THE MOVEABLE SCHOOL AND THE PEOPLE'S COLLEGE: A COMPARATIVE INSTITUTIONAL HISTORY OF SOCIAL JUSTICE EDUCATION IN THE JIM CROW SOUTH

by

ASHA KANIKA WARREN

(Under the Direction of Talmadge C. Guy)

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to provide a comparative, historical, institutional analysis of the Tuskegee University Moveable School, founded in 1906, and the Atlanta University People's College, established in 1942. Both programs are early exemplars of social justice education as it was practiced at Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs) during the era of Jim Crow— a time predating more recent developments in Community-Based Research (CBR) history, theory and practice. The CBR social justice education model has been endemic to the HBCU program since the mid-1800s, before its naming or professionalization in the fields of adult, higher and social justice education. This study also illuminated, in a broader context, issues regarding the following questions: 1) What were the social, historical and cultural contexts within which social justice education emerged at Atlanta and Tuskegee Universities?; How was social justice education actualized at Atlanta and Tuskegee Universities through the Moveable School and the People's College? and 3) How did social justice education history, theory and practice compare and vary institutionally and programmatically?

Document analysis was the primary method of research utilized for this study. The exploration was conducted through an extensive review of the available primary and secondary resource information on the Moveable School and the People's College. The archival document holdings were accessed by visiting the National Center for Bioethics Research Archives located at Tuskegee University; the Robert W. Woodruff, Atlanta University Center Archives and the Atlanta-Fulton Public Library System, Auburn Avenue Research Library on African-American Culture Archives. The key findings resulting from the archival research reveal the Moveable School and the People's College as two early exemplars of an HBCU model of social justice education. This study, therefore, substantiates both programs as precursors to the more recent and widely propagated scholarly discourse around CBR. Social justice education, a phenomenon intrinsic to HBCUs since the early 19th century, was historically utilized as a tool for engaging the social, political and economic injustices threating the collective progression of Black communities.

INDEX WORDS: Adult Education, Agricultural and Extension Education, Atlanta University, Booker T. Washington, Community Education, George Washington Carver, Historically Black Colleges and Universities, History of the Education of Black Adults, Ira D. A. Reid, Jim Crow, The Movable School, The People's College, Social Justice Education, Thomas Monroe Campbell, Tuskegee University, W.E.B. Du Bois

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DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my grandmothers' hands; the Spirit that is Bobbye-Jewel, has guided, covered and carried me throughout the entire PhD process. Bobbye would visit me often in my dreams, golden-toothed and smiling wide, just to let me know that everything would be ok. Her smile's sentiment said to me, "you can and you will." And it was Jewel, shining bright like a diamond —tough like one too— who reminded me often, that everything was going to be alright. That name, Bobbye-Jewel, became my mantra, prayer and affirmation; one that carried me through many rough days and nights.

This study is also dedicated to my mother, Pamela Y. Gibson (my best friend, motivator and guide) and my father, Rueben C. Warren (my hero and inspiration), to my mom, Nagueyalti Warren (my teacher) and my God mother, Cynthia E. Hodge, and to countless other ancestors — seen and unseen, here and there, known and unknown— in the village who have held my hand throughout life's journey, leading me, walking carefully and patiently, growing me up from a wide-eyed, little girl into a woman. It is because of you that I am happily me, happily free, both willing and able to pursue a path purpose, one of worthy sacrifice. You ALL are the example that I aspire to be.

Love, Light, and Life,

Asha

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To my committee, Talmadge C. Guy, Derrick P. Alridge, Robert Hill, and Juanita Johnson-Bailey, I am fortunate that you agreed to serve on my committee; each of you have provided me with the added the expertise, support and guidance that I needed to complete this study. Your scholarly contributions to the fields of adult and higher education, particularly those regarding histories of marginalized peoples, have cleared and lit a pathway for young researchers like myself to follow. Throughout this process, I have leaned heavily, at some point or another, on your work, our individual discussions and the skills and information learned from taking classes with you. One class in particular, a course teaching the methods of Historiography taught by Derrick Alridge, proved to be simultaneously one of the most challenging, but

academically rewarding classes that I would take during my tenure at UGA. I appreciate Dr. Alridge as well, for introducing me to the process and experience of professional presentation with the Association for the Study of African American Life and History (ASALAH). I would also like to thank Stephanie Y. Evans, Chair of the Clark Atlanta University, Department of African-American Studies, Africana Women's Studies and History, who has served as an unofficial advisor and a professional inspiration for me, throughout this process. To you all, I so appreciate your advice, your assistance with the dissertation writing and submission processes and your continued support.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

"…had it not been for the Negro schools and colleges, the Negro would to all intents and purposes, have been driven back to slavery…" ~ W.E.B. Du Bois, 1935

On March 28, 2012, the students of Clark Atlanta University (CAU) organized a Peace in the Hood rally to address community concerns about the suspicious circumstances under which an unarmed, 17 year-old, Black male was murdered. Just one month earlier, in Sanford, Florida, Trayvon Martin had been stalked and brutally executed by a self-appointed, community watchman named George Zimmerman. According to the White gunman, Martin "looked suspicious" while walking home from the store, through the neighborhood in which his father lived. The facts of the case later revealed that Martin had very likely been the victim of a racially motivated, hate crime. Further evidence also exposed that the Sanford police department may have been complicit in attempting to protect Zimmerman from arrest and prosecution.[1]

The blatant injustice exhibited in the Martin case exemplifies how law and order are often applied and enacted unequally in America; all too often the disparity falls along racial and ethnic lines. In fact, legal scholar Michele Alexander found the United States to be a global leader in the rates of incarceration among people of color, a phenomenon which she asserts is even further

[1] Clark Atlanta University is a comprehensive, private, urban, coeducational institution of higher education with a predominantly African-American heritage. It offers undergraduate, graduate, and professional degrees as well as certificate programs to students of diverse racial, ethnic, and socioeconomic backgrounds. It was formed by the consolidation of Atlanta University, which offered only graduate degrees, and Clark College, a four-year undergraduate institution oriented to the liberal arts. Clark Atlanta University website, accessed May 15, 2012, http://www.cau.edu/About_CAU_History.aspx; Wayman Hudson, "Trayvon Martin Should Open Our Eyes: White Privilege and Racial Profiling." Huff Politics Online Newspaper, March 20, 2012, accessed May 15, 2013, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/waymon-hudson/trayvon-martin-white-privilege_b_1401107.html.

pronounced in Black communities.[2] The outright mishandling of George Zimmerman's prosecution sparked outrage in Black communities across the nation, soliciting mass movement and organization. The Black community collectively demanded that local and federal justice departments examine and, in some states, repeal the Stand Your Ground Law used in George Zimmerman defense. As they had in many times past, Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs) throughout the country led the Black community in their call for social justice.[3]

For this expressed purpose, local activists, clergy, community members, Atlanta University Center (AUC) administrators, faculty, staff and students gathered on the campus of CAU, to issue a united call for justice for Trayvon Martin. The Bishop of an Atlanta area church addressed the demonstration attendees on that humid Wednesday in May, with an all too familiar rallying cry. "No justice!", he bellowed, his voice echoing throughout the AUC's five campuses and piercing social or economic façades of division existing between the school and community folk. Bonded by their common plight, cause, and culture the crowd replied in unison, "No peace!" On that day, the entire community stood in solemn solidarity, chanting collectively what has become a mantra for Black social justice movements in the US— they proclaimed that if there was no justice for Trayvon and his family, there would be no peace in the national community.

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[2] Michelle Alexander, *The New Jim Crow: Mass Incarceration in the Age of Colorblindness* (New York: The New Press, 2012), 6-7.

[3] According to Rachael Weiner, the Stand Your Ground Law passed in Florida in 2005 allows "…a citizen who uses deadly force is immune from prosecution when 'he or she reasonably believes that such force is necessary to prevent imminent death or great bodily harm to himself or herself or another'". Rachael Weiner, "The Political Battle Over 'Stand Your Ground' Laws." *Washington Post*, March 23, 2012, accessed May 15, 2012, http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/the-fix/post/the-political-battle-over-stand-your-ground-laws/2012/03/22/gIQAVcJ2VS_blog.html.; According to the Higher Education Act of 1965, a Historically Black College is defined as "...any historically black college or university that was established prior to 1964, whose principal mission was, and is, the education of black Americans, and that is accredited by a nationally recognized accrediting agency or association determined by the Secretary [of Education] to be a reliable authority as to the quality of training offered or is, according to such an agency or association, making reasonable progress toward accreditation," White House Initiative on Historically Black Colleges and Universities website. Accessed November 9, 2009. http://www.ed.gov/about/inits/list/whhbcu/edlite-index.html.

Their call to action and the communal response resonated throughout the nation as other HBCUs, like Howard, Dillard, Tennessee State, and Tuskegee, organized similar activities, insisting judicial transparency concerning the vicious murder of a young Trayvon. For many, he represented the hundreds of other Black youth who had met a similar fate as a result of gun violence or racial profiling. On June 14, 2013, an almost exclusively White jury found George Zimmerman not guilty of profiling, pursuing and murdering, in cold blood, an unarmed Trayvon who had been unjustly criminalized. Again, the AUC community, and Black neighborhoods around the country, took to the streets of Atlanta demanding that the federal justice department consider charging Zimmerman with a number of civil rights violations. The strange case of Trayvon Martin was eerily reminiscent of the malicious beating and murder of a young Emmett Till that occurred some 57 years prior. It was a tragically painful reminder that in the 21st century "…the problem of the color line" remained one of the country's most unreconciled social ills.[4] From the Civil Rights Movement (CRM) and others, the Black community found one of the most effective responses to social injustice to be mass movement and organization.

No matter the strategy for effecting change in society, the aim has historically, remained the same. Whether the method was to economically empower Black farmers living in rural Alabama as Booker T. Washington had done in 1881, with the founding of the Tuskegee Agricultural and Normal Institute; or to teach young Black girls the art of homemaking, as

[4] The Atlanta University Center (AUC) encompasses a group of the country's major institutions of higher learning for African Americans. They have not only pioneered in offering educational opportunities to African Americans, but have been a progressive force in the development of the black community in Atlanta, which in turn, has had considerable impact upon the nation. Located west of Atlanta's central business district, the six colleges of the Atlanta University Center includes: Atlanta University; Clark, Morehouse, Morris Brown and Spelman Colleges; and the Interdenominational Theological Center. Atlanta University was founded in 1865 as an institution offering a liberal arts education. In 1929, Atlanta University became the graduate school for the affiliated group of colleges. National Parks Service website. Accessed May 15, 2012. http://www.nps.gov/nr/travel/atlanta/aud.htm; In his seminal text *The Souls of Black Folk*, WEB Du Bois spoke to the gravity of America's race problem writing "The Problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the color-line, --the relation of the darker to the lighter men [and women] in Asia and Africa, in America and the islands of the sea." W.E.B. Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1903), 54.

George Washington Carver and Thomas Monroe Campbell had done in designing and administering the Moveable School in 1906; or to strike, as students at Fisk and Howard Universities had during the 1920s, to loosen the authoritarian grip of the schools' administration; or to develop and inspire culturally conscious race leaders among adult learners living in the metropolitan Atlanta area, as W.E.B. Du Bois and Ira D.A. Reid had done in 1942, through the People's College; or to boycott segregated buses, as the students of Southern and Florida A & M Universities had done during the 1950s; or to sit-in, as AUC and Shaw University students had done in the early 1960s, demanding that White businesses permit Black patronage; or to demand justice for Trayvon Martin, as AUC students had done in 2012, the aim of the HBCU program has been consistent.[5] HBCU programs have historically aimed to galvanize *communiverities* around issues of injustice, empowering them with strategies for affecting social change. In this way, the founding and administration of the nations' HBCUs exemplify an early model of what has more recently been defined by adult and higher education scholars as social justice education.[6]

In 1934, President Franklin D. Roosevelt spoke of America's promise to its citizens in a letter addressed to the then Commissioner of Education writing, "In a democracy education holds

[5] Thomas Monroe Campbell, *The Moveable School Goes to the Negro Farmer* (Tuskegee, Alabama: Tuskegee Institute Press, 1936); Clarence A. Bacote, *The Story of Atlanta University: A Century of Service, 1865-1965* (Atlanta University Press: 1969); V.P. Franklin, "Patterns of Student Activism at Historically Black Colleges and Universities in the United States and South Africa, 1960-1977," *Journal of African American History*, 88 , no. 2 (Spring 2003): 204-217; Benjamin E. Mays, *Born to Rebel* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1971), 281. Joe M. Richardson, *A History of Fisk University* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1980), 88-89. Rayford W. Logan, *Howard University: The First Hundred Years, 1867-1967* (New York: New York University Press, 1969), 220; Fletcher F. Moon, "Shaw University (est. 1865)," *Freedom Facts & Firsts: 400 Years of The African American Civil Rights Experience*," *History Reference Center*, EBSCO*host*. Accessed June 8, 2013. http://ehis.ebscohost.com.proxy-remote.galib.uga.edu/eds/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?vid=5&sid=0b5a2148-c13a-46e9-bfba-7a31c4392a82@sessionmgr112&hid=107.

[6] Edward Weidner defines a communiversity as "…a socially responsible university relating to a socially responsible community." Edward Weidner, "Communiversity," *Readers' Guide Retrospective: 1890-1982, Vital Speeches of the Day* [serial online], accessed February 15, 1969; 35: 278; Marybeth Gasman, Chronicle of Higher Education website, Insights and Commentary on Higher Education, "Trayvon Martin: Leading Black Colleges Back to Their Roots," March 28, 2012. Accessed on April 3, 2012. http://chronicle.com/blogs/innovations/trayvon-martin-leading-black-colleges-back-to-their-roots/32055.

the most promising potential solution of the social and economic problems for peaceful, gradual, intelligent evolution toward the goals set up for … the happiness of our citizenship."[7] While democracy is a core tenet of American ideology and doctrine, one that laid the theoretical foundation for building the nation, for many Black people the democratic ideal has historically proven to be an illusion far disconnected from reality. Historian V.P. Franklin spoke to this point writing, "Recently, a 'revisionist' school has arisen among educational historians which not only is calling into question the so-called democratic structure of public education, but also is challenging the very ideal of the 'American Dream.'"[8] An examination of the history of the education of adults in the United States within the contexts of slavery, racism and oppression, reveals a long-standing contradiction between Americas' ideals, doctrines and practices.[9]

The progress experienced by Black people during the Reconstruction Era, for example, exemplifies the nation's inconsistency in actualizing the democratic ideal. The time during and immediately following the ending of the Civil War proved to be progressive, in many ways, for the newly freed slaves who were attempting to rediscover and establish their place in the American social strata. Benevolent and missionary groups like the American Missionary Association (AMA), originally founded in 1837, and the Quakers increased their efforts toward advancing Black education through the founding many of the nations' HBCUs.[10] Further, in 1864, "…an Act of Congress authorized treasury agents to seize and lease for one year all

[7] *The Negro Journal of Education*, "Current Events of Importance in Negro Education," 3 (Oct 1934): 661.
[8] V.P. Franklin, "Historical Revisionism and Black Education," *The School Review*, 81 (May 1973): 478.
[9] Horace Mann Bond, "Redefining the Relationship of the Federal Government to the Education of Racial and Other Minority Groups," *The Journal of Negro Education*, 7 (1938): 459; Erin Haines, "Georgia NAACP Sues State for Underfunding Public HBCU," *Diverse Issues in Higher Education*, April 5, 2010. Accessed April 29, 1010. http://diverseeducation.com/article/136070/.
[10] Juanita Johnson-Bailey, "African Americans in Adult Education: The Harlem Renaissance Revisited," *Adult Education Quarterly* 56, no. 2 (February 2006): 105.

captured and abandoned estates and to provide for the welfare of former slaves."[11] This legislation would mark the beginning of the provision of sustainable residential, medical and work relief for newly freed slaves. In 1866, the United States War Department established the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands, the Freedmen's Bureau, which aimed to:

> …hasten to their fields of work; seek gradually to close relief establishments, and make the destitute self-supporting; act as courts of law where there were no courts, or where Negroes were not recognized in them as free; establish the institution of marriage among ex-slaves, and keep records; see that freedmen were free to choose their employers, and help in making fair contracts for them… [and to] promote the general welfare.[12]

Further other substantial legislative gains were made with the passing of the Thirteenth (1865), Fourteenth (1866), and Fifteenth Amendments (1869); the first and second Freeman's Bureau Bill (1865 and 1866); the Civil Rights Acts of 1866, 1870, 1871 and 1875; and The Reconstruction Act of 1867.[13]

The numerous civil rights victories won during the Reconstruction Era, carried with them the expectation that Black people were at the frontier of realizing democracy and freedom as it had been experienced by their White counterparts. The times inspired hope—the anticipation that United States government and its allies would finally be the providers, guarantors and protectors of the civil liberties of all citizens, as it had been espoused in its doctrines. Unfortunately, the many equal rights successes of this contentious time would later prove to be illusory. In reality,

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[11] According to W.E.B. Du Bois, the Reconstruction Era encompasses the period from 1860-1880. WEB Du Bois, *Black Reconstruction in America: An Essay toward a History of the Part Which Black Folk Played in the Attempt to Reconstruct Democracy in America: 1860-1880* (New York: Russell and Russell, 1935), 78.

[12] W.E.B. Du Bois, "The Freedman's Bureau," *Atlantic Monthly* 87 (1901): 354-365. Literary Resource Center, http://ehis.ebscohost.com/eds/detail?vid=4&hid=101&sid=f0bbefc2-1bec-4c65-ac3f-39014380b644%40sessionmgr104&bdata=JnNpdGU9ZWRzLWxpdmU%3d#db=lfh&AN=22498392. Accessed May 15, 2012.

[13] The Thirteenth Amendment passed on January 31, 1865, declared all slaves freed people and abolished involuntary servitude; the Fourteenth Amendment "constitutionally guaranteed due process of law to all American citizens and the Fifteenth Amendment gave Blacks the right to vote. The Civil Rights Act of 1866 declared that "all native born Americans were entitled to certain basic rights…[and] to enjoy 'full and equal benefit of all laws'" (i.e. the right to sue, make contracts, inherit). Other iterations of the bill followed to reestablish or reconfirm the rights protected under the CRA. The Reconstruction Act gave the federal government permission to govern the south until the states had been readmitted into the Union. Richard Wormser, *The Rise and Fall of Jim Crow* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2003): 16, 19 and 23.

the weakly enforced legislation impacting newly free people immediately following the Civil War, proved devastating to their social, political and economic progression.

The public backlash and response to Black advancements during Reconstruction incited vehement legislative, institutional and public responses from Whites living in both the north and south. While the south is typically characterized as most aggressive in its promotion of racism during Reconstruction, historians have found there to have been equally conservative legislation enacted in northern parts of the country. Howard Zinn, for example, found that in 1860 New York, only those Blacks who owned property valued above $250.00 were allowed to vote.[14] Black people had been declared free by the Emancipation Proclamation, but they found themselves systematically segregated, disenfranchised and without any genuine means to fully actualize their citizenry. They soon learned that the racism, exploitation and oppression once instituted through slavery, would be operationalized through the Black Codes of the South. The Black Codes were "…an astonishing affront to emancipation and dealt with vagrancy, apprenticeship, labor contracts, migration, civil and legal rights…[a] plain and indisputable attempt on the part of the Southern states to make Negros slaves in everything but name."[15] The once overt manifestations of racism that Black people had typically experienced as slaves had not been completely eradicated by the Emancipation Proclamation, but were inconspicuously institutionalized into "…systems of peonage or apprenticeship resembling slavery."[16]

The Black Codes of the South ushered in a longer tradition of racial terrorism that would become known as the era of Jim Crow. The first Jim Crow Laws were passed in Florida, Mississippi and Texas in 1865 and 1866. Mississippi outlawed integrated fist-class, railroad cars

[14] Howard Zinn, *A People's History of the United States, 1492-Present* (New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 1980), 189.
[15] W.E.B. Du Bois, *Black Reconstruction*, 167.
[16] C. Vann Woodward, *The Strange Career of Jim Crow* (United Kingdom: Oxford University Press, 1974), 2-7.

and in Florida, a Black man or woman would not find a separate railroad car to accommodate their travels. While historian C. Vann Woodward found that the use of the term Jim Crow to define the segregation and terrorism of the period lasting from 1904-1954 was new, the use phrase itself could be traced as far back to 1832.[17] Jim Crow Segregation Laws were those passed in many states throughout the south during Reconstruction that required a separation of the races in public places including, but not limited, to the streetcar, railroad car and steamboat.[18] In this sense, slavery and segregation were siblings born of the same racist mother.

During the era of Jim Crow, opponents of Black liberation efforts circumvented federal civil rights laws by exercising independence under local and state jurisdiction. One bureau official in South Carolina spoke to this point claiming that during 1865 and 1866, "civil law [was] virtually a farce."[19] Wherever newly freed people attempted to actualize their civil liberties, they were met with resistance and often physical harm. In this way, many Whites were able to comfortably couch their hatred in legislation that positioned individual states' rights as more relevant than national policy. In 1866, abolitionist Frederick Douglass offered the following sentiment regarding the conflicts between local, state and federal law, concerning "human rights":

> The Civil Rights Bill and the Freedmen's Bureau Bill and the proposed constitutional amendments, with the amendment already adopted and recognized as the law of the land, do not reach the difficulty, and cannot, unless the whole structure of the government is changed from a government by States to something like a despotic central government, with power to control even the municipal regulations of States, and to make them conform to its own despotic will. While there remains such an idea as the right of each State to control its own local affairs,-- an idea, by the way, more deeply rooted in the minds of men of all sections of the country than perhaps any one other political idea,--no general assertion of human rights can be of any practical value. To change the character of the government at this point is neither possible nor desirable. All that is necessary to be done is to make the government consistent with itself, and render the rights of the

[17] Ibid, 2-7.
[18] Gilbert Thomas Stephenson, "The Separation of The Races in Public Conveyances," *The American Political Science Review*, 3 (May, 1909): 180-204.
[19] Theodore Branter Wilson, *The Black Codes of the South* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1965), 83.

States compatible with the sacred rights of human nature.[20]

Douglass' commentary further characterizes the contradictory nature of the government, immediately following the ending of the Civil War. Throughout the south, several states instituted laws that severely hindered the progress of freed people by requiring them to obtain permission, in the form of passes, to leave their former plantation homes. Some were further bound to their slave masters who were able to produce an annual work contract, which obligated them to indentured servitude.[21] For the newly freed slaves, there was no immediate or redemptive consequence of their so-called emancipation. In this way, the freedom declared by law had little impact on the everyday realities of their lived experiences.

Civil War legislation like the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850 —which allowed former slave masters to recapture, whip or sell into slavery freed people at their own discretion— was "…deliberately designed to take advantage of every misfortune of the Negro."[22] Landmark legislation like the first and second Morrill Acts of 1862 and 1890, in succession provided the justification for segregation in higher education; the resurgence of a "terrorist campaign" led by Ku Klux Klan; President Andrew Johnson's veto of the Civil Rights Act supporting Black suffrage and his support of the Black Codes and the 1883 ruling of the CRA as unconstitutional, exemplify the covertly regressive policies of the Reconstruction Era. Later, in 1896, this legacy of institutionalized racism would be further perpetuated by the Plessey versus Ferguson, *separate but equal* ruling.[23] Thus, freedom for Black people had been legally declared, but it had not substantively or consistently translated into their active participation, as equal citizens of the

[20] Frederick Douglass, "Reconstruction,"*Atlantic Monthly*, 1866. Accessed on May 5, 2012. http://proxy-remote.galib.uga.edu/login?url=http://search.ebscohost.com/.
[21] Theodore Brantner Wilson, *Black Codes of the South* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama, 1965), 59.
[22] Zinn, *A People's History*, 181.
[23] Jeanita W. Richardson, "Brown and Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs): A Paradox of Desegregation Policy," *The Journal of Negro Education* 73 (2004); Alexander, *The New Jim Crow*, 30.

United States. In Du Bois' words, this period represented what was practically a "…modified slave trade."[24] Again, the Reconstruction Era exemplifies the US governments' history of exploiting the rights of individuals and groups to pursue the promises of a democratic society, when it proves socially or economically beneficial to those in power.

It was within this paradoxical context of legislation that was simultaneously for and against Black progress, that a cadre of resistance efforts aimed at combating social injustice, were inspired. In 1867, for example, Blacks in the south demonstrated in support of the Reconstruction Act so forcibly that the cities of New Orleans, Richmond and Charleston, among others, instituted local laws protecting their right to occupy public accommodations, without fear of retribution.[25] Arguably, the most successful of social justice efforts aimed at combating racism, resulted from partnerships between communities and institutions with shared social, cultural, economic and political interests. HBCUs throughout the South functioned as leaders in organizing, mobilizing and sponsoring social justice efforts in Black communities, during the Jim Crow Era. Community members and activists, school faculty and students alike, found a partner in their struggle for equality in HBCUs like the Tuskegee Normal and Agricultural Institute and Atlanta University. There, in the hallowed halls of the HBCU, adult learners experienced a safe, supportive and culturally affirming space for developing collective responses to the injustices threatening their individual and communal uplift. Through the founding and administration of adult, higher and social justice education programs, HBCUs provided Black people with the intellectual, economic and civic engagement denied them elsewhere.[26]

[24] Du Bois, *Black Reconstruction,* 329.
[25] Woodward, *The Strange Career of Jim Crow*, 13.
[26] James A. Anderson, *The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988), 13.

The history, practice and philosophy of social justice education in the US, is best exemplified in the establishment of the nation's HBCUs. For the purposes of this study, social justice education, an interdisciplinary field of study, will be identified by those moments, movements, processes and programs organized for the specific purpose countering racism and oppression. Lee Ann Bell asserts that, "social justice education is both a process and a goal. The goal…is full and equal participation of all groups in a society that is mutually shaped to meet their needs. Oppression, according to Bell, is the act of preventing an individual or group from actualizing their full and equal participation in society.[27] Rita Hardiman and Bailey W. Jackson, further define social oppression as is tool of exploitation that "…involves a relationship between an agent group and a target group that keeps the system of domination in place"; this domination can be enacted on an individual, institutional or societal/cultural level.[28]

In this dissertation, social justice education will be defined by those activities organized in HBCU communities to assist adult in their efforts to develop "…strategies for challenging oppression systematically."[29] More specifically, social justice education will be characterized by programmatic aims to engage and empower Black folk to respond to *exploitation, marginalization, powerlessness, cultural imperialism* and/ or *violence*.[30] The aim of social justice education as a practice at HBCUs, was to effect change among individuals who would, in some way (i.e. economically, through race leadership) determine, define or shape the conditions of their local, national and global communities.

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[27] Lee Anne Bell, "Theoretical Foundations for Social Justice Education," eds. Maurianne Adams, Lee Anne Bell, and Pat Griffin, *Teaching for Diversity and Social Justice: A Sourcebook*, (Routledge: New York, 1997), 1.
[28] Rita Hardiman and Bailey W. Jackson, "Conceptual Foundations for Social Justice Courses," eds. Maurianne Adams, Lee Anne Bell, and Pat Griffin, *Teaching for Diversity*, 36-66.
[29] Lee Anne Bell, "Theoretical Foundations", 5.
[30] Iris Young, "Five Faces of Oppression," as cited in Barbara J. Love and Kathleen J. Phillips, "Ageism and Adultism in Curriculum Design," eds. Lee Anne Bell, et all, *Teaching for Diversity*, 316.

The programmatic aims of early HBCU, social justice education programs were actualized through teaching communities of adults how to master a trade or manual skill, read and write and/or develop their potential to become community leaders. Juanita Johnson-Bailey found that the history of adult education within the context of the African American experience revealed three primary curricular themes: Black education "…for assimilation…cultural survival...[and]…resistance."[31] Programs like those instituted at Hampton and Tuskegee served the purpose of assimilating Black folk into an established working and laboring class. The residual benefit of learning a trade, Booker T. Washington and others argued, would be character development and Black economic empowerment.[32] At Atlanta University, Ira De A. Reid and W.E.B. Du Bois, put forth the importance of a curriculum focused on "African history and social development…." This, they argued, would assist adult learners in the development of their own reconciliations of and responses to the social conditions facing them, in their own life and times. Reid and Du Bois claimed that the battle for racial equality would be fought on the fields commanded by Black intellectuals and political leaders committed to their culture and community.[33] For philosopher Alain Leroy Locke, the *Bronze Booklets* series intended to educate the group (i.e. which included all Americans for the building of stronger national identity) for their cultural survival. This would be best done, he believed, through documenting and celebrating the contributions of Black folk to American music, literary and artistic cannon. The development of Locke's adult education curriculum may have also served the purpose of education for resistance. Talmadge C. Guy and Stephen Brookfield found that Du Bois' unpublished contribution to the series, entitled "American Negro Creed" was censored and

[31] Juanita Johnson-Bailey, "African Americans in Adult Education: The Harlem Renaissance Revisited," *Adult Education Quarterly*, 56, no. 2 (February 2006): 105.
[32] Campbell, *The Moveable School,* 84-86.
[33] W.E.B. Du Bois, *The Education of Black People: Ten Critiques 1906-1960*, ed. Herbert Apatheker (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1973), 43.

subsequently excluded from the booklet series by the Carnegie supported American Association of Adult Education (AAAE) and its subsidiary the Associates in Negro Folk Education (ANFE). This, Guy and Brookfield posit, was the result of the "repressive tolerance" tactics employed by the professional organizations whose "…liberal ideology…could countenance the claim of Black art and culture but not Black economic reconstruction."[34] The intersections of adult and social justice education are most evident when examining the histories of the early HBCU programs. The contributions of Black colleges and universities, should therefore, further substantiate their place in history as some of the earliest promoters of adult and social justice education (i.e. literacy education).

Empowering Black communities with effective strategies for responding to social, political and/or economic oppression and injustice is arguably one of the most substantial of the HBCU contributions toward the achievement of democracy in America. In this way, social justice education focuses on the shared responsibility of all within a given community to assure the safety and success of everyone within it, such that the "inequalities in any given society…[are] arranged…to benefit the least advantaged."[35] The aim of social justice education, as it was practiced at HBCUs, was to first empower individuals to transform, such that they were ready and willing to go out into their communities and become agents of change. Stephanie Y. Evans, found that Black schools to have historically been an intrinsic part of the larger communities in which they were situated.[36] In this way, the early HBCU mission defined a

[34] Alain Locke, "The Negro's Contribution to American Culture," *The Journal of Negro Education* 8, no. 3, (Jul., 1939): 521-529; Talmadge C. Guy and Stephen Brookfield, "W.E.B. Du Bois's Basic American Negro Creed and the Associates in Negro Folk Education," *Adult Education Quarterly* 60, no. 1, (November 2009): 65-76.
[35] Maulana Karenga, *Introduction to Black Studies* (Los Angeles: University of Sankore Press, 2002), 163; William Ayers, Therese Quinn, and David Stovall, *Handbook of Social Justice in Education* (New York: Routledge, 2009); William Ayers, Jean Ann Hunt, and Therese Quinn. *Teaching for Social Justice* (New York: Teacher's College Press, 1998).
[36] Stephanie Y. Evans, *Black Women in the Ivory Tower, 1850-1954: An Intellectual History* (University of Florida Press: Gainesville, Florida, 2007), 51.

community as "…more than a neighborhood…[and] philosophical impulses; it was also rooted in activism—theory balanced with practice…community was both a product and a process."[37]

These early Black colleges and universities were founded on the premise of creating educational environments that would provide adult learners with the types of schooling that would promote their liberation efforts. Historian Vincent P. Franklin records the African Institute established in 1837 by a Quaker named Richard Humphries, as the first HBCU founded in the United States. The normal and industrial school was renamed shortly after its opening, and then was changed again in 1914 to the Cheyney Training School for Teachers. Lincoln University, also located in Pennsylvania, was founded in 1853 by John Miller Dickey, a Presbyterian Minister. It was under Dickey's administrative and philanthropic counsel that the then "…institution for *Negro* Youth of the male sex" was established. The primary mission and aim of these two institutions, both public and funded by the state, was to provide religious training, citizenship edification and literacy education for the Black youth.[38] Double check this with how it's worded in the HBCU historiography.

Social justice education as it was instituted by the nations' earliest HBCUs, grew out community efforts to respond to the many injustices imposed upon Black people during the era of Jim Crow. During this time in history, in particular, social justice education became the metaphoric battering ram aimed at forcing open the barricades blocking their equal access to education. Moreover, HBCU programs were designed around the core tenets of community education and outreach, civic/cultural engagement; principles that are inherently African. The

[37] Shaw as cited in Evans, *Black Women in the Ivory Tower,* 51.
[38] V.P. Franklin, *The Education of Black Philadelphia: The Social and Educational History of a Minority Community, 1900-1950* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1979), 71; Cheyney State University website. Accessed on June 3, 2013. http://www.cheyney.edu/about-cheyney-university/cheyney-history.cfm.; George B. Carr as cited in Horace Mann Bond, *Education for Freedom: A History of Lincoln University* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1976).

concept of collectivism, for example, has its foundations in the "African view of man (sic)…I am, and therefore, we are. . . ."[39] Thus, it is a natural adaptation for practices of social justice education at HBCUs, to be centered around the concepts of community "service rather than leadership."[40] Once equipped with the skills and tools learned through adult and higher education, students were to go out into their communities, and act as agents of change by sharing their skills and knowledge with others. Maulana Karenga, identifies this practice as the "activist-intellectual tradition" characterized by the "…insuring [of] justice, caring for the vulnerable and the environment, respecting persons as bearers of dignity and divinity, and working for future generations…."[41] In this way, social justice education as an HBCU tradition was inextricably "…link[ed] the academic and social, the quest to learn with the obligation to serve."[42] Double check this wording with the social justice section…should not be the same wording.

Again, further connections between the beliefs and practices of African people throughout the diaspora, and the HBCU social justice education model, can be made. The practice of service-learning, for example, embodies the sentiment expressed in the African proverbs *each one, teach one* and *it takes a village to raise a child.* This ideology permeates the life and living of generations of people of African descent, no matter where in the world they may reside. In this way, education was not to be restricted to classrooms and buildings, but it was to be a participatory, collective and communal experience that occurred both within and without institutions.[43] As individuals, neighborhoods and communities were transformed through the

[39] John S. Mbtiti, *African Religions and Philosophy* (New York: Fredrick A Praeger, Inc., 1969), 108.
[40] Carter G. Woodson, *The Mis-education of the Negro* (Washington, D.C.: Associated Publishers, Inc., 1933), 111.
[41] Karenga, *Introduction to Black Studies*, 7.
[42] Ibid, 8.
[43] This sentiment has been echoed in the scholarship and teachings of many adult and higher education scholars. Among them, is Marcus Garvey who once said, "You have not to go to college; you have not to go to high school, if you don't want to. You get it from the great Alma Mater— the Academy of the World. All nature is a classroom." C. Boyd James, *Garvey, Garveyism and the Antinomies in Black Redemption* (Trenton: Africa World Press, 2009), 64-65.

promotion of the HBCU mission and program, it was expected that social change would consequently, and eventually, occur in the larger society. Education models which place the practical, cultural and social needs of the learner at the center of programmatic design and delivery, have been more recently identified in the adult education literature by scholars, Kerry Strand, Same Marullo, et al…as Community-Based Research (CBR) and practice. CBR is defined by three core tenets: 1) the collaboration between university faculty, students and community members; 2) the validation of the knowledge of community members as relevant and pertinent to program planning; 3) the promotion of social action, change and justice.[44]

HBCU *communiversities* have long utilized social justice education as a vehicle for liberating, empowering and mobilizing the poor and disenfranchised around agendas of social change. Thus, education for social justice –assisting adult learners in their development of effective strategies for counter-acting oppression– was a practice in Black communities long before the professionalization of the field of adult education in the 1960s and 1970s.[45] The comprehensive histories of adult and social justice education on the "mainline" of the discourse like those published by Malcolm Knowles, Webster Cotton and Harold Stubblefield, marginalize those contributions made by Black folk and other minorities.[46] More recent evolutions in the scholarship are reflective of what Blacks had historically practiced, within the context of their lived experience, to advance themselves in the face of racism, exploitation, and oppression. Scholars, Harvey G. Neufeldt, Leo McGee**,** Elizabeth W. Peterson, Scipio A.J. Colin, Talmadge C. Guy, Juanita Johnson-Bailey, Derrick P. Alridge, Stephanie Y. Evans and other academics

[44] Kerry Strand, Sam Marullo, Nick Cutforth, Randy Stoecker, Patrick Donohue, *Community-Based Research and Higher Education: Principles and Practices* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 2003), 8.
[45] Some adult education scholars credit scholars Cyril E. Houle and Malcolm Knowles for the professionalization of the field of adult education in the 1960s and 1970s. *John Funnell Ohliger: A Brief Biography of His Life and Vocations in Challenging the Professionalization of Adult Education: John Ohliger and Contradictions in Modern Practice*, eds. Andre P. Grace and Tonette S. Rocco. (San Francisco: Wiley, John & Sons, 2009).
[46] Talmadge C. Guy, "Prophesy from the Preiphery: Alain Locke's Philosophy of Cultural Pluralism and Adult Education," (Ed.D. dissertation, DeKalb: Northern Illinois University, 1993).

whose writings are referenced throughout this study, are doing the much needed work of infusing the mega-histories of adult and social justice education with the plethora of contributions made by Black folk.

Adult education research and practice in Black communities and at HBCUs, is historically connected to the struggle for social justice and equality. While some of the earliest HBCUs like Cheyney and Lincoln originally aimed to acculturate Black learners such that they might be "…less trouble…and more useful" in their roles as citizens, the programs' participants were undoubtedly the beneficiaries of the residual effects of engaging the learning process.[47] No matter the early administrators' intended curricular aims, those schools that were established to teach freed people were the proprietors of what scholar Paulo Freire would later identify as "problem-posing" education. When communities of Black people were allowed the opportunity to freely engage their conditions (i.e. racism, illiteracy, poverty) as a physical or an intellectual endeavor, the results were often enlightenment, transformation and liberation. This is evidenced in the great strides made by the earliest graduates of Black schools, like Booker T. Washington, W.E.B. Du Bois and others.[48]

The early HBCU mission was both practical and theoretical. It was practical in its aim to address the most immediate needs of the adults in the communities to be served, those on the ground, kitchen table issues (i.e. how to properly and efficiently feed, clothe and house a family). Thus, the programs were designed to irradiate the sources of illiteracy and poverty in Black communities, while creating the laborers needed to meet society's workforce demands (i.e. the

[47] Ronald Butchart, *The Schooling of Freed People: Teaching, Learning and the Struggle for Black Freedom, 1861-1876* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina, 2010), 52.
[48] Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (New York: Continuum International Publishing Group, 1970), 85.

technical and industrial programs Hampton and Tuskegee Institutes).[49] In his seminal text, *The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935*, James A. Anderson, found that HBCUs needed most urgently "…to provide the masses of ex-slaves with basic literacy skills plus the rudiments of citizenship training for the participation in a democratic society."[50]

Many times the education of Black adults during the Jim Crow Era began with the learning of those very basic and practical skills needed for daily survival and self-sufficiency in a world dominated by racist attitudes and behaviors; the skills that many Black people had been prevented from exercising autonomously as slaves. When Booker T. Washington first arrived in rural Alabama in 1881, for example, what impressed him most, were the deplorable living conditions of the newly emancipated slaves, who had been "suddenly thrown on their own resources in their attempts to obtain food, shelter, and clothing for their families."[51]

The theoretical, long-term and more lofty mission of the HCBU was "…the intellectual and moral development of a responsible leadership class that would organize the masses and lead them to freedom and equality."[52] W.E.B. Du Bois, Carter G. Woodson and others urged HBCUs to move toward reconstructing a collective consciousness by creating programs that assisted learners in discovering and celebrating African history, culture and heritage. "There [could] be no college for Negroes which [was] not Negro college," so the curriculum at the HBCU, they argued, must be liberal arts based, Afrocentric and aimed at creating race leaders.[53] They were to provide Black youth with a historically accurate, cultural, world-view of themselves. At the time,

[49] James A. Anderson, *The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1988), 29; Woodson, *The Mis-education*, 10-16.
[50] Ibid, 29.
[51] Thomas Monroe Campbell, *The Moveable School Goes to the Negro Farmer* (Tuskegee, Alabama: Tuskegee Institute Press, 1936), 79.
[52] John Hope Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom* (New York: Alfred K. Knoff, Inc.), 236.
[53] Du Bois, *The Education of Black People*, 43

Fisk, Atlanta and Howard Universities were leaders in the administration of the type of programs that Du Bois and Woodson supported.

