare that labor should try to extinguish capital. This is the doctrine of communism. Now if there be two things in this world between which the utmost amity should exist, and between which the most intimate reciprocal relations do exist, they are Capital and Labor.

Thus, contended Bryce, labor unions were conspiracies to defy the laws of economics and to get something for nothing. Those who interfered with the workplace by violence or threats were labeled "either slave-catchers or thieves."[23]

"The bottom idea of capital," Bryce argued, "is that somebody has saved something." A man with only an "extra shirt" was "to that extent a capitalist." It was natural, however, for some men to have more capital than others, and it was "no more unjust, than that one man should be stronger, taller, or more healthy than another." "The majority of people accept such as the natural state of things," he continued, "and the minority, who decline to accept it, are found among the vicious, who have squandered all they had, the improvident, who never labor for more than mere existence." These views were supported by other Hampton textbooks.[24]

Thomas Jesse Jones, an instructor of social studies at Hampton Institute and later director of the Phelps-Stokes Fund, described the purpose and function of social studies in the Hampton curriculum. Jones explained that Armstrong and his co-workers gave "a very important place" to such subjects as "political economy, civil government, moral science and general history." These subjects were aimed primarily at teaching Hampton's students the "right" ideas of citizenship, the duties of laborers, and the history of race development. History, for instance, was designed as a study of the "evolution of races" and was aimed at giving the pupils "a new notion of race development." Jones contended that black students arrived at Hampton with common-sense notions of the problems of racial subordination. "Their acquaintance with the race problem has made them precocious in their knowledge of social forces controlling and limiting the development of races. The white youth grows to manhood without feeling any of the limitations which the colored youth feels all his life." But, Jones continued, "while the colored youth is more conscious of social forces than the white, his views are not natural." From Jones's vantage point, black students' views of "race development" were unnatural because blacks tended to interpret the social limitations imposed on them as arbitrary and unjust. The Hampton faculty taught black students that the position of their race in the South was not the result of oppression but of the natural process of cultural evolution. In other words, blacks had evolved to a cultural stage that was two thousand years behind that of whites and, therefore, they were naturally the subordinate race. In this respect, Washington learned his lessons well while attending Hampton. As he said in 1900 before the General Conference of the African Methodist Episcopal church, "My friends, the white man is three thousand years ahead of us, and this fact we might as well face now as well as later, and that at one stage of his development, either

in Europe or America, he has gone through every stage of development that I now advocate for our race." Thus although Washington was opposed to depriving blacks of the legal right of franchise, he advised, like Armstrong, "that in their present condition it is a mistake for them to enter actively into general political agitation and activity." This conception of "race development" was a key component of the Hampton-Tuskegee retrogressive social philosophy.[25]

According to Jones, each social study at Hampton contributed "to this picture of the evolution of races." When the Hampton program of social studies worked successfully, a black student, "instead of regarding the difficulties of his race as the oppression of a weaker by the stronger, he interprets them as the natural difficulties which almost every race has been compelled to overcome in its upward movement." Booker T. Washington could not have said it any better. The ideology of both the Hampton and Tuskegee programs of social studies served to conceal the arbitrary, unjust, and oppressive nature of black subordination in the South. What worried Armstrong and his co-workers, as Jones implied, was the probability that prospective black teachers and leaders might translate the social outlook implicit in their traditions and day-to-day experiences into a conception of politics that defined the South's racially qualified form of working-class subordination as arbitrary, unnatural, and unjust.[26]

Armstrong was always pleased with the results of the senior class examination because "the students got a higher percentage of correct answers in Political Economy than in any other of the several branches." Black students came to Hampton, according to Armstrong, thinking "much of the rights of the laborers and little of those of the capitalist"; they viewed the two classes "as being opposed to one another." Clearly, such thinking diverged from the Hampton Idea, and the school's staff labored to "correct" it. There is no way of determining how many students were converted to Armstrong's doctrines of political economy. But the educational thought of the two most well-known Hampton graduates, Booker T. Washington and Robert R. Moton, parroted the Hampton doctrines. Doubtless other educators at the time, black and white, propagandized similar views. The point, however, is that Hampton was deliberately teaching prospective black leaders and educators economic values that were detrimental to the objective economic interests of black workers. Black domestics, sharecroppers, and factory laborers were not capitalists, and their objective economic interests, as many of them realized, were fundamentally different from and opposed to those of the southern bosses and landlords who ruled over them. Thus, when Hampton trained leaders such as Booker T. Washington to counsel blacks to remain in the South as cheap and contented agricultural laborers and to

refrain from political activity, it contributed to the development of a conservative Afro-American leadership, which did not foster the political and economic improvement of black workers and voters. The Hampton social and educational ideology was inherently opposed to the political and economic advancement of black southerners and therefore oppressive, in the objective sense that it was ranged against the development of social ideas that might have encouraged blacks to pursue basic political and social justice.[27]

The relationship of black religious and moral development to the southern social order was another major concern of the Hampton faculty. To Frissell and Armstrong, the "old-time" Negro religion hindered the development of a "new" political economy. It was too removed from questions of practical social responsibility. Armstrong commented: "There is plenty of religion, such as it is, among both parents and scholars, but it is too often a religion that regards more the emotional part of the nature than the moral, and so aids little in the work of checking the evil tendencies of these growing lives." In Armstrong's view, the separation of black religion from moral responsibility was nicely illustrated in the tale of the devout old "Auntie" who attended church regularly without allowing one poor old goose (that she had stolen) to "come between her and her blessed Lord." In discussing black religion and moral strength in 1877, Armstrong told the American Missionary Association that "pastors and deacons all sell whiskey and lead loose lives without scandal; an ex-jail bird returns to his former social position; in politics and in society, character goes for little or nothing."[28]

Behind Armstrong's moral rationale lay more mundane considerations for political and economic reconstruction. He viewed black ministers as eschewing hard labor in favor of political and professional life. He believed that "at least two-thirds" of the ministers were represented by one who explained in a cotton field on a warm day, "O Lord, de work is so bad, de cotton is so grassy, and de sun am so hot, I b'leave dis darkey am called to preach." Such "exemplars" could not be expected to convey the Hampton doctrines of industry and hard labor to the black community. The Hampton staff, therefore, sought to train a corps of teachers who would counteract "the bad leadership of demagogues, whose chief temptation is to get a living by something else than hard work." Frissell attributed black conceptions of social responsibility to the slave experience: "Having been so grossly wronged, their thoughts have been fixed upon their dues from others more than on what is due others from themselves." To "correct their wrong notions," Frissell gave regular instruction on the importance of holding to a contract, on the origin and rights of property and person, and on the duties of citizenship. The Hampton staff labeled this course Practical Morals.[29]