Despite a shared and collective HBCU vision, ideas regarding the best strategies for achieving those goals were diverse. The most notable of the contentions regarding the HBCU mission occurred between scholars Booker T. Washington and W.E.B. Du Bois. Washington exposed a gradual move toward leadership development through Black economic empowerment (i.e. land ownership) attained by an unhurried persistence in labor and agricultural intensive jobs. For according to Washington, "…No race [could] prosper till it learns that there is as much dignity in tilling a field as in writing a poem."[54] Du Bois, on the other hand, argued that a Black intelligentsia, a highly educated, culturally competent Black population, should lead the social justice movement.

While Black scholars like Du Bois and Woodson were highly critical of vision and aim of the technical and agricultural focused HBCU programs, they seemed to become somewhat disenchanted with their own high expectations of what liberal arts programs promised to deliver. Du Bois' "The Field and Function of the Negro College" and Woodson's *Mis-education of the Negro*, both of which were published in 1993, offered scathing critiques of Black institutions of higher education. HBCUs were not, by and large, optimizing their potential and responsibility to transform and lead the Black community. Woodson, for example, was critical of the types of graduates produced by universities like Atlanta, Howard, Dillard and Fisk. In his estimation, they (and the Black Church) had done mediocre jobs of teaching the masses of Black youth how to use their education to be of service in their communities. He wrote:

> When a Negro has finished his education in our schools (HBCUs), then, he [she] has been equipped to begin the life of an Americanized or Europeanized white man, but before he steps from the threshold of his [her] alma mater he [she] is told by his[her]

[54] Louis R. Harlan, ed. *The Booker T. Washington Papers* 3 (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1974), 583–587.

> teachers that he must go back to his own people from whom he[she] has been estranged by a vision of ideals which his disillusionment he [she] will realize that he cannot attain...For the arduous task of serving a race thus handicapped, however, the Negro graduate has had little or no training at all.[55]

Black schools, Du Bois and Woodson argued, were uniquely positioned to inspire Black folk to cultivate the level of compassion, care and competence needed to serve or lead their community in their quest for social justice. HBCUs had not been wholly effective in that regard, they believed.

In addition to the vigorous debates over the type of HBCU program that was better suited to lead the race in their quest for social justice, questions regarding the financing of Black education arose. Both the AMA and the Freedmen's Bureau were responsible for securing much of the funding and support for many of the country's first HBCUs: Atlanta University (1865), Fisk University (1866), Howard University (1867), St. Augustine's College (1867), Hampton Institute (1868), Storer College (1867) and many others.[56] According to historian Peter M. Bergman, in 1865, "One in every 20 Negros could read and write. By 1900 one in every 2 Negros could read and write."[57] Much of that increase in literacy rates among Blacks can be attributed to the education programs administered through HBCUs.

While many of the newly freed people accepted assistance from northern philanthropic organizations like the AMA and Freedman's Bureau, they did it with the dignity of understanding that their education would remain primarily under their control.[58] The education of any people should begin with the people themselves," Carter G. Woodson and other Black

[55] Woodson, *The Mis-education*, 5-7.
[56] Ibid, 239.
[57] Peter M. Bergman, *The Chronological History of the Negro in America* (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1969), 241.
[58] Anderson, *The Education of Blacks in the South,* 5.

education proponents would argue.[59] Many in the Black community, were suspicious – and rightfully so – of Black education programs sponsored and administered primarily by Whites. Their suspicions were not unfounded. An 1867 *Freedman's Record* documented a "…complain[t] about the tendency of ex-slaves to prefer sending their children to black controlled-private schools rather than supporting the less expensive northern white-dominated 'free schools'… ex-slaves in general, initiated and supported education for themselves and their children."[60] One might wonder why the desire of Blacks to control and finance their won educational programs would have been cause for concern.

Other accounts of the contentions around the fiscal control of HBCUs are voluminous. Horace Mann Bond, the first president of Fort Valley State College in Georgia and the first Black president of Lincoln University in Pennsylvania, found that "…alien [White] teachers stood for and taught social and political equality, intermarriage of the races, hatred and distrust of the Southern whites, and love and respect for the Northern deliverer only…."[61] His findings further confirm the belief that Black education under White control was often designed to serve the social or economic interests of its administrators, rather than that of the learner community. Although, many in the Black community would question the intentions, motives and aim of Northern philanthropic efforts toward Black education, the question remained: could the first HBCUs have succeeded beyond their initial founding without the financial support and backing of organizations like the AMA and the Freedmen's Bureau?

Whether they employed a technical, agricultural or a culturally-affirming liberal arts education program, the collective aim of HBCU was the same— to empower the

[59] Woodson, *The Mis-education*, 30-31.
[60] Ibid,12.
[61] Horace Mann Bond, *The Education of the Negro in the American Social Order* (New York: Prentice-Hall Co. Inc, 1934), 31.

disproportionably disenfranchised with the practical and critical thinking skills and cultural competency to reclaim their destinies. Despite their varying ideas regarding the strategy for educating the masses, Black scholars, leaders and activists shared the vision of "uplifting" the Black race through the exercise of education.[62] Ultimately, HBCUs aimed to train and inspire teachers, technicians, preachers and leaders who were committed to building and serving their communities in their creation of social, cultural capital.[63] Social justice education was the common thread connecting the technical and liberal arts HBCU programs.

Atlanta University, founded in Atlanta, Georgia in 1865, and Tuskegee University, established in Tuskegee, Alabama in 1881, were two of the earliest pioneers of Black social justice education. Both institutions established programs that would set a historical, cultural and intellectual precedence for social justice movements in Black communities across the country, for decades to come. Tuskegee's Moveable School, co-founded by scholars Booker Taliaferro Washington, George Washington Carver and Thomas Monroe Campbell, and Atlanta University's People's College, co-founded by social historians, W.E.B. Du Bois and Ira D. A. Reid, exemplify social justice education, and predate other more well-documented, Black social justice education movements. Chapters 3, 4 and 5 of this dissertation will provide detailed evidence according to the previously identified definitions of social justice education, to support them as such. Social justice education as a practice at HBCUs during the era of Jim Crow Segregation, should be further examined, documented and celebrated as a substantial contributor

[62] Anna Julia Cooper one wrote, "…insofar as we see our fate as human beings tied together, to that extent shall we succeed in uplifting all of humanity: if we do not all gain social stability, none of us will" as cited in Evans, *Black Women in the Ivory Tower*, 181.

[63] According to V.P. Franklin, social, political and financial capital are extremely important in terms of the sustainability of institutions of higher education. Social capital he defines as "…the network of social organizations, cultural institutions, voluntary civic associations, family, and kinship groups in a local community that assists in the development of economic enterprises." V. P. Franklin, *Cultural Capital and Black Higher Education: The AME Colleges and Universities as Collective Economic Enterprises*, 1865-1910, eds. V.P. Franklin, *Cultural Capital and Black Education: African American Communities and Funding the Black Schooling, 1865 to the Present* (Greenwich, Connecticut: Information Age Publishing: 2004), 35-45.

to the cause of "race uplift" during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Further, it could be argued that social justice education as it was operationalized at Atlanta and Tuskegee Universities provided the framework and inspiration and for more well documented community and student led efforts like the Civil Rights Movement (CRM), the Free Speech Movement, the Anti-Vietnam War Movement, and the Black Power Movement.[64] A critical examination of these two programs in particular, adds yet another dimension to past and current conversations about the significance of and the continued need for the country's HBCUs, as major institutional contributors to creating a more just American society.

Under the leadership of the first Black president of the United States Barack Hussein Obama, the White House sponsored the 2009 National Conference on Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs).[65] It has been noted that Arne Duncan, the current Secretary of Education, delivered one of the more uplifting addresses sharing with conferees his breadth of knowledge of and appreciation for the HBCU legacy. He spoke of their humble beginnings, their illustrious history of social justice, and their ongoing contributions toward the betterment of an ever-evolving and increasingly diverse society. At one point in his address, he made reference to his own personal experience with a historically Black Talladega College saying:

> It wasn't a wealthy college but Talladega had a rigorous science, business, and liberal arts program, and it was a student-friendly institution. Like many colleges, it struggled to keep low-income students from dropping out. But 80 percent of its graduates—then and now—went on to pursue graduate degrees, one of the highest rates in the country.[66]

The focus of his impassioned address then turned to the primary issue dictating the planning and operation of most institutions of higher learning— finance. While HBCUs are nationally

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[64] Karenga*, Introduction to Black Studies,* 8.
[65] Elected on November 2, 2008.
[66] Arne Duncan, "HBCUs and Higher Education: Beyond the Iron Triangle," *2009 National Conference on Historically Black Colleges and Universities*,White House Initiatives for Historically Black Colleges and Universities website. http://www2.ed.gov/news/speeches/2009/09/09022009.html.

recognized and substantiated in the literature as viable institutions of higher education, they remain historically, nationally and locally underfunded, and extremely challenged in reaching their fullest service potential. This legacy and reality of economic injustice emerges as a common theme in the HBCU and social justice education literature.

A 1997 study in Tennessee found that federal allocations for state schools were $2, 840 per student at HBCUs, versus $6, 696 per student at Predominately White Institutions (PWIs). With regard to state allocations, Georgia was found to give $38.00 per student in scholarships to HBCUs, while awarding $90.00 per student to PWIs.[67] In response to the blatant and ongoing funding inequities in Georgia, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) filed a federal lawsuit in 2010, against the state on behalf of Georgia's public HBCUs— Fort Valley State, Savannah State and Albany State Universities. These funding discrepancies exemplify the history of the contradiction "…between [America's] national ideals and national behavior", particularly concerning issues around race.[68]

Still other examples of discriminatory funding are excessive. A charge has been waged against the state of Maryland, by the presidents of the HBCUs in the state, claiming that the government has not kept its commitment made to U.S. Department of Education, Office of Civil Rights. In 1992 the state agreed to "…make HBCUs comparable to their White peers, enabling them to attract non-minority students [and] prevent unreasonable program duplication", which

[67] G. Thomas Sav, "Separate and Unequal: State Financing of Historically Black Colleges and Universities," *The Journal of Blacks in Higher Education* 15 (1997): 101-104. Accessed in November 9, 2009. http://www.jstor.org.proxy-remote.galib.uga.edu/openurl?date=1997&spage=101&issn=10773711&issue=15.
[68] Erin Haines, "Georgia NAACP Sues State for Underfunding Public HBCU," *Diverse Issues in Higher Education*, April 5, 2010. Accessed April 29, 1010. http://diverseeducation.com/article/13670/; Horace Mann Bond, "Redefining the Relationship of the Federal Government to the Education of Racial and Other Minority Groups," *The Journal of Negro Education* 7 (1938): 459.

would make their programs less competitive.[69] This contradiction continues to be one of the primary impetuses for social justice education at HBCUs.

This social problem, the country's lagging financial and social support of HBCUs, is inextricably linked to a larger research problem that continues to compromise the legacy, progress and promise of the HBCU. Documented attempts to undermine the administration of HBCUs are numerous. In 1990, in response to Black efforts to desegregate higher education in Mississippi, the US vs. Fordice case determined that if the state's PWIs "…could not be for white students only…the public HBCUs…were not to create public boutique institutions for black students."[70] Ironically, Mississippi's public HBCUs, Jackson, Alcorn and Mississippi Valley State, were then asked to justify the need for such programs. This type of injustice typifies the challenges that HBCUs have historically experienced, ones requiring them to validate themselves according to Eurocentric standards of success (i.e. qualitative measurements valued as more critical than qualitative assessments). A 2011 study found, for example , that standardized tests (i.e. SAT and ACT)- which have been proven to be biased against those who do not fit into the "White, middleclass, Eurocentric, heterosexual, male experience"- is a particularly poor predictor of academic success for Black youth. Criminal justice scholars Edward J. Schauer, G. Solomon Osho and B. Dean Lanham found that other "non-cognitive" measures, like a positive self-concept, a realistic self-appraisal, being able to effectively negotiate the impacts of racism, the availability of a strong support person and demonstrated community involvement, and others, to better predicate academic success for Black men and women pursuing higher education. Even given this study, and many others documenting the

[69] Robert T. Palmer, Ryan Davis and Marybeth Gasman, "A Matter of Diversity, Equity, and Necessity: The Tension between Maryland's Higher Education System and its Historically Black Colleges and Universities over the office of Civil Rights Agreement," *The Journal of Negro Education*, 80, no. 2 (2001): 121 & 128.
[70] Crystal Gafford Muhammad, "Mississippi Higher Education Desegregation and the Interest Convergence Principle: A CRT Analysis of the 'Ayers Settlement,'" *Race, Ethnicity and Education*, 12 (2009): 319-336.

same, higher education systems, by and large, are slow to take these findings into consideration when comparing Black and White student academic success at HCBUs and PWIs.[71] Further studies have shown that measurements of student academic success at HBCUs versus PWI does not consider factors such as the impact of "poor K12 preparation" which reflects itself in an increase investment of time and finances to make some HBCU students competitive.[72]

In a 2010 op-ed piece published in the *Wall Street Journal*, a young White, journalist by the name of Jason R. Riley, posited that HBCUs are antiquated institutions that are, by and large, ineffective. At one point he writes, "Once an essential response to racism, they are now academically inferior … students are better off exercising their non-HBCU options."[73] His sentiments reflect a distortion of information propagated in professional, private and public arenas that have long characterized HBCUs as academically inferior to PWIs. These contentions, debates and conflicts regarding the efficacy HBCUs, persist despite a long-standing body of literature proving otherwise. A part of the argument to be made in this study is that is due, in large part, because of how the HBCU story has been told; the literature much more widely reflect the place of the HBCU in American histories of adult, higher and social justice education. According to a 1997 study directed by Dr. Harold Wenglinsky of the Policy Information Center of the Educational Testing Center, HBCUs provide a viable social and economic option for those students who may otherwise be unable to attend college, their students are more likely to pursue graduate studies and professional careers and they produce more undergraduates who obtain

[71] Edward J. Schuer, G. Solomon Osho and B. Dean Lanham, "A Comprehensive Analysis of the Efficacy of Non-Cognitive Measures: Predicting Academic Success in A Historically Black University in South Texas", *Journal of College Teaching and Learning*," 8, Number 4 (April 2011): 43.
[72] Robert T. Palmer, et al. "A Matter of Diversity, Equity, and Necessity…", 128.
[73] Jason L. Riley, "Black Colleges Need a New Mission," *Wall Street Journal*, September 28, 2010. Accessed on November 1, 2010. http://online.wsj.com/article/SB10001424052748704654004575517822124077834.

careers in the sciences and engineering than PWIs.[74] Even further research has shown that HBCU students generally "…exhibit positive psychosocial adjustments, cultural awareness, and increased confidence" and that they" …are 'more satisfied, engaged in the community, and well-adjusted'".[75] While this and other scholarly research is widely accessible and available, it does not inform public and private funding and policy in ways that are substantial or sustainable.

While much of the distress that HBCUs have historically experienced has been external, internal administrative issues cannot be ignored. While it could be argued that any existing internal issues are created or further exacerbated by lags in funding, their existence is undeniable. Multicultural Education scholar, Rodney T. Cohen exerts, for example, that HBCU alum do not contribute rigorously enough to HBCUs to build substantial or lasting endowments.[76] Much of the lack of gifting and giving by graduates of HBCUs may be further compounded by the race-wealth gap in this country. To this point sociologist Thomas M. Shapiro, recently found the race-wealth gap to be widening. In his study he asserts that:

> White families saw "dramatic growth" in their financial assets, from a median value of $22,000 in 1983 to $100,000 in 2007; black families experienced only the slightest growth in wealth during this same period. [Further]…middle-income whites…accumulated $74,000 in assets by 2007, as opposed to high-income black families, whose median assets totaled just $18,000… (For both races, middle income was defined as $40,000 to $70,000 in 2007 dollars.) At the bottom of the economic pyramid, at least 25 percent of black families in 2007 could draw on no assets whatsoever to see themselves through [an] economic storm.[77]

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[74] Karen Chinowith, "Forthcoming ETS Report proclaims the importance of HBCUs - Educational Testing Service; Historically Black Colleges and Universities - includes related article on ETS Report," Diverse Issues in Higher Education website, July 12, 2007. Accessed November 1, 2010. http://diverseeducation.com/article/8317/.

[75] Allen, 1992; Fleming, 1984; Fries-Britt &Turner; Harper, Carini, Bridges, & Hayek, 2004; Pascarella & Terenzini, 2005 as cited in Allen, 1992; Fleming, 1984; Fries-Britt & Turner, 2002 Robert T. Palmer, et al. "A Matter of Diversity, Equity, and Necessity…", 122.

[76] Rodney T. Cohen, "Black College Alumni Giving: A Study of the Perceptions, Attitudes, and Giving Behaviors of Alumni Donors at Selected Historically Black Colleges and Universities," *International Journal of Educational Advancement* 6, (2006): 200-220.

[77] Michael Powell, "Wealth, Race and the Great Recession," *New York Times*, May 17, 2010. Accessed on November 9, 2009. http://economix.blogs.nytimes.com/2010/05/17/wealth-race-and-the-great-recession/.

Thus, Shapiro's study substantiates an argument that would suggest that there is a collinear relationship between HBCU alumni gifting and giving and their disposable income. Law Professor and scholar, Palma Joy Strand also describes the wealth/race distribution in the United States as "…a portrait….painted in Black and White." Her picture revealed that Blacks, by and large, had "1) lesser access to credit, 2) higher interest rates attached to loans for buying homes, and 3) lesser appreciation of housing in [their] neighborhoods versus "White neighborhoods".[78] Research that often compares PWIs and HBCUs in terms of their financial support and management, are often skewed by the exclusion of the impact of the university endowment on the provision of services and overall productivity.

The Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study was to provide a comparative, historical, institutional analysis of the Tuskegee University Moveable School, founded in 1906, and the Atlanta University People's College, established in 1942. Both programs are early exemplars of social justice education as it was practiced at Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs) during the era of Jim Crow— a time predating more recent developments in Community-Based Research (CBR) history, theory and practice. This study also illuminated, in a broader context, issues regarding the following questions:

1. What were the social, historical and cultural contexts within which social justice education emerged at Atlanta and Tuskegee Universities?
2. How was social justice education actualized at Atlanta and Tuskegee Universities through the Moveable School and the People's College?

[78] Palma Joy Strand, "Inheriting Inequality: Wealth, Race and the Laws of Succession," *Oregon Law Review*, 89, Issue 2, (2010), 4530-504.

3. How did social justice education history, philosophy and practice compare and vary institutionally and programmatically?

The guiding argument in this study is in the Jim Crow south, HBCUs were among the primary promoters of social justice education in Black communities; the educational programs implemented at Tuskegee and Atlanta Universities are exemplars of such.

The Significance of the Study

Increasingly, Black scholars and activists look back, consistent with the idea of Sankofa, in search of relevant solutions to present the day problems threatening the existence and sustainability of the country's HBCUs.[79] This study adds to the growing body of literature on the Black contributions to the history, philosophy and practice of social justice education, while attempting to further substantiate the HBCU as viable to the Black liberation through education efforts, preceding the Civil Rights Movement. In this way, the HBCU functioned as a primary vehicle for the transmission of adult and social justice education during the era of Jim Crow.

Studies written on the Black contributions to the history of adult education like that of Scipio A.J. Collin's on Marcus Garvey's UNIA-ACL (2002); Opal Easter's book chapter *Septima Poinsette Clark: Unsung Heroine of the Civil Rights Movement* (2002); Lillian S. William's scholarship on the contributions of the Y.M.C.A., Y.W.C.A., and Fraternal Organizations (2002), Juanita Johnson-Bailey's article on the influence of Black adult education programs during the Harlem Renaissance Era (2006); Talmadge C. Guy's book chapter and article on the American Association of Adult Education (2002) and the Associates in Negro Folk Education (2009), among others, provide comprehensive examinations of Black organizational

[79] According to the W.E.B. Du Bois Learning Center Online, "The concept of SANKOFA is derived from King Adinkera of the Akan people of West Afrika. "Sankofa is expressed in the Akan language as 'se wo were fi na wosan kofa a yenki.' Literally translated it means 'it is not taboo to go back and fetch what you forgot.'" Accessed April 15, 2012. http://www.duboislc.net/SankofaMeaning.html on April 15, 2012.

models of social justice education. Those histories providing institutional analyses of HBCU programs like the TU, Moveable School and AU, People's College, however, are few. In this regard, the most comprehensive history published on the Moveable School was written in 1936 by its administrator, Thomas Monroe Campbell. Other more recent contributions to the adult education literature, like those made by Virginia Lantz Denton in 1993 and Felix James in 1996, provide periphery accounts of the work that was done through the Moveable School program; this study offers yet another layer of primary resource findings to these earlier discussions, while illuminating an early HBCU model of social justice education. To date, there has been no comprehensive documentation of the AU, People's College program; the institutional histories written by Myron Adams in 1930 and Clarence A. Bacote in 1969, on Atlanta University include small excerpts but little detail regarding the programs' history and administration. The primary resource information delivered in this study adds more breadth and depth to the existing historical record on the People's College. In this way, the adult education literature gap that largely excludes institutional examinations of the early HBCU model of social justice education, will be addressed through this study. As significant as this study for conversations about adult and social justice education, it has implications for the study of primary, secondary and higher education as well. In this way, the examples provided through the Moveable School and People's College add to a historical legacy that will contribute to a deeper understanding of social justice education theory and practice.

It is intended for the recounting and of the contributions of HBCUs to the histories of adult, higher and social justice education, will add more information to the catalogue of HBCU scholarship that speaks to the present day need for Black schools to return to their legacies. More specifically, this study will examine, in detail the vision, mission, aim and outcomes of The

Moveable School and The People's College within the context of social justice education. While institutional histories have been published on Tuskegee and Atlanta Universities, there are none that focus specifically on the administration of these particular programs as the earliest of examples of Black social justice education.

This study also addresses the current implications of these two pioneer, HBCU programs. Currently, the historical records documenting the contribution of the HBCU to Black social justice education, are not voluminous, appropriately valued or promoted widely enough to influence the scholarly conversations and public perception in ways that are institutionally and financially fruitful. The perception of HBCUs as marginal and academically inferior, on the other hand, continues to dominate the way in which these institutions are supported. This fact is evidenced by the lack and decline in local and federal funding that HBCUs are able to obtain and sustain.

Researcher Statement

I was raised in an environment that fostered the belief that every person has a responsibility to discover his/her dharma— their divine talent, gift or purpose in life. The discovery or unearthing process is one of life's primary purposes; every tribulation, victory, loss and lesson learned, has the potential serve the purpose of helping us to become our best selves. In this way, education is life and life is learning. According to Carter G. Woodson, W.E.B. Du Bois, Alain Locke, Anna Julia Cooper, and others, educational environments that celebrate cultural consciousness are best fit, to aid learners in the process of self-discovery and actualization.[80]

[80] Molefi K. Asante, "The Afrocentric Idea in Education," *Journal of Negro Education*, 60 (1991): 171.

As a seventeen year-old preparing to embark upon my collegiate journey, I expected and anxiously anticipated attending undergraduate school at a Historically Black College or University. My engagement with HBCUs had begun at a very young age. I can remember clearly the summer of '82, and the long, miserably hot car ride to Greensboro, North Carolina, to visit my cousins. While there, my family and I would visit the campus of Bennett College for Women. Also, I had spent the summer of '85 tumbling on the prickly, but picturesque grass of the administrative building at Fisk University's, Mini-College[81]; my experience there would prove to be one of my most memorable because of the love, encouragement and culturally affirming environment provided there. Naturally, when the elders in my family provided me with a list of HBCUs from which to choose to submit my college applications, I was not surprised to find that I had not been provided any non-Black schools as options.

In my family, attending a Black college or university was a rite of passage of sorts. Many of my elders were HBCU graduates from such institutions as Fisk University, Morehouse College, Prairie View A & M University, Grambling State University, Tuskegee University, Meharry Medical College, and others. All of my life, I had heard the stories about how transformative their learning experiences had been, and indebtedness to their respective educational institutions. What was more important to me than their professional achievements was that these family members seemed to be particularly committed to Black community uplift. So I would choose Fisk University, my mother's, uncle's, and step-mother's Alma mater. After all, I would continue a family legacy at a university that had long been known among Black folk as "the Harvard of the South." In August of 1992, my HBCU journey began, and like the elders before me, my life would be forever changed.

[81] Fisk Mini-College is a summer school program designed to help prepare Black youth with the expectation of attending a college or university in the future.

It was there at Fisk, that I critically engaged the works of the brightest among scholars—the W.E.B. s, Booker Ts, the Carter and Nikki Gs. It was at Fisk where I took African-American Literature and Harlem Renaissance classes from esteemed professors and cultural icons like Dr. L.M. Collins who could speak confidentially of Langston Hughes, not only because he knew his work, but because he knew the man.[82] It was there where I passed on my way to class every day, a portrait of the eleven Fisk students who introduced Negro spirituals as a classic art form to the world, and raised the funds to construct the historic senior dorm, Jubilee Hall. Embedded in the curriculum at Fisk were the many contributions of Black folk to American history and culture, Black folk who were celebrated, as a rule, not as an exception. Afrocentricy in education, that is, bringing historically and traditionally African perspectives from the margins to the center of the discourse, is an HBCU curricular aim.[83]

My sociocultural experience as a graduate student at Tennessee State University would be much the same as it had been at Fisk, although because I was a full-time graduate student and worker, I was far less immersed in the culture of the university than before. Mentoring and modeling were significant factors in my graduate school success. My HBCU education would empower me with the knowledge that my K-12 education had not— that my ancestors had overcome seemingly insurmountable barriers to success, and if they could, I would.

Over the past fifteen years, my engagement and experiences as a student, instructor and intern (i.e. Fisk University, Tennessee State University, Clark-Atlanta University, Spelman College) at several HBCUs, have helped to shape and inform my position as an advocate. I echo W.E.B. Du Bois' sentiment that no other institutions of higher education in the country are

[82] Dr. Collins is an Endowed Professor of English with Fisk University; in 2012 he was 97 years old. Dr. Collins is a Fisk cultural icon because of the length of time that he has been with the school and because of his depth of knowledge about the Harlem Renaissance. My mother and I both took classes from Dr. Collins in 1969 and 1993 respectively.

[83] Asante, "The Afrocentric Idea…", 171.

better fit to develop a critical mass of culturally conscious Black youth than the HBCU. The very aim and mission of these institutions is to prepare the "Talented Tenth" to pursue a profession, but more importantly, to become socially conscious leaders and professionals.[84] I hope to fully explore this and other topics related to HBCU research in my future work, which will add to the rich body of work that had been produced by Black scholars on the history of Black education in the US.

Some may argue that with the election of the first Black president in 2009, that we are now living in a "post-racial" era.[85] Race and politics scholar, Micheal Eric Dyson spoke this point at a 2009, State of the Black Union address stating, "One brother in public housing in DC —real nice housing— does not constitute a scene change in how black America is perceived."[86] While his commentary was made in jest, the implications of it were profound. Having a Black President, does not prove that America had gotten beyond its race problem. In fact, it could be argued that his election has aggravated an issue that we have for too long, attempted to avoid. The wealth, health and socioeconomic disparities between races continue, however, to profoundly impact the social mobility of Blacks in this country reveal a different reality. There is a movement among Black historians, politicians, lawyers and activists alike, that proclaims reparations to be the only true and intrinsic way to begin healing the scars left on the nation by

[84] WEB Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk*, 189.
[85] According an Op Ed piece written by a senior news analyst for National Public Radio (NPR) Daniel Schorr, the term 'post-racial' entered the "political lexicon" after the election of President Obama in 2008. The term has been used to make reference to the first Black president as a moment in history that would mark the county's evolution beyond its race problem. Schorr found that "The Economist called it a post-racial triumph and wrote that Obama seemed to embody the hope that America could transcends its divisions. The New Yorker wrote of a post-racial generation and indeed…." NPR website. Accessed on June 1, 2013. http://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=18489466.
[86] Michael Eric Dyson, State of the Black Union Keynote Address, 2009. Accessed May 14, 2012. http://www.northbynorthwestern.com/story/fmo-keynote-speaker-michael-eric-dyson-discusses-p/.

the institution of slavery and racism.[87] I too am of this same belief, for it is clear that the wounds of racial injustice will not heal themselves, particularly as much of society ignores the lasting psychosocial, emotional, and mental trauma that slavery caused. Further, to ignore the impact of slavery is, in my opinion, doubly vicious. What Black people are experiencing now is what historian and Garveyian scholar, C. Boyd James calls, "the pathological combination of slavery, colonialism and internal oppression."[88] We must be willing to engage in honest discourse around the history of slavery, racism and oppression in this country and the lasting residuals of anger, resentment and guilt that follows us all. Only then when will we be able to intrinsically and permanently improve race relations in this country. With the recent election of President Barack Hussein Obama, we have a unique opportunity to engage in that critically examine our shared history, in truth, right our past wrongs, and heal ourselves.

From my perspective, today's Black Colleges and Universities would benefit greatly from revisiting the social justice education programs of old to inspire more viable curricular aims and outcomes; increased opportunities for service-learning, community outreach and civic engagement; and more active alumni support and endowment. It is my intention to make a scholarly contribution to that effort by documenting the rich history and significance of the early Tuskegee and Atlanta University programs to Black progressions toward attaining social justice through education. I believe that the HBCU was and is still uniquely positioned to provide Black youth to know themselves, love themselves and, ultimately, do for themselves.[89] Armed with competency and consciousness, they will then have confidence needed to defy the social mantra that accepts and expects less of them than their White peers.

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[87] Ray Winbush, ed. *Should America Pay? Slavery and the Raging Debate on Reparations* (New York: The New Republic, 2001), 8.
[88] Boyd James, *Garvey, Garveyism*, 37.
[89] Elijah Muhammad, *Message to the Black Man* (Phoenix, AZ: Secretarius MEMPS Publications, 1965), 31-37.

Overview of the Dissertation Chapters

The proposed format for the dissertation is seven chapters in length. Chapter 1 includes the introduction, research questions and a statement highlighting the significance of the study. Chapter 2 the historiography utilized in the study. It also provides a review of the social justice education literature, a historiography of HBCUs and a thematic and periodic cross reference of the two bodies of literature. Further, Chapter 2 offers the historical context of the founding of Atlanta University and the People's College and Tuskegee University and the Moveable School. Chapter 2 also provides a methodological review. Chapter 3 examines the institutional, cultural and intellectual history of Tuskegee University and the Moveable School while highlighting the practice of social justice education. Chapter 4 examines the institutional, cultural and intellectual history of Atlanta University and the People's College within the context of the practice of social justice education. Chapters 5 provides a comparative institutional analysis of the Moveable School and People's College programs. Chapter 6 offers a summary of the research findings, the future implications of the study and closing remarks.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The purpose of this chapter is to provide a historiography of the scholarship written on Historically Black Colleges and Universities and a review of the literature on the Black contributions to social justice education, while highlighting the intersections between these two bodies of work. While the primary focus of this study is on the Jim Crow Era, the period of 1904-1954, the HBCU historiography covers a more extensive period of literature from 1900-2012. A review of the entire body of scholarship is necessary to highlight the thematic evolution of the literature, and to draw some more current conclusions about social justice education as a historical mission of HBCUs needing to be revisited, revised and reengaged. For this purpose, a number of primary and secondary sources will be reviewed. The primary sources referenced in this chapter (i.e., Booker T. Washington papers) were obtained from the Tuskegee University National Center for Bioethics and Health Care Research Archives, located in Tuskegee, Alabama, and The Robert W. Woodruff Library Archives, located in Atlanta, Georgia. Additionally, secondary resources published by and about scholars and activists Booker T. Washington, William Eduard Burghardt Du Bois, Carter Godwin Woodson, Charles Spurgeon Johnson, Ira De Augustine Reid, Horace Mann Bond, Benjamin Elijah Mays, Marcus Garvey, Malcolm X, Martin Luther King, Jr., Sojourner Truth, James A. Anderson, Vincent P. Franklin, Ronald Butchardt, Leo McGee, Harvey G. Neufeldt, Edward Potts, Scipio A.J. Collin, III, Virginia Lantz Denton, Marybeth Gasman and others, are reviewed as central to the this chapter's review and analysis of the HBCU and social justice education literature.

In 1740, legislators in South Carolina declared it illegal to teach a slave to read and write, a crime punishable in some jurisdictions with the blinding or maiming of the offender's eyes.[90] Almost a decade later, opposition to Black education was heightened by similar legislation in other southern states. In 1832 and 1833, Alabama and Georgia followed South Carolina's lead in their mission to further suppress Black efforts to disengage themselves from a capitalistic and exploitive system.[91] Not to be deterred by the threat of being hanged, raped or severely beaten, slaves eager to learn would, "[steal] away to secret places at night to study under the direction of friends [and] … some learned by intuition without having had the guidance of an instructor."[92] Abolitionist author, Harriet Beecher Stowe spoke of the fervor with which the newly freed slaves pursued education during the mid-1800s, writing:

> Their enthusiasm and impulse was not for plunder or for revenge, or for drink, or any form of animal indulgence, but for *education*. They rushed not to the grog shop but to the schoolroom— they cried for the spelling-book as for bread, and pleaded for teachers as a necessary of life.[93]

To this point, Black pioneers like Alexander Lucas Twilight risked legal prosecution and worse, to participate higher education. Graduating from Middleberry College in Vermont in 1823, Twilight would become the first Black person in the United States to earn a bachelor's degree.[94] His accomplishment, while many of his brothers and sisters were still bound by slavery, is a testament to the determination with which Black people pursued education during his time.

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[90] Harriet Beecher Stowe, "The Education of Freedmen," *The North American Review*, 128 (1897): 3.
[91] Carter G. Woodson, *The Education of the Negro Prior to 1861: A History of the Education of Colored People of the United States from the Beginning of Slavery to the Civil* War (Washington, DC: 1919), 166; Horace Mann Bond, *Negro Education in Alabama* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1969), 15; Dan Moore and Michele Mitchell, *Black Codes in Georgia* (Atlanta: Apex Museum, 2006), 35.
[92] Ibid, Woodson, 13.
[93] Harriet Beecher Stowe, "The Education of Freedmen…", 613.
[94] The Journal of Blacks in Higher Education website. Accessed on June 19, 2011. http://www.jbhe.com/features/53_blackhistory_timeline.html.

The few historical accounts of Black progressions in education written during the early 1800s, were not voluminous enough to counter the tales propagated by White historians. The tale often told by many scholars of the time, often discredited or completely ignored the earliest efforts of Blacks to educate and advance themselves. The persistent conflict of historical truths would inspire Black scholars to document a more accurate, holistic, and Afrocentric record of the Black struggle for education.[95] The numerous landmark events of the 1830s and beyond, would serve as the impetus for Blacks, both within and outside of educational institutions, to create and document their own stories of education and emancipation. It would be a slave, in person but not in mind or heart, who would create such and environment.

In the summer of 1831, Nat Turner organized and led approximately seventy slaves in a violent uprising in Virginia. According to some, this revolt "set back the cause of emancipation" in the south.[96] It was in the north in Pennsylvania, and within this context of socioeconomic turmoil and dissention, that the first institutions of higher education for Blacks were founded. Six years later in 1837, the Cheyney Training School for Teachers located in Pennsylvania would become the first HBCU founded in the United States.[97] Lincoln University, also located in Pennsylvania, would in 1853, become the second Black institution of higher education founded in the country. Both schools aimed early on to acculturate Black folk in those areas believed to create useful citizens, namely religion.[98]

In 1843, The American Missionary Association (AMA) in conjunction with a number of other religious and benevolent societies would aid the establishment of a number of

[95] "Afrocentricity is a frame of reference wherein phenomena are viewed from the perspective of the African person…the Afrocentric approach seeks in every situation the appropriate centrality of the African person." Molefi K. Asante, "The Afrocentric Idea in Education", *Journal of Negro Education*, 60 (1991): 171.
[96] Zinn, *A People's History,* 174.
[97] V.P. Franklin, *The Education of Black Philadelphia,* 71.
[98] George B. Carr as cited in Horace Mann Bond, *Education for Freedom*.

predominately Black patronized education institutions during the 1900s. Among them were a number of secondary, common, normal, industrial and liberal arts schools.[99] The emergence of the very first of the HBCUs, Cheyney State Teacher's College in 1837 and Lincoln University in 1854 (the Ashmun Institute), was in direct response to a long-standing history of institutional racism that prevented Blacks from fully accessing White educational systems and institutions. The early Black colleges and universities were founded as missionary enterprises aimed at training Black teachers to educate the youth of their communities. While the "philanthropic industrialists", who assisted the establishment of some of the earliest Black education programs, publicly espoused teacher education as their primary curricular aim, it was apparent that they were more interested in training laborers. Even still, there were those who faithfully believed that the HBCU would be the vehicle through which the newly freed slaves would achieve the social justice that had, for so long, eluded them.[100]

The Morrill Acts of 1862 and 1890 together established the legal precedence for the establishment of segregated public colleges in the US.[101] Despite the tumult of the times, Black people still made small but significant strides in attaining higher education. During the same year of the adoption of the first Morrill Act, Mary Jane Patterson would become the first Black woman to earn a bachelor's degree in the US; she was awarded her degree from Oberlin College in Ohio.[102] Patterson fellow pioneer educator and Oberlin alumna Fanny Jackson Coppin, would become the first Black woman to be appointed as a principal of an institution of higher education. The Institute for Colored Youth, located in Philadelphia, aimed to harness and inspire "..black

[99] Anderson, *The Education of Blacks in the South*, 235.
Walter R. Allen and Joseph O. Jewell, "A Backward Glance Forward: Past, Present, and Future Perspectives on Historically Black Colleges and Universities," *The Review of Higher Education*, 25 (Spring 2002): 244; Patricia Gurinand and Edgar Epps, *Black Consciousness, Identity, and Achievement: A Study of Students in Historically Black Colleges and Universities* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1975).
[101] Jeanita W. Richardson and J. John Harris III, "Brown and Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs): A Paradox of Desegregation Policy," *The Journal of Negro Education,* 73 (2004).
[102] Oberlin Archives Online website. Accessed May 5, 2012. http://www.oberlin.edu/archive/resources/women/.

intellectual capability" through a normal school program was in operation from 1865-1902. It was said that the program lost participants as a result of the growing popularity in industrial and agricultural programs like those at Hampton and Tuskegee.[103]

During the following year, in 1863, the issuance of the Emancipation Proclamation would mark the beginning of a new era in the United States. Although efforts were made toward creating a more democratic society, the "Fundamental conditions did not change…for the vast majority of tenant farmers, factory workers, slum dwellers, miners, farm laborers, working men and women black and white."[104] While many Blacks found themselves free legally, they were without the means or education to fully actualize their citizenry or realize the democratic ideal.

In 1865, the long abated ethical, moral, cultural and social implications of the practice of slavery were brought to a pinnacle. Subsequent to the abolishment of slavery, many questions regarding the future and position of Blacks in America were brought forth, demanding a swift and immediate public response. Among other things, people wondered just how and where the newly freed slaves would fit into the American social strata, particularly since they had been deemed unfit, amoral and incompetent by the White public. Answering this multifaceted and complex question would be the topic of scholarship among the most prolific scholars and activists of the time. Among them were historians, scientists, sociologists, theologians and literary scholars alike, who put forth that the answer to America's social dilemma was to be found in the democratic ideal of equal access to and participation in education. It was out of this historical and cultural context, that the scholarship on the history of Black education, and more specifically that on Historically Black Colleges and Universities, was incepted.

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[103] Elizabeth A. Peterson, "Fanny Coppin, Mary Shadd Cary, and Charlotte Grimke: Three African-American Women Who Made a Difference", Elizabeth Peterson , ed., *Freedom Road, Adult Education of African Americans*, (Malabar, Florida: Krieger Publishing Company, 2002), 5-7.
[104] Zinn, *A People's History,* 349.

Soon thereafter, in 1868, a member of the American Missionary Association and army general by the name of Samuel Chapman Armstrong would found the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute. Armstrong's philosophy of Black education, most often referred to as the *Hampton-Tuskegee Idea,* positioned pragmatic, industrial and vocational education as the preeminent way for "colored people…[to]… be trained as teachers, and fitted to take up the work of civilizing their brethren".[105] Some scholars were critical of his belief that Black people were in need of civilization or salvation. They were skeptical of the notion that the very architects of slavery could develop and deliver a truly transparent program of Black education.[106] Some scholars argued that Armstrong's program, much like slavery, intended to serve the social and economic interest of the White public through the creation of a permanent Black laboring class. In Armstrong's view, Blacks, to whom he often referred as "darkies" or "savages", were morally, culturally and mentally inferior to their White counterparts. He claimed that the masses of Blacks were, therefore, unable to handle the rigor of an education that would prepare them for professions of a higher social order and status, like that of a scholar or politician.[107]

It is clear that the primary mission and aim of the first public HBCUs, Cheyney, Lincoln and Hampton was to provide Blacks with minimal levels of education— just enough to prepare them to meet the economic, workforce and labor demands of society. Secondarily, these HBCUs aimed to assist Blacks in raising themselves out of the conditions created by slavery, but only to the extent that it would not threaten the current social order and hierarchy. While public HBCUs

[105] Anderson, *The Education of Blacks in the South*; Mary F. Armstrong and Helen W. Ludlow, *Hampton and Its Students* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1874), 21.
[106] William Watkins*, The White Architects of Black Education: Ideology and Power in America, 1865-1954* (New York: Teacher's College, Columbia University: 2001).
[107] Anderson, *The Education of Blacks in the South*.

were primarily constructed and controlled by majority public interests, private HBCUs experienced other limitations imposed through White philanthropic efforts.[108]

Collectively, the HBCU and social justice education body of literature engages the following premises: 1) the historic mission and purpose of the HBCU {i.e. workforce development, cultural and social consciousness awareness or cooperative economics} 2) the philanthropy and funding of the HBCU {i.e. administration and control} and 3) the validation and substantiation of HBCUs as viable, comparable institutions of higher education in the context of the larger learning community. A categorization of the scholarship allows for a further analysis that situates the discourse in its appropriate social and historical context. A periodic analysis of the literature reveals its evolution from a corrective and revisionist history between 1900s-1930s and continuing until the 1940s, to a more radical retelling of the Black educational experience as the 1950s and 60s neared.[109] Throughout the 1980s, 1990s, and 2000s, questions concerning accreditation, funding and academic efficacy, prompted scholars to vigorously dialog regarding the value of HBCUs to future advancements for Blacks in higher education and society. The common most trend that crosses the period from 1900-2012, is the revision of educational history, by Black scholars, community leaders and activists to reflect a more holistic perspective of events.

For decades, Black scholars and activists have vigorously debated and contemplated the history, philosophy and legacy of HBCUs within the context of social justice education. For the purposes of this research, the work of scholars – Booker T. Washington, William Eduard Burghardt Du Bois, Carter Godwin Woodson, Charles S. Johnson, Ira D.A. Reid, Horace Mann

[108] John D. Rockefeller's General Education Board, The John D. Slater Fund, The Carnegie Foundation and The Ford Foundation were among the many White philanthropic organizations supporting Black education; Watkins, *The White Architects of Black Education,* 19.
[109] Ronald E. Butchart, "Outthinking and Outflanking the Owners of the World: A Historiography of the African American Struggle for Education," *History of Education Quarterly* 28 (Autumn, 1988): 333-366.

Bond, Benjamin Elijah Mays, James A. Anderson, Vincent P. Franklin, Ronald Butchardt, Marybeth Gasman, and others – will be reviewed as exemplars of this contention, which is as relevant today as it was in 1909.

An HBCU Historiography

According to Carter G. Woodson, many American historians and other social scientists, expressed little interest in the study of the Negro prior to the Civil War. Even some of the few that did deal with the plight of Black folk, told a story of "exceptional" Negros, gifted with talents and skills not afforded the multitude of common Black people.[110] However, during the time between the late 1880s through the 1930s, the records documenting the Black experience in education reflect the desire of Black scholars to publish texts and various studies on the matter. There several seminal works published during this time that would shape the dialogue regarding the education of Blacks, informing the conversation on Black education out of the Black experience. The most, well-noted records of the times came from scholars like Booker T. Washington, W.E.B. Du Bois and Carter G. Woodson. The historical records published during this period vary in genre discipline and theme from the exploration of the education of the Freedmen, to semi-autobiographical accounts of the Black pursuit of higher education, to sociological studies on the condition of the Negro in their varied communities, to conversations around the very aim and purpose of Black education, colleges and universities. Collectively, this decade of literature reflects the desire for Black historians and scholars to put forth an authentic retelling of the plight of Black folk in the pursuit of education and social justice.

One of the more well-known of the private HBCUs, funded primarily by White philanthropic efforts, was the Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute, now Tuskegee

[110] Carter G. Woodson, "Negro Life and History in Our Schools," *The Journal of Negro History*, 4 (1919): 273.

University. The school's founder and first principle Booker Taliaferro Washington would emerge as a leader in the promotion of Black teacher training, industrial education and agricultural extension programs. His personal account of his experience growing up as the child laborer of former slaves, and his tumultuous quest for higher education was catalogued in his semi-autobiographical text, *Up From Slavery*, published in 1901. In it, he recounts his experiences as a student at the Hampton Institute and as the founder of the Tuskegee Institute, two of the earliest of the HBCUs specializing in agricultural and industrial education. Washington, who knew intimately the inhumanity of slavery, once wrote of Tuskegee's humble beginnings, stating, "My work began at Tuskegee, Alabama, in 1881, in a small shanty church, with one teacher and thirty students, without a dollar's worth of property."[111] Having been educated at the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute, and the first principle of one of its manual labor programs, Washington viewed the *Hampton-Tuskegee Idea* differently than some his Black contemporaries.[112] He saw the program at the institute as an exercise in pragmatism and cooperative economics:

> Tuskegee's germ principle is to be found in its unboasted ideals, in the things that of necessity cannot be listed in catalogue or report…The school dwells upon the saving power of land, and learning, and skill and bank-account- not as finalities in themselves, but as tangible witnesses to the Negro's capacity to compete with others.[113]

Washington further suggested that as a newly freed people, Blacks should look to master manual labor skills and enter the workforce, in the short-term, and seek to gain greater social autonomy in the future. He believed that Blacks should commit themselves to labor intensive, lower level jobs, and over time, aspire for higher levels of education and occupation. At one point in his

[111] Booker T. Washington, *The Future of the American Negro* (Westport, Connecticut: Negro Universities Press, 1901), 108.
[112] Booker T. Washington, *Up From Slavery* (Garden City, New York, Doubleday & Company, Inc: 1900).
[113] Booker T. Washington, ed. *Tuskegee & It's People: Their Ideals and Achievements* (New York: D. Appleton and Company Publishers, 1905), 13.

famous Atlanta Exposition address, he states, "It is at the bottom of life we must begin, and not at the top. Nor should we permit our grievances to overshadow our opportunities."[114] In this way he aimed to make education a "'common'" activity that would improve the lives of the Black folk living in the rural South.[115]

Washington's concepts of Black economic empowerment through agricultural extension, industrial education and labor were outlined at the first annual Negro Farmers' Conference held in Macon County Alabama, in February of 1892. In embarking upon his new adventure in community education, he would become "…one of the first to advocate teaching the black masses outside of the classroom."[116] The first objective of his unique program was:

> …to abolish and do away with the mortgage system…[the second]…to raise [their] food supplies, such as corn, potatoes, syrup, peas. Hogs, chickens, etc., at home rather than go into debt for them at the stores…[and the fifth]…to try to buy homes, to urge, upon all Negroes, the necessity of owning homes and farms, and not only to own them, but to try to beautify and improve them.[117]

Out of the annual conferences would come a number of extension and community education programs like The Moveable School and the Booker T. Washington Agricultural School on Wheels. Many of Washington's educational programs were funded by Whites who were sympathetic to the plight of Blacks living in the overtly racist south. This stirred suspicion and speculation from the Black community who, in large part, questioned the long-term implications of accepting White financial support, given their long history of exploitation and subjugation a the hands of Whites. Recent studies have found that their suspicions were not unfounded. A foundations scholar by the name of Edward H. Bergman "…argues that influential philanthropies

[114] Washington, *Up from Slavery*.
[115] Felix James, "Booker T. Washington and George Washington Carver: a Tandem of Adult Educators at Tuskegee," in *Education of the African American Adult: An Historical Overview*, eds., Harvey G. Neufeldt and Leo McGee (New York: Greenwood Press, 1990), 62.
[116] Ibid, 62.
[117] Campbell, *The Moveable School*, 82 and 108.

conform to and reinforce the values of the dominant order."[118] Although, private organizations and corporations often claimed to represent what is in the best interest of their constituents, their practices are often heavily influenced by public interests and opinion. For example, the John D. Slater Fund, a major financier of early efforts in Black education, provided the Tuskegee Institute with over $ 10, 000 in grants between 1882-1896. Historian William Watkins found that Slater had, at one point, articulated his mission to provide Blacks with a "Christian education" for the purpose of creating "good men and citizens" and "obedient and reverent people".[119]

Much like the administrators of some of the first the public HBCUs, Slater regarded Blacks as a people most needing to be saved and civilized. In this regard, some of the White supporters of HBCUs extended their sympathy to Black community and their progression efforts. Sympathy often evokes feelings of pity, which allows for a distancing of emotion between the parties involved. Empathy, on the other hand, requires a certain degree of mutual trust, respect, commitment and emotional engagement. In many cases, White supporters of Black education could not, or would not, empathize with the Black experience. Further, some scholars and activists questioned just who and what would determine whether a Black person as "good" and "reverent"? For, it had not been long since a good Black person was thought to be one who obeyed his or her master, accepted the commands of slavery and refused participation in any efforts toward liberation, empowerment or autonomy. These were among many of the Washington's contemporaries who were critical of his program of social justice education; they wondered how he could partner and trust Whites on the matter of Black education. As a result, he was often accused of compromising the greater mission of the HBCU, and that of the Black community, in order to secure resources from his predominately White financiers.

[118] Watkins, *The White Architects of Black Education,* 18.
[119] J.L.M. Curry as cited in William Watkins, *The White Architects of Black Education,* 18.

Not long after Booker T. Washington embarked upon his social justice education mission in Tuskegee, a landmark case would determine the legality of segregated education. The 1896 the Plessey versus Ferguson case set a *separate but equal* precedence that would impact the future of Black education. In this respect, historian and scholar W.E.B. Du Bois would emerge as a leader in the intellectual discourse around the Black struggle for education and social justice. While Booker T. Washington posited that Black students should seek to the answer the question of *what* are you, Du Bois argued that the better question to be asked of those needing to be liberated and empowered, was *who* are you? Much of his exploration of his educational philosophy would occur during his tenure at Atlanta University.

Atlanta University was founded during an era of great political and racial turmoil that included the ending of the Civil War, the assassination of President Abraham Lincoln, and the adoption of the Thirteenth Amendment, which declared all slaves free.[120] The institution now called Atlanta University began as a small school for Black children and was located in an old railroad car that had been purchased for $310 dollars. In 1865, the Storr Congregational Church of Cincinnati, gifted funds to the school, which enabled the founders to purchase a building in which to hold classes. It was named the Storr School, in honor of the endowment. The school's early administrators consisted of Reverend Frederick Ayer, who was also affiliated with the American Missionary Association (AMA); his wife, Mrs. Ayer, who was also a teacher; two teachers, Rosa and Lucy Kinney; two former slaves and educators, James Tate and Grandison B. Daniels; and Pastor Frank Quarles of the Friendship Baptist Church. It was said that "the charter

[120] According to historian Howard Zinn it "declared slaves free in those states still fighting against the Union (which is listed very carefully), and said nothing about slaves behind Union lines…As Hofstader put it, the Emancipation Proclamation 'had all the moral grandeur of a bill of landing.'" Howard Zinn, *A People's History*, 191.

of 1867…set forth as its goal that it was to be an institution for 'the liberal and Christian education of youth.'"[121]

By December 1, 1866, the Storr School was officially renamed and founded as Atlanta University. During this time, the university reportedly provided services for a total of 64 grammar and high school-aged students whose daily instruction included "English, Latin, Mathematics, History, the Bible and Elementary Ethics."[122] Much of the instruction provided by teachers from the community and the AMA was a labor of love; teachers and administrators were grossly underpaid because of scarce resources. To this point, Reverend Ayer, the first President-elect of the university, received a salary of only $20.00 a month. Books, school supplies, and other instructional materials were also inadequate.[123]

The education programs at Atlanta University were delineated according to a Normal, College, or Theological curricula, and "follow[ed] the lines of the New England educational system."[124] As the service population of the university grew, the college's mission evolved from a primarily Christian education to a comprehensive, liberal arts program of study. At one point, historian Myron Adams states, "As time went on and educational and social conditions were improved, Atlanta University naturally laid more stress upon advanced educational work…[their] mission seemed to be that of advanced academic training."[125] Noted historian, scholar, and chair of the college's sociology department, W.E.B. Du Bois outlined the primary aim of the college in a 1942 article entitled *The Cultural Missions of Atlanta University*. He identified the three

[121] Myron W. Adams, *The History of Atlanta University* (Atlanta: Atlanta University, 1930), 94.
[122] Ibid, Adams, 94.
[123] Clarence A. Bacote, *A Story of Atlanta University: A Century of Service, 1865-1965* (Atlanta: Atlanta University Press, 1969).
[124] Adams, *The History of Atlanta University*, 17.
[125] Ibid, Adams, 94.

principle objectives of the HBCU as 1) the higher education of Blacks, 2) racial equality, and 3) academic freedom.[126]

Du Bois' educational philosophy often suggested that race separation in education was necessary, particularly where it concerned the education of Black folk. Du Bois posited that no one was better fitted to design, administer and facilitate Black education with an ethic of care, and within its appropriate social, historical and cultural context, than Black people themselves. In his own words, "The proper education of any people includes sympathetic touch between teacher and pupil; knowledge on the part of the teacher, not only of the individual taught, but of his surroundings and background, and the history of his class and group…."[127] Thus, from his perspective, the best place for the education of Black students was to occur, without question, at the historically black college and university.

In 1903, Du Bois would publish a seminal text that has since become an established part of many HBCU freshman curricula.[128] In *The Souls of Black Folk*, a semi-autobiographical account of Du Bois' early introduction to transformational Black experience, he credits Fisk University as significant to his intellectual growth and emotional and philosophical positioning on Black education. While acting as the chair the sociology department at Atlanta University, Du Bois published a number of sociological studies, which would set a theoretical and methodological precedence for future research on problems in the Black community.[129] The studies were conducted primarily in conjunction with the Atlanta University Conferences, and include *Mortality Among Negroes in Cities* (1896), *The College Bred Negro* (1900), *Economic*

[126] W.E.B. Du Bois, "The Cultural Missions of Atlanta University," *Phylon* 3 (1942): 105-115. Accessed on November 11, 2009. http://www.jstor.org/stable/271514.
[127] W.E.B. Du Bois. "Does the Negro Need Separate Schools," *The Journal of Negro Education*, 4 (1935): 328.
[128] The *Souls of Black Folk* was required reading for me as a freshman entering Fisk University in 1992.
[129] Derrick P. Alridge via am advisory meeting in October 2009.

Cooperation Among Negro Americans (1907)[130], *Morals and Manners Among Negro Americans* (1913), and others.[131] While he esteems and promotes the education of Blacks at HBCUs, he also presents a fair critique of their efficacy in *The College-Bred Negro*. Du Bois posits that Black colleges, by and large, were insufficiently producing a reasonable number of Black graduates and professional, given the large number of institutions now available to them. However, even with his harshest criticism of Black education institutions, he found no other Black graduates with a "…larger vision…a deeper sensibility…"[132] or a spirit of social service than those of HBCUs. He out forth, that it would be these dedicated few, the "Talented Tenth" who would the Black nation to social, intellectual and political liberation.

Around this same time in 1911, the public sector would reassert its interest in the education of Blacks. The General Education Board, led by the foundations of John S. Slater and Anna T. James, moved toward the establishment of normal and industrial schools modeled after the Hampton-Tuskegee model of pragmatic, industrial and vocational education. Some advocates of Black education would argue that Armstrong's ideas regarding Black education were primarily motivated by the social and economic interest of the White public who wanted to create and control a Black laboring class.[133] According to abolitionist author, Harriet Beecher Stowe, almost all of the major religious denominations were heavily engaged in Black education as a missionary enterprise, some of which were not interested in making literary education a secondary priority of their institutions; they were very much committed to the liberal arts

[130] Much of Du Bois' work conducted while at Atlanta University was funded by the Carnegie Foundation and the John F. Slater Fund.
[131] According to Elliot M. Rudwick the Atlanta University Conferences were held from 1897-1914, and were heavily influenced by Booker T. Washington's Negro Famers Conferences in Tuskegee; Elliot M. Ruddick "W. E. B. Du Bois and the Atlanta University Studies on the Negro," *The Journal of Negro Education* 26 (Autumn, 1957): 468 and 470.
[132] Du Bois, *Souls*, 70.
[133] Anderson, *The Education of Blacks in the South*, 137.

programs, but sometimes compromised their program with that of industrial or agricultural training, in order to retain funding.[134]

Du Bois further evolved the conversation around private HBCUs by addressing the question of their historic mission, control and curriculum. He, at one point writes, that "The function of the Negro College is clear: it must maintain the standards of popular education…seek the social regeneration of the Negro…and…help in the solution of problems of race contact and cooperation."[135] While some Black scholars believed workforce development, agricultural education, and technical training, to be the aim of Black education, others vehemently opposed this idea asserting that culturally-centered, liberal arts programs were better suited to advance Black social justice efforts. In his eyes, this contradiction of ideas precipitated the 1927 student-led strike and demonstration at the Hampton Institute.[136] At one point he writes:

> It has been long known that…Hampton trustees and teachers did not all have feelings, opinions or ideals toward American Negroes, which were acceptable to self-respecting black men. There has always been at Hampton a degree of race discrimination and of repression that has been hateful and exasperating. The Hampton attitude must be distinctly and firmly repudiated.[137]

His commentary confirms the conflict that existed between the college's student body and administration over the curricular aims that mirrored the disputes between people within the Black community, both within and outside of the academy.

The intellectual contentions between Washington and Du Bois are often viewed as the impetus of the most rigorous of conversations centered around the aims of Black adult and higher education. While both agreed that education was imperative to progression in Black

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[134] Beecher Stowe, *The Education of Freedmen*, 610; Anderson, *The Education of Blacks in the South*, 135.
[135] Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk*, 73.
[136] The Hampton Normal School was founded in Hampton, Virginia by General Samuel Armstrong in 1863.
[137] Herbert Apatheker, ed., *The History of Negro People in the United States: 1910-1932* (New York: Carol Publishing Group, 1951), 564-565; WEB Du Bois, "The Hampton Strike", *The Crisis* XXXIV (December 1927): 347-48.

communities, their ideas regarding the type educational program that was best suited to do so differed. Du Bois ascribed to a philosophy that demanded the HBCU program to be contextual and culturally relevant, while Washington believed cooperative economics to be key. Interestingly, at the intersection of both their position lay the HBCU model of social justice education that is exemplified in the TU, Moveable School and the AU, People's College programs. In this regard, Du Bois and Washington agreed that adult education, no matter the curricular aim, proved to be most effective in efforts to assist the masses of Black folk in their aim "…to be self-sufficient and earn a decent living."[138]

These types of ideological conflicts were not unique to Hampton University, and other HBCUs would also experience the same types of uprisings during the early 1920s. According to the author of an institutional history of Fisk University Joe M. Richardson, "…the 1920s witnessed a revolution in morals and manners throughout the United States…[so] it was only natural that that Fisk students, aware of the revolution, would rebel against wearing uniforms, prohibitions against smoking, almost total separation of the sexes and regulations more appropriate for 1866 than 1925."[139] All across the country, HBCUs experienced contention and upheaval around a number of administrative, programmatic and philosophical issues.

The contentions and trails experienced by Black scholars within HBCUs is exemplified by the work of Alain Leroy Locke. Locke, who established himself as prominent among the adult educators of his time, developed a philosophy of race consciousness that encompassed the philosophical position of W.E.B. Du Bois, and the pragmatism of Booker T. Washington. From Locke's perspective, Black people needed to learn to "…use the myth of race to promote their

[138] Edward Potts, "The Du Bois –Washington Debate: Conflicting Strategies," in Elizabeth Peterson, ed., *Freedom Road, Adult Education of African Americans*, (Malabar, Florida: Krieger Publishing Company, 2002), 30.
[139] Richardson, *A History of Fisk University, 1865-1946*, 84-90. Often referred to as the Harvard of the South, Fisk University was founded in Nashville, Tennessee by John Ogden, the Reverend Erastus Milo Cravath, and Reverend Edward P. Smith, in 1866.

development, just as nineteenth-century Europeans has used it to promote their own."[140] His contention that race was indeed a social construction and not a biological one, was a radical concept for the time.[141] His lecture series, *The Negro and a Race Tradition* (Race Contacts), published in 1911, included a discussion of his Black education philosophy. When Locke approached the administrators at Howard about developing his lecture into courses, the President of the college, Reverend S.M. Newman, rejected his idea, even after the professor offered to teach the courses for free. It was thought by the administration, comprised of conservative whites, thought of Black studies with little regard or appreciation.[142]

There were also other types of changes experienced by HBCUs during the 1920s. According the James A. Anderson, both Hampton and Tuskegee Universities would move their industrial and agricultural curriculum to one of liberal arts, and garnered the financial support of those philanthropists who could foresee the economic benefit in do so.[143]

Revisionist Histories and Sociological Studies of the 1930s and 40s

While the intellectual discourse regarding the purpose and place of the HBCU in adult and higher education gained traction, other scholars sought to determine the Black man's position in society. A number of sociological studies were launched during the early 1930s to determine just where and how Blacks fit into the American social schema. The question arose among Black leaders whether their positioning was to their own benefit or to those in power.[144] In 1937 a Swedish economist by the name of Gunnar Myrdal launched an anthropological study

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[140] Alain Leroy Locke and Jeffrey C. Stewart, *Race Contacts and Interracial Relations: Lectures on the Theory and Practice of Race* (Washington, D.C.: Howard University Press, 1992), xxxix.
[141] Dr. Talmadge C. Guy via Dissertation Advisement August 4, 2011.
[142] Locke and Stewart, *Race Contacts and Interracial Relations*, xli.
[143] Anderson, *The Education of Blacks in the South,* 235.
[144] Including the Atlanta University Studies conducted by WEB Du Bois. "…the Atlanta University Studies…[were] the first comprehensive scientific studies of Afro-Americans in American Higher Education." Nagueyalti Warren, "The Contributions of W.E.B. Du Bois to Afro-American Studies in Higher Education," (PhD, dissertation, University of Mississippi, 1985).

funded by the Trustees of the Carnegie Corporation of New York to "…[determine] the social, political, and economic status of the Negro in the United States as well as [define] opinions held by different groups of Negroes and whites as to his 'right' status."[145] Part of Murdal's study was devoted to Black gains in higher and the contribution that the HBCU may have made in that regard. He found that "…before 1937, only five Negro institutions offered instruction at the graduate level. After that year, when the federal courts declared that a state must offer equal educational opportunities to Negros, several Southern states forced ill-equipped public Negro colleges to assume graduate instruction…and none of them offers the Ph.D. degree."[146]

During the very next year, in 1938, a sociologist by the name of Charles S. Johnson found in his own sociological study on *The Negro College Graduate*, that 1, 834 Blacks had been awarded academic or professional degrees.[147] However, these same Black college and professional school graduates were still denied the same civil liberties as their White counterparts—further evidence that racial equality as attainable through education attainment was, and in many ways still is, a myth.

During this period, historian and scholar and founder of the *Journal of Negro History*, Carter Godwin Woodson also interjected his thoughts on HBCUs and offered a staunch critique of the entire US educational system. In his book, *The Mis-education of the Negro*, Woodson challenges the widely propagated stories depicting the US educational system as just, fair and democratic, and outlines the ways in which the educational system has historically worked to the detriment of Blacks. At one point, he asserts: "… For generation[s] the authorities in the cities and states throughout the black belt began to change the course of study to make the training of

[145] Gunnar Myrdal, *An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem in Modern Democracy* (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1944), 951.
[146] Ibid, 951.
[147] Charles S. Johnson, *The Negro College Graduate* (Chapel Hill: the University of North Carolina Press, 1938), 9.

the Negro conform to [a] policy that consistently situated [him] at the absolute bottom of the social hierarchy."[148] It is within this sentiment of mistrust that Woodson writes about White philanthropic contributions to HBCUs: "…it is often said that the time is not ripe for Negros to take over the administration of their institutions, for they do not have the contacts for raising money, but what's to be said of what Booker T. Washington did for Tuskegee and observe what R.R. Moton and John Hope are doing today."[149] Black run colleges would, in his assertion, reflect a mission and aim relevant to the Black experience, plight, and perspective on progress.

Another contributor to the conversation of the time was historian and former president of HBCUs – Lincoln University and Fort Valley College – Horace Mann Bond. He spoke of the waning financial support for the higher education of Blacks during the late 1800s through the early 1900s contending that the:

> Northern missionary societies were in the full flush of enthusiasm for the 'uplift', and the Freedman's Bureau promised an inexhaustible source of revenue for expansion…but the North soon wearied of the prolonged fever of war. Philanthropic subsidies dwindled soon after the abolition of the Freedman's Bureau in 1870.[150]

Bond also speaks rather highly of the Tuskegee and Hampton programs' focus on industrial education, and credits them with having reinvigorated philanthropic efforts. At one point he writes, "Hampton and Tuskegee Institutes…have recently established themselves as degree-granting colleges. This circumstance reflects the transformation that has taken place. The machine has done as much for the Negro, perhaps as much as Abraham Lincoln did."[151] His commentary further confirms his support, in this instance, for northern philanthropy and the industrial program that they were more likely to support and finance. Some scholars, like Du

[148] Woodson, *The Mis-education of the Negro*, 12.
[149] Ibid, 30.
[150] Horace Mann Bond, *The Education of the Negro in the American Social Order* (New York: Prentice-Hall Co. Inc, 1934), 360.
[151] Bond, *The Education of the Negro*, 364.

Bois, argued that the financial assistance provided through White philanthropy came, however, at a higher cost than what many Black college administrators were able to recognize or were willing to acknowledge.

The Radical, Triumphant and Revisionist Histories of the 1950s, 1960s, 1970s and 1980s

In the 1954 land mark case, *Brown v. the Board of Education,* the Supreme Court determined the following: "…separate educational facilities are inherently unequal. Therefore, we hold that the plaintiffs and others similarly situated for whom the actions have been brought are, by reason of the segregation complained of, deprived of the equal protection of the laws guaranteed of the Fourth Amendment…"[152] Shortly thereafter, in 1955, the Civil Rights Movement (CRM) and the Montgomery Bus Boycott[153] were launched, and the historical scholarship reflected the social tumult of the time, becoming increasingly radical and critical in nature. Historian and scholar V.P. Franklin spoke to this point writing, "Recently, a 'revisionist' school has arisen among educational historians which not only is calling into question the so-called democratic structure of public education, but also is challenging the very ideal of the 'American Dream.'"[154]

The topic most central to the discussion among academicians during this time was the issue of education segregation, its impact on Black communities and, more pointedly, the administration of the country's HBCUs. Angst within the Black community culminated in a weariness and frustration with social systems of governance that promised them liberation through education, while continuing to deny them their divine and human rights. This sentiment of righteous anger was clearly reflected in the literature.

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[152] John Hope Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom* (New York: Alfred K. Knof, Inc., 1966), 556.
[153] Vincent P. Franklin, "Patterns of Student Activism at Historically Black Colleges and Universities in the United States and South Africa, 1960-1977," *The Journal of African American History* 88 (Spring 2003): 205.
[154] Vincent P. Franklin, "Historical Revisionism and Black Education," *The School Review* 81 (May 1973): 478.

In his article, *Patterns of Student Activism at Historically Black Colleges and Universities in the United States and South Africa, 1960-1977*, V. P. Franklin asserts that college students across the country were engaging and joining with community activists in their efforts toward attaining civil rights."[155] Another seminal text on the Black quest for social justice through education was published in 1958 by Pulitzer Prize winning historian, Louis Harlan. Historian Ron Butchart, compares Harlan's scholarship to that of his predecessors, W.E.B. Du Bois and Horace Mann Bond, stating that he writes with "...a sense of outraged justice."[156] At one point Harlan affirms that, "…education by itself, without other forms of action, including intelligent protest, would never solve the major race problem…Social change depends on information, to be sure, but also on will and action", which further confirms the support, from the historians of the time, for action oriented methods of attaining social justice.[157]

Another a primary contributor to the education history discourse of the time, was scholar and historian Benjamin E. Mays, President of Morehouse College from 1940-1967. He wrote about his experience with student protests, resistance efforts and activism on the campus of A & T College in Greensboro, North Carolina. At one point, he reflects on his involvement and the climate on campus, writing:

> On February 1, 1960, four students from A &T College in Greensboro, North Carolina, went to a white store in that city, seated themselves at the lunch counter and they refused to leave. They were arrested, and the sit-ins were on…no organization sponsored the Greensboro sit-ins…The time inevitably comes when oppressed people no longer will put up with an unbearable situation.[158]

On February 12, soon after the protest in Greensboro, Mays recalls being approached by several members of the student government associations affiliated with the Atlanta University Center

[155] Franklin, *Patterns of Student Activism,* 206.
[156] Butchart, *Outthinking and Outflanking*, 350.
[157] Lewis Harlan, *Separate and Unequal: Public School Campaigns, 1901-1915* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1958), xi.
[158] Benjamin E. Mays, *Born to Rebel* (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1971), 287.

(AUC). They shared with him their plans to organize a protest and march on businesses located in downtown Atlanta that refused to serve them. Mays in turn assisted them by revising and editing a piece entitled *An Appeal for Human Rights*. It would later be published locally in the Atlanta *Daily World*, and *Constitution*, and nationally in *The New York Times*.[159] The letter began:

> We, the students of the six affiliated institutions forming the Atlanta University Center— Clark, Morehouse, Morris Brown, and Spelman College, Atlanta University, and the Interdenominational Theological Center— have joined hearts, minds and bodies in the cause of gaining those rights which are inherently ours as members of the human race and as citizens of these United States…We do intend to wait placidly for those rights which are already legally and morally ours to be meted out to us one at a time…We, therefore, call upon all people of authority— State, County and City officials; all leaders in civic life— ministers, teachers, and businessmen; and all people of good will to assert themselves and abolish these injustices."[160]

As a direct result of this publication, students at HBCUs across the country organized sit-ins, marches, boycotts and rallies. Their primary mission was to desegregate the downtown Atlanta area businesses by Christmas of that year. This was among many other political and cultural demonstrations at occurring at HBCUs around the country. Pamela Yvette Gibson, a former student of Fisk University and member of the Jubilee Singers, recalled the late 1960s as a politically charged time on campus. She spoke of the frequent visits from Black community activists and politically conscious artists, like Jessie Jackson and Nina Simone, who would visit the campus regularly to further engage students in the promotion of the national civil rights agenda.[161] Much of the student activism enacted on the campuses of HBCUs resulted in the pushing and passing of legislation in education and other public sectors that would greatly impact social justice efforts in Black communities, nationwide. One of those was the 1965

[159] The first successful, national Black Newspaper which was founded by a Morehouse College graduate, William Alexander Scott on 1928. Mays, *Born to Rebel*, 185.
[160]Ibid, 289-290.
[161] Via a conversation with Pamela Yvette Gibson, Fisk University class of 1971, Fisk Jubilee Singer, Member of the Alpha Beta Chapter of Delta Sigma Theta Sorority, Inc. on November 24, 2009.

passage of the Higher Education Act, which aimed to provide education funding for low-income students, many of whom were Black.[162]

The struggles and triumphs of the 1950s and 1960s generated scholarship that conveyed a spirit of hope and optimism regarding the future of HBCUs. One-time president of Atlanta University, Rufus E. Clement, exemplified this very dynamic in his 1966 article, *The Historical Development of Higher Education for Negro Americans*. In it he credits the 1954 *Brown v. the Board of Education* decision and the 1957 Southern Association accreditation of certain HBCUs, for an optimistic outcome that "…resulted in billions of dollars of new money being made available for student programs and support, [and] some of these colleges are coming alive as never before."[163] In addition, he noted that:

> …the future is bright [because] the once racially restricted college can now open its doors to all who wish to pass through them; major American philanthropic foundations have now seen the needs and merits of these institutions; support from Federal funds is available without racial reservations to all qualified institutions…[164]

The impact of integration not only on the administration of HBCUs, but on the Black struggle for social justice, has historically been a point of contention in the Black community. Did integration positively impact the Black community, or were the people's efforts to *do for self* traded for a more accomodationist or assimilationist position toward progress? There seems to be no definitive answer to this question, and there are scholars, historians and community activists positioned on either side of the issue. Community activist and scholar Malcolm X, for example, was a proponent of race *separation*, and at one point wrote, "…To *segregate* means to control.

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[162] Julian Roebuck and Komanduri S. Murty, *Historically Black Colleges and Universities and their Place in American Higher Education* (Westport, Conn: Praeger , 1993).
[163] Rufus Clement, "The Historical development of higher education for Negro Americans," *The Journal of Negro Education* , 35 (1966): 303.
[164] Ibid*,* 305.

Segregation is that which is forced upon inferiors by superiors. But separation is that which is done voluntarily, by two equals— for the good of both!"[165]

Around this same time historian and scholar, Horace Mann Bond, a one-time president of Lincoln University, wrote a somewhat triumphanist/vindicationist institutional history[166] in Education *for Freedom: A History of Lincoln University*. He spoke highly of the academic program as being socially, politically and culturally centered. He refers to one student, Kwame Nkrumah, who gained admission to Lincoln in 1935 as an exemplar to the testament of university's curricular strength. While there, Nkrumah enrolled in "Social Psychology, Social Pathology, Philosophy of State, Anthropology, Race Relations, Sociology, Symbolic Logic, Plato, and Negro History…[and] he was active in extra-curricular activities …[like]…the fireside club, the debating team, [and] Phi Beta Sigma."[167] Nkrumah would go on to become the leader an independent Ghana in 1957, and president in 1964.

Although many HBCUs were struggling financially during this time, a public Lincoln University experienced a greater amount of support from its financiers. Bond credits Lincoln's financial legacy and success to a series of large endowments and the …"development of a class of alumni sufficiently affluent to contribute to the institution. As we have seen, the early days of the institution developed alumni who were generally so lacking in economic resources that many of them actually remained almoners of the institution long after they had graduated from it."[168] Despite Bond's account of the success experienced at Lincoln, the late 1970s precipitated a turn

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[165] Alex A. Haley and Malcolm X, *The Autobiography of Malcolm X* (New York: Random House, Inc.: 1964), 246.
[166] Butchardt, *Outthinking and Outflanking,* 356; "Historians revitalized the history of black higher education since its doldrums in the fifties. Most notable was a spate of outstanding institutional biographies, including Rayford W. Logan, *Howard University*, and Clarence A. Bacote, *The Story of Atlanta University*, one of whose themes concerned the role of higher education in the creation of black leaders. These studies dealt not only with their respective colleges' intentions in regard to training for leadership but also with the accomplishments of their graduates, particularly in the field of civil rights and service to the community."
[167] Horace Mann Bond, *Education for Freedom*, 507.
[168] Bond, *Education for Freedom*, 464.

of events that heavily impacted enrollment at HBCUs. In their 2002 study, scholars Walter R. Allen and Joseph O. Jewell assert that, "…the 1970s saw a sharp decline in the already small percentage of high-achieving and affluent students enrolling at HBCUs"[169], a foreshadowing of the how the historians of the 1980s, 1990s, and 2000s would write about Black colleges and universities.

The 1980s, 1990s and Now: Revisionism Revisited

Much like the historical scholarship of earlier generations, the literature on HBCUs during the 1980s, 1990s, and 2000s, also attempted to revise the record regarding the Black experience and struggle for education, but with a slightly different purpose.[170] The literature of this era sought to substantiate and validate the HBCU as a pertinent component of the American system of higher education. The historians and scholars of this period hoped to inspire more private and public funding and support by further confirming the HBCUs place and purpose in society. Additional texts credit the HBCU with the production of a Black working and professional class, and applauds Black colleges for the special attention given to the unique socioeconomic and cultural needs of Black students. In a 1998 article entitled, *Historically Black Colleges and Universities: Making a Comeback*, scholar Kenneth A. Reid speaks to this very point, writing:

> Despite their low income levels, African Americans who attend HBCUs generally have very positive and successful academic experiences. African American students at these colleges have lower dropout rates than those at predominately white institutions. HBCUs foster environments that are more supportive of African Americans than the environments of other institutions. Because of this, the students at HBCUs have been

[169] Walter R. Allen and Joseph O. Jewell, *A Backward Glance Forward,* 254.
[170] i.e. James A. Anderson's *Education's the Education of Blacks in the South.*

> found to be more confident, more involved with campus activities, and more involved with faculty than are African American students at other schools.[171]

His commentary further affirms the unique positionality that the HBCU holds with regard to student support and is an exemplar of a body of literature that documents higher graduation rates for Black students attending HBCUs when compared to those attending PWIs.[172]

In their article, *The Historically Black College as Social Contract, Social Capital, and Social Equalizer,* scholars M. Christopher Brown II and James Earl Davis cataloged the unique contributions of the HBCU – not only toward the socioeconomic, cultural and political progression in Black communities, but also to the democratic fiber of society-at-large. At one point they posit that, "…research using the National Post-Secondary Aid Study of 1990 found that African American students enrolled in Black colleges are more likely to pursue postgraduate education and become professionals than African American students enrolled at predominantly White institutions."[173] Although many in the academic community continued to question the value of the HBCU, the history literature confirms the substantive contributions Black colleges and universities delivered to Black communities. Even so, some might argue that despite the overwhelming research validating the HBCU as a highly-valued entity – public apathy and public policy are both reflective of a system significantly vested in a process of (Black) exclusion. According to historian and scholar Marybeth Gasman, some educators still ask "Why should black colleges still exist in an era of professed integration?"[174] This, despite the research

[171] Constantine, 1994 as cited in Kenneth A. Reid, "Historically Black Colleges and Universities: Making a Comeback," *New Directions for Higher Education* 102 (Summer 1998).
[172] Ibid.
[173] Constantine, 1994 and Wenglinsky, 1996 as cited in M. Christopher Brown II and James Earl Davis *"*The Historically Black College as Social Contract, Social Capital, and Social Equalizer," *Peabody Journal of Education* 76, (2001): 43.
[174] Marybeth Gasman, *Envisioning Black Colleges: A History of the Unite Negro College Fund* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 2007), ¶13.

confirming that HBCUs produce and cultivate many of the country's African-American college graduates and professionals. According to the United Negro College Fund (2007):

> Over half of all African American professionals are graduates of HBCUs. Nine of the top ten colleges that graduate the most African Americans who go on to earn Ph.D.s are HBCUs. Seven of the top eight producers of African-American baccalaureates overall were HBCUs, including #1 Florida A&M University and #2 Howard University…seven of the top ten "Top Colleges and Universities for African Americans" including the top six were HBCUs.[175]

The volumes of research providing a firm and valid substantiation for HBCU continues to be undervalued and marginalized in discussions of federal and local higher education funding. This is a continuation of legacy of oppression and social control that is supported by US education systems and institutions of higher education.

Globally, institutions and systems of higher education are adopting Eurocentric business models of success, which often times fail to consider social context and culture as imperative parts of the equation. In this way, higher education has been packaged as a commodity that will produce a product. Large businesses and corporations often value individuals one-dimensionally—according to their ability to contribute to the attainment of prescribed company objectives, most of which are directly tied to economic gains. Considerations of intellectual growth and development, beyond their relevance to workforce-related demands, are often marginalized. Increasingly, HBCUs are being forced to adhere to national and global quality assurance models that rarely address the cultural, social and historical issues that threaten their progress. Despite centuries of deficient federal and local support, HBCUs will continue to produce Du Bois' "Talented Tenth", Washington's skilled laborers and prominent leaders committed to the progression of the African American community. According to adult education

[175] United Negro College Fund website. Accessed July 10, 2007. http://www.uncf.org/aboutus/hbcus.asp. on July 10, 2007, ¶5.

scholar Diane Montgomery Burnette, moving forward, HBCUs will further substantiate themselves in the scheme of higher education by revisiting the historical missions of these institutions and …[developing] a new mission that espouses racial diversity, academic excellence, and global competitiveness and [viewing] the education of adults, working professionals…."[176] One thing is certain, until more HBCU supporters are employed in positions that allow them to directly impact higher education research, policy and practices, Black colleges and universities will continue to struggle with issues that devalue their potential to deliver uncompromised excellence.