As the academic courses were arranged to influence the students' political and economic ideology, the manual labor system was developed to reinforce consciousness through the formation of habits and character. The manual labor system was a central factor in admission and retention policy and in the students' day-to-day existence. Hampton advertised for "country youth who don't mind hard work." To acquire more "strong, able bodied young men" for the heavier farm and mill work, in 1888 Armstrong created a "special class" who "could not pass the entrance examination, but who were desirable from the work standpoint." Because the entrance examination was mainly a literacy test, it is reasonable to assume that many of these students were semiliterate. They were admitted mainly to work, and after two years in the "Preparatory class" they entered the regular normal school curriculum. Meanwhile, brilliant students considered "indifferent and careless workmen" were "discharged from the farm and usually from the school in consequence." In the nineteenth century, Hampton graduated only one-fifth of its students, and many of those expelled were disqualified because of bad work habits and "weakness of character." The first three months of the school term were considered the "weeding out" session when approximately 20 percent of the new students were dismissed. During the entire three-year course, according to Armstrong, there was "frequent leaving of students for disciplinary, pecuniary, domestic, and other reasons."[30]

All Hampton students were required to work because nonworkers were viewed as "an aristocracy ruinous to manual-labor schools." The amount of work, however, varied according to the student's curriculum. Those who were admitted directly into the normal school to qualify as teachers for graded schools were required to work two ten-hour days per week during their three years of study. They were paid from seven to ten cents per hour or one dollar to one dollar and fifty cents per week. These earnings were credited to the students' accounts for the cost of board, washing, room rent, and tuition, which amounted to approximately ten dollars per month. Thus the students were invariably deficient, and to earn additional credit they agreed to work any time "for any number of days not exceeding twelve [consecutive]." The trade students, generally about sixty males in simple mechanical training, worked six ten-hour days every week for three years and then entered the normal school for two additional years. Such students were also given a normal school certificate until 1895, when Hampton began awarding trade certificates.[31]

The heart of Hampton's manual labor program was established in 1879, when Armstrong created the night school with Booker T. Washington as principal. It opened with 36 students who were required to labor ten hours per day, six days per week, eleven months per year for

two years. Two years of night school work were equivalent to one year of the normal school course. In their last two years of normal school the students had to study four days and work two days during each week. More than any other division, the night school implemented Armstrong's social philosophy. By 1893, it enrolled 305 of Hampton's 541 black students. The admissions to the regular or day school declined significantly during the 1880s, and consequently, "the Night School became the main-feeder of the Day School." It functioned as a sifter for the normal school by giving the Hampton staff ample opportunity to assess the students' character, industrial habits, and political attitudes before admitting them to the regular normal school. To work from seven o'clock in the morning until six o'clock at night, and then study from seven o'clock until nine, was, as Booker T. Washington said, "an undertaking that few young men would be willing to stick to, through all the seasons of the year."[32]

Night school students were chiefly farm laborers, domestic servants, and mill hands. "Much of the labor that goes into our industries," reported Armstrong, "is neither skilled labor nor apprentice labor, but is made up of the great body of unskilled laborers who come here to work a year or two at whatever work the school may be able to give them." Male students worked in the sawmill, on the farm, in the kitchens as dishwashers and pantry boys, in the dining rooms as waiters, and in the cottages and smaller buildings as house boys. Female students received less regular training and were encouraged to do little except "plain sewing, plain washing and ironing, scrubbing, mending, etc." In the words of the Hampton faculty, the students learned "how to work steadily and regularly, to attend promptly at certain hours to certain duties," and they "gained new ideas of the value of manual labor." As Armstrong put it in his last report, "We do not mean to say that much is not learned by every faithful student in these departments; he or she will be a better cook, laundress, or farmer, and surely much needed lessons in promptness, and thoroughness are inculcated, but still the object in view is not to teach a trade but to get the work done." Such jobs were no more instructive in ideas and skills of "self-help" and "self-sufficiency" than the hoeing, picking, mining, washing, and ironing that black southerners had done as slaves for centuries. Armstrong required his prospective teachers to perform the same routinized drudgery as the working class that they were destined to instruct so that the teachers would stand as exemplars of the "dignity of labor." His great fear was that black pupils, under teachers trained in the literary or academic tradition, might come to view formal schooling as an avenue to escape hard toil. Hampton's emphasis on the moral value of hard labor in contrast to technical and skill training evidenced Armstrong's concern with the economic adjustment rather

Female students in Hampton Institute's teacher preparation program (top) *learned to sew as part of their training in the ethic of routinized hard labor and in occupations prescribed for black women in the South. The cooking class* (bottom) *was designed to teach similar lessons. Courtesy of the Library of Congress.*

than advancement of black southerners. Hampton's theme, "Education for Life," meant the training of blacks to adjust to the life that had been carved out for them within an oppressive social order.[33]

Armstrong had a lifelong distrust of highly educated black persons, and at Hampton he used his power to deemphasize the "black scholar" and to place on a pedestal the "dull plodders." The night school was developed particularly to reproduce "dull plodders." The Hampton faculty described the students as "mostly grown men and women . . . willing to spend their days in hard work on the farm or at the mill," for a chance to enter the normal school curriculum. One night school director, Anna G. Baldwin, reported that the students, most in their early twenties, were "often the best workers" but "the dullest scholars." The demanding work day undoubtedly retarded the students' academic progress. Armstrong, however, maintained that "nothing essential in study is lost, and much that is essential to success in life is gained." Yet the teachers in the academic department constantly complained about low academic achievement, some regarding it a "puzzling mathematical problem" how the night school students could learn anything significant. Baldwin recalled that an ambitious boy could "be overheard conjugating a verb while hoeing in the garden, or perched on a fence watching the cows, [and] meanwhile furtively study his reader." Similarly, night school principal Booker T. Washington reported that "one was noticed to carry a broken piece of slate about with him on which he could work examples while the wheelbarrow of dirt he had loaded, was being emptied." Washington, to illustrate the effectiveness of the night school work routine, quite innocent of satire, stated "their books were in their hands at every spare moment." Indeed, Armstrong had stood the educational process on its head; spare time was used for study and regular time devoted to hard labor.[34]

The "dull plodders" received praise and special treatment from the Hampton faculty. In the summer of 1885, approximately two hundred applicants were refused by Hampton's admission office. Many initial rejects were reconsidered, but only those physically able to take vacant positions in the sawmill and to do the heavier farm work were taken. The Hampton staff certainly had good reason to announce, "There is a certain amount of grit and pluck needed for doing successful work in the night classes." The survivors were held up as model students. As H. B. Frissell explained in 1885, Hampton gave special recognition to successful night school students:

> There must always be here the double standard of judging students, by which their moral worth is taken into account even more than their intellectual advancement. What will this student do for the

> upbuilding of his race? is the question we are obliged to ask everyone placed under our care. During the past year, students have been asked to leave the school, whose scholarship was of the best, because it was felt that they lacked in moral earnestness. . . . At the last anniversary exercises, a young man spoke as the valedictorian of his class who by no means led his fellows in scholarship, but had notably taken the lead in Christian Manhood.