Black Contributions to the History, Philosophy and Practice of Social Justice Education

Long before the professionalization and popularization of the field of social justice education in the United States, concepts of justice were conceptualized and practiced throughout the African Diaspora. Theories and practices of justice in Black communities be traced back to Ancient Egypt (Kemet). Justice has long been a core tenet of social and cultural engagement among Black people.[177] It is important to preface the following conversation about Black concepts of Justice, to also address the scholarly debate around the racial and ethnic identities of those people who inhabited Kemet during the heights of civilization. Some scholars have argued that the Egyptian people were of Black-African descent. W.E.B. Du Bois, Cheikh Anta Diop, Chancellor Williams, Martin Bernal, Asa G. Hilliard, and other well established and respected scholars are among them. Diop's work, *The African Origins of Civilization: Myth or Reality*, for example, uses "eyewitness" historical accounts in collaboration with those recorded in the Bible to substantiate his position. Heroddotus, he claims, "…insists on the Negro character of the

[176] Diane Montgomery Burnette, "*Mission Critical: The Strategic Role of Continuing Higher Education in Advancing the Traditional Mission of Public Historically Black Colleges and Universities*," (PhD dissertation, University of Georgia, 2008), 117.
[177] Karenga, *Introduction to Black Studies,* 163.

Egyptians", further describing them as "'…black with heat.'"[178] He goes on further to argue that the that the name "Kemit", what the ancient Egyptians called their land in their language, means "'black.'" Other historians of Ancient Egypt and Kemet have made the similar claims. In his seminal text *The Destruction of Black Civilization: Great Issues of a Race from 4500 B.C. to 2000 A.D.,* Williams chronicles the rise and fall of "the land of the Blacks". At one point he posits that "…the study of Blacks must begin in Egypt because most of their indestructible monuments are there; and, further, because many of the artifacts archeologists have been uncovering during the past seventy-five years as 'Egyptian' are in fact 'African'". He also argues that the landscape of what is now identified as Egypt was far more vast, including 12, 000, 000 square miles that was encompassed by what was the Ethiopian Empire.[179] His research findings, which further substantiate the claim that ancient Egypt was most predominately inhabited by dark- complexioned, African people, are echoed in the research of other scholars. In his two volume historical and archeological analysis *Black Athena: The Afroasiatic Roots of Classic Civilization,* Martin Bernal asserts that the evidence what he calls "the most powerful Egyptian dynasties, which were based in Upper Egypt" were ruled by Black pharaohs like Menthope, had "'black skins and wooly hair'".[180] There have been other studies like a 1974 United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization report, however, that posit that the predominant race of the people who inhabited early Egypt should not be identified as one "pure…race", but rather one that is better categorized as "Euro-African."[181] With regard to the scholarly debate regarding what race of people the Ancient Egyptian were, I am of the same

[178] Cheikh Anta Diop, *The African Origins of Civilization: Myth or Reality* (Chicago: Lawrence Hill Books, 1974), 1-6.
[179] Chancellor Williams, *The Destruction of Black Civilization: Great Issues of a Race from 4500 B.C. to 2000 A.D.* (Chicago: Third World Press, 1987), 41.
[180] Martin Bernal, *Black Athena, The Afroasiatic Roots of Classical Civilization*, *Volume I: The Fabrication of Ancient Greece, 1785-1985*, (New Brunswick New Jersey: Rutgers University Press), 18 & 242-243.
[181] 1974 UNESCO Symposium Report, *The Peopling of Ancient Egypt and the Deciphering of Meroitic Script* (Cairo, Egypt, 1978), 16 & 19.

opinion that Bernal articulates in his work— that "Research on the question usually reveals far more about the predisposition of the researcher than about the question itself."[182] I am predisposed to believe the evidence documenting the Ancient Egyptians as Black African people.

Justice as a metaphysical construct, has been classically and historically defined according to the mandates of universal and divine law. Western classic texts on ethics, many of which were informed by African philosophical and theological traditions, all reference a central and reoccurring theme of the common good. According to theologian and scholar John Samuel Mbtiti, the ideal "I am because we are; and since we are therefore, I am … is the cardinal point in the understanding of the African view of man", and the central premise upon which Western concepts of justice are based.[183] In addition, scholar John T. Chissell, asserts that "…Ancient Africans lived in harmony with nature, and with each other under the principles of MAAT (Truth, Justice, Righteousness, Harmony, Balance, Order, Propriety, Compassion, and Reciprocity) in Kemet, Egypt."[184] However, Western schooling has historically minimized the influence of the African philosophical tradition on Western thought. This, some scholars contend, was the majority's systematic means of extinguishing the power that comes from the knowledge of oneself.[185] The experiences and perspectives of people of African descent have historically been written out of the meta and mega narratives informing much of western hegemony. Historian and scholar Carter G. Woodson spoke to this issue writing, "The philosophy in the African proverbs and in the rich folklore of that continent was ignored to give preference to that developed on the distant shores of the Mediterranean."[186]

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[182] Bernal, *Black Athena*, 241.
[183] John S. Mbtiti, *African Religions and Philosophy* (New York: Fredrick A Praeger, Inc., 1969), 108.
[184] John T. Chissell, *Pyramids of Power: An Ancient African-centered Approach to Optimal Health* (Baltimore: Positive Perceptions Publications), 57.
[185] Muhammad, *Message to the Blackman*.
[186] Woodson, *The Mis-education,* 19.

The concept of universal, physical and spiritual harmony is one that has long been contemplated by Black intellectuals. The rejection of individualism, and the promotion of the common or communal good, has permeated Eastern thought and practice since Ancient Africa. Mbiti further explores this concept, writing: "Only in terms of other people does the individual become conscious of his own being, his own duties, his privileges and responsibilities towards himself and towards other people … Whatever happens to the individual happens to the whole group, and [vice versa]."[187] This theory is further substantiated by the ancient African proverbs, *it takes a village to raise a child*, and *the ruin of a nation begins in the homes of its people and each one teach one,* all speak to the African tradition that positions the well-being of the community over individual needs, wants and desires. African concepts of justice contend that individual sacrifice is inevitable in the promotion of common welfare.

Historian C. Boyd James found that Black theories of justice evolved out of the circumstances with which the African in America was once confronted. At one point he wrote:

> From the 'primitive' African economic mode to his brutal voyage through the Middle Passage and finally, his settlement and oppression in the New World, the Black man recognized that he was totally excluded from the "rights" to the appropriation and manipulation of Capital and the structuring of the emerging political systems … He was left with no choice but to eke out a "philosophy" rooted in the righteousness and equity of Nature's Law.[188]

The scholarly discourse around the theories of justice has evolved over time into discussions around how social justice, in practice, is best achieved. According to author W.B. Hill: "All history teaches that injustice injures and deteriorates the individual or the nation that practices it, while on the other hand, it develops patience—the nerve of the soul—tenacity and strength …

[187] Mbiti, *African Religions*, 108.
[188] C. Boyd James, *Garvey, Garveyism and the Antinomies in Black Redemption* (Trenton: Africa World Press, 2009), 37.

Plato said: "Better is the case of him who suffers injustice than the case of him who does it".[189] Hill references here the universal law of Karma, which illuminates the nature of positive and negative energy.[190] Thus, in practice, social justice requires that we give, in earnest, that which we wish to receive.

The ancient African tradition that frames social justice theory in a theological context has historically informed movements in other regions of the world. Roman Catholic theologian, Gustavo Gutierrez, for example, is upheld by many scholars of religion as the father of liberation theology. According to Gutierrez, liberation theology is one, "…of the people, a by-product of the ongoing struggle of the poor to overcome oppression, rather than a theology of the experts crafted in quiet libraries and then offered to 'the masses'."[191] Gutierrez used Christianity and the Bible to further ground his philosophy in religious contexts. At one point he refers to a specific passage (Luke 4:16-21; citing Isa. 61:1-2) to address issues of social justice, writing, " …He [Luke] is proclaiming a kingdom of justice and liberation, to be established in favor of the poor, the oppressed, and the marginalized in history."[192] This concept of *praxis*, the "on-going give-and-take between action and reflection"[193], is one of the primary tenets of adult education as articulated by adult education scholar and activist Paulo Freire.[194]

Out of liberation theology other forms of emancipatory theology were formed (Black theology, womanist theology, etc.). Black liberation theology, for example, enacted some of the

[189] W.B. Hill, "Negro Education in the South," *Annals of American Academy of Political and Social Science* 22 (1903): 76-85.
[190] According to Chopra, karma "…is both action and the consequence of that action; it is cause and effect simultaneously, because every action generates a force of energy that returns to us in kind. Many are more familiar with colloquial expressions that embody this meaning of this concept (i.e. what you sow is what you reap, what come around goes around); Deepak Chopra, *The Seven Spiritual Laws of Success: A Practical Guide to the Fulfillment of Your Dreams* (Novato, CA: New World Library, 1993).
[191] Gustavo Gutierrez, *The Power of the Poor* (translated in English by Robert R. Barr New York: Orbis books, 1979) Centro de Estudios y Publicaciones: Lima, Peru), vi.
[192] Ibid, 14.
[193] Ibid, vii.
[194] Paulo Friere, selection from "Pedagogy of the Oppressed," in Sharan B. Merriam, ed., *Selected Writings on Philosophy and Adult Education* (Malabar, Florida: Krieger Publishing Company, 1984).

more progressive forms of social justice theory and practice during the segregation era. Once utilized by slaves as a form of escapism, Black liberation theology is defined by author J. H. Cone in a Western Christian context as, " … creating … in the light of God's revelation in Jesus Christ … a new understanding of black dignity among black people, and providing the necessary soul in that people to destroy white racism."[195] Black theories of social justice and liberation theology would be a central premise for the promotion and practice of adult education during the segregation era.

The historical record has documented the contributions of many women to the adult education and social justice movements, but few credit Sojourner Truth, a preacher, as one of the earliest.[196] Truth, whose birth name was Isabella, was born a slave around 1797 in Ulster County, New York. Although illiterate, she proved to be a scholar in her own right, and as she once said wittingly, "…I can't read but I can hear, and I have heard the Bible."[197] She began lecturing as a traveling preacher around 1843 on women's empowerment for the purposes of "securing women's rights to their wages, their inheritance, and custody of their children; admitting women to institutions of higher learning and the professions; and permitting women vote, hold office, and serve on duties."[198] In addition to empowerment, she targeted topics that promoted abolition and women's suffrage. Her renowned speech, *A'rn't I a Woman?* given at the Women's Rights Convention in Akron, Ohio in 1851, highlights her philosophy of social justice:

> … I am a woman's rights. I have as much muscle as any man. I have plowed and reaped and husked and chopped and mowed, and can any man do more than that? … I am as strong as any man that is now. As for intellect, all I can say is, if a woman have a pint and a man a quart- why can't she have her little point full … And

[195] J. H. Cone, "Black Consciousness and the Black Church: A Historical-theological Interpretation," *The American Academy of Political and Social Science* 387 (1970): 53.
[196] Huey B. Long, *Early Innovators in Adult Education* (London: Routledge, 1991), 54.
[197] Sojourner Truth, 1851, as cited in M. Washington, *Narrative of Sojourner Truth* (Toronto: Random House, 1993), 117.
[198] Painter, 1996, 221.

> how came Jesus into the world? Through God who created him and a woman who bore him. Man where is your part? But the women are coming up Blessed be God and a few of the men are coming up with them. But man is in a tight place, the poor slave is on him, he is surely between a hawk and a buzzard.[199]

Truth's liberation and womanist theology, although it was not termed as such at the time, propagated a radical and revolutionary position on attaining social justice. Today, in the highest levels of our government, she is being acknowledged and honored for a legacy that continues to demand a forceful, but intellectual path to attaining social justice and equal rights for women in all aspects.

During the 1960s, the Black church and theology became a major outlet for the promotion of the adult education, civil rights and social justice movements. Throughout, the Black church continued to evolve as the primary, most accessible (and safe) facilitator of conversations around social justice theory and practice. Further, it "… served as one of the most far-reaching agencies of black adult education in the Antebellum United States".[200] The Black church, therefore, has a long history of functioning as a center for intellectual, moral and social development in Black communities, and has "…served a unique role in the African-American community, often functioning as a social agency providing multiple services including education ... [they] have concerned themselves with the psychological, social, economic, and physical well-being of the African-American community."[201] Carter G. Woodson asserts "that the Negro church, although not a shadow of what it ought to be, is [a] great asset…[and] has taken the lead in education in the schools of the race."[202] Woodson later contends that the Black

[199] Ibid, Truth as cited in Washington, 117.
[200] HG Neufeldt and L. McGee, *Education of the African American Adult* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1990), 15.
[201] Phillip, 1993, as cited in E. P. Isaac, Talmadge C. Guy, and Thomas Valentine, "Understanding African American Learners' Motivation to Learn in Church-based Adult Education," *Adult Education Quarterly* 52 (2001): 23.
[202] Woodson, *The Mis-education*, 53.

church should be a forum for the "highly educated Negro", but for all persons with an aim to eradicate social injustice.

According to Mays "… Higher education for blacks began as missionary enterprises"[203] and was often housed in Black churches and Historically Black Colleges and Universities, so it's not surprising that one of the most iconic of leaders during the 1960s launched his social justice campaign in the Black church. Civil rights leader, Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr. was a minister, an adult educator, a scholar and an activist; the church was his lecture hall, the pulpit his podium. King was born into a middle class family with a legacy of Baptist ministry, on January 15, 1929, in Atlanta, Georgia. He was academically trained at Morehouse College, where he was admitted at the age of fifteen; he studied at the Crozer Theological Seminary in Pennsylvania and earned his Ph.D. at Boston University in 1955. Ten years later, in 1966, King received the Nobel Peace Prize. During his time at Morehouse College he sought the guidance of a then President of Morehouse College, Benjamin E. Mays, to whom he often referred as his spiritual mentor.

Churches would fill to capacity when Dr. King would address, liberate and inspire Blacks across the country with his philosophy and plans for attaining social justice. King propagated his message and belief in "massive civil disobedience [as] a strategy for social change".[204] King's speeches and letters have been referenced by the scholarship of educators, historians, ethicists, and other professionals engaged in social justice research. In one of his more frequently cited writings entitled *Letter from Birmingham City Jail*, King responds to a defamation of character and reprimand issued by eight Alabama clergymen who were enraged by his organized protest

[203] Benjamin E. Mays, "Black colleges: Past, Present and Future," *The Black Scholar* (1974): 32.
[204] Martin Luther King, Jr., 1963, *Conscience for Change: Massey Lectures* (Toronto: CBC Publications, 1967), 30.

and, "…march on city hall…on Good Friday, 12 April 1963."[205] In the letter King describes the philosophical justification for civil disobedience and the methods by which social justice issues should be appropriately addressed. At one point he writes of his non-violent, liberal ideology, which stands in direct opposition to that of many of his contemporaries, on social justice, writing: "I am thankful to God that, through the Negro church, the dimension of non-violence entered our struggle. If this philosophy had not emerged I am convinced that by now many streets of the South will be flowing with floods of blood…."[206] In addition, King outlined his plan of action for achieving social justice in the letter, which included the following:…" 1) collection of the facts to determine whether injustices are alive; 2) negotiation; 3) self-purification; 4) direct action."[207] King wrote the following regarding social justice theory and activism:

> A threat to justice anywhere, is a threat to justice everywhere. There are just and there are unjust laws …a just law is man-made code that squares with the moral law or the law of God. An unjust law is a code that is out of harmony with the moral law …an unjust law is a human law that is not rooted in eternal and natural law. Any law that uplifts human personality is just. Any law that degrades human personality is unjust. All segregation statues are unjust because segregation distorts the soul and damages the personality. It gives the segregator a false sense of superiority and the segregated a false sense of inferiority.[208]

This idea of integration as positive contrasted some of the more radical promoters of social justice like, Garvey and Malcolm X. Some would say however, that the success of King's movements resulted from his ability to organize and mobilize all Black community leaders, regardless of their background, profession, level of education or religious affiliation.

A more radical philosopher and Black activist was also a prominent figure in the adult education and social justice movements of the 1960s. Malcolm X, born Malcolm Little in a

[205] Martin Luther King, Jr. 1963, as cited in Collier-Thomas & Franklin, 1999, 190.
[206] King as cited in Hope Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom*, 162.
[207] Ibid, 154.
[208] Ibid, 158.

segregated hospital in Omaha, Nebraska on May 19, 1925, was the child of Earl and Louise Little. His father, a Baptist preacher, worked closely with Garvey's UNIA, and as divine irony would have it, Malcolm was born on the day that Garvey, whose ideology of Black Nationalism he would later embrace and promote, was incarcerated for mail fraud.[209]

As a youth, Malcolm recalled his confusion when he expressed to a teacher his desire to be a lawyer. The teacher responded insidiously saying that "…one of life's first goals is to be realistic…about being a nigger … A lawyer— that's no realistic goal for a nigger. You need to think about something you *can* be."[210] In his autobiography, he reflects on this early student-teacher exchange as a transformational learning experience. He recalls his own internal struggle with the conflict between his own expectations of achievement—he was an A student and was once seventh-grade president of his class—and what was socially acceptable for Blacks. It was this educational experience that would frame Malcolm's philosophy, leadership and activism as an adult.

Malcolm's contribution to social justice movements were realized through his religious and political activism as a community leader and organizer. His affiliation with the Black Muslims and the Nation of Islam (NOI), which he learned about and adopted while incarcerated, greatly influenced his ideas on how to best promote and achieve social justice in Black communities. The Nation of Islam (NOI) was founded on the premise, "…of peace and as an answer to a prayer of Abraham to deliver his people who would be found in servitude slavery in the Western Hemisphere in this day and time."[211] Like King, his philosophical adversary, Malcolm's ideology and activism were heavily influenced by his theology. After serving six years in prison, he emerged transformed— a Black Muslim, armed with the intellect, insight and

[209] Peter L. Goldman, *The Death and Life of Malcolm X (*New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1965), 28.
[210] Haley, *The Autobiography of Malcolm X*, 36.
[211] The Nation of Islam website. Accessed November 15, 2010. www.noi.org.

strength gained from reading and discussing Black thought, the Quran and the teachings of Elijah Muhammad, leader of the NOI.

Malcolm used his theology and writings of the Bible and the Quran to further substantiate his philosophy of social justice and its connection to the Muslim religion. At a speech given at Atlanta University in 1961 he said:

> The Bible speaks of how we were purposely cut off from our own kind after being robbed of our identity by the cruel Christian slave master (Ezekiel 37.11; Psalms 137.1-9, 83.4). The slave master then took our names, language, and religion from us so that we would have to obey him, and worship him, … and Moses' answer was to show the slaves how to go to a land of their own where they would serve a God of their own and have a country of their own in which they could feed … clothe… and shelter themselves.[212]

While with the NOI, Malcolm taught public speaking classes to other members and contextualized his teaching in Black history with which he had read and become very familiar during his incarceration. According to adult education scholar Elizabeth A. Peterson, Malcolm X's "leadership is that his posture is indicative of a pedagogical thrust clearly locating him in the tradition of black adult educators whose discourse transcended the social malaise of racism…[and] toward black empowerment through cultural celebration and collective action."[213] In addition, Malcolm X opened Muslim teaching and service temples all around the country whose primary mission was community outreach and the education, uplift and empowerment of adults living in poor, urban areas. Although they were ideological adversaries, one a proponent of civil-disobedience and the other of revolution, both Martin and Malcolm used adult education, community outreach and theology to actualize their ideals of social justice. Baldwin and Al-Hadid speak to their commonality, writing, "Malcolm would have agreed nonetheless with

[212] Malcolm X as cited L.V. Lewis V. Baldwin and Amiri YaSin Al-Hadid, *Between Cross and Crescent* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2002), 97.
[213] Elizabeth Peterson*, Freedom Road: Adult Education of African-Americans* (Malabar, Florida: Krieger Publishing Company, 2002), 135 and 138.

Martin's insistence that justice between humans 'is one of the divine foundations of society' and 'an ethical ideal' at 'the root of all true religion.'"[214]

Although there is no disputing the impact and contribution that these theologians made on social justice theory and practice, the legacy of the Black Church has been criticized and interrogated by the Black community. Mays found that he did " … not recall ever having seen a single article by a minister, a group of ministers, or by anyone speaking in the name of the church and Christianity that condemned the horrible crime of lynching."[215] Also, some community leaders and intellectuals thought that Black ministers failed in making the church the community organization that it could have been because of contentions over theological, denominational and philosophical differences regarding social promotion; Woodson would say [they were] quarrel[ing] and fight[ing] over triffles."[216] As for the education that many Black Ministers in seminary school received, Woodson writes, " … the school in which he had been trained followed the traditional course for ministers, devoting most of the time to dead languages and dead issues … [schooling that] …had given no attention to the religious background of the Negroes to whom he was trying to preach."[217] Despite Woodson's contentions, one cannot dispute the long-term contributions of Black religious institutions in the areas of education, community outreach and social justice in urban communities.

Truth, King and Malcolm X were all theologians and activists who exercised adult education and social justice through the promotion of their own Black liberation theologies. Baldwin and Al-Hadid wrote, "that fundamental to their [Martin Luther King, Jr. and Malcolm X] theories of religion was the belief that the Bible speaks to the plight of the oppressed …[and that

[214] Baldwin and Al-Hadid, *Between Cross and Crescent*, 95.
[215] Mays, *Born to Rebel*, 242.
[216] Woodson, *The Mis-education*, 61.
[217] Ibid, 66.

it provided] ...spiritual solution to the social, and political problems confronting black people."[218] Their individual and collective contributions to the social justice movements of the segregation era informed how the concept has been theorized by education scholars and activists, then and now.

More recently, social justice education has been defined by prominent scholar in the field of education William Ayers, as education that "arouses students, engages them in a quest to identify obstacles to their full humanity, to their freedom [and] it must be situated in a cultural context, a historical flow, and economic condition".[219] For the purposes of this project, Ayers recent definition of social justice education, and the Community-Based Research model of education, will be used as comparative points of analysis. Again, CBR model has been defined in the literature according to three core tenets: 1) the collaboration between university faculty, students and community members; 2) the validation of the knowledge of community members as relevant and pertinent to program planning; 3) the promotion of social action, change and justice.[220]

The central argument of this study is that, a reflective, critical analysis of the history, philosophy and practice of social justice education at HBCUs during the Jim Crow Era, will reveal the early HBCU program as the foundation of the more recently popularized definitions and models (i.e. Community-Based Research). The Tuskegee Institute's Moveable School and Atlanta University's People's College are used as case studies, to prove this claim.

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[218] Baldwin and Al-Hadid, *Between Cross and Crescent*, 95.
[219] William Ayers, Jean Ann Hunt, and Therese Quinn, *Teaching for Social Justice* (New York: Teacher's College Press, 1998).
[220] Kerry Strand, Sam Marullo, Nick Cutfortth, Randy Stoecker, Patrick Donohue, *Community-Based Research and Higher Education: Principles and Practices* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 2003), 8.

Research Methodology

This study is a comparative institutional, intellectual and social history. I utilized archival research (primary and secondary resource pamphlets, flyers, photos, typed and hand written letters, newspaper articles and clippings, etc.) to aid my investigation of the founding and administration of two Black social justice education programs—Tuskegee University's Moveable School (1906) and Atlanta University's People's College (1941). I began my search by visiting the archives at the Tuskegee University, National Center for Bioethics Research, to access following primary and secondary resources, in additional to others:

1. Annual Negro Conference Documents, 1892
2. Tuskegee Normal and Agricultural Students 1900 (picture, 1900)
3. Jessup Agricultural Wagon (picture, 1906)
4. Booker T. Washington letters and correspondence (1912-1915)
5. Agriculture class 1921 - Tuskegee Institute Vegetable Wagon (picture, 1921)
6. Booker T. Washington Agricultural School on Wheels (picture, 1923)
7. Study on The Negro Farmer (1916)
8. First and Present Moveable Schools (picture, 1931)
9. Thomas Monroe Campbell. The Moveable School Goes to the Negro Farmer. 1936. Tuskegee University Archives.
10. Knapp Agricultural Truck (picture)
11. Booker T. Washington Papers Collection
12. The Black Forest Land Owners documents
13. Demography of the Disadvantaged in Alabama
14. Tuskegee Civic Association documents
15. Tuskegee Extension Program documents
16. Tuskegee Farmer's Conference

17. George Washington Carver Bulletins

I also visited the archives at the Robert W. Woodruff Archives located in the Atlanta University Center and the Auburn Avenue Research Library to access the following primary and secondary resources, in additional to others:

1. Atlanta University Presidential Records, 1856-1984, Series 2. Frederick Ayer Records, 1865-1867, 1900.
2. Atlanta University Presidential Records, 1856-1984, Series 3. Edmund Asa Ware Records, 1860-1888.
3. Atlanta University Presidential Records, 1856-1984, Series 4. Horace Bumstead Records, 1876-1919.
4. Atlanta University Presidential Records, 1856-1984.
5. Atlanta University Presidential Records, 1856-1961: Series 1, Financial Records.
6. Adams, Myron W. A History of Atlanta University. The Atlanta University Press, 1930.
7. Ira De A. Reid Vertical File
8. Ira D. A. Reid's 1939 study, The Negro Immigrant: His Background, Characteristics, and Social Adjustment.
9. Ira D.A. Reid's, Race Records
10. Class pictures of The People's College (picture, c. 1940s).
11. The People's College: Third Session, November 8, 1943- February 18, 1944 (brochure).
12. Bacote, Clarence A. The Story of Atlanta University: A Century of Service. The Atlanta University Press, 1969.
13. The Atlanta Daily World Newspaper Archives
14. The Atlanta Urban League Papers
15. Transcripts of the radio clips from the People's College airing

Through document analysis, this study also utilizes an extrapolated application of Michel Foucault's methodology of genealogy to substantiate its central argument. According to Foucault, history, language and knowledge are best examined as "'…relations between

power and dominant discourse…'"[221] It is my claim, that for many years the dominant discourse has not fully recognized the early HBCU social justice education model as one that has significantly informed current conversations about the histories of adult, higher and social justice education. In this way, an analysis of the primary resource information lends itself to more a clear interpretation of the "historical knowledge of struggles," that would allow a researcher to assign present day language, meaning and knowledge to past events (i.e. Black folk at TU and AU were *doing* social justice education, although it had yet to be *named* and *claimed* as such by the professionals and organizations dominating the discourse).[222]

[221] Andrius Bielskis, "Power, History and Geneology: Friedrich Nietzsche and Michel Foucault," *Problemos / Problems* 75 92009): 73-84. *Humanities International Complete*, EBSCO*host*. Accessed June 27, 2013.
[222] Ibid, 88.

CHAPTER 3

TUSKEGEE UNIVERSITY, THE MOVEABLE SCHOOL AND SOCIAL JUSTICE EDUCATION

"Wai, shut mah mouf! Ain't no buddy never seed a school movin' 'round" ~ Moveable School student to Field Agent, Thomas Monroe Campbell, Ca. 1933

Introduction

This chapter will provide the converging historical, intellectual, cultural and social contexts that resulted in the founding of Tuskegee University (TU), established in 1881, and the Moveable School, incepted in 1906. The discussion of these influences will complement an institutional analysis of both programs. Additionally, this chapter will highlight the contributions of key persons to the theory and practice that informed the founding and administration of TU and the Moveable School. In this regard, Booker T. Washington the founder and first principle of TU, provided the conceptual frameworks for both programs through the establishment of the Annual Farmers' and Workers' Conference, in 1892. George Washington Carver, botanist, inventor and director of the TU Agriculture Department, provided the pedagogical framework, "…plans of construction and equipment" for the programs by sketching the original Moveable School design, and instituting his unique, in-home methods of instruction. Carver had begun delivering instruction to Black families living in the Tuskegee area in 1896. Lastly, Thomas Monroe Campbell, a former TU student, agriculturalist and the first Black county extension agent to be appointed by the US Department of Agriculture, merged and operationalized the

various components of the Moveable School concept, in 1906.[223] The individual and collective contributions of each scholar to the establishment and administration of the TU and the Moveable School programs were heavily informed by their own lived experiences. Thus, their respective philosophies of life and education will inform the institutional narrative, throughout.

This chapter will also provide the primary and secondary resource information that will substantiate the author's positioning of the TU and Moveable School programs as early Historically Black College and University (HBCU) model of what has been more recently identified by scholars, as social justice education. As "…both a process and a goal…[utilized to gain] full and equal participation of all groups in a society that is mutually shaped to meet their needs", the institutional analysis provided in Chapter 3 will utilize the Kerry Strand, Sam Marullo, et al… model of Community-Based Research (CBR) to characterized the TU and Moveable School program. The CBR model aim is to effect social justice through in communities of learners through: 1) the collaboration between university faculty, students and community members; 2) the validation of the knowledge of community members as relevant and pertinent to program planning; and 3) the promotion of social action, change and justice.[224] This chapter will provide evidence demonstrating how the TU and Moveable School programs both reflect the core tenets of CBR, and thus, social justice education.

Lastly, any discussion about an HBCU program must also address the social and historical contexts shaping the ever evolving question regarding the vision, mission, aim, administration and control of Black higher education. This chapter will fully engage that ongoing

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[223] Thomas Monroe Campbell, *The Moveable School Goes to the Negro Farmer* (Tuskegee, Alabama: Tuskegee Institute Press, 1936).

[224] Lee Anne Bell, *Theoretical Foundations for Social Justice Education*, eds. Maurianne Adams, Lee Anne Bell, and Pat Griffin, *Teaching for Diversity and Social Justice: A Sourcebook*, (Routeledge: New York, 1997), 1-4; Kerry Strand, Sam Marullo, Nick Cutfortth, Randy Stoecker, Patrick Donohue, *Community-Based Research and Higher Education: Principles and Practices* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 2003), 8.

exchange, the key persons who informed it –Booker T. Washington, W.E.B. Du Bois, Carter G. Woodson, James A. Anderson, Louis Harlan, et al– and its influence on the administration of TU and the Moveable School.

Booker T. Washington

Booker Taliaferro Washington, who would later emerge as a leader of Black social justice education efforts in the South, was born on a tobacco farm in Franklin County, Virginia, on April 5, 1856. His mother was a mulatto slave, and his father, her master. As a young boy, Washington worked in salt-furnaces and coal-mines; amid the cruelty of child labor, his desire to become literate was inspired. In his seminal autobiography *Up From Slavery*…, Washington recalls struggling to decipher and assign some meaning to the "figure…'18'" that his boss would routinely write on the barrels of salt that he and step-father had collected, during a day's work. Even as a child, Washington's curiosity and ambition allowed him to see beyond his station as mere slave, who had been rejected by his biological father. He yearned to discover that which distinguished him, a mere illiterate Negro child, from his White boss— the primary benefactor of his family's toiling. It was during this time, that Washington "…determined…that, if [he] accomplished nothing else in life, [he] would in some way get enough education to enable [him] to read common books and newspapers."[225]

As a young man, Washington set out to attend to the Hampton Normal Agricultural Institute located in Virginia; he arrived there in 1872 tired, hungry and with "exactly fifty cents with which to begin [his] education…."[226] It would be this type of determination and resolve, that would gain him entrance into the institute. His initial entrance exam was to sweep the floor

[225] Booker T. Washington, *Up From Slavery: An Autobiography* (Williamstown, Massachusetts: Corner House Publishers, 1900, 1901), 26 & 27.
[226] Ibid, 37 & 50.

of a "recitation-room"; he recalls completing that task, three times over, with the diligence and technical attention required of the most skilled surgeon. Upon the careful and meticulous inspection of his work by a "Yankee" woman, head teacher Mrs. Mary F. Mackie, Washington was granted admission into Hampton and was given a work-study position as a janitor.[227]

Washington's humility, appreciation for work done with the hands and skill in labor, would pay his way through Hampton. He would graduate in 1875, taking with him a philosophy of life and education that would later shape his own aspirations and achievements in social justice education. His educational philosophy, which will be fully explored at a later point in this chapter, was shaped by his own lived experience, and was further informed by the founder of Hampton Institute, General Samuel Chapman Armstrong.[228] Armstrong's distorted perspective of Black people, particularly his contention that they were unfit to engage in matters of politics, would later be at the center of a contentious debate regarding the purpose of Black education in the South. Washington, who would become the Black spokesperson for Armstrong's philosophy, would later in his career, bear the brunt of much of the dissent and mistrust felt by the Black community, toward industrial education.

In this respect, James A. Anderson contends that Black resistance to Armstrong's plan, the foundations upon which the TU and Moveable School programs would be built, have been inadequately documented in the dominate historical narratives. There were Black school faculty, students and community members, alike, who were who suspicious of the industrial education program there, labeling it a "'slave pen and literary penitentiary.'"[229] The resistance to the Armstrong's program at Hampton eventually culminated in 1887, with a student protest. The student body complained about the lack of rigor in the program, the infrequency with which they

[227] Washington, *Up from Slavery*, 53.
[228] Anderson, *The Education of Blacks*, 70.
[229] Ibid, 68.

were engaged in the academics of their trades, the poor pay that they received and the type of "low level" technical positions for which they were being trained."[230] The carpentry students, for example, formally complained to the faculty of Hampton writing:

> 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.[231]

The student indignation, although largely ignored by the school's administration, was widespread among many attending the institute. Student John H. Booth, for example, compared the program to "convict labor…[that] confined the students to work 'for a term of three years [which was] enough to break the constitution of a man, much less boys in the bloom of youth…."[232] Yet, even with the early criticism that Washington undoubtedly heard while matriculating through the Hampton program, he left with what he viewed as some of life's most valuable lessons, among them, the virtue, dignity and respect to be gained from hard work. Washington would eventually join the faculty at Hampton in 1879, and when summoned a short time later, he would travel to a small city in Alabama, to assist with the establishment of a normal school for Blacks in the area.

The Founding of the Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute

Washington's tumultuous journey up from his station as a slave would eventually take him even further South, to Macon County, Alabama, a place where the impact of racism, poverty and illiteracy were painfully reminiscent of his own childhood, as a slave. In his book, *The Education of the Negro in the American Social Order*, historian Horace Mann Bond documents the harsh

[230] Ibid, 59.
[231] Ibid, 60.
[232] Ibid, 61.

conditions with which Washington was likely have confronted. Bond found that in 1870, just a little more than a decade before Washington arrived in Tuskegee:

> 81.4 per cent of the 3, 428, 757 Negroes above the age of ten were reported to be illiterate. [Although] The gross number of illiterates had increased in 1880, by almost a half million, to the largest number ever reported, or 3, 220, 878 out of a population above the average age of ten of 4, 601, 207.[233]

In a subsequent study, *Negro Education in Alabama*, Bond found the illiteracy rates among Blacks to be declining. "In 1900, 69.21 per cent of Negroes in Alabama were reported illiterate. By successive decades, this percentage has dropped steadily to 57.4 per cent in 1900, 40.1 per cent in 1910, and 31.3 percent in 1920, and to 26.2 per cent in 1930."[234] Much of that increase in the literacy rates can be attributed to the work being done by and through HBCUs.[235] When Washington first arrived in Macon County Alabama, he found his people there living under conditions that "left him with a very heavy heart."[236] The impacts of poverty, racism and oppression kept many Blacks living in a constant state of emergency, and often attempting to learn to read, write and think critically while simply trying to survive, under the most extreme of circumstances. Washington found one young man, for example, attempting to learn "French grammar" while surrounded by "grease…filth [and]….weeds...", while others were attempting to learn the rules of banking and accounting, without having ever owned a personal bank account.[237] The gaps to be filled between learning and living, for many of the Black families living in the Macon County area, were both far and wide. Washington's charge was to find out the best way to fill them.

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[233] Horace Mann Bond, *The Education of the Negro in the American Social Order* (New York, Prentice-Hall, Inc. 1934), 180.
[234] Horace Mann Bond, *Negro Education in Alabama: A Study in Cotton and Steel* (New York: Athenaeum, 1939), 256.
[235] WEB Du Bois as cited in Anderson, *The Education of Blacks*, 245.
[236] Washington, *Up from Slavery*, 87.
[237] Ibid, 91; Bond, *Negro Education in Alabama*, 215.

On February 10, 1881, nineteen years after the passage of the first Morrill Act, and nine years before the passage of the second, Alabama House Bill 165 was approved to establish:

> …a normal school for the education of colored teachers. Pupils shall be admitted free of charge for tuition in the school, on giving an obligation in writing to teach in the free schools to teach for the free Schools in this state for two years after they have become qualified.[238]

Washington would answer the charge issued him by his mentor and philosophical guide, General Samuel Chapman Armstrong. Washington was to be the lead teacher and recruiter for the Tuskegee Normal School, and he had been hand selected by Armstrong to assist the earlier efforts of Lewis Adams, a former slave, a trained "tinsmith", and well respected member of the Macon County community, and George W. Campbell, a White merchant and former slave owner, in crystallizing their plans for establishing a Black school in the area.[239] On July 4, 1881 the Alabama State Legislature would approve an annual appropriation of $2,000 to open the doors of the first Black normal school to be established in Alabama. Opening with its first thirty students the Tuskegee Normal School, was established and began the work and service of providing education to the masses of Blacks living in the Macon County, Alabama area.[240]

The small town of Tuskegee would become the place where Washington would build an intellectual and cultural legacy that stands today as solidly as the bricks and mortar, that made an educational institution of "…an old and abandoned plantation"[241]. There, a young Booker T. found his people with their backs bent and bloodied -but not broken- buckling under the pressure of clenched, White fists holding ever tightly onto the Black Belt. Yet, although he found them there living under extreme duress and despair, their hope for a better future had not completely

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[238] B.D. Mayberry, *The Role of Tuskegee University in the Origin, Growth and Development of the Negro Cooperative Extension System, 1881-1990* (Tuskegee, Alabama: Tuskegee University Press: 1989), 6-7.
[239] Denton, Virgina Lance, *Booker T. Washington and the Adult Education Movement* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 1993), 84 & 94.
[240] Mayberry, *The Role of Tuskegee*, 7.
[241] Washington, *Up from Slavery*, 95.

deserted them. Although living in poverty, they remained faithful, believing that the emancipation newly promised them by law, would be realized by them in life. Washington found that his people were willing, just unable, to wholly engage the primary promise of social mobility in a democracy—education. In communing with them, Booker T. eventually earned the trust and respect of the community, and together, the Tuskegee University and Macon County school and community scholars, students, activists, preachers, teachers, leaders and families, set out on a journey toward effecting social justice throughout the south. The collective efforts of the academy and the community resulted in the development of an institution and program, whose legacy substantiates their place at the center of any conversation about social justice education, during the era of Jim Crow.

Washington had envisioned that when he reached Tuskegee in July of 1881, that there would be physical school buildings awaiting him. He soon learned, however, that he was not only charged with the task of being the TU programs' administrator, but he was to build a campus from the ground up.[242] Washington, no stranger to hard, handy work, did just that beginning TU "…in a small shanty church, with one teacher and thirty students, without a dollar's worth of property."[243] Most of the new students who came to TU, were residents of the Macon County area, working as teachers in the local public school system and were over the age of fifteen. Washington described them as "'most earnest'", eager to learn and ready to participate in the adventure of building Black institution of higher learning. And they would do so with their

[242] Robert Sherer, *Black Education in Alabama, 1865-1901* (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 1997), 46.
[243] Booker T. Washington, *The Future of the American Negro* (Westport, Connecticut: Negro Universities Press, 1899), 108.

hands. After being open for only a month's time the number of students attending the institute was nearing fifty.[244]

Naturally, Washington's first-hand experience with being poor helped him to empathize with the plight of the families with whom he intended to work. Poverty, from Washington's view, was a principle barrier to their progress. Thus, an education program rooted in economic development became, from his view, the most viable means of countering social injustice. He did not offer his plan of action, as it were to be instituted at TU, as the definitive answer for Black education, but rather the most realistic and attainable one, considering the circumstances. Washington's education plan valued deeply, thrift and saving, the character in doing work with the hands, steady progress and race cooperation.[245] Thus, all of what Washington would do and build in Tuskegee on behalf of the nation's Black folk, would be based on his own life experience, one that exemplifies the value of gradual persistence and progress. While he, "…found the crude and backward mode of living of most of the people almost overwhelming,…he was firmly convinced that industrial training could reach most of these people and help them raise their standard of living."

Beyond the lack of resources with which he was to build an educational program, what impressed upon Washington most were the deplorable living conditions suffered by the newly emancipated slaves, who had been "suddenly thrown on their own resources in their attempts to obtain food, shelter, and clothing for their families."[246] It is important to note that the conditions facing the newly freed-slaves were the direct result of their experiences in and resulting from the Mid-Atlantic Slave Trade. The impacts of having been ripped from their home land, language,

[244] Sherer, *Black Education in Alabama,* 47.
[245] Monroe Work, "Tuskegee Institute: More than an Educational Institution," *The Journal of Educational Sociology,* 7 (Nov1933): 197.
[246] Campbell, *The Moveable School*, 79.

religion and culture had a devastating impact on their collective psyche and ability to progress through racism and oppression once in the United States. In recognizing the harsh realities facing Black people living in the South, Washington knew that unconventional methods of education would have to be utilized to effectively teach non-traditional students– those learners who disproportionately experience barriers to experiencing equal access and opportunity in education. For the purposes of this dissertation, non-traditional students will be identified as those groups of learners who have historically been marginalized by and within US educational systems, those typically who fall outside of the privileged "…male children of elite, White families", for whom American institutions of higher learning were originally created.[247] In this way, Washington's own struggle to obtain an education and the Hampton ideology of industrial education, would provide the foundations for his own programmatic design that incorporated "…community programs, cooperative efforts to link…agriculture and industry with the practical needs and education of surrounding areas."[248] Further, Sharan Merriam, Rosemary S. Caffarela and Lisa Baumgartner have defined adult learners by their age, sixteen and older, and by the educational activity which "…would have as its main purpose the desire to acquire some type of knowledge, information, or skill and that it would include some form of instruction (including self-instruction)." The learning exercise, they posited, could be delivered in formal, nonformal, informal and/or self-directed educational environments, for "…job-training, literacy, civic education, liberal (such as Great Books clubs) and leisure learning [and] community-based social action initiatives.[249]

[247] William Ayers, et al, *Handbook of Social Justice in Education*, 88.
[248] Denton, *Booker T. Washington,* 70.
[249] Sharan Merriam, Rosemary S. Caffarela and Lisa Baumgartner, Learning in Adulthood: A Comprehensive Guide (San Franscisco: Jossey-Bass, 2007), 7 and 53-61.

Washington began implementing the Hampton philosophy of pragmatic education, which evolved into what would become widely known as the "Hampton-Tuskegee Idea", by first conducting a needs assessment aimed to document the living and learning conditions and needs of his potential students – communities of poor Black farmers and their families, residing in the Macon County area.[250] Although Washington's own lived experience had well acquainted him with the harsh realities of Black life in the south, he wanted to learn from the farmers, themselves, their thoughts and ideas about their circumstances. In this regard, Washington entrenched himself in the environment of the people living in and around rural Macon County, Alabama, what was to become the home of TU. Washington saw TU as a community endeavor; he "…resolved to make the school a real part of the community in which it was located. [He] determined that no one should have the feeling that it was a foreign institution dropped down in the midst of the people, for which they had no responsibility and in which they had no interest."[251]

According to Monroe Work, founding Director of the Department of Records and Research at TU in 1908, Washington, "… ate and slept in their little cabins. He saw their farms, their schools, and their churches. He came to understand their needs."[252] Although many of the farmers in Macon County desired to better their socioeconomic conditions, they lacked the knowledge, means, and preparation needed to promote themselves out of poverty.[253] One of the primary aims of Washington's needs assessment survey was to define the educational needs of the farmers as *they* saw them, not as he – an outsider to the community in many ways – identified

[250] Pragmatism as defined by adult education scholar John Dewey is defined by a "…method of knowing [whose]…essential feature is to maintain the continuity of knowing with an activity which purposefully modifies the environment. ..Only that which has been organized into our disposition so as to enable us to adapt the environment to our needs and to adapt our aims and desires to the situation in which we live is really knowledge." John Dewey, *Democracy and Education* (Mineola, New York: Dover Publications, 1916), 329.
[251] Washington, *Up from Slavery*, 101.
[252] Work, "Tuskegee Institute…", 19.
[253] Anderson, *The Education of Blacks*, 73.

them. He recognized and respected their knowledge as integral to the program planning process. Thus, the central premise of administration and instruction at TU was rooted in the tenets of student-centered learning and social justice education.

Social justice education, as defined in Chapter 1 of this dissertation is designed to integrate the knowledge and experience of non-traditional students –community persons, activists, scholars, etc.– as central to program development.[254] "It may be said that coincident with the beginning of formal classroom work at Tuskegee, there were initiated efforts outside the school for improving the economic, social, and moral conditions of the people."[255] From its inception, the Tuskegee program was a collaborative, community education effort, a joint social justice partnership between the academy and the community, beginning in 1890 with the monthly farmers meetings. Work also found that Washington's primary goals in establishing the institute went far beyond the programmatic design used to develop traditional programs of higher education. Washington, decided early on, that TU would focus on: "1. Work for improving the conditions of the Negro in the South 2. Work for improving the welfare of Negroes generally throughout the country [and] 3. The promotion of better race relationships."[256] Agricultural and industrial community education, from Washington's view, was the most viable way to reach the TU programmatic goals; he and his sights were set on improving the overall quality of life for Blacks living in the South and throughout the country, through and as a result of their education. His educational philosophy was one that focused on self-improvement in all aspects of a students' life, physical, economic, spiritual and mental.[257] Sherri Lawless argues that:

[254] Strand, et al, *Community-Based Research and Higher Education*, 8.
[255] Work, "Tuskegee Institute…", 19.
[256] Ibid, 19.
[257] Sherri K. Lawless, "Walking Against the Grain: A Case Study of Catholic Women's Social Justice Discourse, Practice and Spirituality," (PhD dissertation University of Georgia, 2012), 185-187.

> …recognizing and attending to spirituality is vital to adult education practice especially in relation to emancipatory and transformative approaches because it 'is about the engagement of passion, which involves the knowledge construction process of the whole person'. Because as humans we are wholly integrated beings, matters of the heart and soul are as relevant as matters of the mind and adult educators working for social justice must be ever mindful that all aspects of our humanness are relevant and must be acknowledged in all efforts towards meaningful societal change.[258]

In this way, TU's social justice education program was designed to attend to every aspect of the Black farmers' lives. Washington recognized that the learners with whom he intended to work, had expressed needs that went beyond the aims of a standard education program. In order for Black farmers and their families to fully engage the learning experience, those aspects of their lives that they deemed as valuable, needed to be acknowledged, respected and integrated into the programs' aim.

Washington operationalized his programmatic objectives, first, through establishing the Annual Negro Famers' Conferences in 1892. Almost immediately, Black families began to realize the benefits of their participation. One of Washington's strategies espoused during the conferences focused on land ownership as a means of building equity and intergenerational wealth. His strategy was adopted by many farmers and workers who attended the conferences. All attendees were expected to expected to return to their respective communities and replicate the skills and strategies that they learned by holding conferences of their own. Their individual learning, therefore, was to be of benefit to the entire community and educational services were to be distributed "to each according to his [or her] needs."[259] This type of distributive justice is based on the African concept of collectivism, where each part of the whole is valued over that of any one individual within it. In Thomas Monroe Campbell's words, justice could be created for

[258]Tisdell as cited in Sherri K. Lawless, "Walking Against…", 188.
[259] Michael Walzer, *Spheres of Justice: A Defense of Pluralism and Equality* (New York: Basic Books, Inc, 1983), 25-26.

Black famers living in the deep South in so much as "…a larger portion of public aid [would] reach those…furthest down the economic scale…."[260]

Through the application of a type of distributive justice, many Black farmers were able to become land owners, as is the case with Mt. Megis, who "…bought about a thousand acres under [Washington's] plan", through Washington's community education plan.[261]

Washington's promotion of agricultural and industrial education, however, would not go unchallenged or uninvestigated by others supporters of Black education; his political positioning, led some in the Black community to believe him to be an "accommodationist". This label, would threaten to tarnish his legacy and contributions to Black education, long into the future. The supporters of industrial education programs began to view it as way of making more palatable the idea of providing universal, adult and higher education for Blacks; it was a more comfortable proposition for those Whites who feared the development of a socially, economically and politically critical Black mass who could potentially threaten the current social hierarchy. As some saw it, there was a place for the Black man in education, and it was to learn those skills that would help him to fully aid the growing industries of the south. One confederate supporter of industrial education from Virginia, Thomas Muldrop Logan, once said that, "…training blacks to perform, efficiently, their part in the social economy, this caste allotment…might prove advantageous to southern society, as a whole, on the principle of division of labor applied to races.'"[262]

In this way, the principal promoters of industrial education did so for the distinct purpose of "train[ing] laborers to be better citizens and more efficient workers, the viewed universal

[260] Campbell, *The Moveable School*, vii.
[261] Sherer, *Black Education in Alabama*, 55-56.
[262] Anderson, *The Education of Blacks*, 27-28.

education as a sound investment in social stability and economic prosperity."[263] Supporters of Black education in the North and South could agree that Black education for was ok, as long as it could be effectively utilized as a tool for "socialization and control."[264] Fear and exploitation joined those forces who agreed to allow Blacks to participate in education, as long as economic, social, political outcomes of doing so, were to their benefit. In this way, what was politically and economically expedient for Black people was a secondary consideration, if it was at all. During this time, education was used as a vehicle through which to acculturate masses of Blacks into permanent positions as laborers; to many this was a compromise that any serious advocate of Black progress would not make. Some viewed saw political and social gains for the masses of Black people as needing a type of immediate attention that could not be negotiated through cooperative means.

Historians like Carter G. Woodson, during Washington's time, and James A. Anderson, more recently, argued that this is where Washington's compromise of his own intellectual integrity and commitment to Black progress began. He lost the support of many advocates of Black education, when he became the Black face of the Hampton-Tuskegee Idea, advocating that communities of Black folk take the path of least resistance to attainting social justice, by cooperating with Whites. Their acceptance of Washington's philosophy of education, to many, came at a cost of political and social concession that were not to their own benefit. Some would argue that Washington's approach to attaining social justice was naive at best –he overestimated the kindness and intension of those who claimed to have the best interest of Black progress in mind. To this point, Anderson writes:

> …the emergence of the Hampton-Tuskegee model of black industrial education as the basis of a great compromise...a politically expedient device to reconcile hostile southern

[263] Ibid, 80.
[264] Ibid, 80.

> whites to the idea of universal common schooling for black children…southern white industrialists, middle-class professionals and school reformers…accepted the idea of minimal schooling for black children so long as the curriculum embodied the basic theory and practices of the Hampton-Tuskegee program."[265]

Again, the argument can be made that Washington did not offer "industrial capitalism" as *the* definitive plan for Black progress, but one that he believed would gradually and eventually earn his people a respected place within the American social hierarchy.[266] His own upward mobility had been a long and laborious journey, and yet, successful, by many standards; he saw progress for his race as one that would also be gradual, and the industrial program the first step toward that achieving it.

Carter G. Woodson also interjected his thought about the industrial educational programs in his book, *The Mis-education of the Negro*. In it he challenges the widely propagated stories depicting the US educational system as just, fair and democratic, and outlines the ways in which the educational system has historically worked to the detriment of Blacks. At one point, he asserts: "… For generation[s] the authorities in the cities and states throughout the black belt began to change the course of study to make the training of the Negro conform to [a] policy that consistently situated [him] at the absolute bottom of the social hierarchy."[267] It is within this sentiment of mistrust that Woodson writes about White philanthropic contributions to HBCUs and specifically, those that ascribed to an industrial education program. He wrote:

> …it is often said that the time is not ripe for Negros to take over the administration of their institutions, for they do not have the contacts for raising money, but what's to be said of what Booker T. Washington did for Tuskegee and observe what R.R. Moton and John Hope are doing today.[268]

[265] Anderson, *The Education of Blacks*, 80.
[266] Watkins, *The White Architects of Black Education*, 15.
[267] Woodson, *The Mis-education*, 12.
[268] Ibid, 30.

Interestingly, Woodson both critiqued and applauded Booker T.'s program, and as evidenced throughout the chapter there were others who -as Washington was accused of dong himself- walked a fine line of a contradiction of views. Even Washington's harshest critics, however, had acknowledged, the good that was being done through the TU program. P. 171

On September 18, 1895 Booker T. Washington delivered what is arguably one of the most seminal speeches of his life. Some would say, he further compromised his position as sincere and trustworthy advocate of Black education. *The Atlanta Exposition Address* would provide for his national audience, Washington's philosophical thought on Black education and race relations. Washington suggested that as a newly freed people, Blacks should look to master manual labor skills and enter the workforce, in the short-term, and seek to gain greater social and political autonomy in the future. He believed that Blacks should commit themselves to labor intensive, lower level jobs, and over time, aspire for higher levels of education and occupation. At one point in his address, he states, "It is at the bottom of life we must begin, and not at the top. Nor should we permit our grievances to overshadow our opportunities."[269] Washington's philosophy of education, "The Hampton-Tuskegee Idea", was undoubtedly informed by his mentor General Samuel Chapman Armstrong.[270]

Armstrong, who had served in the Civil War and as a missionary in Hawaii, founded Hampton in 1868, with a supposed aim to serve the educational needs of the Black contrabands of war living in Hampton, Virginia area. However, the ideological underpinnings of Armstrong's program assumed his students to be morally incapable of governing themselves because, "The American White race…had three centuries of experience in organizing the forces about him,

[269] Washington, *Up from Slavery*, 161.
[270] Anderson, *The Education of Blacks*, 70.

political, social and physical. The Negro…three centuries of paganism."[271] Armstrong's ideas regarding Black education, as posited by scholars like Carter G. Woodson, James A. Anderson and Edward Potts, were primarily motivated by the social and economic interests of Whites with a vested interest in creating and controlling a Black laboring class, a class of people, who were ostracized from the political process and thus, permanently assigned to a caste with limited opportunities for social mobility.[272] For, "Industrial training did not train the freedmen for good paying trades and respectable vocations." Washington's program, Potts found, also did not consider the pending increased use of mechanical agriculture which would all but eradicate the use of manual labor.[273]

Not long after Booker T. Washington embarked upon his social justice education mission in Tuskegee, a landmark case would determine the legality of segregated education. The 1896 Plessey versus Ferguson case set a *separate but equal* precedence that would impact the future of Black education. This institutionalization of race segregation, harkened back to a time in America's history where science had been used to justify slavery. In this case, science would be used to substantiate popular beliefs about Black physical, intellectual, moral inferiority and further justify the Black man's "proper position" at the bottom of the US social hierarchy.

According to William Watkins, the author of *The White Architects of Black Education,* the field of Eugenics, which was created and exploited by American scientists, had long been used science to legitimate popular beliefs in the natural and innate inferiority of Blacks. Science had been used to substantiate Black inferiority in every human capacity. Race Scientist, Frederick Hoffman, for example, published a 1896 study entitled *Race Traits and Tendencies and the American Negro* that used science to prove the "…inherent immorality" of Black people.

[271] Armstrong as quoted in Anderson, *The Education of Blacks*, 39.
[272] Anderson, *The Education of Blacks,* 88.
[273] Potts, "The Du Bois –Washington Debate: Conflicting Strategies…", 31.

Others, like Galton and Carl C. Bigham, claimed that because of their innate intellectual inferiority, which he found to be "…some two grades below" that of other groups, that attempts to acculturate Black people would be fruitless and could only "…lead to a decline in the nation's collective intelligence."[274] Watkins further founds that:

> 'Scientific' racism was a fundamental precept in the architecture if Black education. It was felt that the naturally inferior Black must always occupy a socially subservient position. Industrial education, therefore, was right for the Blacks, and they for it. More significant, industrial education was presented as progressive reform. After all, wasn't it a step up from slavery? It could be marketed as a democracy and a way to increase Black participation in the society and economic community.[275]

While Washington exposed a Hampton-Tuskegee philosophy doctrine of "self-help", best taught through hard labor and industrial education, his ideas regarding the very nature and potential of Black people differed from that of his mentor, Samuel Armstrong. For Washington, the long-term implications for learning the skills of self-sufficiency would eventually bring the masses of Black people to a place where they would experience respect and equity. For Armstrong, on the other hand, the aim of Black education was to create a permanent working class and teachers to further promote the Hampton-Tuskegee ideology that "…[relegated]… Black workers to the lowest forms of labor in the southern society…."[276] Washington, however, seemed to have higher, although longer-term, expectations for his people. He believed that manual labor was just the beginning of the long journey toward gradual and eventual, racial uplift, as had been his own experience. While Washington had been trained in the Armstrong tradition of education at Hampton, which assumed Blacks to be of "'…low ideas of honor and morality [and] want of

[274] Watkins, *The White Architects,* 38-39.
[275] Ibid*,* 40.
[276] Anderson, *The Education of Blacks*, 36.

foresight and energy and vanity'", it can be argued that his educational philosophy had evolved to represent something entirely different.[277]

At times, Washington spoke scathingly, although indirectly, about what Armstrong and others saw as the purpose of Black education. He did not see education as a tool to be used to civilize or control Black people. Washington said: "No White American ever thinks that any other race is wholly civilized until he wears the white man's clothes, eats the White man's food, speaks the White man's language, [and] professes the white man's religion."[278] Thus, depictions of Washington as a White sympathizer and Black traitor, are somewhat flawed. Further, it has been argued that Washington urged Blacks to concede their most immediate political concerns for their own economic interests. While he never held a formal political position, however, Washington was indeed a politician, in the simplest sense of the term. He was able to gain the trust, respect, admiration and support of Blacks and Whites of all walks of life and religious affiliations, to put forth and gain support for his own agenda of social justice education. His ability to gain access to and circumvent, in many ways, American political systems is exemplified on his "friendship" with President Theodore Roosevelt. In this way, Washington's own life achievements flew in the face of Armstrong's belief that Black people were incapable of holding and navigating such positions and systems.

Further, it can be argued that Washington saw patience, compliance and cooperation as a strategy that would eventually result in a social compromise between the races that would benefit both. While Washington was not publically aggressive or direct with his tone or rhetoric, some historians have found the work that he did, behind closed doors, with Whites and through the

[277] Ibid, 39.
[278] Denton, *Booker T. Washington*, 75.

courts, are without question, aggressive in their aim and intention. According to historian Louis Harlan, Washington was not:

> ….a total accommodator who made his peace with injustice, but…a conservative who would seek for himself and his people what he wanted, but would take what he could get. Privately, with and through whites of good will, Washington sought to moderate the policies of the more inimical whites. Secretly, he struck more directly through the courts.[279]

Harlan further argues that the direct impact of Washington's strategy was often usurped by circumstances that were out of his individual influence and control. He identifies those two events as the fallout resulting from the 1900 Montgomery Race Conference, and Washington's meeting with President Theodore Roosevelt, in 1901.

The Montgomery Race Conference (MRC) was a meeting of twenty-five White men, gathered to discuss race relations in the South, but more specifically, the question Black suffrage; it had been decided by the conference director Edgar Gardner Murphy, that Blacks would not be allowed to participate in the conversation. Murphy, just days before announcing the logistics of the meeting, traveled to the campus of TU for a public dedication of a new campus building.[280] Many in the Black community simply could not reconcile Washington's cooperation with a man who thought it proper to discuss political matters concerning Black people, while denying them a seat at the planning table. Washington did, however, call a meeting of his own. Against the recommendation of many, of his philanthropic supporters, he held a meeting with other Black men of influence in the area, after the MRC had ended. Out of that meeting came a letter, which was signed by Washington, that read:

> The Negro is not seeking to rule the white man….The Negro does ask, however, that since he is taxed, works the roads, is punished for crime, is called upon to defend his country, that he have some humble share in choosing those who shall rule over him,

[279] Louis R. Harlan, *The Making of a Black Leader; 1856-1901* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972), 288.
[280] Ibid, 292-293.

> especially when he has proven his worthiness by becoming a tax-payer and a worthy reliable citizen.[281]

Although, Washington did not attend the meeting, his signature represented his support and agreement, all the same. He tried, and some might say with little success, to achieve Black political and social gains gradually, and in a way the he thought would not lose those that he had already made. Strategically, Washington at times seemed to choose to "…wear…the mask of compliance, choosing deception and subterfuge, convinced that frontal assaults would fail."[282]

Washington further solidified the Black community's view of him as a "'… good Negro'" by accepting an invitation to a closed door, dinner meeting with President Theodore Roosevelt; both men agreed that the specific details of their meeting would remain private, a conversation between friends.[283] Their meeting added fuel to the fire that was the growing suspicion in the Black community of Washington's true agenda; many believed that he made political concessions on the behalf of Black progress, to earn for himself an appointment in the White House. 1n 1902, one year after his meeting with the president, however, Washington made a public statement reaffirming his commitment to Black progress through education, stating that his intention was in no way "…to push a political agenda nor volunteer endorsement(s)..." for any one candidate.[284] He simply wanted Black people to have an advisor who could act on their behalf, and inform congressional decisions impacting them. In fact, he claimed, that even if he were to be offered a political appointment, he would not accept it.[285]

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[281] Ibid, 299.
[282] Michael Scott Belize and Marybeth Gasman, eds., *Booker T. Washington Rediscovered* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2012), 210-211.
[283] Lewis Harlan, *Booker T. Washington: The Wizard of Tuskegee, 1901-1915*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 3. Within its historical context, Black people who were regarded as over-compromising or weak in their dealings with White people were often referred to as being, just what the slave masters wanted, a "good Negro."
[284] Ibid, 10.
[285] Ibid, 20.

Still, some scholars argued that the political concessions that Washington made, on behalf of the Black masses, were not worth the immediate benefits. According to historian James A. Anderson, Washington conceded the political power of Blacks to those interested in industrial education, for their own selfish reasons. It may, on the other hand, that Washington saw the longevity in building economic capital, in Black communities -through landownership and agricultural enterprise- as the most effective method for their achieving eventual, political power.[286] It had been the path that other immigrant populations, like the Jews, make political gains in for their communities. The flaw in that line of thinking, however, may have been that the Black experience of slavery and racism in the US cannot be compared to any other; it was unique in its impact and lasting implications. The solutions, therefore, must be as well. As posited in his book *Black Labor*, *White Wealth: The Search for Power and economic Justice,* educator Claude Anderson found that "…when the American economy could have offered material economic benefit to blacks, a new influx of immigrants or refugees arrived, to fill the void and 'further exiled blacks from fruitful participation in the national life.'"[287]

While Washington acknowledged, later in his career, the failings of his own philosophy and practice of combating oppression, there were some events that implemented how his plan was enacted, that were outside of his control. Even with its failings, Washington's strategy for attaining social justice was effective in helping many Black families in their efforts to obtain "freedom from oppressive relations."[288] The aim of social justice education, as a practice at HBCUs was to effect social change and public policy. In this regard, the TU program was built

[286] James A. Anderson, "Black Rural Communities and the Struggle for Education during the Age of Booker T. Washington, 1877-1915," *Peabody Journal of Education*, 67 (Summer, 1990): 55-56.
[287] Dan Lacy as cited in Claude Anderson, *Black Labor*, *White Wealth: The Search for Power and Economic Justice* (Bethesda, Maryland: PowerNomikcs Corporation of America, Inc., 1994), 102.
[288] Harvey and Young as cited by Sharon Gewirtz, "Rethinking Social Justice: A Conceptual Analysis," eds. Jackie Demaine, *Sociology of Education Today* (Palgrave Publishers Ltd: 2001), 59-60.

on the premise of the eventual attainment of political power for Blacks, through first gaining economic power.

Tuskegee Institute's Vision, Mission and Objectives

Washington suggested that as a newly freed people, Blacks should look to master those manual labor skills that would allow them to entrance into the workforce, in the short-term, and look toward gaining their economic and political independence, sometime in the future. He believed that Blacks should commit themselves to labor intensive, lower-level jobs, and over time, aspire for higher levels of education, occupation and political engagement for "it is at the bottom of life [Blacks] must begin, and not at the top. Nor should [they] permit our grievances to overshadow our opportunities."[289] In this way, Washington saw the mission of the institute as an exercise in pragmatism, one aimed to meet the most immediate needs of its students. He wrote:

> Tuskegee's germ principal is to be found in its unboasted ideals, in the things that of necessity cannot be listed in catalogue or report…The school dwells upon the saving power of land, and learning, and skill and bank-account- not as finalities in themselves, but as tangible witnesses to the Negro's capacity to compete with others.[290]

Further, education extension and community outreach, or meeting learners exactly where they are geographically, socially, and intellectually, were also core doctrines of the historic mission of the institute.

The programmatic goals and objectives of Tuskegee were built on the principals of social justice education, with an expressed focus on holistic learning. Holistic approaches to adult education assume the learner's economic, social, and spiritual needs to be of equal importance to their academic and intellectual development. According the Community-Based Research model of social justice education, an effective program must validate the knowledge and experiences of

[289] Washington, *Up from Slavery, 161.*
[290] Washington, *Tuskegee & It's People,* 13.

community members as relevant and pertinent to program planning. To this end, Washington said the following about how he approached planning the TU program:

> …as I began consulting as to the future of the school from the first. The students were making progress in learning books and developing their minds, but it became apparent at once that, if we were able to make any permanent impression upon those who had come to us for training, we must do something besides teach them mere books. The students had come from homes where they had no opportunities for lessons which would teach them how to care for their bodies….We wanted to teach the students how to bathe….what to eat, and how to eat it properly, and how to care for their rooms…we wanted to give them such a practical knowledge of some industry , thrift and, and economy, that they would be sure of knowing how to make a living after they had left us."[291]

Emmett Scott, an executive secretary for Washington appointed in 1912, made reference to this concept writing, "The Tuskegee Idea always asks one question, and that is, 'What are you?' and not, 'What have you?'…character-building is the Alpha Omega of all that Tuskegee stands for."[292] Washington's own journey from a slave, to a teacher to the principal and first president of a premiere institution of higher learning, exemplifies a life of progress that he saw as possible for any Black man, woman or child to also achieve. His philosophy of education was largely based on his own tumultuous journey toward liberation, and would give rise to what is arguably one the most impactful HBCU models of social justice education, that are Tuskegee University and the Moveable School.

Thomas Monroe Campbell

Much like his mentor Booker T. Washington, Thomas Monroe Campbell experienced the harshness of the living in the segregated South, from the time of his birth. On February 11, 1883 Campbell was born, in Elberton, Georgia to a Methodist preacher and tenant farmer, by the name of William A. Campbell. Young Campbell's mother, died during childbirth when he was around

[291] Washington, *Up from Slavery*, 94.
[292] Emmett J. Scott , "Present Achievement and Governing Ideals" in Booker T. Washington, ed. *Tuskegee & it's People: Their Ideals and Achievements* (New York: D. Appleton and Company Publishers, 1905), 21.

five or six years of age. He wrote of the hardships that befell his family as a result of his mother's illness, death and resulting medical bills, writing of how they "…placed many hardships upon the rest of the family."[293] In his mother's absence, all of the children, excluding the youngest two, worked as hired help for Whites, to help with the household expenses. Ultimately, their earnings and sacrifice never produced enough income to keep the family's home from being mortgaged.

Campbell's early schooling and learning were greatly impeded by the financial obligations of his home life. The luxury of attending school was one not afforded many Black children at that time, particularly those of poor and working class folk. As a result, Campbell spent much of his time working as a hired hand for Whites, and providing farm assistance to his father. Even when his work allowed him the opportunity to attend school during the "regular short term", he was still unable to participate in school consistently.[294] Campbell's desire to learn, once peaked, by a school teacher who noticed him playing with the school children at recess, however, would not be quelled. That teacher taught him the alphabet and gave him a used almanac with which to practice his reading and writing. While Campbell attended school irregularly and often hungry and poorly clothed, he felt a yearning for education that would push him to overcome the many barriers to accessing education, presented him throughout his young life.

In 1895, while picking cotton, Campbell recalled hearing a White family discussing a "'big"' Negro in Atlanta, who had given an address at the Cotton States Exposition. That man was Booker T. Washington; it was soon thereafter that Campbell decided that he would travel to

[293] Campbell, *The Moveable School*, 4.
[294] Ibid, 7.

the school in the "little town…the name of which very few people could pronounce."[295] He determined then, that he would no longer suffer his father's demands to endlessly paying off a family debt, which seemed to never get any closer to resolution. He decided that he would not be a slave to a White man or to a mortgage, as his father had been for most of his life; he wanted more and he would have it. Campbell resolved that would join this famed "….Negro teacher, who had a school in Tuskegee, Alabama". [296] Escaping home and the burden of his legacy as a lifetime debtor and tenant farmer to do so, however, would be anything but easy. Like his older brother, who had run away from home to attend Tuskegee for the same reasons, Campbell would flee the emotional and financial obligation imposed upon him by his father. Campbell, did not describe his father as a cruel man, but rather just one who, like many other Black men of his time, had become over-burdened, depressed and bitter from suffering the impacts of slavery, racism, oppression and perpetual indebtedness.

On January 2, 1899, Campbell would begin his journey to Tuskegee, with forty-five cents in his pocket, a small leather satchel and a few biscuits with "fried meat between them."[297] Nothing, but his sheer determination and the kindness of strangers would bring him through his trek to Tuskegee, much of his journey there would be had on foot. He walked some thirty-miles at a time, picked cotton to eat and begged for farm work to get him close to enough to Athens, Georgia, where he would board a train headed to Tuskegee. Having survived near starvation and the crippling of his hands and feet from frostbite, he arrived on the steps of Phelps Hall in April of 1899. His brother would soon meet and welcome him to the Tuskegee Institute, helped him to become acclimated to the college and paid his first semester's tuition of one dollar.[298]

[295] Ibid, 17.
[296] Ibid, 16-17.
[297] Ibid, 28.
[298] Ibid, 47-48.

Unfortunately, Campbell's brother who has suffered the loss of a leg during his own quest for education, would never graduate from the Institute. Three months after young Campbell arrived there, his brother would succumb to the complications resulting from an outbreak of typhoid and malaria at the school. His brother's dying wish was that he be buried at Tuskegee.[299]

Much like Booker T. Washington who earned his way into the Hampton Institute through showing his skill of hand, Campbell made his way into Tuskegee by raking the grounds of the campus, hauling wood from the swamps, cleaning the horse barns, collecting bricks for the brickyard and washing the campus fences and barns, such that "It seemed…that [he had] whitewashed everything on the campus."[300] Although his official entrance examination deemed him an "unclassifi[able]" academic student, he was eventually allowed to enter into the Agricultural Department's program of study. Campbell occupied various forms of work-study to pay for his room and board at the institute. He recalls the most personally rewarding, however, was when he worked as the driver of "Dr. Washington's…buggy." As his driver, Campbell recalls learning some of the most formative ideas and lessons of his time as a student at TU. He wrote about Booker T. with honest admiration, saying:

> Dr. Washington literally hated to wait for anybody or anything…And he never wasted words…it was my privilege to drive him and many distinguished visitors about the campus. I would hear him discuss with these friends white and colored, some of the big and grave problems confronting Tuskegee and the Negro race. At all times I was impressed with the spirit of unselfishness in the attitude of this great man.[301]

Campbell's personal interactions with Washington will later reveal themselves in his own educational philosophy and the operational aspects of the Moveable School.

By the age of twenty-one, Campbell had survived a life-threatening bout of illness that would almost prevent him from being allowed to continue in the program, but he persisted and

[299] Ibid, 50-51.
[300] Ibid, 48-49.
[301] Ibid, 68-69.

found himself two years away from graduating from Tuskegee. During his second summer as a graduate student at TU, Booker T. Washington submitted Campbell's name as the most fitting to hold the position with the United Stated Department of Agriculture as the first Negro Extension Agent.[302] His service area at that time was Macon, County Alabama. This position, and a later one as a field demonstration agent for several southern states, would carry him into the development and administration of one of the most notable of the HBCU social justice education programs, the Moveable School.[303]

Campbell's educational philosophy was very heavily informed by his own life experiences and the education that he received at TU; it would later provide him with the background to operationalize the conceptual and pedagogical frameworks for the Moveable school. He was a proponent of student-centered, holistic education, instruction that was practical and could be put to immediate use to improve the lives of Black farmers and their families. In this way, education was not to be some exercise wholly disconnected from a students' lived experience; its very purpose was to impact, enhance and improve a students' lived experience. In his own words, and in reference to cooperative extension work and education, "The deeper significance of it all is seen in the enrichment of the lives of the people— these people who are without educational advances."[304] As with current social justice education theory and practice, "schooling" is to extend far beyond the four walls of a classroom or building to impact the everyday lives of its students. The very premise of social justice education requires that the student needs sit at the center of the program planning process, not in the periphery.

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[302] Ibid, 76.
[303] Allen Jones, "The Role of Tuskegee Institute in the Education of Black Farmers," *The Journal of Negro History* 60 (Apr., 1975): 265.
[304] Thomas Monroe Campbell, Letter to Rev. Mr. V.A. Edwards about the Sunday School Publishing Board, Nashville, Tennessee, March 24, 1947, Box, 019.051, folder 3, The Thomas Monroe Campbell Papers, National Center for Bioethics in Research and Healthcare, Archives, Tuskegee University, Tuskegee, AL. page 3.

As detailed in chapters 1 and 2, the term social justice education –as it has been identified in more recent adult and higher education scholarship– will be used to define and characterize the TU and Moveable School programs. It is important, therefore, to further engage the epistemological concerns that may arise out of using present phenomena to define past events. The issue of *presentism* or "the unwitting projection of a structure of interpretation that arises from the historians own experience or context onto aspects of the past under study," could present some methodological issues that will be further examined here.[305] In his book, *Critical and Effective Histories: Foucault's Methods and Historical Sociology*, Mitchell Dean, grapples with this issue and uses Foucault's scholarship to substantiate methodologies for "…address[ing] the historiographical problem of 'presentism' and yet derive its pertinence as a history of the present."[306]

Michel Foucault used the term "fortunate positivism" to refer to his theoretical positioning when conducting research that examines the intersections of history and social science; he named the methodology used to do so, "genealogy."[307] In his book, Dean posited that a "history of the present" combines:

> ...two different forms of 'subjugated knowledge'; the erudite knowledge and its historical contents present but masked within the smooth functionalism of global theory and its history; and the popular knowledges and local memories regarded as unqualified or actively disqualified within the hierarchies of scientificity. Such a union is thought in presentist terms: it 'allows is to establish a historical knowledge of struggles, and to make and to make use of this knowledge today."[308]

While some might argue that research that assumes there to be a "…distinct knowable component of reality", is foundationally weak, Foucault argues otherwise. The historical, social,

[305] Mitchell Dean, *Critical and Effective Histories: Foucault's Methods and Historical Sociology* (New York: Routeledge, 1994), 28.
[306] Ibid, 28.
[307] Ibid, 33.
[308] Ibid, 33.

and political circumstances under which certain phenomena occur, and reoccur throughout the world's histories, can be viewed as a constant that transcends time. [309]

In their chapter, entitled "Historical and Critical Interpretations of Social Justice", Deron Boyles, Toni Carusi et al...found that since its inception, America's "….social justice movements have sought to change the institutional norms, often coming to challenge the dominant understanding."[310] It can be argued, therefore, that interrogating what Foucault calls a "historical knowledge of struggles", allows a researcher to assign present day meaning to past events. The abolitionist movement, for example, exemplifies social justice education, in its resistance of social norm as it was practiced through "self-education."[311] For the purposes of this study, the struggle is one between the forces of injustice that oppress, suppress and marginalize Black educational progress, and the constant, those forces aimed to uplift Black people through education. While the naming of the social struggle may change, both the action and reaction are historical constants, that date back to antiquity. It is my position that the term social justice education and the core tenets of CBR outlined in chapters 1 and 2, can be used to characterize, and name, the TU and Moveable School programs. Moreover, Michel Foucault's methodology of genealogy will be used in this study to further characterize the phenomena, social justice education during the era of Jim Crow, according to the social, cultural, political contexts under which struggles for justice have always and continue to occur.[312]

While not much has been written about Campbell's philosophy of education, his ideas are exemplified in the vision, mission, objectives and curriculum of the Moveable School. It is clear

[309] Anthony Arnove, *Education and Social Justice Movements*, in Deron Boyles, Toni Carusi & Dennis Attick, "Historical and Critical Interpretations of Social Justice" in William Ayers, Therese Quinn & David Stovall, eds., *Handbook of Social Justice in Education*, (New York: Routledge, 2009), 88.
[310] Ibid, 88.
[311] Ibid, 88.
[312] Dean, *Critical and Effective Histories*, 28.

that at the heart of his philosophy of education, that student engagement is key. According the definition of Community-Based Research (CBR), as defined by Kerry Strand, Sam Marullo, et al…, the validation of the knowledge of community members as relevant and pertinent to program planning is an integral component of any program aimed at effecting social change.[313] Other research on the collaborative aspects of community education point to the critical need for the institutional faculty, staff and students to engage learner participants with a love of respect, compassion and care that regards them as equal partners in the learning process. In her own administration of Community Service-Learning, Michelle R. Dunlap found a number of disturbing trends that would impede an organic and authentic collaborative effort. She found, for example, that the institutional partners often had "…inaccurate knowledge or stereotypes concerning the history, oppression, communication styles…of African American people and communities...." At other times she found that the faculty, staff and students did not regarding the community members as "equal-status partner[s]" but regarding the community persons as victims needing to be rescued, which often hindered the building of the trust needed to make the partnerships meaningful.[314] In this way, Campbell's education philosophy and practice, was visionary; while he may not have articulated his philosophy as one named engaged learning, he did was successful in incorporating many of the practices that Michelle Dunlap posits are essential to the success of any CBR or social justice education program. Carrying with him a commitment to student-centered learning, he would go forth as the primary promoter of the Moveable School program, believing that "…the seat of trouble [laid] not so much in the poorly

[313] Kerry Strand, et al, *Community-Based Research*, 8.
[314] Michelle R. Dunlap, "Community Service-Learning, eds. Stephanie Y. Evans, et al, *African Americans and Community Engagement*, 67-68.

kept farm of the negro as it does in the place where he eats and sleeps."[315] The evidence supporting Campbell's administration of effective community-campus partnerships is forthcoming in the remaining sections of this chapter that describe, in detail, the activities administered through the Moveable School.

The Founding of the Moveable School

The Moveable School grew out of a number of adult, community and social justice education efforts administered by and in cooperation with TU prior to 1906. One of the earliest of these efforts began with Booker T. Washington's monthly meetings held with members living in the Macon County area. At these meetings, which were first held in 1890, the farmers were allowed to air their own grievances about their daily struggles. Washington did request, however, "that the problems be confined primarily to conditions within their reach."[316] Washington was interested in their most pressing problems, those that he saw as having practical, realistic and immediate solutions.

Those monthly meetings, that began during the same year that the second Morrill Act was passed, would later evolve into what would be the first of many Annual Negro Farmers' Conferences. The first conference would be held on the campus of TU in 1892. At this first conference, Washington outlined a number objectives to the 500 attendees –invitations had been sent to seventy-five– that would lay the foundation for the conceptual and philosophical framework of the Moveable School.[317] The primary goal of the first conference, which paved the way for all Black agricultural education and extension work in the south, was to promote

[315] "Negro Farmers in Three Counties are Given Information: Sixteen Hundred Men, Women and Children are told Wherein Lie Their Troubles and Failures." February 20, 1917, Box 019.050, folder 2, The Thomas Monroe Campbell Papers, National Center for Bioethics in Research and Healthcare, Archives, Tuskegee University, Tuskegee, AL.
[316] Campbell, *The Moveable School*, 84; Mayberry, *The Role of Tuskegee*, 38.
[317] Mayberry, *The Role of Tuskegee*, 39; Denton, *Booker T. Washington*, 109.

agricultural education among poor farmers and their families such that they could, first, learn and develop an ethic of self-care, acquire the skills needed to make their homes beautiful and efficient, and their farms and land (whether rented or owned) inhabitable. Second, Washington urged the farmers to use their homes, land and farms as a foundation for building economic independence, generating intergenerational wealth and creating upstanding communities.[318] Concepts of economics, thrift and financial literacy were key components of his ideology and educational program. In his autobiography, he wrote about where his concepts regarding debt and money came from writing, "I have always felt proud that [my mother] refused to go into debt for that which she could not pay for…."[319] In his own words, Hampton taught him lessons, emotional, financial and otherwise, that were invaluable. At Hampton, Washington "…loved to learn labour, not alone for its financial value, but for labour's own sake and for the independence and self-reliance which the ability to do something which the world wants done brings".[320]

Washington believed that this type of education –practical and addressing the most immediate needs of the Negro farmer and their families– would be most effective in promoting the vision and mission that he saw resulting from his program. In his own words, he believed that Blacks would "'…prosper in proportion as [they] learn[ed] to dignify and glorify labor and put brains and skill into the common occupations of life….'"[321] Agricultural education and extension, he believed, had the potential to "….arouse in the tenants a desire to own property…to improve that which they have…" Washington envisioned building thriving Black, farm communities, one white-washed, "'extensionized'" home at a time.[322]

[318] Campbell, *The Movable School*, 84-85.
[319] Washington, *Up from Slavery*, 33.
[320] Ibid, 74.
[321] Campbell, *The Moveable School*, 153.
[322] Ibid, 154-155.