Character or "moral earnestness," however, was judged by the students' willingness to perform "ten hours' drudgery" in unskilled or semiskilled occupations. The study of mathematics or classical lore for hours on end was not considered an index of hard labor or moral strength.[35]

Finally, for those students lacking in "moral earnestness," a rigid system of social discipline was instituted to remove the unfit. Armstrong established a "Daily Order of Exercises," which occupied nearly every minute of the students' time. They reported for morning inspection at 5:45, had breakfast and prayer from 6:00 to 6:30, worked or studied during the day with scarcely a half hour to themselves, went to supper and evening prayers from 6:00 to 6:45 P.M., and, if in night school, retired to their dormitories thoroughly fatigued after evening study from 7:00 to 9:00. Male students were required to participate in military drill and to march to and from classes. Beret-Captain Henry Romeyn, who commanded the Hampton Cadets in 1878, stated that the military drill was "not intended to make soldiers out of our students, nor to create a warlike spirit," but to "create ideas of neatness, order, system, obedience, and produce a better manhood." In Romeyn's view, the drill cultivated a "respect for order and properly constituted authority, that, in general, would do much to keep down the dangerously increasing communistic elements in the midst of the population of our country." All students submitted to a system of demerits for infractions of the social code. This routine enabled the teachers to observe the students' adaptation to the Hampton program. Many pupils were expelled for small infractions of the social code. One student was dismissed permanently after receiving reprimands for "using profane language," "not having room in order," "absence from church without permission," and "having light on after hours without authority." Another student, accused of "not rising during singing at morning prayers and causing disturbance by laughing," was suspended for the year 1879. Many other students met a similar fate as Hampton sought to instill a respect for order and "properly" constituted authority.[36]

The Hampton model of industrial education was viewed with suspicion and resentment by significant segments of the black community. The black students who experienced the Hampton routine delivered an

important critique. Historians have failed to analyze the industrial education programs from this perspective. Yet for Hampton, and probably for many other institutions, the most intimate assessment of industrial education, in practice, came from this group. Moreover, when it is considered that nearly all of Hampton's "rebel" students were probably dismissed during the "weeding-out" season, the protest of those who remained is particularly insightful and illuminating.

A significant number of the Hampton students attacked the school's industrial program at its most vulnerable points. Many came to Hampton with the understanding that they would learn skilled trades for future livelihood. But because Hampton was designed primarily to train conservative teachers and leaders, some students were disappointed with the absence of technical training and the low level of trade training. William W. Adams, having heard that "scholars could learn trades" at Hampton, entered the school in 1878 to learn the printing trade. Adams was appalled at the elementary character of the academic program and commented bitterly that he was "not learning anything," merely "going over what I had learned in a primary school." He was more disheartened, however, in discovering that no one would teach him the printing trade. He left in dismay and charged that the school was "greatly overrated." Ten years later, another student complained about the inadequate training in the printing division. As Thomas Mann wrote to Armstrong, "Bookbinding is a part of the printer's trade of which we get none. . . . As I wish to become a successful printer, I would like to learn all about the trade." Hampton was capable of offering better training in the printing trade because the school printed the *Southern Workman* and the *African Repository* and operated the Normal School Press. But in 1878 there were no students in the printing trade, and by 1890 there were only eight black students working in the printing office. But the Hampton mission was to train teachers, not printers or shoemakers.[37]

From the vantage point of the student, the trade instruction at Hampton was elementary and limited. A student in the blacksmith department complained in 1888 that there were "six blacksmiths and only two forges," which greatly restricted their practice in heating and hammering metals. John H. Boothe, in his last year of training to become a shoemaker, wrote that he had not received "any instructions on cutting out and fitting shoes." J. F. Satterwhite stated that the students were not trained to make boots, a product that brought significant profits to shoemakers. C. L. Marshall further criticized the shoemaking program for not teaching "sewed work" in the shop. Marshall, like Satterwhite, was displeased with his training in shoemaking. As he informed Armstrong, "The people do not want peg or nail work, but they want sewed work. Should I go home and attempt to set up a shoe shop without any knowl-

edge of sewed work, I don't think I could earn my daily bread." Indeed, a shoemaker who could not make boots or cut, fit, or sew shoes was hardly worthy of the name.[38]

The "carpenters," like the shoemakers, were trained to be handymen rather than craftsmen or artisans. William M. Keffie was annoyed because he and fellow apprentices did not receive "enough practice in the way of building and framing houses." J. A. Colbert, another aspiring carpenter, worked "all day for six days each week" and was dissatisfied with the lack of training in "the use of timber." Apparently, Hampton's program in carpentry involved little more than instruction in making window sashes and frames. The students urged Armstrong to upgrade the work from essentially manual labor to skilled trade training. Perry Shields, writing to Armstrong in 1888, revealed much about the quality of the carpentry course.

> We the boys in the HIW [Huntington Industrial Workshop] need to learn how to build houses, the practice for which, we do not get in the mill. We work in the mill three years, after which we leave, giving others to think that we are carpenters. All of us can't find mills to get employment, hence we will soon find out that building is the chief and only work of our branch by which we can earn a living. So you see that the only thing we learn in that direction is the use of tools and three years are too much time to spend learning merely to use tools. We draw buildings every week and if we had some of the work to do after drawing it we would become self-supporting mechanics. As it is, we begin with making window and door frames and have but few other jobs, but making frames.

Hampton's trade students were acutely aware of the institute's shortcomings. O. H. Hawkins requested "more practical training or instruction pertaining to framing houses and how to get the different levels, angles, etc." Whether it was Jackson M. Mundy requesting mechanical drawing or George Johnson asking for improvements in the sawmill, trade students at Hampton were largely disappointed with their training.[39]

The students' resentment was eventually expressed in a petition of protest issued to the Hampton faculty in the summer of 1887. According to two students, Perry Shields and W. H. Scott, "every apprentice of the school signed his name" to the protest document. The faculty, however, ignored the petition, and Shields informed Armstrong: "We feel that we form a very insignificant part of the working class, from the fact that last summer a letter was written the faculty to which every apprentice of the school signed his name, and from that letter we have heard nothing, for nor against; from such points we lose interest." Likewise, Scott complained to Armstrong: "The petition put through by the trade-boys dur-

ing the fall was seemingly ignored much to our disappointment." In the letters that followed the petition, the students protested against the menial level of training, hard labor, low wages, and poor working conditions. Realizing that very little educational benefit accrued from the industrial program, the students responded as a discontented working class. Dissatisfaction with overwork was a consistent and pervasive theme in their letters. John H. Boothe, who described the working conditions in terms suitable to characterizing convict labor, said that the students were "confined" in the shops "for a term of three years to work every day except legal holidays and Sundays." Hawkins viewed the students' training not as an educational program but as a process of "toiling at their trade through three years." Scott spoke for many of his fellow students in candid remarks about the work schedule: "It is to be remembered that four years at a trade like ours, working from 7 A.M. to 5:50 P.M., is enough to break down the constitution of a man, much less boys in the bloom of youth."[40]

Hampton's students understood that they were performing hard labor and some, like J. F. Satterwhite, stated simply, "I think we ought to get paid more." Similarly, Roberta Whiting, the mother of a Hampton student, questioned the school's manual labor program, which operated at the expense of both trade and academic training: "I received a letter from my son and he tells me that he has not attended day school since entering your institution. He also mentioned that his work was hard having to milk, and attend to a number of cows every day and that he has to get up at four A.M. to do this and the only time spent in school was at night. I have spoken to my physician and he thinks that amount of work detrimental to the health of a boy his age." James C. Rollins also consulted his physician about the Hampton labor routine. Arriving at the school in "tolerably good health," he informed Armstrong that "my doctor has seriously cautioned me about overworking myself." George Johnson resented the harshness of his boss; Clayton Elks demanded better food; G. G. Spraggins complained of the rain leaking into his shop; and W. Z. Ruth pleaded for improved working conditions.[41]

Publicly, Armstrong propagandized that at Hampton "there was no begging except for more work." The students, however, actually asked for reduced work loads. J. H. Tucker, who may have understood Armstrong's passion for hard labor, could not comprehend why he had to continue painting in the dark merely to complete a ten-hour work routine. Male students particularly requested Armstrong to suspend work hours on Saturdays at four o'clock. According to Hawkins, they wanted the time "to engage themselves in such games, or local pleasures as they think best." Armstrong, however, believing that blacks had no "respect" for labor, insisted upon "the ten hours' drudgery" to put the students "in

shape for the struggle of life." But, in the words of Perry Shields, "after working for a long time upon the same old thing in which there is no future," many students lost interest in their training. In sharp protest against the constrictions on the students' intellect and creativity, Shields asserted, "The shop is cold and our minds are straying and our hands freezing—and we cannot retain any interests."[42]

Hampton's students also resented the school's active support of Jim Crow racial practices. In 1878, Hampton's newly formed Alumni Association petitioned the school's faculty regarding its policies and practices of racial subordination. The Alumni Association, which met at Hampton during the May commencement exercises, urged the faculty to "examine carefully" whether black visitors were accorded proper respect. More specifically, the petition charged: "That the graduates of this Institution have been insulted and have had our feelings mortified by public rumors and newspaper articles to the effect that the officers and teachers of this Institution have not, and do not accord to colored visitors the courtesies and hospitalities due them as a race." The Hampton alumni used their own experiences to charge the faculty with racial proscription. As the petition stated, "We the graduates of this Institution, after returning in compliance with the call of our Alma Mater, have had our feelings wounded most grievously by being barred from some of the privileges that ordinary white visitors enjoyed." Much of this protest remained within the confines of the institute; nevertheless, it reveals important student perceptions of the Hampton program. Clearly, many of them realized that Armstrong and his colleagues were trying to convince black people to accept a subordinate social position in the institution and in the society at large.[43]

Hampton's students and alumni were not alone in questioning the relevance of Armstrong's social philosophy to the interests and aspirations of the Afro-American South. Both Frissell and Armstrong acknowledged persistent black opposition to the Hampton Idea. In 1878 Armstrong declared that black criticism of the institute was "no novelty," and in 1879 he admitted that objections to the Hampton program were "common in the colored papers." In 1888 Armstrong further stated: "During the first ten years of our school life our work was looked upon with disfavor by the Negro leaders as providing only a low grade of instruction." H. B. Frissell recalled that "Negro conventions referred to Hampton as a 'slave pen and literary penitentiary.' " The black *Virginia Star* recommended that the government make Hampton "a National Reform School" for its wards. "It is admirably adapted for such, and it would prevent many unwary parents from sending their children there to equip them with a classical education." The *Christian Recorder* of the African Methodist Episcopal church, after criticizing the conservative

view of a Hampton student in 1875, asked, "Have Virginia conservatives captured Hampton?"[44]

Black criticisms of Hampton Institute received national attention in the Afro-American press during the late 1870s. In 1876 two black writers for the *People's Advocate*, which was edited in Alexandria, Virginia, by the prominent black journalist John Wesley Cromwell, characterized the Hampton program as an educational experience that sought to affirm the legitimacy of black subordination. After attending the 1876 commencement, one writer, struck by Hampton's pattern of race relations, reported:

> On Commencement Day May 18th visitors were present, white and colored, but not one of the latter was to be seen on the splendid platform of Virginia Hall. The rudest and most ignorant white men and women were politely conducted to the platform; respectable and intelligent colored ladies and gentlemen were shown lower seats where they could neither see nor hear the exercises of the day with any pleasure. To speak in general the colored people and students are made to feel that they must forever remain inferior to their white brethren no matter what their attainments may be.

The reporter concluded that it was "better, far better, yes infinitely better that we have no high schools and colleges, if our youth are to be brought up under such baneful influences." Several days later another reporter for the *People's Advocate*, who had also visited Hampton Institute, commented boldly: "I had rather my boy, should grow up ignorant of letters, than attend an Institution to be taught that Negroes, notwithstanding their acquirements, are and must forever remain inferior to the whites."[45]

This line of criticism continued in 1878, when the prominent black leader Henry M. Turner visited Hampton and reported his impressions of the school in the *Christian Recorder*. In his weekly column "Wayside Dots and Jots," Turner chastised Hampton for its Confederate orientation. He was struck immediately by the pictures of Andrew Johnson and General Robert E. Lee hanging on the walls of the school's chapel and commented acidly: "What [they] had ever done for the colored people I could not tell." Turner attended an advanced class for seniors purportedly in astronomy, and he concluded that "the teacher knew comparatively nothing about it, and the class knew, if possible, less than nothing." He was convinced that Hampton deprived black students of intellectual development, particularly in "algebra, geometry, higher mathematics, Greek, Latin, and Science." He was most upset, however, with Hampton's policy of racial subordination. During his stay, "not a teacher asked me to sit down, made a solitary explanation, gave me a

welcome look, nor showed me the civility of a visitor, while I was in the building." In contrast to the treatment he received, Turner observed that "when white visitors come in, chairs were offered them, etc." Turner's treatment at Hampton differed sharply from the cordial receptions he had received at other black schools. Thus he assessed the Hampton teachers and students as follows: "They are either in the whole ex-slaveholders themselves, or are pandering to the spirit of slavery. The graduates they send out cannot be called educated by any means, for they have not near the learning given by a respectable grammar school. . . . Besides, I think colored children are taught to remember, 'You are Negroes,' and as such, 'your place is behind.' "[46]

R. A. Green, editor of the *Virginia Star*, reprinted Turner's editorial and informed his readers that he had received similar treatment while visiting Hampton Institute. A year later the *Louisianian* reported that "General Armstrong, the principal of Hampton Institute, does not seem to stand in high favor with the colored people of the east." The *Louisianian* declared that Armstrong was charged with "curbing the aspirations of his students" and with crushing the manhood of the male students by refusing to hire black professors. "To know and *feel* that he is indeed a man," argued the *Louisianian*, "the Negro should have the black professor side by side with his white brother. This manhood education can never come from white teachers alone, however competent." The *Louisianian* charged that Armstrong "by his educational policy, seems to think that we should only know enough to make good servants."[47]