As the word about the conferences at TU spread throughout the South, they grew in popularity and attendance. The second conference, held in February of 1893 saw more than 800 attendees.[323] The next year's conference was extended to encompass two days, the first day was a Farmers' Conference and the second, a Workers' Conference. At the fourth annual conference Washington made clearer its objectives, which would again, lay the programmatic foundation for the Moveable School. The rules as outlined by Dr. Washington to the 1, 000 attendees were as follows:

1) To abolish and do away with the mortgage system just as rapidly as possible;
2) To raise our own food supplies…at home rather than go into debt for them at the stores;
3) To stop throwing away our time and money on Saturdays and standing around town, drinking, and disgracing ourselves in many other ways;
4) To oppose at all times the excursions and the camp meetings, and earnestly to secure better churches, better teachers and better preachers and
5) To try to buy homes, to urge upon all Negroes the necessity of owning homes and farms, and not only to own them, but try to beautify and improve them.[324]

As exemplified through these objectives, Dr. Washington wanted, most of all, for Black farmers and their families to be able to create the circumstances under which they could flourish, economically and otherwise, and begin to build a legacy of community progress that would sustain future generations. By 1898 the conference had grown to host more than 2, 000 student-attendees.[325] These and other objectives would later become the conceptual foundation upon which The Moveable School program was designed.

George Washington Carver

Like his colleague Booker T. Washington, George Washington Carver was born into slavery, although, not in the South. Carver was born a sickly child, suffering the effects of

[323] Allen Jones, "Improving Rural Life for Blacks: The Tuskegee Negro Farmers' Conference, 1892-1915", *Agricultural History*, 65 (Spring, 1991): 105-114.
[324] Campbell, *The Moveable School*, 85.
[325] Jones, "Improving Rural Life for Blacks…", 105-114.

whooping cough, sometime around 1864, in Diamond Grove, Missouri. Carver's mother had been purchased by a sympathetic White couple, who would eventually become Carver's foster parents, after her kidnapping from the farm. Moses Carver, a German immigrant, and his wife, would raise a young George Carver as his own son.[326]

As a sickly child orphan, Carver was predisposed to what some would have assumed would be a life a drudgery, but he instead used his early misfortune for an exploration into who and what he could become. His natural childhood curiosities lead him to the earth, natural and life sciences. Carver's formal education did not begin until he was ten years of age, with a "blue-black speller.[327] From there, he haphazardly made his way, although barely, to Simpson College located in Des Moines, Iowa were he enrolled in an art class. A Black person's participation in what were considered to be subjects of leisure was wholly unheard of by the White students and faculty there. They wondered what could a Negro could do with a skill of leisure rather than one of labor?[328] Carver enrolled in the course and performed well.

Shortly thereafter, in 1890, Carver decided to enroll in Iowa State College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts, acting upon the urging of his teacher, a Mrs. Etta Budd.[329] He arrived there, with "…only a satchel full of poverty and a soil timing resulting from a constant struggle with poor health…with the never-ending need to brace himself against that antagonistic gaze of strangers, and the uncertainty of whether he would even be allowed to work."[330] Carver was the first Black person to ever be allowed admittance into the Iowa program, and would eventually

[326] "Young Carver, Bound in Bondage Started School at the Age of Ten: Savant's Early Life an Immortal Epic in the Conquering of Hostile Environment", *New York Star*, January 12, 1943, George Washington Carver Biographical File, Robert W. Woodruff Library, Archives, Atlanta, GA.
[327] Ibid.
[328] Rackham Holt, *George Washington Carver: An American Biography* (New York: Doubleday, Doran and Company, Inc., 1943), 71-72.
[329] Holt, *George Washington Carver*, 71-72.
[330] Ibid, 62.

earn Bachelor's and Master's Degrees. In 1894, he would become the first Black man to be admitted as faculty at the school as well.

In 1896, a formal Department of Agriculture was established at TU, and Washington asked Carver, a then Professor with the Iowa State Agricultural College, if he would accept an appointment as its director.[331] The institute predicted that the future of labor and economic growth in the south would depend heavily on the agricultural work being done by the 85%, those farmers occupying the Gulf Coast areas.[332] The following year, Carver accepted the position as the director of the Agricultural Department at TU, and would command a department that would grow to encompass "eighteen instructors [and] 325 students" by 1915.[333]

According to historian Allen Jones, TU experienced exponential growth during this time to include, "…the agricultural experiment station, farmers institutes, agricultural short courses, farmers' county fairs, agricultural extension agents, co-operative demon-station work, movable schools, farm newspapers and other agricultural publications."[334] One of the reasons for the increase in the funding and support for programs instituting the Hampton-Tuskegee Idea, can be attributed to the growing fear among White southerners that other types of Black education would help Blacks to build an economically and politically viable electorate, one engaged enough to aspire to be more than "agricultural and domestic laborers."[335] The other likely reason for the increase in support and funding was the earlier passage of the second Morrill Act that incorporated Black institutions of higher education into the "land-grant" system. Land-grant institutions were required to teach agriculture and related subjects, and where given an expressed aim of "A) Instruction in Agriculture, B) Agricultural Research [and] Agricultural Extension."

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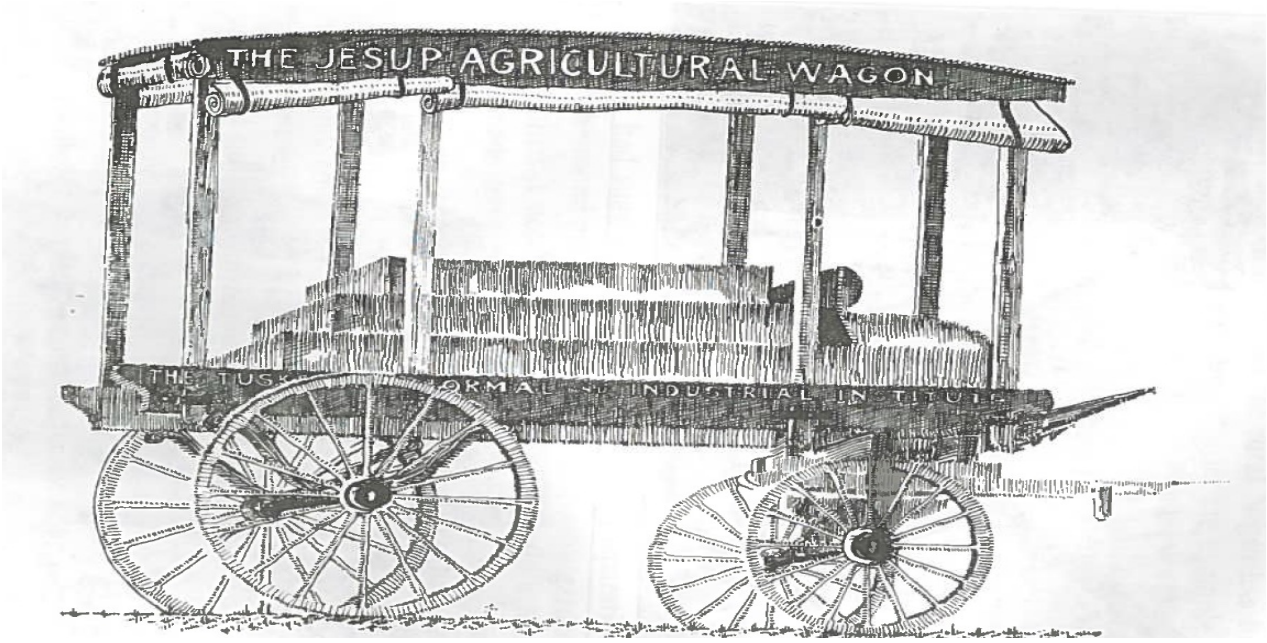
[331] Mayberry, *The Role of Tuskegee*, 49; Jones, "Improving Rural Life for Blacks".
[332] Holt, *George Washington Carver*, 117.
[333] Jones, "Improving Rural Life for Blacks", 106.
[334] Ibid,107.
[335] Anderson, *The Education of Blacks*, 40.

While TU was not named an official 1890 land-grant institution, it was granted funds because of its legacy and commitment to teaching agricultural sciences.[336] Thus, at a time when race separation in all matters public was institutionalized through the Plessey vs. Ferguson case, the support for programs that instituted the Hampton-Tuskegee Idea received tremendous public support. James Anderson argued, however, that these programs fully intended …"train black ideologues, who were expected to exemplify and propagate Armstrong's philosophy of southern Reconstruction to the Afro-American working class," although they often claimed to have interests in promoting entrepreneurship among Blacks.[337] Thus, Armstrong and his supporters had a vested interest in investing in the promoting the Hampton program and those schools that wanted to institute it.

Between 1902-1903, the Office of Experiment Stations was responsible for the distribution of $537, 738.45 in funds and over $2, 000, 000 in equipment to Black land grant institutions.[338] During the very next year in 1897, Booker T. Washington would push the Alabama legislature to enact a law that would provide TU with $1, 500 per year, to operate the Tuskegee Agricultural Experiment Station and Agricultural School[339] "to educate and train Negro students in scientific agriculture."[340] Carver would be named its director. By 1903, Carver's experiment station had gained such local attention and success that he was invited to show it in the Montgomery fair, where he hosted Black and White Farmers to see "…his exhibit of dried foods soya peas and demonstrated the value of sweet potatoes and cowpeas."[341] In 1904, Washington also asked Carver to design a plan for a mule-drawn wagon that would travel to the

[336] Mayberry, *A Century*, 47-48.
[337] Anderson, *The Education of Blacks*, 47.
[338] Mayberry, *A Century of Agriculture*, 48.
[339] Campbell, *The Movable School*, 82-83; Mayberry, *The Role of Tuskegee*; Jones, "Improving Rural Life for Blacks", 287.
[340] Mayberry, *The Role of Tuskegee*, 49-51.
[341] Holt, *George Washington Carver*, 68.

doorsteps of those farmers who were unable to travel to and participate in the traditional program of agriculture study at Tuskegee- "if they will not come…Tuskegee would go to them through the 'Moveable School.'"[342]



George Washington Carver's sketch of the first mobile unit to be utilized for the Moveable School, the Jesup Wagon[343]

The Jesup Wagon would make more formal the instructional activities that Carver had been conducting since coming to TU in 1896, and it would provide the pedagogical framework for the Moveable School. Since coming to TU, Carver had made a practice of making weekend trips to farm families to teach them the science of agriculture. One of his instructional strategies, which would later be integrated into the Moveable School's curriculum, would be to give farming demonstrations on Sundays; he recognized that "The church was…the biggest influence in the life of the rural Negro."[344] At the 1905 Famer's Institute, the same during which President Roosevelt would give the commencement address to the graduating class of TU, Carver would

[342] Denton, *Booker T. Washington*, 113.
[343] Campbell, *The Moveable School*, image located between pages 88 and 89.
[344] Campbell, *The Moveable School*, 82.

give a lecture that became on the curricular aims of TU extension education and the Moveable school. His lecture centered around the importance of thrift and saving, which he "…believed one of the fundamental laws of success..."[345] For his practical lecture, which was part lecture and part showing the farmer's how to something, he used the sweet potato and the many, many things that could be gotten from it. On this day, he was showing the women in attendance how to make "laundry starch":

> …remove the skin, grate the sweet potato, put it in a cheesecloth bag, and dip the bag in water; dip and squeeze as long as a milky just comes out; let the water settle and pour off the clear top liquid…The result would be an excellent starch.[346]

Again, in his pedagogy, Carver emphasized the importance of financial literacy, thrift and putting everything that nature provided, to good and practical use. This became a primary curricular aim. "He believed that all things were put upon the earth for some useful purpose and that it was his function to discover as many of these as lay within his power."[347] During his tenure with Tuskegee, from 1896-1943, Carver would "discover over 300 uses for the peanut and another 100 for the sweet potato, which would earn him a title as "The Wizard of Tuskegee." [348] He also made items form peanuts in the areas of beverages (i.e. Cherry punch, plum punch), cosmetics (i.e. fat producing cream, shaving cream), dyes, oils, stains and paints (i.e. leather dyes), foods (cheese cream, chop suey sauce, mock chicken), and household products (laundry soap).[349]

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[345] Holt, *George Washington Carver*, 180.
[346] Ibid, 180.
[347] Ibid, 181.
[348] "Dr. Carver, 'Wizard of Tuskegee', Has Developed a Cheap Paint: Famous Scientists Laboratory Announces Practical Commodity Many Times Cheaper than Any Now On Market." *The Pillsburg Courier*, January 15, 1939, George Washington Carver Biographical File, Robert W. Woodruff Library, Archives, Atlanta, Georgia.
[349] "List of Products Made From Peanuts by George Washington Carver During His Years At Tuskegee: 1896-1943." George Washington Carver Biographical File, Robert W. Woodruff Library, Archives, Atlanta, GA; "Dr. Carver, 'Wizard of Tuskegee'…."

The founding and administration of the TU Moveable School, as it was conducted at TU, was the result of the collective genius of Booker T. Washington, who directed the much if the schools' fund raising initiatives and provided the bulk of the conceptual and philosophical framework and directed the much if the fund raising activities; George Washington Carver; who would offer the schools' pedagogical framework and; Thomas Monroe Campbell, who would provide the operational framework. The life and education philosophies and collective efforts of the three scholars would converge in 1906, with the administration of the first Moveable School session.

Earlier that year, on November 12, 1906, Campbell, then a graduate student at TU, would receive the news that would forever change his life. At the request of, Booker T. Washington; Wallace Buttrick, secretary of The General Education Board of the Rockefeller Foundation and Dr. S. A. Knapp, the founder of extension and farmers' cooperation work and a statesman with the United States Department of Agriculture, Campbell would become the first Negro Extension Agent to be employed with the United States Department of Agriculture. The resources – $674.50 and operational costs– were provided by the John K. Slater Fund and a New York banker by the name of Morris K. Jesup. Campbell's salary as the Extension Agent for Macon County, was $841.00 which was paid by TU, the General Education Board and the US Department of Agriculture.[350] The official operation of the Moveable School would began on May 24, 1906, and would become fully operational in June of the same year. The "school that travel[ed] around", drawn by two mules and harnesses that had been hand-made by TU students, was then officially named "'The Jesup Agricultural Wagon.'"[351]

[350] Campbell, *The Moveable School*, 93.
[351] "A Farmer's College on Wheels." *The Tuskegee Student*, December 8, 1906, No. 39, Vol. XVI, The Thomas Monroe Campbell Papers, National Center for Bioethics in Research and Healthcare, Archives, Tuskegee University, Tuskegee, AL.; Letter from Mary Jenness; Mayberry, *The Role of Tuskegee*, 217.

Washington and Campbell would extend the reach and service capacity of the Moveable School by establishing the nations' first "Farmers' Cooperative Extension Work Program". The primary aim of the Moveable School, from its outset, was to teach "…farmers better methods of farming and home life,"[352] and its' service would begin in the provision of instruction for over over 2, 000 students during the summer of 1906.[353]

The Jesup Agricultural Wagon Providing Instruction to Adult Learners in Macon County, Alabama[354]

Vision, Mission and Objectives

On May 4, 1906 the father of the United States Farmers' Cooperative Extension Movement Dr. Seaman A. Knapp, delivered an address at the Ninth Conference for Education in the South, in Lexington, Kentucky entitled, *Farmer's Cooperative Demonstration Work and Its Results*. At one point in his address, he discussed what he believed to be the primary vision and aim of agricultural education like the Moveable School. He said:

> …you may hold a Farmer's Institute at every third house and establish an agricultural college on every section of land in the United States, and the flow of young men from the country to the city will not be arrested in the least, so long as the earning capacity of the average city laborer, or clerk, or professional man, is at least fivefold of

[352] Campbell, *The Moveable School*, 92.
[353] Joseph Schor as reported in Mayberry, *The Role of Tuskegee*, 69.
[354] Campbell, *Moveable School*, images located between pages 92 and 93.

> what the same talent can command in the country….There is only one effective remedy: Increase the earning capacity of country toilers.[355]

From Knapp's perspective, programs like the Moveable School were to focus on retaining farm workers in the south, by making their work more economically viable. On the surface, his proposal seemed to some be advantageous for Black farmers, but some promoters of Black education took a more critical view of his proposition. Their critique of his position, and that of other supporters of agricultural education, exposed the more malignant and destructive components on Black educational programs focused primarily on agricultural education and manual labor.

Washington agreed in many aspects with Knapp's position of using agricultural education and extension to retain workers to build a lagging industry. In his own words, Washington said that they:

> ...wanted to be careful not to educate…students out of sympathy with agricultural life, so that they would be attracted to the cities…[they] wanted to give them an education as would fit the them to be teachers, and at the same time cause them to return to the plantation districts and show people how to put new energy and new ideas into farming, as well as into the intellectual and moral and religious life of the people.[356]

Some questioned whether his promotion of a hard work ethic among Blacks was motivated by his earnest belief in it being the most viable pathway to success, or because he, like others, had more selfish reasons for wanting Black to remain on the preverbal plantation. But even among Washington's decenters were those who questioned his strategy, but respected it the same. Carter G. Woodson, for example, wrote that "…Negroes desiring to specialize in agriculture should do it with workers like T.M. Campbell and B.F. Hubert among the Negro farmers of the South.[357] Thus, there were some who may have swung with the tide and the popular belief about

[355] Mayberry, *The Role of Tuskegee*, 15; Seaman A. Knapp, 1904, Box 019.049, folder 3, The Thomas Monroe Campbell Papers, National Center for Bioethics in Research and Healthcare, Archives, Tuskegee University, Tuskegee, AL, 4.
[356] Washington, *Up from Slavery*, 94.
[357] Woodson, *The Mis-education*, 36.

Washington's position, but revered his skill, knowledge and contribution to the field of agriculture and its expansion in the south.

While there were some critics who were inconsistent in their opinion about Washington's social justice aim and strategy, there were others who were unwavering. W.E.B. Du Bois, for example, was unmitigating in his stance on the promotion of agricultural education programs, as they had been enacted through the TU program, as a viable path toward attaining Black equity. As presented in his text, *The Negro Farmer*, Du Bois argued that simply advocating on behalf of increased wages for the common farm laborer was ineffective at best. Further, he saw it as a disingenuous show of support for Black progress, by the advocates of such programs. In his 1904 study conducted for the US Census Bureau, Du Bois found that the relationship between Black farmers and their White counterparts, fell into one of three relationship categories: "…laborer to employer…tenant to landlord….[or]…coproducers of the wealth of the land."[358] Black farm owners, he posited, were the only ones that experienced substantial, economic progress and independence. Further, Du Bois found that:

> Of the 746,715 farms operated by Negroes in the continental United States in 1900, 21 percent were owned entirely, and an additional 4.2 per cent owned in part by the farmers operating them; in other words, forty years after emancipation 25.2 per cent, or about one fourth of all Negro farmers had become landowners.[359]

Thus, agricultural education, from Du Bois' perspective was ineffective in helping Black farmers to transition into economically viable stations in life. Instead, it made more comfortable and attractive, farm life for those persons who he saw as having the potential to become leaders in the Black community. Thus, it could be argued that Washington's vision for his educational program, was partly ineffective in serving the true educational needs of Blacks, and was more effective in

[358] W.E.B. Du Bois, *The Negro Farmer*, The Department of Commerce and Labor, US Bureau of the Census, *Negroes in the United States*, Washington Government Printing Office, (1904), 90.
[359] Ibid, 81.

serving the needs of those who would stand to benefit financially from Black labor. Studies conducted by other Black scholars of the time, found the same. A 1931 study conducted by sociologist Charles S. Johnson found, for example, that many of the heads of the households in Macon County, Alabama, had earned, on average, a third grade education, and "'…were neither too illiterate to take advantage of their surroundings,' nor did they have "'more schooling than is demanded by their dependent economic position.'"[360]

Monroe Work, a Director of Records and Research at Tuskegee University in 1908, found that various forms of institutional racism were the culprit of hindering Black farmers' transition from land worker to owner. Further, he identified the racial barriers experienced by most Black farmers in the South, no matter their station as an owner, tenant or sharecropper; they were often the victims of exploitation because of racism and gaps in financial literacy. In his 1936 study entitled, *Racial Factors and Economic Forces in Land Tenure in the South*, Work outlined the numerous difficulties facing Black farmers in making economically viable careers in agriculture. Black farmers experienced difficulty in purchasing tracks of land (as Washington has often recommended to them) in White neighborhoods where the soil was most rich; if a Black farmer who was fortunate enough to purchase land in a White neighborhood or near a paved street, he could be run off of his land by those who were envious of his success; Blacks who did not understand that they must own the deed to a property in order to be full owners of it, were often tricked out of their land with "bond-to-title" purchases; very few banks and insurance companies would offer mortgages and insurance to Black farmers, and those White companies

[360] Bond, *Negro Education in Alabama*, 221.

that did, charged them increased interest rates; lastly, Black tenants often feared retribution, physical and otherwise, if they sued their landlords for discrimination.[361]

In this vision, of what agricultural education and farming could produce for Blacks in the South, Du Bois and the primary supporter and proponent of the Moveable School, Thomas Monroe Campbell, seemed to share similar thoughts. By 1946, Campbell came to hold a somewhat pessimistic view of the outcomes of agricultural education. Two years after the end of the Moveable School's tenure, and "…years after Dr. Carver made his trial runs with two mules and a wagon in 1896," Campbell found that agricultural education at the time, was most advantageous for those farmers who were not in the "Farm Tenancy or the "plantation system" for as…it [was practiced]…it [was] an unsound economy."[362] Campbell speaks even more harshly of the system writing:

> The Negro farm population is still composed of a large number of farmer laborers, many sharecroppers, and tenants and a smaller number of land owners. Of course during a long period of years this plantation living "from hand to mouth" system has developed many wretched features; taking hold of the people to such an extent that it retards their whole economic and social development, and to date, no plan has been brought forth to take its place.[363]

In this regard, Campbell envisioned uplifting Black farmers in the south out of their socioeconomic position of poverty, by promoting home and land ownership, development and beautification.[364] Teaching tenant farmers how to better their crop and rented lands, was simply a

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[361] Monroe Work, "Racial Factors and Economic Forces in Land Tenure in the South", Social Forces, 15 (Dec 1936): 214.
[362] B.D. Mayberry, *A Century of Agriculture in the 1890 Land-grant Institutions and Tuskegee University, 1890-1990* (New York, Vantage Press, 1991), 94-95; Thomas Monroe Campbell, Tuskegee, Letter to Rev. Mr. V.A. Edwards, of the Sunday School Publishing Board, Nashville, Tennessee, March 24, 1947, Box 019.051, folder 3, The Thomas Monroe Campbell Papers, National Center for Bioethics in Research and Healthcare, Archives, Tuskegee University, Tuskegee, AL, 1.
[363] Ibid, 1.
[364] Mary Jenness, "A School that Travels Around", Ca. 1923, Box 019.051, folder 1, The Thomas Monroe Campbell Papers, National Center for Bioethics in Research and Healthcare, Archives, Tuskegee University, Tuskegee, AL, 6.

first step, in his view, toward becoming a land owner; in this way, it was a temporary means to a permanent end, the results of which were then, and remain, highly contested.

The long-term impact that Washington, Carver, Campbell and other proponents of agricultural education hoped to realize was that the Moveable School would create an ethic of self-help, the ability to do for one's self, in Black communities throughout the South. According to Washington, "The deeper values lie in the fact that…Negroes are helping Negroes to beautify and improve their homes, to buy land and improve it, to achieve for themselves the means of a self-respecting life."[365] Through Moveable School, Washington and Campbell, envisioned the day of realization, when "…the gospel of Tuskegee, that every Negro should own his own farm," would become a reality.[366]

Campbell echoed Washington's vision and mission for the Moveable School as a community building and sustainability enterprise. It should help "….to elevate its people to the established American standard of living."[367] Both Washington and Campbell spoke and wrote extensively about the need to improve the overall quality for life of Black farmers in the South. Thus, their educational program was to benefit the farmer and his family, beyond the simple daily tasks that would make them better workers. It was to inspire in them, the confidence, pride and desire to become better people and contributing members of their communities and society. In this way, laboring was thought in build character and morale. According to B.D. Mayberry, the Associate Provost and Director of the Carver Research Foundation in 1989, the aim of agricultural education was to:

> stimulate the interest of the Negro owner in his farm and home and strengthening his desire for them…also [to] arouse a desire on the part of the tenant farmer to own property,

[365] Ibid, 7.
[366] "A Farmer's College on Wheels", *The Tuskegee Student*, 2.
[367] Campbell, Letter to Rev. Mr. V.A. Edwards, 3.

> and lead the farm women to adopt more industrious and thrifty habits of homemaking[368]
> [For] the purpose of the 'college' was to change farm tenants into thrifty land owners.[369]

As expressed in much of the literature written on the Moveable School, there is evidence supporting the fact that Washington, Campbell and some other supports of agricultural education in the south, did indeed seek to elevate the Black farmer from sharecropper to land owner, to a respected member in his community and in society.

Campbell's other sentiments regarding the vision and purpose of the Moveable School, are reflected in many of the writings and speeches produced during his tenure with TU. He writes about even the least advantaged group of farmers, tenets, being able to make their work and labor more economically advantageous for themselves and their families, possibly bringing them closer to land and home ownership. In a letter written Campbell, he writes the following:

> The Negro tenant must have the advantages of extension service, must be in a position to secure cheaper money on longer terms with which to buy, operate and improve his farm, and have a guarantee of adequate civil protection. He needs better home…He needs better educational facilities, better school houses, longer school terms, better prepared and more adequately paid teachers, and last but not least, he needs county, state and federal health units which employ Negro doctors and nurses to go as missionaries of sanitation into the remote sections of the south.[370]

Here, Campbell addresses the political implications and station of the tenant farmer….and the public services that he believed will help him to better improve his station in life.

The Moveable School program sought to answer the question of what was the most practical way to raise poor farmers from the position of a tenant to a landowner. Much like Booker T. Washington's plan for attaining social, economic and political justice for Black people, the strategy was simply to take one small step toward the long term goal at a time. The tenant would begin by first owning, not renting, all of his farm animals and the supplies needed to farm

[368] Mayberry, *The Role of Tuskegee*, 104.
[369] "Constant Sickness of Negro Farmers Their Worst Enemy." *Burrelle's Press Clipping Bureau*, Thomas Monroe Campbell Papers, May 9, 1930, Box 019.051, folder 6, National Center for Bioethics in Research and Healthcare, Archives, Tuskegee University, Tuskegee, AL.
[370] Campbell, Letter to Rev. Mr. V.A. Edwards, 2.

his land, to purchase, not rent, small tracks of land on which to grow, feed his family and sell produce, meat and eggs, and then purchase, not rent, a piece of land on which to build a home.[371] And then teach their children, who would one day become the owners of the land and home, "This is your home; help to improve it."[372]

In a letter dated May 31, 1919, addressed to a Mr. JT Watt, a State Agent in Auburn Alabama, Campbell wrote about an educational institutions' responsibility in promoting education through extension. From Campbell's perspective those programs were to make meeting the needs of the student a priority. Promotion of the institution itself, and the benefits of that, should be a secondary residual of the primary aim. In his own words:

> 'Extension Work' does not consist in exhortation nor exploitation of people, nor the advertising of an institution, nor publicity work for the purpose of securing students. It is plain down right conscientious effort to meet the needs of the people in their own localities on their own farms and in their own homes…If an institution is dominated by the desire to exalt itself or to exploit the people for the sake of appropriations it will fail of its purpose and finally be renounced by the people.[373]

Despite the many criticisms of the motivations of those promoters of agricultural extension and education programs like the Moveable School, Campbell speaks very strongly against systems, institutions or programs that were not student-centered, or that held ulterior motives in the promotion of a larger agenda. He argues, that for educational programs, "The whole motive must be primarily to help the people."[374] Again, one the core tenets of social justice education is to build any program around the express needs and situational contexts of the students. For Black farmers in the South, their needs were plenty, one of which to create a viable offense for those

[371] "A Farmer's College on Wheels", *The Tuskegee Student*, 2
[372] Ibid, 3.
[373] Thomas Monroe Campbell, Letter to J.T. Watt May 31, 1919, Box 019.051, The Thomas Monroe Campbell Papers, National Center for Bioethics in Research and Healthcare, Archives, Tuskegee University, Tuskegee, AL, 1.
[374] Ibid, 1.

oppressive systems aiming to create a Black laboring class.[375] In this way, the vision for the Moveable School was to tackle every need and problem facing Black farmers in the South, addressing first, "…the more important needs…economic, educational, moral, religious, social, and political" and in that order. [376]

Amid the many questions about the vision, mission and purpose of Black education in the South, the Moveable School set forth a number of objectives to attain its long term, programmatic goals. Most importantly, Washington and other program administrators expressed the need for the school's curriculum to be centered on what the students themselves saw as integral to their learning experience. In 1936, Campbell captured Washington's commitment to social justice education writing about how he began building the Tuskegee program. The TU program would later provide the founding principles, upon which the Moveable School would be built. He wrote:

> Dr. Washington's second objective [the first was to secure for the program] in going into the homes of the rural people was to get firsthand information as to their needs in order that these needs could be taken into consideration in the planning of courses of study beneficial not alone to the students but to the families and communities from whence they came.[377]

Although Washington had established himself as an educational leader and activist, and as an adult had experienced an upper middle-class quality of life, he did not approach his potential students any air of arrogance or feelings of superiority. For, he knew intimately the plight of being both, poor and Black.

This strategy of program development is central to current practices of social justice education. Moreover, more recent literature on Black and community engagement in education,

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[375] Strand, et al, *Community-Based Research*, 1-4; Harvey 1993 and Young as cited by Sharon Gewirtz, *Rethinking Social Justice: A Conceptual Analysis*, 59-60.
[376] Work, "Tuskegee Institute: More than an Educational Institution", 1.
[377] Campbell, *The Moveable School*, 80.

argues that those activities dedicated to "honor[ing] all forms of knowledge" are an integral part of developing university and community collaborations. In this way, a student-centered curriculum is most effective in promoting community education and engagement. Education scholar Kheli R. Willetts, writes about her experience with a social justice education project in her book chapter entitled, *The Community Folk Art Center: A University and Community Creative Collaboration*. In her experience, community education program administrators often miss the mark, by approaching the experience by "… com[ing] down to their neighborhood to impart their knowledge, and they fail to engage the people in meaningful dialogues."[378] Community-Based Research scholars, also suggest that the learner –who they are socially, culturally and otherwise– must be at the center of the program planning process.[379] Washington came to the Tuskegee community knowing that in order to gain the trust, respect and willing participation of those Black families with whom he intended to work, that he had to commune with them in their environment, and use their knowledge as the foundation for the TU program. Campbell implemented Washington's concepts of student-centered education into regular practice at the Moveable School sessions.

At one point in his autobiography, Campbell reflects on his first trip traveling into the field with the Moveable School. The time to put the Moveable Schools' vision and mission into practice had finally come. On May 24, 1906, Campbell and George R. Bridgeforth, a Professor in the TU Agricultural Department, set out to take "…scientific agriculture directly to the farmers in the fields."[380] While the monthly and annual farmer's institutes held on TU's campus had been hugely successful, there were still many other students who had been unable to attend.

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[378] Stephanie Y. Evans, Colette M. Taylor. Michelle R. Dunlap, & DeMomd S. Miller, Eds. *African Americans and Community Engagement in Higher Education: Community Service, Service Learning and Community Based-Research,* (Now York: University of New York Press, 2009), 21.
[379] Strand, et al, *Community-Based Research*, 8.
[380] Mayberry, *A Century of Agriculture ,* 69.

In his own words, "The real object of the Jesup Agricultural Wagon [was] to place before the people, concrete illustrations, and to prove to the farmer that he can do better work, make more produce on smaller numbers of acres of land at less expense."[381]

The Jesup Agricultural Wagon, pulled by two mules, carried in it "…a cream separator, a milk testor, a revolving hand churn, a two-horse beam plow, a diverse cultivator, and spike toothed harrow, and middle burster, a set of garden tools", most of which had been borrowed from the TU Agricultural Department. It also carried with it a "motion picture installation, phonograph, and many of the scientific devises to aid the farmer."[382] The operating costs for the Jesup Wagon were paid by the John F. Slater Fund.[383] Even with the information that had been provided him by Carver and Washington regarding the farmers' educational needs, Campbell found himself somewhat unprepared to meet the disparity between his instructional plans and what the farmers needed. He found that very few of the farmers had the cows for milking or plows with which to work their land that he had planned to use for practical demonstration.[384]

Campbell found himself unprepared to address the devastating by the impacts of rampant disease and illness on the Black families that he visited. He knew that sick students would be less able to learn. Thus, public health and health literacy became primary emphasis for the Moveable School program. In his own words:

> People cannot and will not respond whole heartedly to land and church development programs when they are suffering from tuberculosis, typhoid, malaria, and hookworm diseases. The squalor and filth, disease and dilapidation of their surroundings reflect not only upon them, but upon the whole region as well; and this problem constitutes neither a Negro problem nor a southern problem, but a national one. Anyone who doubts this statement should study the U.S. Selective Service records.[385]

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[381] Mayberry, *The Role of Tuskegee*, 73.
[382] Mary Jenness, "A School that Travels Around", Ca. 1923, Box 019.051, folder 1, The Thomas Monroe Campbell Papers, National Center for Bioethics in Research and Healthcare, Archives, Tuskegee University, Tuskegee, AL, 6.
[383] "A Farmer's College on Wheels", *The Tuskegee Student*, December 8, 1906, No. 39, Vol. XVII, p. 1.
[384] Campbell, *The Moveable School*, 94-95.
[385] Campbell, Letter to Rev. Mr. V.A. Edwards, 1.

In this way, what has been more recently defined in the literature as "culturally relevant adult education" and "culturally responsive pedagogy" were essential components of the Moveable School curriculum design.[386] Talmadge C. Guy found that the facilitators of adult education must administer curricula that are "inclusive" and sensitive to "learners' lived experiences."[387] Had Campbell not been aware of his own cultural assumptions, he may have become discouraged or made some incorrect assumptions about why Black farmers and their families suffered from such poor health conditions (i.e. as had been assumed by many in the dominant culture, they suffered the impacts of poverty because they were lazy).[388] According to Lucy Mule, as cited in her book chapter, *Can the Village Educate the Prospective Teacher?: Reflections on Multicultural Service Learning in African American Communities*, "A culturally responsive pedagogy suggests that teachers need to be thoroughly conversant with their students' lives, not just in the context of the classroom or school, but also in their communities."[389] Campbell's initial visits and discoveries helped him to better shape the program and prepare for future visits, based on the social, cultural and economic realities facing the families with whom he would attempt to engage in learning.[390] Desperately ill equipped and sick students were not likely to be capable of learning the more complex competencies and life skills to be imparted through the Moveable School. As Booker T. Washington had once said, the program should seek to meet the most immediate needs of its students, first.

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[386] Talmadge C. Guy, "Culture as Context for Adult Education: The Need for Culturally Relevant Adult Education," Talmadge C. Guy, Ed., *Providing Culturally Relevant Adult Education: A Challenge for the Twenty-First Century* (San Fransico: Jossey-Bass, 1999), 5 and 12-13; Evans, et al, *African Americans and Community Engagement in Higher Education,* 77.
[387] Sheard as cited in Guy, "Culture as Context for Adult Education", 15.
[388] Ibid, 15.
[389] Evans, et al, *African Americans and Community Engagement,* 77.
[390] Ibid, 77.

In 1910, a year when landownership among Blacks living in the South experienced a substantial increase, Washington established an Extension Department at Tuskegee.[391] The department would serve the purpose of streamlining all of the institutes' agricultural education programs, to include the Moveable School. Soon thereafter, Alabama experienced a significant increase legislative and fiscal support for Agricultural Extension and Education programs. The financial boost to TU's agricultural program could not have come at a better time. In 1912 much of the cotton crops that fed many Black farmer and their families were destroyed by boll weevils. In his study, historian Horace Mann Bond, found that the impact was devastating for Alabama's Black farmers, decreasing their "….cotton acreage…from 3,770, 000 to 1,970, 000…between 1912 and 1917."[392] The pinnacle of that support came with the passing of the Smith-Lever Agricultural Extension Act of 1914.[393] The Smith-Lever Act was an addendum to the Morrill Acts which directly impacted the country's Land-Grant Institutions. More specifically, it allowed the Moveable School to greatly increase its land coverage and amount of instructional supplies; "it expanded its operations to include home and health demonstrations, adding classes in cooking, horticulture, and health, which were conducted by doctors and nurses."[394] With the added support, which also included a cooperative effort with Auburn University, the program was able to continue to develop and flourish.

It was during this same year, in 1914, that Booker T. Washington would himself make his last home visit in conjunction with the work of The Moveable School; during this year he would also establish Negro Health week, to address the many public health issues confronting the Moveable School students and other Blacks living in the area. In 1915 Washington died at the

[391] "Between 1900 and 1910 the land on farms owned by Negroes in Alabama increased from 1,216,813 to 1,466,719 acres." Bond, *Negro Education in Alabama*, 228.
[392] Bond, *Negro Education in Alabama*, 227.
[393] Denton, *Booker T. Washington*, 114.
[394] Ibid, 114.

age of 59, due to the complications resulting from high blood pressure. Some would say that Washington's condition was both caused and exacerbated by his passion and zeal for his work done at TU.[395] As his dedicated student and advisee, Campbell would continue the work of the Moveable School, with the same passion and commitment to serving the educational needs of Blacks living in the south.

In the early part of the twentieth century, the support for agricultural education and extension programs increased. With that support, came greater demands for the services provided through the Moveable School. In 1918, The Jesup Wagon, was retired after many years of "hard use over bad roads". It was replaced with the Knapp Agricultural Truck, aptly named after Dr. Seaman Knapp. Knapp, an agent with the US Department of Agriculture, Farmers Cooperative Demonstration Work, and the founder of such work.[396] In a press release dated October 17, 1918 Campbell wrote the following regarding the dedication of the Knapp Truck:

> 'The Knapp Truck'… has been motorized and will be fully equipped with the implements for conducting "Moveable Schools" and many other forms of agricultural extension work now being carried on under the auspices of the Alabama Polytechnic Institute and the U.S. Department of Agriculture.[397]

Thus, the transfer of the Moveable School and its associated activities was from that point forward, done via the Knapp Truck; it would run its course over the roads of Alabama, Mississippi and Georgia, until it would break down in 1923.[398]

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[395] Denton, *Booker T. Washington*, 124; Alex Domingues, "Booker T. Washington's Death Revised", *The Washington Post,* May 5, 2006. Accessed August 5, 2012. http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2006/05/05/AR2006050501345.html.
[396] Mayberry, *A Century of Service*, 70 and 236.
[397] "Extension Service of the Alabama Polytechnic Institute and U.S. Department of Agriculture Cooperating: The Knapp Agricultural Truck." October 17, 1918, Thomas Monroe Campbell Papers, National Center for Bioethics in Research and Healthcare, Archives, Tuskegee University, Tuskegee, AL.
[398] Denton, *Booker T. Washington*, 115.