Even the more moderate wing of black educators and writers criticized industrial education during the 1880s and 1890s. Such black spokesmen as Harry Smith, Alexander Crummell, and Calvin Chase questioned the motives of those who promoted industrial training as the educational model most suitable for Afro-Americans. Initially, it appeared that Crummell, the venerable and learned rector of Washington, D.C.'s St. Luke's Methodist Church, would support the Hampton-styled industrial education movement. In 1887 he published *Common Sense in Common Schooling*, which praised vocational education and stated that higher education was "ruinous [to] well-nigh half of the colored youth who graduate from high schools and colleges." The African Methodist Episcopal church's *Church Review* criticized Crummell's position on the grounds that many whites would "refer to him as endorsing the position they hold, to wit, that the Negro only needs and should therefore only receive an industrial education." The editor of the *Church Review*, however, understood that Crummell meant only to emphasize the value of skilled trades and technical training and did not intend to encourage the Hampton program of Negro industrial education. Crummell confirmed this view when he later wrote, "All the talk about 'industrialism' is with

regard to the Negro and Negro education, and there is a lot of white men in the land who pity the Negro but who have never learned to love him, who take up this miserable 'fad,' and are striving by one pretext or another to put this limitation upon our brains and culture."[48]

In the 1890s Harry Smith, editor of the *Cleveland Gazette*, and Calvin Chase, editor of the *Washington Bee*, continued to warn the black community about the dangers of the Hampton-Tuskegee style of industrial education. The *Gazette*, arguing that attainments in the industrial arts would not fit young blacks for the "higher duties of life," reported in 1890 that Hampton graduates were being employed as waiters and porters. Although admitting to the necessity of trade training, the *Gazette* advocated higher and professional training for "the fullest development of the [Negro] mind." Likewise, the *Washington Bee* urged blacks to relegate industrial education to a secondary role and to place top priority on the training of lawyers, doctors, scientists, and other professional persons. Much of the *Bee*'s attack on industrial training focused on Booker T. Washington as he became in the 1890s the leading black spokesman for industrial education. In a typical editorial against Washington and the Hampton-Tuskegee Idea, the *Bee* remarked in 1896: "It is a notorious fact, that the utterances of Mr. Washington are nothing more than to make himself rich by assuring the white people of this country that the negroes [*sic*] place is in the machine shop, at the plow, in the washtub and not in the schools of legal and medical professions; that he [the Negro] has no business to aspire to those places as they are reserved for the proud Caucasian." Significantly, such criticisms, which started in the middle 1870s, long predated the Washington-DuBois debates of the early twentieth century and represented a persistent strain of black protest against the Hampton-Tuskegee Idea for the training of black educators and leaders.[49]

Black protest against the Hampton Idea was directed at that particular form of industrial education; it was not a blanket rejection of vocational and technical training. Black leaders in conjunction with white antislavery leaders were interested in establishing black trade and industrial schools as early as the eighteenth century. This interest increased significantly with the emergence of militant abolitionism and the Negro convention movement of the 1830s. In 1831 black male activists from the major northern urban centers assembled in Philadelphia for the First Annual Convention of the Free People of Color at which they proposed the establishment of a black "Manual Labor College" in New Haven, Connecticut, that would embrace all the mechanic arts and provide a thorough classical education. Early on, it seemed that the proposed trade and technical college would receive general support from the New Haven white community and prove itself a success within a short time.

New Haven whites, however, foreshadowing future opposition to serious black trade and technical training, "were as one in their protest" against the plan and forced the initial project to be abandoned. In 1833, still attempting to realize the goal of a black trade and technical school, black leaders and white abolitionists sought to transfer their resources to an academy in Canaan, Connecticut. But the white townspeople demolished the building that was erected to start a black manual labor college; again, the plan was squelched almost before it began. The project was pursued through the 1840s and 1850s, but no black polytechnic institute was established in the antebellum era. Still, the persistent campaign for such a school underscored black interest in education that could combine a classical liberal course with training in technology and trades. This idea differed sharply from the Hampton program that precluded technical education and did very little with respect to trades. Ironically, when "industrial education" programs developed in black schools during the postbellum period, they never met the long-standing aspirations of Afro-Americans.[50]

The most significant expansion of industrial education in black normal schools and colleges occurred during the 1880s. Its sudden rise was the result primarily of the establishment of the John F. Slater Fund in 1881, which offered financial aid exclusively for the development of black industrial education. Perhaps more than any other factor, the Slater Fund caused several black schools to initiate vocational programs during the 1880s. Many of the schools' reports indicate that the industrial work would not have been possible without the Slater Fund. As badly as most black schools needed money just to scrape by, they could hardly afford to ignore the availability of this new philanthropy, even if it was targeted for low-level industrial training. Indeed, the increased interest in industrial education by black schools indicates, above all else, a pragmatic search for funds, not a commitment to the social and educational philosophy embodied in the Hampton program. Thus, although many schools offered or at least advertised new courses in industrial education, they never allowed it to displace classical liberal academic education.[51]

The sudden rise of industrial education in black schools during the 1880s has often led to the erroneous conclusion that it became the ascendant form of education in black normal schools and colleges and temporarily eclipsed liberal and higher education. Yet a careful analysis of the curriculum reveals that most black colleges relegated industrial education to a subordinate role. Among the black colleges under mission societies, the traditional liberal or classical curriculum remained dominant throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Most black col-

leges were under the direction of four major mission societies: the American Missionary Association, the Freedmen's Aid Society of the Methodist Episcopal church, the American Baptist Home Mission Society, and the Board of Missions for the Freedmen of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. A significant number of black secondary schools and colleges, however, were organized and controlled by black religious organizations. The African Methodist Episcopal church, the Colored Methodist Episcopal church, and the African Methodist Episcopal Zion church established nearly all of the major colleges controlled by black organizations, and their combined voice largely articulated the educational policy of the black community. These institutions never adopted the Hampton-Tuskegee pattern of black industrial education, and they gave low priority to all forms of industrial training. Robert G. Sherer, in a useful study of black secondary and normal schools and colleges in nineteenth-century Alabama, demonstrated that Booker T. Washington was virtually alone in urging that prime emphasis be put on industrial rather than classical liberal education. Sherer concludes correctly that Washington and the Hampton-Tuskegee Idea were "outside the mainstream of black educational thought." Consequently, at the close of the nineteenth century, the proponents of the Hampton Idea found little support for their model of industrial training. In fact, they faced powerful resistance, especially from important leaders in the mission societies.[52]

The northern mission societies generally accepted manual training courses such as printing, carpentry, and blacksmithing for student work programs, the teaching of skilled trades, and character development, but they tended to view such courses as relatively insignificant for intellectual and leadership training. The proponents of the Hampton model never accepted the missionary interpretation of industrial training. Samuel Armstrong was one of the first to recognize that the industrial education concept left "a wide opportunity for difference of opinion as to the application of the principle, and these differences go deeper than the surface." There were clear distinctions between the Hampton and the missionary models of industrial education. Whereas Hampton established a system of menial labor to build character and mold the ideology of prospective teachers, missionary schools focused on job training. Teacher training in the missionary schools focused on the classical liberal tradition. At Hampton, industrial training was the core curriculum for all students, whereas the mission societies maintained industrial education as a relatively insignificant adjunct to the classical liberal curriculum. The Hampton model was organized around a conservative sociopolitical ideology that advocated the political disfranchisement and economic subordination of the black race. The mission societies emphasized

literary and professional training to develop a black intelligentsia that would fight for political and civil equality. Thus there was far more discord than harmony between the two camps.[53]

The missionary vanguard was headed by Thomas J. Morgan, Henry L. Morehouse, and Malcolm MacVicar of the American Baptist Home Mission Society and Joseph E. Roy and William Hayes Ward of the American Missionary Association. Morgan, a colonel of the Fourteenth United States Colored Infantry during the Civil War and former commissioner of Indian affairs, served as executive secretary of the Baptist Home Mission Society and as editor of the society's influential *Home Mission Monthly* from 1893 to 1902. Morehouse was the executive secretary of the American Baptist Education Society. MacVicar, superintendent of the Home Mission Society's Educational Department from 1890 to 1900, headed the society's Virginia Union University from 1900 to 1904. Ward, one of the most vigorous defenders of black higher education, was for many years chairman of the American Missionary Association's executive committee and was associate editor, 1868–70, superintending editor, 1870–96, and editor, 1896–1913, of the *New York Independent*. His colleague, Roy, was field superintendent of the American Missionary Association. The status of these men in missionary activities and in the larger society enabled them to form a powerful vanguard that stood clearly and unswervingly for black higher education and for the development of advanced technical schools to prepare blacks for executive and administrative posts.[54]

This vocal missionary leadership objected to the Hampton model on the grounds that it undermined the democratic rights of blacks by assuming that black students were destined for a subordinate industrial role in the southern economy. Following a conference on black education in 1895 at the American Social Science Association, Morgan and Ward attacked the "reviving Negrophobia," which opposed the higher education of blacks and laid "special stress upon the necessity of Industrial training." Morgan, through the *Home Mission Monthly*, and Ward, in the *Independent*, "protest[ed] vehemently against any philosophy of education which will restrict the Negro schools to industrial training, or to rudimentary education." Moreover, they suspected "that the prime motive of the white men in the South who urge most strongly the industrial education of the Negroes, is the conviction in their minds that all the Negro needs to know is how to work. This proceeds upon the assumption that the race is doomed to servitude." The Negro industrial education concept, as Morgan and Ward understood it, was "based upon the denial of the humanity of a whole race" and was calculated to make the Negro "absolutely content with his lot as a servant." In contrast to the Hampton model of industrial training, Morgan urged the mission soci-

eties to establish for blacks technical departments and schools "to develop among them architects, artists, engineers, master mechanics, superintendents of mines, overseers of mills," and the like. On another occasion, after politely stating his sympathy for Booker T. Washington, Morgan rejected the manual training concept in favor of "the higher grade of industrial training proper, such as is now furnished in Pratt Institute and other similar institutions in the North."[55]

Generally, the missionary leaders were diplomatic in their handling of the industrial education movement, and they attempted to check its growth by vigorously defending the need for black higher education. "Neglect, if you will, the common school education in your missionary labor; neglect, if you must, the industrial education," advised Ward, "but never forget that it is your work to educate leaders." To the mission societies, leadership training meant, above all, higher literary education. According to Morehouse, the Home Mission Society believed in "the thorough humanity of the black man, with divine endowment of all the facilities of the white man; capable of culture, capable of high attainments under proper conditions and with sufficient time; a being not predestined to be simply a hewer of wood and drawer of water for the white race." Morehouse believed that the black race would progress largely through the wise leadership of a gifted intelligentsia, and he therefore placed top priority on the higher education of a black "talented tenth." Morgan also thought that black progress depended on the leadership of "noble and powerful minds raised up from their own ranks." Similarly, MacVicar argued for the highest form of liberal education because the mental development of the black man followed "precisely the same laws as in the case of the white man."[56]

Significantly, the views of the missionary vanguard were shared by white presidents of the mission societies' black colleges and secondary schools. Henry S. DeForest, president of the American Missionary Association's Talladega College, contended "that while all should have the lower education, a great many should receive the higher." As he put it, "Every man may need silver, but the best commerce of the world requires that some should have gold, and a good deal of it." DeForest stated that Talladega had "not forgotten the industrial education"; the college's primary goal, however, was to offer the black students "choice scholarship." George Sale, president of Atlanta Baptist College (Morehouse), informed the white Georgia State Teacher's Association that he objected to "the idea that the education of the Negro should be exclusively or distinctly industrial." If classical studies were valuable for whites, Sale asked, "Why should they not have the same value for Negroes?" E. C. Mitchell, president of Leland University in New Orleans, reasoned that it was purposeless to include industrial training in black colleges because

"every village has its Negro mechanics who are patronized both by white and colored employers, and any who wish to learn the trade can do so." He viewed industrial training as a form of "class education" for blacks and argued that it did "not educate, even in trades." Likewise, Presidents Charles F. Meserve of Shaw University, George F. Genung of Richmond Theological Seminary, and MacVicar of Virginia Union University regarded industrial training as relatively insignificant to the higher education of black students.[57]

To be sure, many other college presidents were less adamant in their opposition to industrial training. In fact, most probably considered it a positive adjunct to the black students' general academic program. Even so, they relegated industrial training to a subordinate role in the curriculum. A. C. Osborn, president of Benedict College, saw some usefulness in industrial training, but as he clearly stated, "Benedict is not a trade or industrial school, in that it does not give the industrial work the foremost place." President L. G. Barrett of Jackson College also praised the positive aspects of limited industrial training while emphasizing that his college directed black students "on to higher study." Ward spoke well for the missionary leadership when he said, "Industrial education is good, very valuable, and we give it as an adjunct, but it is not an important thing."[58]

The conflicting ideologies of black education led to some significant confrontations between the missionary and Hampton camps in the late nineteenth century, and the outcome shaped the Hampton's advocates' course of action at the turn of the century. In 1890, following a suggestion of former President Rutherford B. Hayes, Quaker philanthropist Albert K. Smiley organized a conference at his Lake Mohonk resort hotel in the Catskills to discuss the "Negro question." Of this conference Armstrong wrote, "In order to be sure and get the southern white men to come, he [Smiley] decided not to invite any colored people." Modeled on the annual Indian conferences at Mohonk, the conferences of 1890 and 1891 concentrated essentially on Negro education. Samuel C. Armstrong, Hollis B. Frissell, Rutherford B. Hayes, chairman of the Slater Fund, and others argued strongly for the Hampton model as the best form of black education. The words of Armstrong were typical: "The great mass of Negroes must be farmers and they need to be taught to farm intelligently." But regardless of whether blacks were forced to be farmers, the missionary educators objected to imposing second-class industrial training on the black race. Reverend Roy, secretary of the American Missionary Association, after making a brilliant defense of blacks' right to higher education, informed the Hampton supporters that it was "too late in the history of civilization to impose any repression upon any

class of people." Similarly, Lyman Abbott, Congregational minister and editor of the *Christian Union* (renamed the *Outlook* in 1893), admonished the conference that it was "not in the province nor in the power of one class to determine the metes and bounds of another class." "I claim, therefore," said Abbott, "the Negroes' right to an education from a, b, up to Syriac, from the multiplication table up to conic sections. Or, if there is anything higher than that, that higher thing, whatever it may be." Ward and MacVicar also supported higher education and equal rights for black people. Even though blacks were barred from the Mohonk conference, the Hampton boosters failed to achieve a consensus in support of industrial normal schools for training black leaders.[59]