The Knapp Agricultural Truck[399]

During the height of support for agricultural education in the south, TU would host one of the most well-attended of its Annual Negro Farmers' Conferences. On January 17, 1923, "More than three thousand negro farmers, teachers, ministers, farm and home demonstration agents and other welfare workers of the South [attended] the thirty-second annual Tuskegee Negro Conference which was held at the Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute."[400] One of the highlights of the conference was the presentation of a gift, from a representative of a group of 30, 000 Negro Alabama farmers. On the first day of the conference, the TU Agricultural Department was presented with $5,000 for the purchase of what would become the "Booker T. Washington Agricultural School on Wheels".[401] The collected gift represented whatever the Black farmers and their families had to contribute including large and small sums of money, eggs and chickens.[402] The BTW Agricultural School on Wheels would serve as the primary transport for the Moveable School until sometime after World War II.[403] This record exemplifies the dedication of Blacks to their own uplift and education, which is sometimes underrepresented in

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[399] Campbell, *The Moveable School*, images located between pages 92 and 93.
[400] "Three Thousand Attend Tuskegee Conference", *The Montgomery Advertiser*, January 8, 1923, Thomas Monroe Campbell Papers, Box 019.051, folder 1, National Center for Bioethics in Research and Healthcare, Archives, Tuskegee University, Tuskegee.
[401] Mary Jenness, "A School that Travels Around", Ca. 1923, Box 019.051, folder 1, The Thomas Monroe Campbell Papers, National Center for Bioethics in Research and Healthcare, Archives, Tuskegee University, Tuskegee, AL., 2.
[402] "Three Thousand Attend Tuskegee Conference", January 18, 1923, Thomas Monroe Campbell Papers, Box 019.051, folder 1, National Center for Bioethics in Research and Healthcare, Archives, Tuskegee University, Tuskegee, AL.
[403] Jones, *The Role of Tuskegee*, 264.

the most dominate historical narratives. Often, histories of Black education propagate the long-standing myth of Black apathy toward matters of their own education and uplift; this and other examples of just the opposite have been the subject and focus of more recent revisionist historians, like James A. Anderson, author of *The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935*.

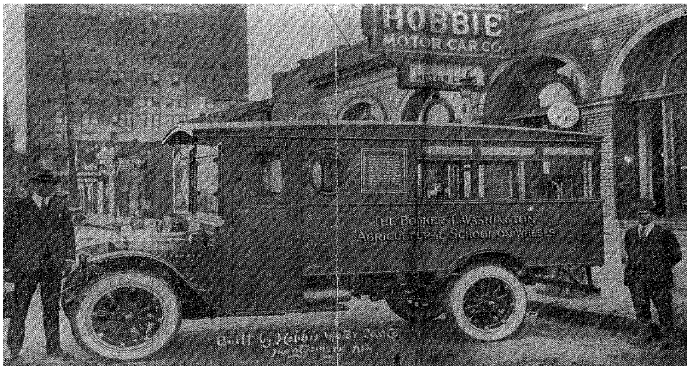
In an executive committee report dated, September 6, 1925, Campbell further addressed what he saw as the primary objectives of the Moveable School. In the document entitled, *Booker T. Washington Agricultural School on Wheels Awakens a Stir Among Negro Farmer,* he outlines the programmatic objectives in very specific terms, articulating what he saw as the expected outcomes and deliverables that should result from visits by the Moveable School. Campbell expresses the expectation that men and women have separate and distinctly different training in farm, land and home care. At one point, Campbell writes that the program objectives were explicitly to:

> …show the Negro farmer how more efficiently and profitably to cultivate his crops, how to sharpen his tools, how to pipe water through houses, how to inoculate stock against disease, how to prune and spray fruit trees, how to make ventilated pits for preserving vegetables, how to build sanitary out-houses, screen porches and to do anything else the progressive farmer should do…[and]…To show the Negro woman how to prepare nourishing meals, how to preserve fruit, how to properly, care for the baby, how to dress wounds, how to make curtains, rugs, bedspreads, clothing and to do better many similar tasks involved in good homemaking.[404]

Although, it was clear that instruction was to be gender segregated, students of all ages were allowed to attend classes. As noted in a 1906 issue of *The Tuskegee Student* newspaper, the program aimed to educate the entire family; according to the programs' administrators, "It [was] not enough to get the sons and daughters into the Institute and teach them useful trades and give them object lessons in good farming: something must be done for the fathers and mothers who

[404] Beatrice Blackwood letter addressed to letter to the United States Department of Agriculture, Executive Committee Report, "Booker T. Washington Agricultural School on Wheels Awakens a Stir Among Negro Farmer." September 6, 1925, Thomas Monroe Campbell Papers, Box 019.051, folder 1, National Center for Bioethics in Research and Healthcare, Archives, Tuskegee University, Tuskegee, AL, 6.

cannot come to school."[405] Social justice education, helping the farmers and their families to address those most immediate issues hindering their social and economic enfranchisement, was one of the programs' chief objectives.



The Booker T. Washington Agricultural School on Wheels around the time of its dedication in January of 1923[406]

Funding

The funding of the nation's Historically Black Colleges and Universities can be attributed various philanthropic, public and private organizations, including but not limited to the American Missionary Association, the Freedman's Aid Society (Methodist Episcopal Church), the American Baptist Home Mission Society, the Colored and the African Methodist Episcopal Churches, the John F. Slater Fund, the Rosenwald Fund, the Jeanes Foundation, the Carnegie Corporation, the General Education Board (John D. Rockefeller, Sr., Robert C. Ogden), the Southern Education Board and the Peabody Education Fund. Each of the previously mentioned organizations, undoubtedly, had varied agendas for providing financial support for Black education in the South. Generally, those northern missionary, Black religious organizations and

[405] "A Farmer's College on Wheels." *The Tuskegee Student*, December 8, 1906, No. 39, Vol. XVI,p. 1
[406] "Three Thousand Attend Tuskegee Conference", *The Montgomery Advertiser*, January 8, 1923, Thomas Monroe Campbell Papers, Box 019.051, folder 1, National Center for Bioethics in Research and Healthcare, Archives, Tuskegee University, Tuskegee.

government supported programs were interested in using a classical liberal arts program of study to train and prepare professionals and leaders.[407]

While Black leaders and White led missionary societies incorporated industrial education and training into the liberal arts program that they supported, "…they tended to view such courses as relativity insignificant for intellectual and leadership training."[408] Industrial training, as it had been designed by these proponents of Black education, never intended to be its aim; manual training and trade skills were simply to be a compliment to the liberal arts programs of study. These organizations collectively resisted the development of education policy that relegated Blacks to receiving an education that they viewed as subordinate to that of a classical, liberal arts orientation.[409] There is evidence that those programs that placed more emphasis on agricultural education were not as productive and progressive in their intent as they purported. B.D. Mayberry found, for example, that between the years of 1902-1903, less than four percent of the students attending 1890 land grant institutions were enrolled in programs of study that would lead them to earning an undergraduate degree; "…of the graduates of these institutions only 28 per cent received bachelor's degrees."[410]

Many of the Northern philanthropic organizations, which were owned by "…large corporate…foundations and wealthy individuals", were interested in promoting industrial and agricultural education reflecting the Hampton-Tuskegee Idea.[411] According to William H. Watkins, corporate philanthropic efforts were aimed at informing the development of Black education to ascribe to "…a political and ideological platform" of accommodation.[412] Some

[407] Anderson, *The Education of Blacks*, 66-67.
[408] Ibid, 67.
[409] Ibid, 67.
[410] Mayberry, *A Century of Agriculture*, 49.
[411] Anderson, *The Education of Blacks*, 239.
[412] Watkins, *The White Architects of Black Education*, 20.

argued that the interests of this particular sector of northern philanthropists were create a labor industrial complex to meet "…the southern agricultural economy…[and] the emergent urban-industrial nation."[413] In 1903, Congress officiated the establishment of the General Education Board (GEB) which highly supported the Hampton model and Black teacher training intended to promote Black people learning to be "…gentle, sweet, neighborly…students who would '…live in harmony with other races.'"[414] The members of the GEB recognized early on, a possible ally in their effort to promote industrial education throughout the south— southern Whites who feared a socially, politically and economically conscious Black community. In this way, the GEB fully exploited White paranoia, and together the two groups had a most influential impact -a "monopolistic" control- over the funding of Black education.[415] Further, historian Horace Mann Bond argued that "The Slater, Peabody and Jeanes Funds and the General Education Board may be justly accused of minimizing the need for higher education among Negroes at a time when the theory of industrial education made all educational experts frown at the idea of a Negro college."[416]

There were many others, who argued indignantly against what groups like the GEB stood for. This divide, around the aim of Black education in the south, is predominately discussed in the literature as conversations between W.E.B. Du Bois and Booker T. Washington. Some of their contention is reflected in the development and administration of the Moveable School and the People's College. This concept will be further explored in Chapter 5, the comparative institutional analysis.

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[413] Anderson, *The Education of Blacks*, 88.
[414] Watkins, *The White Architects*, 131.
[415] Anderson, *The Education of Blacks.*
[416] Bond, *The Education of the Negro*, 148.

During the height of his career, Washington was criticized by some Black scholars and activists for cooperating with the White promoters of the Hampton-Tuskegee program. Many argued that it was nearly impossible to cooperate with the very people who were in charge of those social systems that were designed to oppress Black people. In his article, *Black Rural Communities and the Struggle for Education during the Age of Booker T. Washington, 1877-1915*, James A. Anderson offers a scathing critique of Washington's means for advancing the TU program. He argued that Washington sacrificed social, political and economic progress for the masses of Black folk, in pursuit of his own financial and political concerns. In this regard, the function of Washington's relationship with President Roosevelt was again called into question.

Washington's 1901 meeting with Roosevelt began a period during which he would experience an upsurge in his career. The time between 1901-1915, a period that historian Rayford Logan called the "Nadir", the Constitutional Convention held by the Black Belt Democrats, resolved that:

> There [was] no necessity for paying a teacher for a colored school the same amount you pay to white school teachers, because you can get them at much less salary. Under the present laws of Alabama, if the law is carried out, the colored pupil gets the same amount of money per capita as the white pupil, and that is not justice.[417]

Thus, at a time when TU was gaining national attention and support, education policy impacting the greater number of Black people living in the south was more aggressively instituting racism. This example typifies the type common criticism hurled at Washington for what some saw as a moral and political compromise sacrificed at the expense of the masses of Black people.

In their recently published book *Booker T. Washington Rediscovered*, Michael Scott Belize and Marybeth Gasman found that historians have two historical interpretations of Washington's "friendship" with Roosevelt, and his overall cooperation and collaboration with

[417] Horace Mann Bond as cited in James A. Anderson, "Black Rural Communities and the Struggle for Education during the Age of Booker T. Washington, 1877-1915," *Peabody Journal of Education*, 67, (Summer, 1990): 56-57.

Whites. They found there to be two schools of thought that have dominated the narrative then, and now. Some view Washington having simply "…miscalculated the depths of racism, and that…[and] he accepted economic handouts in lieu of equal rights and the full privileges of citizenship in a democracy."[418] The other historical narrative , they posit, characterizes him as able to accept that the only effective way to counter racism was to accept the reality of the climate in the south while building a Black economic capital as a separate endeavor— one that cooperated with Whites while using their money to develop, build and grow Black institutions."[419] Regardless of how Washington was and is treated in the education literature, there is no denying the impact of the support, financial and otherwise, that he was able to garner to build and sustain the TU and Moveable School programs.

With regard to the funding specifically allocated to TU's Moveable School program, B.D. Mayberry found that there were very few cooperative or joint efforts toward funding between 1881-1906. Between the years of 1906 to 1914, however, "The General Education Board and the federal government were major contributors of resources and cooperation in the continuous development of the Negro Extension work…already in progress at Tuskegee University."[420] Further, the faculty and staff of the Moveable School were paid out of cooperative funds…."The farm and home demonstration agents….by the Federal and State Governments [and] the nurses…by the State Health Department and the Alabama Tuberculosis Association."[421]

Of course smaller contributions were made in various forms and by a number of different entities and organizations spanning the lifetime of the program. The Chamber of

[418] Belize and Gasman, *Booker T. Washington Rediscovered*, 211.
[419] Ibid, 211.
[420] Mayberry, *The Role of Tuskegee*.
[421] Thomas Monroe Campbell, *The Journal of Outdoor Life*, September 1930, Vol. XXVII., No. 9, Box 019.051, folder 6, The Thomas Monroe Campbell Papers, National Center for Bioethics in Research and Healthcare, Archives, Tuskegee University, Tuskegee, AL, 553.

Commerce, for example, would give an annual cash award to the "…best 'all-around' farmer and to the one who produces the largest yield per acre."[422] Further, joint efforts between Auburn University, the National Extension Service, the Hampton Tuskegee Endowment Fund, the Alabama Polytechnic Institute; the US Department of Agriculture and the Federal and State Agricultural Extension Services, among others, provided on-going financial support throughout the tenure of the Moveable School program.[423]

Program Design, Staffing and Instruction

The primary resource information on the Moveable School is most extensive in the areas relative to the program curriculum, content and design. For this purpose, two activities –various Moveable School sessions and the Annual Negro Farmer's Conference of 1923– will be examined to highlight the manner in which the schools' classes were typically administered. These activities will also provide information regarding course content and the instructional methods employed by the schools' faculty and staff. For the purposes of this research the Moveable School process will be demonstrated with various examples accordingly: Phase One- Needs Assessment and Plan of Action, Phase Two- Instructional Strategies (i.e. practical education) and Course Content and Phase Three- Program Assessment and Evaluation.

First, Campbell would select the appropriate faculty and staff to travel with and direct the administration of the Moveable School, for the duration of a particular session, course or conference. Campbell believed that the teachers should be selected based on their understanding of the cultural and social contexts impacting the community of students that they would instruct.

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[422] "Moveable School for Farmers." *The New York Age*, May 1, 1926, Box 019.050, folder 2, The Thomas Monroe Campbell Papers, National Center for Bioethics in Research and Healthcare, Archives, Tuskegee University, Tuskegee, AL.

[423] Executive Committee Report, "Booker T. Washington Agricultural School on Wheels Awakens a Stir Among Negro Farmer." September 6, 1925, 6; Mayberry, *The Role of Tuskegee*, 106.

Further, he determined anyone serving with the school must be fully dedicated to serving the primary needs and interests of their students, first. At one session of the Moveable School, Campbell said to a group of students regarding thoughts about faculty saying, "…I'd get rid of these teachers that come from the city and try to teach our country boys and girls that the city is the only place to live. I'd teach our children the sort of things that would keep them happy here on the farm."[424] Thus, like himself, many of the faculty and staff hired to work with the school, were former students of Tuskegee, and were familiar, personally, or otherwise, with the various educational barriers facing their potential students (i.e. chronic illness, illiteracy, racism, poverty, etc.). A 1926 article, published in the *New York Age* Newspaper said the following regarding the level of commitment to service demonstrated by the Moveable School faculty and staff: "…the specialists mentioned…[are] all colored; [and] all devoted to their work with religious enthusiasm"[425]

Given all of the obstacles facing those persons selected to work the Moveable School (i.e. internalized and institutionalized racism, funding, etc.), Campbell knew that the program would fail if it did not recruit and retain a dedicated faculty and staff. He needed Black teachers, professionals, community activists and students, who believed in the programs' mission, vision and objective of service. He once, spoke to this point writing:

> …it was a rather doubtful experiment; certainly it was a new idea sprung in educators in the South- that of sending out Negro teachers to teach without textbooks or schoolrooms, but instead, the rural farmer's home was to constitute the classroom, the farmer and his family the pupils…many said 'it cannot be done,'…others said it was not based on the fundamental principles of teaching…Therefore in order to build up a work of this kind, it required much tact, patience and genuine love for service."[426]

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[424] Jenness, "A School that Travels Around", 6.
[425] Ibid, 1-2.
[426] "Constant Sickness of Negro Farmers Their Worst Enemy." *Burrelle's Press Clipping Bureau*, May 9, 1930, Thomas Monroe Campbell Papers, Box 019.051, folder 6, National Center for Bioethics in Research and Healthcare, Archives, Tuskegee University, Tuskegee, AL.

Beyond their commitment to community service, Campbell wanted to assure that the schools' faculty, staff and students were professionals and specialists able to address the most immediate needs of the student while providing with instruction on a given topic. For this purpose, each session of the Moveable School was conducted with no less than "…a public health nurse, a home demonstration agent for women and girls, and a farm demonstration agent for men and boys."[427] As the program grew, so would the number of traveling faculty and staff such that there were often trips made with as many as five persons to assist with instruction. Later dates saw traveling with the Booker T. Washington Agricultural School on Wheels "a corps of teachers, a farm demonstration agent, a rural school supervisor, a health nurse and a home economics agent".[428] TU students were also allowed to travel with the Moveable School at times to provide instruction, which would provide them with the experience needed to put their education to practical use in communities of need (i.e. service-learning).[429] In addition, those traditional students who were formally trained in the TU Agricultural Department were expected to return to the farms in their own communities and share the knowledge that learned.[430]

After the appropriate faculty and staff had been selected to conduct the Moveable School visits, the first phase of the process –selecting of a proper location in which to hold the classes– would begin. Preceding a visit from the Moveable School, a "demonstration center", a community person's home or farm (rented or owned), was chosen to host the school for its' on-site visit. In this regard Campbell learned that, "The owner [chosen] must be well liked or the people won't come to his premises.[431] For this purpose, Campbell would send the "Moveable

[427] "Moveable School for Farmers." *The New York Age*, May 1, 1926, Box 019.050, folder 2, The Thomas Monroe Campbell Papers, National Center for Bioethics in Research and Healthcare, Archives, Tuskegee University, Tuskegee, AL; Campbell, *The Journal of Outdoor Life*, 553.
[428] Exective Committee Report, "Booker T. Washington Agricultural School…", 2.
[429] Albin Hosely, "The Tuskegee Conference", *Journal of Social Forces*, 1 (March 1923), 286.
[430] Allen Jones, "The Role of Tuskegee…", 128.
[431] Jenness, "A School that Travels Around", 3.

School force" –consisting of one man and one woman agent and a registered nurse– into communities to conduct a needs-assessment. The first charge of the Moveable School force was to identify and establish a line of communication with a well-respected community leader of average financial means. Many times that would be a local minister for, "the rural Negro minister was a real power and that there was no denying the influence and effect of his personality upon the community."[432] Even in choosing someone who the community respected to host the Moveable School, there were often challenges in gaining the support of a community, which was required for the sessions to work. Black farmers and their farmers, from experience, had grown to distrust anyone working on behalf of the federal government and anyone agreeing to "help" them attend the land that they did own. They wondered if the county agents were "spies" for the federal government, and if the services and work that they provided was really free.[433]

The selection of a proper community host for the Moveable School would further encourage full participation from others in the community. A farm worker or tenant who was chosen to be the site for the Moveable school "…must generally be esteemed on the plantation…[for]…his fellow tenants and their families…to whole-heartedly…approve or render assistance in the cooperative activities that characterize the sessions of the Moveable School."[434] In addition, when conducing a needs assessment, the force was to make connection with the local county farm and home demonstration agents; they would also assist with the administration of the on-site visit, and would recommend Black farm owners and/or tenants who might be considered for that purpose.[435]

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[432] Campbell, *The Moveable School*, 96.
[433] Earl W. Crosby, "The Struggle for Existence: The Institutionalization of the Black County Agent System", *Agricultural History* , 60 (Spring, 1986), 127.
[434] Campbell, *The Moveable School*, 126.
[435] Ibid, 116-177 & 125.

As a core principle of social justice education, program planners must always respect the rules of engagement as set forth by the members living within a given community, and their knowledge should be validated as of relevant and pertinent to program planning.[436] When conducting a survey of needs for a particular location, the force would visit a communities' "public meetings, in churches, schools, lodge halls, for the purpose of gathering information to be used as a basis for demonstrations and instructions on public health."[437] Campbell wanted the force to assure that the community members were well acquainted with them and with the Moveable schools' vision and mission, prior to their visit such that they could easily implement their "program of work." The agents were also to let the host know that the cost to them to participate in the program was free. What was primarily required of them was their time, effort and sweat equity.

Most often the Moveable School force was led by the registered nurse, since Campbell recognized that students who are not healthy, are less equip to participate in the practical demonstrations and experiments and, thus, less likely to learn and benefit from them. To this end, Miss Uva M. Hester, who had come through the TU nursing program, was hired in 1920 to conduct and direct many these visits. She often found families living in squalor, suffering the effects of tuberculosis, "intestinal hemorrhages", with broken toilets and fly infestations.[438] The force was generally welcomed in most communities, and it soon become a badge of honor and respect to have one's home or farm chosen to be the site for a visit from the Moveable School.[439] The community leaders chosen as hosts were expected to have their residence serve as "…a center for teaching the community", from the time of the visit forward. In this regard, the schools'

[436] Kerry Strand, et al, *Community-Based Research*, 8.
[437] Campbell, *The Moveable School*, 112.
[438] Campbell, *The Moveable School*, 114.
[439] Ibid, 112 & 117.

faculty and staff provided an informal type of teacher training to their non-traditional. This type of community education and engagement, another practice in social justice education, was an integral part of the Moveable School program.

Based on the information gathered by the schools' force, a calendar or itinerary was established to determine how much time would be spent in a particular community. Whether it was a full day, week or month in it was sure to be that "The Moveable School [would leave] in its wake a home-loving community…that turn[ed] shacks into homes and [made] self-respecting citizens of….youngsters".[440] A 1926 article entitled, *Moveable School Route Revealed: Tuskegee Truck Opens Sessions on Monday*, published in the *Selma Times-Journal*, promoted the local itinerary of an upcoming visit announcing that, "The Tuskegee Moveable School…[would] be carried to all parts of the county in an effort will be made to bring its good offices to practically every negro farmer and farm worker in the county."[441] The announcement ended with a date and name listed for every farm or family's home to be visited— "Tuesday 16- Bat Smith Place" would be the schools' first stop, on this particular visit.[442] The school would typically operate and travel year-round, focusing specifically on reaching those communities that were most difficult to be reached, giving agricultural instruction based on the season.[443]

The second phase of the administration of a Moveable School session was to implement the actual plan of instruction (i.e. practical education) and course content. The two primary questions that the force was to answer was what are the most immediate needs of the students being served, and what were the most practical means by which to meet them. One of the

[440] Thomas Monroe Campbell Papers, March 19, 1921, Box 019.050, National Center for Bioethics in Research and Healthcare, Archives, Tuskegee University, Tuskegee, AL.
[440] "A Farmer's College on Wheels", 1.
[441] Thomas Monroe Campbell Papers, February 14, 1926, Box 019.050, National Center for Bioethics in Research and Healthcare, Archives, Tuskegee University, Tuskegee, AL.
[442] Thomas Monroe Campbell Papers, February 14, 1906.
[443] Campbell, *The Journal of Outdoor Life*, 553.

underpinnings of the instructional methods utilized by the schools' faculty and staff was the idea of practical education. In Booker T. Washington's own words, "The idea was actual demonstration, not speechmaking or lectures: "'Instead of telling the farmer what to do, show him how to do it and he will never forget it."[444] The Moveable School faculty and staff learned that this method was most effective for the student population that they were assisting, for many of their pupils were illiterate.

In this way, the instruction was to be culturally responsive, conducted in an "an informal and simple…and tactful way…"[445]; the "instructions had to be visual, audible, and understandable."[446] One observer of a Moveable School session accounted, the efficacy of practical instruction methods, by observing the reactions of the students to it. Students could often be overheard saying, "'That's a good idea'…[and]…'I'm going to try that'."[447] After any demonstration students were required to duplicate the activity, to show their level of competency and retention and their ability to pass the information that they learned on to their family and community members.[448]

Other methods of instruction were identified and utilized as the most effective in meeting the learning needs of the Moveable Schools' students. In 1920, the schools' administrators provided a work order to the Black Agents servicing the Alabama area, which highlighted three specific areas of instruction. In order to assure the most widely accessible educational program possible, the school was to provide instruction via 1) "Stationary Teaching" (i.e. annual conferences), 2) "Transitory Teaching" (i.e. traveling to a community in need) and 3) "Night

[444] Denton, *Booker T. Washington*, 114.
[445] Campbell, *The Moveable School*, 83.
[446] Denton, *Booker T. Washington*, 114.
[447] Beatrice Blackwood letter addressed to letter to the United States Department of Agriculture, Executive Committee Report, "Booker T. Washington Agricultural School on Wheels Awakens a Stir Among Negro Farmer." September 6, 1925, Thomas Monroe Campbell Papers, Box 019.051, folder 1, National Center for Bioethics in Research and Healthcare, Archives, Tuskegee University, Tuskegee, AL, 6..
[448] Campbell, *The Journal of Outdoor Life*, 553.

School."[449] The program order also required that the field agents provide information regarding the specific content area(s) to be covered- information usually formulated based on information provided them by adult "leaders" within a particular community- for the separate groups of men and boys and women and girls.[450]

In his semi-autobiographical text Campbell, *The Moveable School Goes to the Negro Farmer*, Campbell describes the course of action for a typical one-day instructional session of the Moveable School. The day would begin with the wagon or truck arriving early in the morning to the chosen community and location, "carrying a personnel of five, the regular staff of three and both the county farm and home demonstration agents."[451] In the early days of his tenure with TU, Booker T. Washington learned from experience that an effective way to ease any apprehensions existing between the students, faculty and staff, was to open any meeting, session or conference, with prayer and the singing of religious themed songs or spirituals. Campbell remembers watching how "The constraints of fear and self-consciousness were swept away, and kindred souls felt only stir of emotion which served to open their hearts and minds."[452] Campbell recognized the value of this exercise in unifying all of the attendees- the illiterate and well read; those of means and those who were not; traditional and non-traditional students; the academic scholars and community scholars. Thus, every Moveable School session would begin with a collective exercise to ease tensions and prepare everyone for the days' commune and work. It became customary for an opening session of the Moveable School would ask the church

[449] "Colored Agents in Alabama." Thomas Monroe Campbell Papers, June 19, 1920, Box 019.050, National Center for Bioethics in Research and Healthcare, Archives, Tuskegee University, Tuskegee, AL.
[450] Ibid.
[451] Campbell, *The Moveable School*, 125.
[452] Ibid, 83.

leadership in the community to lead the program in "a brief religious service, songs…prayer…[and/or] two or three plantation melodies."[453]

The Moveable School via the BTW Agricultural School on Wheels, would typically serve two to five hundred students at a time. The community learners would first be separated by gender –men and boys and women and girls, no age differentiation was made. The precedent, of gender segregated instruction had been set by Booker T. Washington with the Annual Negro Farmers' Conferences. He believed the roles and responsibilities for men and women in farm, home life and moral development were distinctly different and should be taught in that way. At one point, he shared his sentiment with some attendees of one conference saying:

> We believe that much of the immorality that exists can be traced to the One-room cabin. We urge upon every woman to insist upon the securing upon one room…that every woman keep her home clean, well aired, and her children well fed and clothed…to see to it that only strictly moral men and women occupy their pulpits and teach their children…too see to it that in the streets and in other public places she speaks in a quiet tone of voice…refrains from spitting on the street, and …that she does not at any time act familiarly with men…that women always wear neat looking shoes, and…never wear their hair wrapped in strings…Let the woman grasp every opportunity to help her husband, in order that the purchase of a home be made possible.[454]

Then the gender groups would be further separated into five or six groups, with a different content area, demonstration or discussion occurring with each group.[455] According to Mary Jenness, "…1, 000 Negroes may be reached [via the BTW School on Wheels] within a forenight."[456]

After the morning "church service" was conducted and the students were segregated by gender, the faculty and staff would issue instructions to the students in each demonstration group and the day's activities would begin. Some of the typical courses content, demonstrations,

[453] Campbell, *The Moveable School*, 125.
[454] Ibid, 85-86.
[455] Jenness, Mary, "A School that Travels Around", 6.
[456] Ibid, 2.

exhibits and instruction included a wide variety of topics including, but not limited to agriculture, home economics, health and sanitation and general life skills. Some of the other content areas taught via the Moveable School were:

Men and Boys

- Selecting eggs for hatching
- Building porch and doorsteps
- White washing the home
- Toilet installation
- How to prune and spray trees
- Planting sweet potatoes
- Caring for livestock
- Fertilizing soil with nitrate from soda
- Hanging gates
- Sharpening saws
- Operating various types of farm equipment
- Repairing old harnesses
- Dealing with the boil weevil
- Treating hogs for Cholera
- Concrete and brick work
- Proper seed selection
- Building or repairing an outhouse
- Properly caring for and/or building a poultry house
- Improving the farm home
- Inoculating hogs
- Fence repair
- Making furniture
- Windowpane repair
- Bedding sweet potatoes
- Shoe repair
- Painting
- Carpentry
- Making tin ware
- Family food production and storage
- Cotton quality improving and marketing
- Home restoration and renovation
- Family relationships
- Consumer buying
- Family planning and expenditures
- Health literacy (i.e. malaria, hookworm and other communicable diseases)

- Financial literacy
- Moral and religious development
- Race relations[457]

Women and Girls

- Making and hanging curtains
- Proper infant and child care
- Preparing natural foods to remedy illness
- Proper sanitation for infants, children, the elderly and sick
- Making a baby bed
- Flower and shrubbery planting
- Yard cleaning
- Home cleaning
- Treatment of diseases like "malnutrition, adenoids, tonsils and bad teeth" and malaria
- How to properly launder clothes
- Soap making
- Hat making
- Using a "fireless cooker"
- Egg preservation and selection
- Fly extermination
- Making pies
- Sewing dresses
- Sanitation, hygiene, prenatal and childcare
- How to make a mattress cover out of flour sacks and newspapers
- How to make fold a "sputum bag" for a family member suffering with tuberculosis
- How to kill the boil weevil
- Gardening
- Cooking and "displaying" meal
- Picture hanging
- All matters of home beautification
- Rug making
- Making household items from shucks and pine needles; they are given
- Clearing the home of insects and pests
- Making fly paper
- Making corn starch
- Home renovation
- Raising of poultry
- Raising bees

[457] Jenness, "A School that Travels Around", 4; Untitled Newspaper Article. *Tuskegee Herald*, Tuesday, January 15, 1952, Box 019.051, folder 11, The Thomas Monroe Campbell Papers, National Center for Bioethics in Research and Healthcare, Archives, Tuskegee University, Tuskegee, AL; Campbell, *The Moveable School*, 85-86 & 134; Thomas Monroe Campbell, "Carrying Education to the People", *Journal Of Educational Sociology*, 7 (November 1933), 193.

- How to make paper drinking cups; students were taught the value of having their own drinking cups, instead of sharing them
- Home beautification, like painting, curtain and dress material dying, basketry
- Health Literacy
- Financial Literacy (i.e. grow food for home supply and for sale/profiting/saving)
- Moral and religious development
- Race relations (i.e. lawlessness, lynching)[458]

In addition to all the topics taught through means of practical education and demonstration, more complex topics were integrated into the curriculum. For example, financial literacy was an integral part of the Movable School program of study. Farmers were encouraged to purchase and raise their own chickens and to have at least two hogs because "…a 300-pound hog [was] worth more than a bale of cotton, and costs comparatively nothing."[459] The students were taught the importance of "thrift" and to grow their own food such that the "cotton crop may be a cash surplus."[460] Further, they were given instruction on how to properly care for their mules, and other farm animals, such that they would live long enough to make a return on the initial financial investment.[461]

At a one-day Moveable School session, the students were typically given a one hour lunch break around noon. In his autobiography, Campbell often recalled overhearing the students excitedly sharing all of the new information learned that day, over their homemade, sack lunches. After lunch the students would return their classes, and proceed with more practical instruction. Another break was usually given around sundown, typically around 4:00 or 5:00pm, for "recess", and students of all ages were encouraged to participate. Recess might include "Volley ball, tug-of-war, foot races and other simple sports…."[462] At around 7:30 in the evening, the students would watch a film. While the researcher was unable to locate in the archives, the specific names

[458] Campbell, *The Moveable School*, 85-86 & 134; Campbell, "Carrying Education to the People, 193.
[459] "A Farmer's College on Wheels", 1.
[460] Ibid, 2.
[461] Ibid, 2.
[462] Campbell, *The Moveable School*, 131.

of the films shown, a 2009 study cites several films that were produced by Black agricultural and technical colleges during the time that the Moveable School was in operation. They were entitled *A Trip to Tuskegee* (1910), *A Day at Tuskegee,* (1913), *John Henry at Hampton: A Kind of Student Who Makes Good* (1913), *Making Negro Lives Count* (1914), *The New Era* (1915), and *Cephas Returns* (1915), and were used to promote "…the uplift narrative that was central to Hampton's and Tuskegee's missions."[463] The film would be followed by the singing of "plantation melodies" or the students would be privy to a "phonograph" concert. A local pastor, who was almost always present, would say a prayer, and then dinner would be had. After dinner, everyone sang together again and the attending extension agent or guest speaker would end with a summary of the day and a prayer and "…the 'Moveable School' [would continue] on its way elsewhere."[464] The improvements made to any one student's home or farm was to remain an instructional model from which the entire community could continue learn and benefit. Again, social justice education as it was practiced through the Moveable School, was a communal exercise.

Not all Moveable School sessions were held in one day. Other courses would last from four days in length, to seven days in length to as long as one month, depending the size of the community to be visited and the topics to be covered. A May 3, 1925 article, entitled *Moveable Farm School Attended by 10, 000*, documented a month long session that assisted all of the Black farmers living in the Dallas County, Alabama area. During that particular session the students benefited from topics such as "work as cultivation, controlling insects, care of fruit trees, gardening, repairing, the care of poultry, cooking and homemaking. During this particular

[463] Allyson Nadia Field, "John Henry Goes to Carnegie Hall: Motion Picture Production at Southern Black Agricultural and Industrial Institutes (1909–13)," *Journal of Popular Film and Television*, (Fall 2009), Vol. 37, No. 3, 116.
[464] Blackwood, "Booker T. Washington Agricultural School", 5.

session of the Moveable School "nineteen sanitary toilets were built…", which would further address the public health issues facing many of the Black farmers and their families.[465]

In addition to the "Transitory Teaching" done through the Moveable School, Black farmers and their families, living in the South, could always look forward to attending the Annual Negro Farmers' and Workers' Conference. This type of education and training, to be held on the TU campus for non-traditional students in the area, was an extension of the Moveable Schools' "Stationary Education" agenda.[466] One of the most well documented of the conferences was the one held in 1923. According to a an article published on January 17th of that year, "More than three thousand Negro farmers, teachers, ministers, farm and home demonstration agents and other welfare workers of the South [attended] the thirty-second annual Tuskegee Negro Conference…". Students reportedly, traveled to TU from as far as Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Mississippi, Florida, Texas, Arkansas and Oklahoma to attend the conference which was themed: "'Better Farming….Better Business….and Better Living.'"[467]

On the first day of the 1923 conference, named Farmers' Day, students began lining up to participate in the opening session, as early as five o'clock that morning- breakfast had been served at three. By seven o'clock on this day the community students, farmers and their wives, and the institute students, were to begin the day's activities. The farmers and their wives would attend their respective exhibits, demonstration instruction, round table discussions, etc. Some of

[465] Thomas Monroe Campbell, "Moveable School Attended by 10, 000: Moveable Farm Schools Leave Dallas After Demonstrating Practical Work to Over 10, 000 Negro Farmers- Is Praised by White Planters." *Selma Times Journal*, May, 3, 1925 , Box 019.051, folder 50, The Thomas Monroe Campbell Papers, National Center for Bioethics in Research and Healthcare, Archives, Tuskegee University, Tuskegee, AL; Campbell, *The Moveable School*, 132.
[466] Worksheet. The Thomas Monroe Campbell Papers, National Center for Bioethics in Research and Healthcare, Archives, Tuskegee University, Tuskegee, AL.
[467] "Three Thousand Attend Tuskegee Conference", *The Montgomery Advertiser*, Thomas Monroe Campbell Papers, January18, 1923, Box 019.051, folder 1, National Center for Bioethics in Research and Healthcare, Archives, Tuskegee University, Tuskegee, AL, 1.

the topics covered for the women were on or related to: "…cleanliness, hygiene and sanitation…"; furniture making "inexpensive [and] having been made principally from Boxes painted and stenciled"; "scarves on the dressing table, dresser, washstand and tables were made of flower sacks with beautiful designs on them."[468] It is imporatant As always, financial literacy remained a core competency taught by the Moveable School. In this case "Every stitch or scrap of material, no matter what it had been used for before, was used to make something else" (i.e. children's clothing were made from sewing scraps, gloves were made from stockings). For this purpose, a six room cottage had been prepared in which the demonstration and exhibitions on "home-making" were held. A registered nurse and her assistants gave a presentation where she "weighing and measuring the heights of adults as well as children…" utilizing charts and posters to teach the students.[469]

Some of the topics covered for the men in attendance at the 1923 conference included; shoe repair, how to use the Anti-Boil Weevil Spraying Machine; hog inoculation; the TU institute Chemistry Division gave a presentation on the connections between soil and food quality and how to analyze soil; the TU Dairy Division gave demonstrations on the entire process of milk production (i.e. how to properly milk a cow); etc.

Farmers' Day concluded, as it typically did with a keynote address given by a person well respected in the field of agricultural education and/or practice. The address for the 1923 conference was the then President of TU, Dr. Robert R. Moton. He addressed them, at one point, saying:

> It was thirty-two years ago that our friend, Dr. Washington, called together a few negro farmers and invited to meet with them a few white people who were interested in

[468] Ibid, 1.
[469] Ibid, 1.

> agriculture and in the development of the South. Here they meet for what one old farmer happily termed 'their one day's schooling a year.[470]

The second day of the conference, as with all others held previously, was Workers' Day, a time typically reserved for teachers and professionals working in, or anticipating careers in the field of Agricultural Education.

In addition to the Moveable Schools' transitory and stationary education instructional delivery, even further accommodations were made to reach a communities' non-traditional students. For this purpose "Night School", a long-time practice at TU, through the Moveable School was customary. Further, evening classes were often broadcast monthly via WJHO, Tuskegee's campus radio station, for those students unable to attend Moveable School classes in person (i.e. an early type of distance learning). One broadcast, which was announced as "the first in a series of monthly programs for the campus of the Tuskegee Institute", local extension agents would act as guest hosts to talk about extension work being conducted in the south. One broadcast aired the following:

> Today your Farm and Family Forum, brings you transcribed greetings from Tuskegee Institute, Alabama -- were 300 Negro 4-H Club boys and girls are gathered this week for their annual 4-H Club Camp. We might call this a birthday program for it was just one year ago the 26th of this month, that you heard the first of these monthly, broadcasts, on your "Farm and Family Forum" –telling of what's being done by Alabama's Negro Extension agents..." And then the TU Community Chorus sings, Git on Board.[471]

In this way, the Moveable School, employed some very non-traditional means to bring their educational program to the people who needed it most.

The third and last phase of the administration of a Moveable School session, course or conference, was to implement some form of program assessment and evaluation. Less informal

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[470] "Three Thousand Attend Tuskegee Conference", 1.