Another debate regarding the "instruction of the colored citizens" was held at the 1896 annual conference of the American Social Science Association. The major address was given by Hampton booster H. L. Wayland, editor of the *New York Examiner*, who retired as president of the association in 1894. Wayland took great care to summon distinguished black supporters of the Hampton model, particularly Booker T. Washington and Hugh M. Browne, principal of a black high school in Washington, D.C. He wrote Robert C. Ogden, president of the Hampton Board of Trustees: "On Tuesday evening, September 1, I shall read a paper at the Social Science, at Saratoga, on the higher education of the southern colored, which will be followed by a debate. We hope to have Prof. Washington, who is heartily with us, and I shall ask Mr. Durham and one or two others. . . . Now what I want to say is this, will you not make it a point to be present." Ogden did not attend the conference, but Wayland, Washington, and Browne gave an adequate defense of the Hampton Idea. To these men, as Wayland aptly phrased it, the whole question of black education could be summarized in two words: "These two words are 'Hampton' and 'Tuskegee.' " But Morgan, Atlanta University Professor Silas X. Floyd, and Malcolm MacVicar were not persuaded by the arguments of the Hampton supporters. "I submit," replied Morgan, "that no form of industrial training yet devised can take the place of a college curriculum in giving breadth of knowledge, catholicity of sympathy, power of thought, constructive ability and fitness for leadership." Floyd and MacVicar joined Morgan in rejecting industrial training as an appropriate model of education for the black leadership. Wayland, in describing the results of the debate to Ogden, revealed his frustration over the resistance to the Hampton Idea:

> Gen. Morgan and Dr. MacVicar held on to the old theory. I am surprised that they do not take counsel with common sense. Probably they would say, "The Colored people demand Greek and Latin,

and if we do not give it to them, they will go elsewhere." But to that I would reply, "Both Hampton and Tuskegee have annually more applications than they can receive." And also it is our duty to give them what we conscientiously think best, and it is our right to do so since we pay for it ourselves.

It became increasingly clear to the advocates of the Hampton model that a powerful cadre of missionary educators and important black leaders would not accept industrial training as the dominant form of black education. In 1895 and 1896 Wayland was sharply assailed for making caustic criticisms of black higher education. Even President William McKinley was chastised by Ward when, in 1898, the president praised Tuskegee for giving black students instruction in "practical industry" and for not "attempting the unattainable" by offering higher education. Ward replied acidly: "What there is 'unattainable' to the Negro, or what school offers the unattainable, we do not know." The missionary vanguard met well the challenge of the Hampton ideologues and effectively blocked the spread of the Hampton doctrine in the mission schools; thus in the late nineteenth century, the Hampton spokesmen found themselves cut off from the mainstream of black higher education.[60]

The Hampton Idea was not isolated from the mainstream of American society, however. In sharp contrast to its rejection by black teachers and the leaders of black schools and colleges, leading American politicians, businessmen, and philanthropists came to view Hampton and Tuskegee as pointing the way toward a national and even worldwide solution of the "Negro problem." The Hampton Idea was supported actively by Ulysses S. Grant, Rutherford B. Hayes, James A. Garfield, Theodore Roosevelt, William Howard Taft, Woodrow Wilson, Andrew Carnegie, John D. Rockefeller, Jr., Julius Rosenwald, George Eastman, Charles W. Eliot, Jabez L. M. Curry, and Clark Howell, to name only a few. Through correspondence and visits to Hampton and Tuskegee, such men had come to know Hampton's work intimately. They understood correctly that Armstrong, Frissell, and Washington propounded not merely an educational theory but a social philosophy. President Garfield said that Armstrong was working out the race problem "in the only way that will give us a country without section and a people without a stain." "If there is any work which every American must believe in," said Theodore Roosevelt, "it is the work you are doing at Hampton and Tuskegee." Harvard University President Charles W. Eliot said: "Hampton and Tuskegee have done great good. I know of no educational or philanthropic object which should more commend itself to American patriots." These two small normal schools, with academic programs comparable to the

quality of instruction in an adequate common school, received national acclaim because of their profoundly conservative approach to the problems of race, labor, and politics in the New South.[61]

Booker T. Washington's rise to national prominence in 1895 breathed new life into the Hampton Idea and accounted in large part for its fame and achievements during the early twentieth century. Indeed, from 1895, when he addressed the opening of the Cotton States and International Exposition at Atlanta, Georgia, to his death in 1915, the Hampton Idea was recognized nationally as the Hampton-Tuskegee Idea. On 18 September 1895, Washington delivered his widely publicized "Atlanta Compromise." He said virtually nothing about education but much about economics, politics, and racial equality. True to the Hampton philosophy, which he learned under Armstrong from 1872 to 1875, Washington stressed the political and economic value of his educational philosophy. Had he lived to hear it, Armstrong would have been proud of the way his favorite student addressed the South's dominant-class whites. He spoke carefully to their greatest fears: that black southerners would persist in their struggle to attain the political power formally granted to them by the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments and that they might choose not to till the region's cotton, tobacco, and sugar fields, or at least withdraw a substantial portion of their labor power. "No race can prosper," said Washington, "till it learns that there is as much dignity in tilling a field as in writing a poem." Washington urged the development of a black laboring class that would "buy your *surplus* land, make blossom the waste places in your fields, and run your factories." These black workers, he promised, would be "the most patient, faithful, law-abiding, and unresentful people that the world has seen." Washington was silent on the questions of black voting and officeholding, and his silence was evidence enough of his willingness to accommodate the practical disfranchisement of black voters. Washington, an ex-slave, embodied the objective conjuncture of race and class that threatened to tear apart the southern social order, and, therefore, his espousal of the Hampton Idea gave it more legitimacy than Armstrong ever did or could have. Somehow, the retrogressive and repressive tenets of the Hampton Idea rang differently when spoken by an ex-slave.[62]

Still, Washington and Tuskegee were Armstrong and Hampton in blackface. "The mission of Tuskegee Institute," said Roscoe Conkling Bruce, the director of the school's Academic Department, "is largely to supply measurably well equipped teachers for the schools." Tuskegee, like Hampton, was primarily a normal school, and Washington, as Armstrong, saw his students as prospective missionaries of the traditional Hampton educational and social philosophy. The student body at both

institutes was divided into day students and night students. At Tuskegee, said Bruce, "The night students work in the industries, largely at common labor, all day every day and go to school at night, thus paying their current board bills and accumulating such credits at the Treasurer's office as will later defray their expenses in the day school." The student pay rate remained two and a half cents per hour or one dollar for a forty-hour week, so much hard toil was required of the night students. The day students were divided into two sections that alternated working every other day for three days a week and attending academic classes for three days. Not surprisingly, Louis Harlan discovered that at Hampton and Tuskegee "there was perhaps one graduate for every ten ex-students."[63]

Because the night students worked all day for six days a week and attended school at night, while the day students spent one-half of their time at common labor, Tuskegee's curriculum was also weighted heavily toward the manual labor routine. As at Hampton, academic education was of low quality. Bruce, putting the best possible face on his department, told a Boston audience in 1904 that Tuskegee's lowest day school class was "about the equivalent to a fourth grade in the North" and the senior day school class was comparable to "the first or the second year (barring the foreign languages) in a northern high school." Washington thought that even this standard placed too much emphasis on academic learning, and the following year he and Bruce enforced a directive: "Every academic teacher is appreciably to diminish the amount of time required of his students for the preparation of his subjects." Washington's decision raises a fundamental question. Why did he, as principal of a normal school, whose avowed mission was to train teachers, deliver such a crippling blow to an already weak academic program? Here it is important to recall that Washington was called back to Hampton in 1879 to preside over Armstrong's night school. What he did in 1905 was no different than what Armstrong did in 1879—base the training of teachers primarily on manual labor rather than on academic studies. Washington kept Tuskegee in line with the educational form and content he had received at Hampton.[64]

Both Armstrong and Washington believed strongly in correlating academic and industrial training. In reality this meant academic instruction no higher than the three Rs and what was presupposed by the manual labor routines. As Bruce stated,

> But, the teaching of agriculture, even in its elementary stages, presupposes a considerable amount of academic preparation. To be sure, a flourishing garden may be made and managed by bright-eyed tots just out of the kindergarten, but how can commercial fertilizers

be carefully analyzed by a boy who has made no study of general chemistry?—and how can a balanced ration be adjusted by an illiterate? Similarly, the girl in the laundry does not make soap by rote but by principle; and the girl in the dressmaking shop does not cut out her pattern by luck or guess or instinct or rule of thumb, but by geometry.

Bruce saw in such training the "technical utility of Tuskegee's Academic Department." It is hardly necessary to add again that Tuskegee was not training farmers, laundry women, or dressmakers, but teachers. The teachers were trained in academic skills presupposed by common labor occupations. It is no wonder, then, that Louis Harlan found that "a generation of Tuskegee graduates, not to mention the larger number who left before graduation, murdered the King's English in their letters back to the school." This performance reflected the Hampton glorification of "dull plodders."[65]

When Hampton and Tuskegee are taken on their own terms, as normal schools, there is no logical reason why they should have given priority to technical and trade training. Yet, with all the talk about industrial training, both contemporary observers and later historians mistakenly assumed that trade, technical, and commercial training formed the essence of Washington's educational philosophy. In fact, Tuskegee placed even less emphasis on trade and commercial training than did Hampton. In 1903 Daniel C. Smith, Tuskegee's auditor, made a study of the school's industrial training program. According to Smith, of 1,550 students, "there were only a dozen students in the school capable of doing a fair job as joiners. There were only fifteen boys who could lay brick." "Meanwhile," Smith continued, "the number of students who are doing unskilled drudgery work is increasing, and the number who receive no training through the use of tools is getting to be very large." This finding was not inconsistent with Tuskegee's aims. Nor was Tuskegee's failure to teach commercial or business subjects, despite Washington's preachings about economic development as the only salvation of black Americans. In 1906, in assessing Tuskegee's endeavors in the teaching of business and commercial subjects, Robert E. Park discovered that "there is a large amount of business conducted by the school, but there is no school of business here." There were "a large number of stenographers employed on the ground but stenography and typewriting are not taught here." Three papers and a number of pamphlets were published at Tuskegee, but printing was not taught there. There was not even a formal course in bookkeeping.[66]

From their founding to the late 1920s, Hampton and Tuskegee were

Normal school students at Hampton and Tuskegee were trained in academic skills presupposed by common labor occupations. The captions on a Tuskegee blackboard—Shoemaking, Blacksmithing, Machine, Carpentry—indicate the topics for reading and composition. This practice of correlating the academic and the industrial was known as "dovetailing." Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

Normal school teachers bring the ethics of hard toil and field work directly to the black kindergarten children of Tuskegee's elementary school, the institute's lab school, which was used primarily for practice teaching. Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

not trade schools, nor academic schools worthy of the name, but schools that attempted to train a corps of teachers with a particular social philosophy relevant to the political and economic reconstruction of the South. Their mission and source of strength was to train teachers and leaders who would, as Washington urged, "carry a drop of [Armstrong's] life blood into the darkest corner of the darkest South." Their espousal of this mission gained Hampton and Tuskegee the support of America's leading politicians, businessmen, and philanthropists. But the Hampton-Tuskegee Idea had not won the hearts and minds of the teachers and administrators who controlled black educational institutions.[67]

By the close of the nineteenth century, Hampton supporters recognized that their model of industrial training was relatively insignificant in the overall scheme of black higher education. Yet they were determined to advance the Hampton program as the dominant educational model for the training of black leaders. In 1899 Frissell planned a tour of several southern cities to convert important black leaders to the Hampton Idea. Frissell wrote: "Our trustees have felt strongly that it is important to stir up the colored people to an interest in industrial education." He had no illusions about the black community's view of industrial education. "As you know," he wrote to a friend, "there is a perhaps natural feeling among them against this form of instruction." But to the Hampton ideologues, their form of industrial training represented the best solution to the southern race problem, and they launched a campaign to impose it as a regional system of black education. As Ogden, the president of the Hampton Board of Trustees, declared: "The main hope is in Hampton and Hampton ideas. Our first problem is to support the School; our second to make the School ideas national." Or, as Hampton Trustee Collis Potter Huntington put it, "The only question is, Where shall we get another Booker T. Washington for these other schools?" William H. Baldwin, Jr., the president of Tuskegee Institute Board of Trustees, said to Washington: "I tell you again that your course is the only one, and the work must be organized in other states, and you must do it, and we must get the money."[68]

This dogmatic determination to spread the Hampton model throughout the Afro-American South set the stage for the early twentieth-century struggle over the proper education of black people. Though many historians would come to view this struggle mainly as the Washington-DuBois debate, it is well to remember that the Hampton model was launched in 1868, the year DuBois was born. The Washington-DuBois controversy merely represented one of the last great battles in the long war to determine whether black people would be educated to challenge or accommodate the oppressive southern political economy. DuBois and his colleagues, however, would face a far more powerful and well-organized

Hampton movement than had the missionary and black educators of the late nineteenth century. Beginning in 1898, the Hampton model constantly gained support among northern businessmen-philanthropists and southern whites. The Hampton advocates also picked up additional support in the black community. But the main reason the Hampton movement gained momentum was because its supporters waged a well-organized campaign to spread the Hampton-Tuskegee doctrines.