[471] "Auburn Farm and Family Forum: "Keeping Me From Sinking Down", Transcript/Letter: Radio broadcast from WJHO (TU's campus radio station), Ca. 1942, Box 019.051, folder 2, The Thomas Monroe Campbell Papers, National Center for Bioethics in Research and Healthcare, Archives, Tuskegee University, Tuskegee, AL.

means of program evaluation and assessment were conducted through follow-up visits to communities in which the Moveable School had conducted classes. One observer of the schools' work posited that a "…new fence, the well cultivated acre [was] visible evidence that the 'traveling school' had been there."[472] In his autobiography, Campbell puts forth specific examples of the impact of the Moveable School on Black farmers and their families, living in Macon and Dallas County, Alabama. Their individual success collectively represents the effectiveness of the program. For example, Hill Taylor, a farmer owner of 518 acres of land in Macon County, whose home served as a demonstration site, served about 535 students per week in his community; Mrs. Mary Simpson, who came from living in a community where no one "had a dining room or toilet. [and] They cooked, ate and slept in their kitchens"[473] to being able to attend TU for three years, become a homeowner and the only woman to ever receive the coveted Merit Farmer's Certificate at the TU Farmers' Conference[474]; Tom Moss, who went from working on a large plantation to owning 80 acres and a home, paid for in cash. According to Campbell: "The Mosses began as renters, practicing the teaching brought them each year by the movable school, and after five years they were able to make a down payment on ninety acres of land…." And the success of the Moses family did not end there. They were able to soon complete their mortgage obligations, and build and furnish a six-room bungalow. [475] The Mosses exemplify exactly what the Moveable School program intended to do for all Black farmers and their families, to elevate them from the menial position of renters and sharecroppers to home and land ownership. During the year of 1925 the BTW Agricultural School on Wheels served 10, 000 students over a two week period and had "…invariably had the effect of improving farm

[472]Jenness, "A School that Travels Around, 5.
[473] Campbell, *The Moveable School*, 137-138.
[474] Ibid, 140.
[475] Campbell, *Carrying Education*, 195.

conditions wherever it [went]. Negroes [were] bettering their homes, advancing crops, putting money aside."[476]

In addition to the many examples of actual students who were highlighted to represent the efficacy of the Moveable School program, evidence of more formal methods of program evaluation and assessment was also found in the Campbell collection. A legal sized sheet of paper was found, for example, with a heading that read, "The Report of Field Trips". On it spaces were provided to record the Date, Place Visited, Purpose of Trip, and Work Done.[477] It seems that this may have been a method used to conduct and report to the Moveable School administrators a report on the work done through Moveable School visits. On the back of the document were handwritten notes on who the field reports were to be submitted to. The notes were entitled, "List of Names to whom the Extension review has been Been Sent".[478] Evidence of the impact of the Moveable School beyond its local reach in Alabama and throughout other states in the South is plentiful.

Influence and Impact of the Moveable School

The national and global impact of the Moveable School its associated education programs, is well documented. In a 1925 executive report, Campbell touted that the school was "…doing for the Negro in remote Southern communities what the common school, with its Hampton-Tuskegee methods and teachers, are unable to do because the school cannot reach them."[479] In this way, the Moveable School increased access to educational programs to for those students who experienced various barriers (i.e. racism, finances, level of education, transportation) to

[476] Blackwood, "Booker T. Washington Agricultural School", 6.
[477] Document Entilted "Report of Field Trips, Ca. 1947, Box,) 019.51, folder 4, The Thomas Monroe Campbell Papers, National Center for Bioethics in Research and Healthcare, Archives, Tuskegee University, Tuskegee, AL.
[478] Worksheet. Box 019.051, folder 1, National Center for Bioethics in Research and Healthcare, Archives, Tuskegee University, Tuskegee, AL, 1.
[479] Blackwood, "Booker T. Washington Agricultural", 2.

attending a traditional program of study. For the purposes of this dissertation, several areas highlighting the school's local, national and global impact will be put forth: 1) the increase in the number of professionals working in the field of Agricultural Education and Extension 2) statistics and empirical data on numbers of Black farmers (renters and/or owners) impacted, financially and otherwise, by the Moveable School 4) the duplication of the Moveable School Model of social justice education to international communities and 5) the sustainability of the program.

According to Allen Jones, during the height of his career, Thomas Monroe Campbell became a fierce advocate for Black professionals interested in pursuing careers in the field of agricultural education. He saw the appointment of many Black Extension and Home Demonstration Agents throughout the South during his tenure with the Moveable School.[480] Campbell persisted in urging the United States Department of Agriculture to hire more Black extension agents, resulting in the hiring of "846 Negro extension agents by 1950, and 435,000 Negro families had received benefit from the government's Agricultural Extension Service."[481] Campbell realized the importance of sustaining the viability of agricultural education programs, and moved to put Black people in positions to be able to become administrators of such programs. Even with this, Earl W. Crosby suggests that Campbell could only make recommendations toward the hiring of Black county agents and that the Whites working for the USDA made the final decisions regarding hiring and firing. Further, Black county agents were abused, over-worked and underpaid when compared to their White counterparts, so Washington and Campbell's' agenda was not without its' difficulties.[482]

[480] Mayberry, *A Century of Agriculture*, 74.
[481] Jones, "The Role of Tuskegee", 265.
[482] Crosby, "The Struggle for Existence…", 127.

Further, statistics and empirical data on numbers of Black farmers (renters or owners) impacted by the Moveable School program offers additional evidence of the programs' effect on the larger community. According to an article published in 1906 in *The Tuskegee Student* newspaper, a few years after the operation of the Jesup wagon began, Black people residing in one county in Alabama had "purchased more than 10, 000 acres of land and built homes, using [the Moveable School] method.[483] In the previously mentioned study conducted by Allan Jones, he also found that "The number of Negro farmers in the South increased from 732, 362 in 1900 to 915,595 in 1920 and the value of their land and buildings increased from $69,636,420 to $522,178,137 in the same period."[484] It is safe to assume that some of that increase can be attributed the work done by extension through TU and the Moveable School.

The Moveable School model for social justice education was also duplicated in other countries throughout the world; the so the schools' impact was international. Mr. S. A. Schouten, Assistant Agricultural Officer in Montserrat, with the Economics Department of The Imperial College of Tropical Agriculture, in Trinidad wrote a hand written letter dated February 19, 1939, to Campbell soliciting support in conducting research on "an economic survey of peasant agriculture". At one point he wrote, "I am naturally interested in peasant development, not at a 'job' alone; but I have visions of contributing in some way to the advancement of my own negro people in these Islands." Evidence of the impact of the Movable School, particularly in the Caribbean, is evident.[485] In his article "Mass Education and Community Development in the British Colonies, 1940-1960: A Study in the Politics of Community Education", John Holford joins the critics of Washington's education plan and program, arguing that programs that focus

[483] "A Farmer's College on Wheels, 3.
[484] Jones, "Improving Rural Life…", 105-114.
[485] Untitled Letter, Box 019.051, folder 8, The Thomas Monroe Campbell Papers, National Center for Bioethics in Research and Healthcare, Archives, Tuskegee University, Tuskegee, AL, 1.

heavily on vocational and technical training have been more often used, throughout history as "a presumed means to ensure political stability…rather than a mechanism to stimulate change."[486]

With the publication of Campbell's book on the Moveable School in 1936, came even more international recognition and requests to duplicate the program. A 1925 article published in *The Tuskegee Herald Newspaper* found that:

> Mr. Campbell's writings include bulletins, pamphlets, newspapers, and magazine articles, as well as the book, "The Moveable School Goes to the Negro Farmer", which has been reprinted for distribution on Africa and other foreign countries. He has served on scores of Government commissions and committees and was a member of the commission sponsored by Church Missions of North America, great Britain, and Ireland, to make a study of conditions in West Africa in 1945…[he later co-authored]…the book 'Africa Advancing.'[487]

Further, evidence of the schools' international impact was documented by Campbell himself. He wrote about the students who traveled to Tuskegee from all over the world to study the Moveable Schools' "community work".[488] He said that students from "…India, Japan, China, from various sections of Africa, from the British Isles, Russia, Poland, Belgium, and numerous other countries of continental Europe have journeyed to Tuskegee to make a first-hand study of it".[489] Many of those students then took the Moveable School program to their own and duplicated it, as seen in the case of neighborhoods in Kavaje, Albania, Madras and Sangali India, and Hopei, China.

The greatest testament to the Movable Schools' local, national and global impact is its' sustainability and longevity. The Moveable School program and its' social justice education program operated, officially, from 1906-1944. Interestingly, the summer 1945 issue of the *Journal of Negro Education* written on "Adult Education for Negroes in the United States"

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[486] John Holford "Mass Education and Community Development in the British Colonies, 1940-1960: A Study in the Politics of Community Education," International Journal of Lifelong Education 7, no. 3 (July-September 1988): 180.
[487] Untitled Newspaper Article , *Tuskegee Herald*, Tuesday, January 15, 1952, Box 019.051, folder 11, The Thomas Monroe Campbell Papers, National Center for Bioethics in Research and Healthcare, Archives, Tuskegee University, Tuskegee, AL.
[488] Jenness, "A School that Travels Around", 1.
[489] Campbell, "Carrying Education to the People", 196.

contributions having been made by William M. Cooper, Ira De A. Reid, Dorothy I. Height and others, there was no mention made of Campbell's legacy or the Moveable School. While extension education programs like the Moveable School experience a lag in financial support, during the Civil Rights Era, Tuskegee continues the program of extension work in the South until today.[490] Thomas Monroe Campbell died in 1956, but his legacy of social justice education continues through Tuskegee's many community-based agricultural education programs. As exemplified through this chapter, Tuskegee University's Moveable School exemplifies what has more recently been defined in the literature as CBR and social justice education. As a communal exercise, a collaborative effort between University (traditional) and community students (non-traditional), faculty, staff and, with the aim of effecting social change (in this case combating the impacts of poverty, illiteracy, and racism) and teaching all within a given community, for In this way, the early HBCU educational community was to be "more than a neighborhood…community was based on more than philosophical impulses; it was also rooted in activism—theory balanced with practice…community was both a product and a process."[491]

"Booker T. Washington's idea was that education ought to be free as air and sunshine, and that it ought to go out to all of the people on the farms…The old idea of education was that a boy went off to college on a hill, and never came back".[492] Washington's life and education philosophies became the proverbial shoulders upon which George Washington Carver and Thomas Monroe Campbell would build a foundation of opportunity to Black farmers and their families, throughout the south. Together they would envision, fund, build and administer a HBCU model of social justice education whose legacy stands as solid today as it did in 1906,

[490] Mayberry, *The Role of Tuskegee*, 101-121.
[491] Shaw as cited in Evans, *Black Women*, 51.
[492] Jenness, "A School that Travels Around", 5.

when the first "Farmers College of Wheels" set out on its mission to take education to the people. Tuskegee was recently named as one of the highest ranking among colleges in Alabama, yielding the highest return for education investments. Further, in the Science, Math, Engineering and Technology fields, Tuskegee is highly productive for its minority and women participants, due in some part to the continued efforts of the Tuskegee University Cooperative Extension Program (TUCEP). The TUCEP currently has six programs whose focus is providing the communiversity with the benefits of "outreach and educational services."[493]

[493] Tuskegee University website, http://www.tuskegee.edu/Articles/tuskegee_among_schools_with_highest_return_on_educational_investment.aspx, Accessed on June 9, 2013; Tuskegee University website, http://www.tuskegee.edu/about_us/outreach/cooperative_extension/about_the_cooperative_extension_program.aspx, Accessed on June 10, 2013.

CHAPTER 4

ATLANTA UNIVERSITY, THE PEOPLE'S COLLEGE AND SOCIAL JUSTICE EDUCATION

"Atlanta University was founded as an expression of…faith in humanity within, as in humanity without the color line. That faith in men [and women] meant a firm belief that the great mass of human beings of all races…were capable of similar development" ~W.E.B. Du Bois, 1905

Introduction

This chapter will provide the converging cultural, political and intellectual histories that shaped the founding of Atlanta University (AU), established in 1865, and The People's College, which first opened its doors to the public in 1942. The discussion of these influences will compliment an institutional analysis of both programs. Additionally, this chapter will highlight the contributions of key persons to the history, theory and practice that informed the founding and administration of AU and The People's College. In this regard, W.E.B. Du Bois, the one-time chair of AU's Sociology Department and the managing editor of the university's publication —*Phylon: The Atlanta University Review of Race and Culture*— and his colleague Ira De Augustine Reid, worked closely in the development of several AU social justice education projects, including The People's College.

The philosophies of life and education reflected in the bodies of scholarship produced by Du Bois and Reid, exemplify their commitment to culturally relevant, leadership development in Black communities; they believed that the training and education of Black folk was done best at HBCUs whose primary mission was the same. The purpose of education, they posited, was to "uplift" the entire community of Black learners, leaders, activists, scholars and laborers, and it

was to occur "…within and without the school house walls."[494] In this way, adult, community and social justice education programs at HBCUs aimed to serve those learners who would be considered "non-traditional." Those students who had historically been marginalized by and within US educational systems, typically because of their race, class or gender, could find in the HBCU a safe place to engage education for liberation.[495] The educational ideologies of Du Bois and Reid, undoubtedly shaped and informed the social justice education theories that were actualized through the AU and People's College programs. The individual and collective contributions of each "activist-intellectual" to the establishment, development and/or administration of both programs were heavily informed by their own lived experiences. Thus, their respective biographies and educational influences will inform the institutional narrative throughout.[496]

This chapter will also provide a plethora of primary resource evidence supporting the central argument of this dissertation, that the AU and People's College programs exemplify an early Historically Black College and University model of what has more recently been identified by scholars as social justice education. Social justice education, which has a history, theory and practice that resembles closely what has more recently identified as Community-Based Research (CBR), will be characterized by those programs, curricula, activities, etc. that are the result of collaborations between institutions, organizations and communities with a shared aim of effecting social change. The development and administration of those activities, according to the CBR model, must value the knowledge of all learners involved as equal. Further, the collective programmatic aim must be to affect some social justice initiative that is of equal benefit to all of

[494] Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk*.
[495] Ayers, et al., *Handbook of Social Justice in Education*, (New York: Routledge, 2009), 88.
[496] Karenga, *Introduction to Black Studies*, 7.

its stakeholders and participants.[497] This chapter will provide a document review and analysis that will substantiate the AU and the People's College programs as exemplars of social justice education.

Lastly, this chapter will provide a review and analysis of the social and historical contexts that shaped the ever-evolving question regarding the vision, mission, aim, administration and control of Black adult and higher education. This section will fully engage the ongoing conversation within the framework of the founding of AU and the People's College. Additionally, those key persons who inspired, shaped and stimulated those conversations –John Hope, W.E.B. Du Bois, Ira De A. Reid, Clarence A. Bacote, et al.– will further frame the institutional analysis.

The Founding of Atlanta University

When the doors of Atlanta University's North Hall opened On October 13, 1869, it became the "…first educational institution of higher learning in Georgia to open its doors to all people, regardless of race, color or creed."[498] But the tumultuous journey to that day and the struggle that ensued, thereafter, to bring those students to commencement, would be plagued with racial, economic and political strife. The story of Atlanta University is one, similar to that of many of the other HBCUs that were founded during the Reconstruction Era, that exemplifies social justice education; its mission was to provide education that would provide the Freedmen and their families, with the tools that would allow them to fully engage the benefits of citizenry in a democratic society.

In 1865, amid an extremity of racial turbulence –the culmination of the Civil War, the assassination of President Abraham Lincoln, and the adoption of the Thirteenth Amendment, which declared all slaves legally free– two former slaves pioneered an educational program for

[497] Bell, *Theoretical Foundations for Social Justice*, 1-4; Strand, et al., *Community-Based Research*, 8.
[498] Bacote, *The Story of Atlanta University,* 7.

Blacks which would later become known Atlanta University (AU). James Tate and Grandison B. Daniels began AU as a small, private school for Black children. The first classes were housed in an old building, which doubled as the Big Bethel African Methodist Episcopal Church. The Jenkins Street School, as it was first named, would be the first in the city to open its doors to Black children.[499]

On November 15th of that same year, Reverend Fredrick Ayer, a teacher, member of the Peace Corps and minister with the American Missionary Association (AMA) and his wife arrived in Atlanta, Georgia on a mission of service; their intentions there would complement the previous efforts of Tate and Daniels. Ayers and his wife, also a teacher, traveled to Georgia from Cincinnati, Ohio with the aim of establishing a Black school for children. With this goal in mind, The AMA charged Ayers with the task of securing an appropriate location for what would be the school's newest classroom— an old railroad car. That "Car-Box", purchased for $310.00, would serve as both a classroom and place of worship for the congregants of the Friendship Baptist Church. For his service, and his employment as a public school superintendent, Ayers was compensated a salary of twenty-five dollars per month.[500] He, along with his skeleton crew of four teachers and two preachers, then set out to administer an educational program that would aid the Freedmen in their liberation efforts. Of the determination of those men and women who would work to institute the early Atlanta University program —Edmund Asa Ware, Horace Bumstead, Cyrus W. Francis and others— Du Bois said, they, "…proceeded slowly and methodically to establish Atlanta University as an institution of higher learning. Along with Fisk

[499] Ibid, 4.
[500] Ibid, 5.

and Howard it became a leading Negro college and firmly established the idea in the minds of the nation of the possibility and feasibility of giving the highest training to Negroes."[501]

One of the more difficult challenges facing the school's early administrators was the acquisition of the appropriate facilities in which to hold classes and house teachers. Securing accommodations for missionary teachers was particularly challenging because of the many Whites living in the Atlanta area, who vehemently opposed, the education of Blacks; they charged the schools' teachers and affiliates with "…putting ideas in the heads of colored people."[502] These ideas, they feared, would inspire the newly Freedmen to challenge those social and economic hierarchies that had, for so long, kept them in a perpetual status of lowliness. According to Clarence A. Bacote, a once time chair of the AU Department of History and the author of *The Story of Atlanta University: A Century of Service, 1865-1965,* a residence hall for the school's faculty was purchased in January of 1866, amid the community's racial dissention.[503] The living quarters were reportedly substandard, however. At one point in his text, Bacote described the extreme destitution under which the teachers suffered. He said that the first AU teachers:

> …used army blankets for carpets, and slept on mattresses made from cornshucks and placed on iron bedsteads three feet wide…dry goods Boxes were converted into dressers, wardrobes and washstands and transformed barrels into chairs, upholstered with calico and cotton.[504]

During the same year, the school was gifted an additional building by the state government of Georgia. The facility was aptly named the Storr's School, in honor of a $1, 000 endowment provided by the Storrs Congregational Church located in Cincinnati, Ohio.

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[501] Du Bois, *The Cultural Missions*, 105-115.
[502] Bacote, *The Story of Atlanta University*, 14.
[503] Clarence A. Bacote was appointed chair of the Atlanta University Department of History in 1963….http://www.auctr.edu/rwwl/Baco/tabid/323/Default.aspx
[504] Ibid, 9.

As a Community-Based Research (CBR), social justice education program, preachers, teachers, students and activists living in the Atlanta area, collaborated with members of the AMA and the Freedmen's Bureau in realizing a shared vision— educating and, thus, liberating the newly freed slaves. It is important to note here that the concept of communalism aligns closely with African theories and practice of justice. According to theologian and scholar John Samuel Mbtiti, the idea "I am because we are; and since we are therefore, I am … is the cardinal point in the understanding of the African view of man." This, he posits, is the central premise upon which Western concepts of justice are based.[505] In this way, the early AU program exemplifies a collective effort –the collaboration between institutions and communities with a common interest– that is social justice education in practice. Antithetical to the historical narratives that depict Black people as largely apathetic, fearful and uninvolved regarding their own education, the members of local Atlanta churches, Friendship Baptist and Bethel African Methodist, along with other Black organizations, were integral in the school's early foundation.[506]

In the summer of 1866, Atlanta University would further actualize its commitment to community education, outreach and development by establishing an orphanage and normal school, which would operate in tandem. The Washburn Orphan School provided education and housing for the many children who had been separated, by slavery, segregation and war, from their families. Again, further connections between the programmatic design of the early AU program and Afrocentricism can be made. The practice of what has more recently named service-learning, for example, embodies the sentiment expressed in the African proverbs "each one, teach one" and "it takes a village to raise a child." This ideology permeates the life and living of generations of people of African descent and consciousness, no matter when or where

[505] Mbiti, *African Religions*, 8.
[506] Adams, *A History of Atlanta*, 7.

in the world they may reside. In this way, education was not to be restricted to classrooms and buildings, but it was to be a participatory, collective and communal experience that connected institutions, organizations and communities in a promoting a common cause. Further, learning was to occur wherever the people in need could best access it –within and without formal classrooms– and in the case of Atlanta University, even within orphanages.[507]

As individuals, neighborhoods and communities were transformed through the promotion of the HBCU mission and program, it was expected that social change would consequently, and eventually, occur within the larger society. In the coming year of 1867, Edmond Asa Ware would join Ayer in his education and liberation efforts at AU. Ware, the university's first president, has been credited with making the more substantial contribution to establishing Atlanta University as one of the oldest and most prestigious Historically Black Colleges and Universities in the nation. While at the university, Ware acted as the director of education for the Georgia branch of the AMA and the superintendent of schools for the state's Freedman's Bureau. On October 16, 1867 he, along with two of his colleagues, established the "Trustees of Atlanta University."[508] In his institutional history, *The History of Atlanta University*, Myron Adams asserts that, "the charter…set forth as its goal that it was to be an institution for 'the liberal and Christian education of youth.'"[509] Thus, from the outset, Ware was conscious of the many challenges that he and his faculty, staff and students would face in attempting to establish a premiere learning program, which aimed to educate and empower Black youth. It was in this vain that institutional mantra and legacy became "we will find a way or make one."[510]

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[507] This sentiment has been echoed in the scholarship and practice of many other adult and higher education scholars. Among them, is Marcus Garvey who once said, "You have not to go to college; you have not to go to high school, if you don't want to. You get it from the great Alma Mater— the Academy of the World. All nature is a classroom." James, *Garvey, Garveyism and the Antinomies,* 64-65.
[508] Bacote, *The Story of Atlanta University*, 16.
[509] Adams, *A History of Atlanta University*, 94.
[510] Bacote, *A Story of Atlanta University*, 23.

In October of 1869, Atlanta University indeed found a way to open a college department, "…be[coming] the seventh Negro college to establish..." one.[511]

In 1871, Atlanta University received a substantial financial boost from the Freedmen's Bureau and the AMA. In 1930 Myron Adams located financial records detailing a total contribution of "…$89, 798.86, of which amount the Freedman's Bureau contributed $52, 410 and the American Missionary Association $19, 199.91. The legislature of Georgia also voted an appropriation of $8, 000…for the wing of a boy's dormitory."[512] On October 16, 1867, with Ware as the President, the Trustees of Atlanta University was formed and a formal request for funding was made in the amount of $10, 000. The funds were distributed on January 10th and were eventually used to purchase fifty acres of land, which is now situated at the center of the Atlanta University Center.

The primary mission of Atlanta University, as it was first articulated by the board, was to, "… never exclude loyal refugees and freedmen as such from the full participation in the educational benefits which said institution should confer on any other class."[513] Since Black people were prevented by law from attending predominantly white institutions, Atlanta University and other HBCUs sought to equalize access to higher education —thought to be the primary mode for social mobility— through their mission of social justice.

One of the most interesting aspects of the early AU program, outside of the dedication of its teachers, administrators and students, was its curricular design. The program aimed to serve students in the community who were more likely to be non-traditional learners— those more at risk of experiencing extreme barriers, racial, financial, or otherwise, to accessing or continuing their education. To that end, classes were offered for young children during the

[511] Ibid, 36.
[512] Adams, *A History of Atlanta University*, 19.
[513] Trustee Minutes, 1967, as cited in Bacote, 17.

mornings and afternoons, while teens and adults, some sixty years of age, would attend night school from seven to nine in the evenings.[514] This unique programmatic design aimed to meet the learners wherever and "whenever" they were. The administrators' commitment to adjust the schooling to the specific needs and circumstances of their students is a testament to their devotion to their cause, and to their student's drive and determination. The doors of the AU were open to any student with the need and desire to learn, their age and background was of no consequence.

Du Bois wrote of the early administrators of the AU program and how they intended, from the beginning to establish a premiere institution of higher learning whose focus would eventually be academically centered. "They did not simply establish a primary school, or a grammar school, or a high school. On the contrary they established all these schools and in addition to this a college, and made the college the centre and norm of their work."[515] Bacote speaks to this same point writing:

> Although Ware had laid the foundations for elementary schools, grammar schools, and a public schools system, he and his associates were not yet satisfied. The AMA had planned to establish in Georgia a central institution for higher education, beginning with normal and academic departments and growing, as there should be a demand, into a college and finally into a university….Convinced that Negroes had demonstrated their capacity to acquire knowledge, he believed that they could develop to the fullest their potential as citizens only through exposure to the best education.[516]

With this aim in mind, Ware was eventually able to attain additional federal funding through the Freedman's Bureau and, subsequently, secured improved facilities, books and supplies. During this period, the school officially extended its services to adult learners, and was "…was soon

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[514] Caroline Gordon, "The Beginnings of Negro Education in Atlanta", BAU, January, 1909, 3 as quoted in Bacote, *The Story of Atlanta University*, 9.
[515] WEB Du Bois, *From Service to Servitude: Being the Old South Lectures on the History and Work of Southern Institutions for the Education of the Negro* (Boston: American Unitarian Association, 1905), 155-97 in David Levering Lewis, ed., *WEB Du Bois: A Reader (New York: Henry Holt and Company, LLC*, 1995), 237.
[516] Bacote, *The Story of Atlanta University,* 17.

overcrowded with pupils of all ages: the younger ones attended in the morning and afternoon, while those from fifteen to sixty years of age listened to teachers from seven to nine in the evening."[517]

From its inception, the early founders of Atlanta University practiced what has more recently been defined in the education literature as CBR or social justice education. Encouraged by the eagerness and ambition of the students to attend the school, they envisioned building what would eventually become a premiere, Black institution of higher learning. Their initial, high-flying aspirations for the institution were soon grounded by the realities that been created and exacerbated by the impacts of institutionalized racism. The academic limitations of their students, which was the direct result of decades disenfranchisement perpetuated by and within American educational systems, were many times overcome by their learners' sheer determination to achieve. There were times, however, when a student's learning deficits and disparities were so great, that they were unable to meet AU's basis admission requirements. It then became evident to the school's faculty and staff that a portion of their program would need to be dedicated academic remediation and admissions preparation.

Teacher training and preparation then became an integral part of the AU, social justice education program. The early school administrators believed that the people who would be best fit to instruct the incoming students, would be those who came from that same community of learners. Ware's sentiment in this regard was that, "…if the freedmen were to be educated to become useful citizens, their teachers had to come from their own race and had to be trained in their own schools."[518] He recognized the importance of having educators who were culturally grounded, and had been prepared by their life experience to be most sensitive to their students'

[517] Gordon, 1909, as cited in Bacote, *The Story of Atlanta University*, 9.
[518] Bacote, *The Story of Atlanta University*, 29.

needs, challenges and desires. The ablest of the teachers of Black folk, he posited, would be other Black folk. Further, within the racial context of the south there were an anemic number of Whites working in the field of education and even fewer who would dedicate themselves to teaching at a Black school.[519]

In an effort to meet the demand for Black teachers needed to prepare students to enter the Normal and Collegiate courses of study, AU established the Lower (grammar school/college preparatory) and Higher Normal departments. In 1872-1873, the Lower Normal Department functioned as a three-year long program that served as high school preparation for those students wishing to enter the Normal School/Collegiate program. Students who were admitted were expected to pass a standard entrance exam that tested across the core subjects of "…reading, writing, spelling, arithmetic, geography, grammar and United States History."[520] The Lower Normal Department was patterned after the traditional New England course of study, including courses in "….arithmetic, algebra, geometry, ancient history, ancient geography, Latin, and Greek."[521]

The Higher Normal Department was a teacher preparation department that aimed to prepare them with the context area knowledge and information regarding instructional methods and strategies.[522] And on June 23, 1873, four young women —Mrs. Julia Turner, Miss Bettie Outlaw, Lucy Laney and Adella Cleveland, all from various parts of Georgia— would become the department's first graduates.[523] This achievement, established AU's Higher Normal Department as "…was the first of the missionary schools to open a Normal Department, and the

[519] Ibid, 29.
[520] Ibid, 25.
[521] Ibid, 31.
[522] Ibid, 34.
[523] Ibid, 35.

Normal Department was the largest, and the alumnae list the longest, of all the colored schools."[524]

In addition to the AU Lower and Higher Normal Departments, the program was further delineated according to a "…Normal, College, and Theological curricula".[525] Indicative of the ever-evolving demands of the program, the board and faculty would authorize a number of name changes for the various departments. It can be assumed that name modifications were also accompanied by changes in the courses of study. In 1873, the Lower Normal Department's name was changed to the Normal Course, in 1874 the Preparatory Department was renamed the College Preparatory Department and in 1881 and the Normal Course was renamed the Grammar School.[526] The Grammar school, which began with five grades that eventually extended to eight, was discontinued in 1894.[527]

Other academic programs of note in the early AU program were the Theology and Agricultural Departments. The first AU theology class was offered in 1870 "...to include a critical study of the Bible, lectures on mental and moral philosophy, church history and natural theology, management of the ministers duties, and instruction in the composition and delivery of sermons."[528] The Agricultural Department —established in 1874 to "'teach young men some of the principles of farming and gardening'"— was challenged by the location of the AU campus on land that was primarily "unfenced." In 1881, the Agricultural Department was moved to Department of Industrial Training.[529] As one of the most fierce critics of HBCU agricultural education programs, Du Bois offered his sentiments about AU's department saying:

[524] Ibid, 33.
[525] Ibid, 33.
[526] Ibid, 31 and 41.
[527] Ibid, 290-30
[528] Ibid, 41.
[529] Ibid, 44-45.

> If you should visit Atlanta University you would see little evidence of student manual work in finished products of wood, or iron or stone…Nevertheless, the influence of manual training of the students is easily traceable to their afterlife. They had never learned basket making or clay modeling there, but they had received far more fundamental training in human power. With this as a basis, it took them but a short time to master the technique.[530]

He went on to commend the strength of those liberal arts schools that support industrial education as a compliment to their primary aim, as was the case with the case with AU. "At Atlanta industrial training was reinforced by education in the liberal arts rather than undermined by them."[531] To further support his claim, Du Bois mentions that some of the best industrial education teachers, like the ones at Tuskegee, had been graduates of Atlanta University.[532]

June 22, 1876 would mark a significant day in AU's institutional history. On this day, the struggle, commitment and work of the early administrators and students, the seeds that they had so diligently sown, would culminate in the graduation of thirteen students. Six would leave the university with Bachelor of Arts degrees. They were William Henry Crogman Edgar Penny, London Humes Waters, Henry Harrison Williams, Samuel Benjamin Morse and Richard Robert Wright, four would graduate with Normal preparation and three with Bible Studies training.[533] The occurrences of following year, however, would stand to dampen the hope inspired by their achievements.

In 1877, the impact of the racial tension that had always challenged the schools' administration, peaked. The $8, 000 annual appropriation that had been given to AU from the Georgia state legislature, would become the subject of controversy, and would threaten to shake the financial foundation of the AU program, at its core. AU's liberal admissions policy allowed the children of White faculty and staff to attend classes and dine with the Black student

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[530] Lewis, *W.E.B. Du Bois: A Reader,* 155-97.
[531] Lewis, *Biography of a Race,* 214.
[532] Ibid, 214.
[533] Bacote, *The Story of Atlanta University*, 37.

attendees. When some of the board members were made aware of the racial integration practices at the AU, they called for a swift and immediate end to the practice. They denounced it accusing the AU administrators with "…a misuse of public funds."[534] The state went further to enforce and institutionalize their sentiments on August 26th and September 9th of 1877, with the adoption of the "Glenn Bill." It said:

> …the co-education of white and colored persons in this state, is in direct conflict with the fundamental law and the long settled policy of the state of Georgia…no institution receiving any public funds should teach both white and colored children, and that no person hereafter educated in any school allowing the coeducation of the races should be eligible to employment in any school in Georgia which was the recipient of public funds.[535]

The withdrawal of public funding from the Georgia State Legislature would have a tremendous impact on the fiscal health of the AU program for decades. According to Du Bois, the finances were so unstable and "fluctuating" between the years 1889-1920, that "…by 1900 it was clear that unless the university received large private endowment or strong state support it would not be able to maintain its program."[536] The institution of the Glenn Bill marked a financial downturn that eventually caused the university to accrue a $60, 000 debt, that was not settled until 1921.[537]

Despite the opposition and threat posed by the larger community, those persons who were committed to the AU mission collaborated to promote their agenda; they recognized early in the program process the strength in community engagement and support. In this way, the smaller community of educators and learners were fully engaged in the design, development of the program planning and implementation processes. The early AU program's level of community engagement, which is a core tenant of CBR and social justice education, is further

[534] Adams, *A History of Atlanta University*, 27.
[535] Ibid, 27.
[536] Du Bois, *The Cultural Missions of Atlanta University, 105-115*.
[537] Adams, *A History of Atlanta University*, 27.

exemplified in the writings of Horace Bumstead, who served as the university's second President from 1888-1907. He said:

> There should be a school in every community in the state, but there are no teachers. In every community, however, there is at least one young man or woman who, if educated, would make an excellent teacher. Let, then, the members of the community, each contribute a small sum for the support of someone whom they many choose to send to school here, and let that person agree to teach for them a certain time in return for this aid."[538]

Today, this type of institutional-community incentive is referred to as service-learning or tuition forgiveness, but the practice is social justice oriented. According to the CBR model of social justice education, the validation of the knowledge of community members as relevant and pertinent to program planning, is essential.[539]

The early AU program continues today to nourish an institutional legacy that flourishes in the names of those who believed, first, in the idea of education as a viable and righteous means for attaining Black liberation and social justice. In Du Bois' words, the primary founder of Atlanta University, Edmond Asa Ware was "a man of faith" a visionary and a dreamer, and it could only be through his faithfulness and "old-fashioned goodness" and that of his many of his many helpers, the collective community of dreamers and doers, that the Black college that he envisioned, would be realized in what would become Atlanta University.[540] It was Ware's faith, and that of an entire community of administrators, teachers, learners and preachers, that would become the foundation and cultural legacy upon which Atlanta University would sustain itself, for years to come.

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[538] Bacote, *The Story of Atlanta University*, 25-26.
[539] Bell, *Theoretical Foundations for Social Justice Education*, 1-4. Kerry Strand, et al., *Community-Based Research*, 8.
[540] Lewis, *W.E.B. Du Bois: A Reader,* 155-97.

Atlanta University's Vision, Mission and Objectives

While the earliest proponents of Black education –Black and White– may not have always agreed on the long-term mission, vision and aim of Black education, the results of their cooperative efforts are made evident in the founding of HBCUs programs like AU. In his seminal text, *Black Reconstruction in America, 1860-1880*, historian W.E.B. Du Bois wrote, "Had it not been for the Negro school and college, the Negro would, to all intents and purposes, have been driven back into slavery."[541] His words are eerily prophetic amid present day conversations about whether or not the HBCU is still a relevant, significant or necessary contributor to the progression of higher education in the US. One may argue that an examination of what the HBCU has and continues to do for Black folk in the US –particularly those who are most disenfranchised by and in other educational institutions– should put this question forever, to rest. For, the HBCU is central-most to the historical, intellectual, cultural and political fiber of American's democracy and the promotion of social justice.

The vision, mission and objectives of the early AU program, much like other HBCUs, was rooted in the tenets of CBR and social justice education. As the service population of the University grew, the mission of the college evolved. Historian Myron Adams found that, as the institution continued to grow its number of students and financial support, the AU administrators became more focused on creating an intellectually, academically rigorous program of study; one that would extend its services beyond college preparation.[542] During this time the primary mission of the university became "To train talented Negro youth, to disseminate civilization

[541] Du Bois, *Black Reconstruction in America*, 666.
[542] Bacote, *The Story of Atlanta University*, 273.

among the untaught masses, and to educate teachers"— some Black scholars argued, that these aims would be the vital steps toward attaining social justice for Black people.[543]

Even amid a preponderance of social dissent and opposition, the AU program continued to make substantial strides in advancing their academic program. "In 1882, the Board of trustees authorized a post-graduate course of two years for graduates of the Normal Department…who had done exceptional work."[544] By 1929, with its new President John Hope leading the cause, Atlanta University began its post-baccalaureate programs and ten years later, it consolidated with Clark College, another HBCU and member of the AUC.[545] Hope was in charge of transitioning Atlanta University into a graduate school, while remaining the President of Morehouse College.

During his time at Atlanta University, his educational philosophy would heavily inform the how the primary missions of the university would be actualized. In a 1942 article entitled *The Cultural Missions of Atlanta University*, Du Bois outlined what he believed should be the primary role of the AU program. He identified the four principle objectives of the HBCU as: 1) the higher education of Blacks, 2) racial equality and 3) academic freedom and 4) democracy and social power.[546] His offerings for mission items two, three and four, would be the primary differentiation between the aim of HBCUs with a liberal arts programs of study, like AU, and those that were agricultural, industrial or technical training oriented. Du Bois' educational philosophy regarding adult education, as articulated in his 1934 piece entitled "Negro Creed" echoed the same, but places a greater emphasis on the economic and political roots of social injustice. This, Talmadge Guy asserts, marks an "intellectual transition…and radicalization" of

[543] Lewis, *W.E.B. Du Bois: A Reader,* 155-97.
[544] Bacote, *The Story of Atlanta University*, 35.
[545] Bacote, *The Story of Atlanta University*, 273-277.
[546] Du Bois, *The Cultural Missions,* 105-115.

Du Bois' educational thought.[547] The differences between the two philosophies and programs of education, which is best exemplified in the administration of Moveable School and People's College programs, will be further explored in Chapter 5. This revised mission and vision of the AU program is particularly relevant to this study, as this article was published during the same year that the People's College was founded. The influence of Du Bois' educational philosophy as expressed here, undoubtedly informed the administration of AU and the People's College.

W.E.B. Du Bois

Not long after many of the first HBCUs were founded, one of the century's most prominent social justice education scholars was born in Great Barrington, Massachusetts. On February 23, 1868, William Eduard Burghardt Du Bois came into the world a Black child, and thus "…a problem" plagued with the burden of reconciling a "double consciousness."[548] His mother, Mary Silvina, was a Black woman who made her living as a maid, and his father, Alfred Du Bois, a Haitian-born, Creole.[549] Even though young Du Bois was born into what many considered a position of privilege –in the North, three years after the abolishment of slavery, to free parents of working-class status with a fairer complexion– he recounts suffering the emotional torment of racism, a metaphorically veil, all the same. Nevertheless, it can be argued that his experience as a young man, in Great Barrington Massachusetts was indeed, privileged, for he was in many ways shielded from coming into the full realization of what it meant to be Black in America, until much later in his life.

In his 1903 autobiography, *The Souls of Black Folk*, Du Bois writes explicitly of his experiences of being both African and American; he describes that "two-ness" as a gift and a

[547] Guy, "W.E.B. Du Bois's Basic American Negro Creed", 67-69.
[548] Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk*, 10.
[549] Lewis, *W.E.B. Du Bois: Biography of a Race,* 20-21.

curse. While Du Bois' self-discovery and identification came late in his life, as posited by historian Rayford Whittingham Logan, he chose to embrace it with a fervent passion, as if the Black experience had been his lifelong companion. As an introvert and intellectual, he had a keen interest in those issues threatening the progression and uplift of Black folk. Some others, like his philosophical adversary Booker T. Washington, had been made painfully aware of their position in society from the time of their birth. For, the institution of slavery had made it so.

In 1885, Du Bois received a scholarship to attend the Fisk Free Colored School, in Nashville, Tennessee, where he was further inspired to study and examine race relations. As the editor of the college's newspaper, *The Fisk Herald*, he was able to engage those matters of race that had for so long intrigued and inspired him. His muse, his inspiration, as he recalled would be peaked at Fisk, a place where he was exposed to the cruelties of the South, first hand. Later in his career, as chief editor of the *Crisis* Magazine– the official publication of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) – he was given a public forum in which to freely address political and social positions. After graduating from Fisk in 1888, he matriculated at Harvard, earning a master's degree in 1890; by 1896 he became the first Black person to receive a doctoral degree from the university.

In January of 1898 Du Bois accepted a position offer from Horace Bumstead, then the President of Atlanta University, to work in the university's sociology department. His salary of $1, 000 per year was to be his most meager compensation for teaching courses in "'economics and history"', sociology, American citizenship, and civil government, among others.[550] Du Bois' research endeavor would be to conduct a series of sociological studies on the Negro, that "…were designed at first to be centers of propaganda to bring the conditions of city Negroes before the public"; in this way they would simulate the Annual Negro Conferences and studies

[550] Ibid, 215.

that been done at Hampton and Tuskegee Universities under Samuel Armstrong and Booker T. Washington.[551] Interestingly, Du Bois did not seem to think much of the conferences as they had been designed and implemented by Washington; he believed the AU Conferences and studies to be more "scientific" and "logical" and better able to address illuminate specific political and economic implications and strategies needed for the Black man and woman "…to become an effective part of a democratic world."[552]

Du Bois is credited by scholars across a multiplicity of disciplines, as having conducted the first fully-comprehensive, ethnographic review of Black culture, encompassing the period from 1894 to 1915. The Atlanta University Conferences would go on to set a theoretical and methodological precedence for future research on problems in the Black community. Among his studies were: *Mortality Among Negroes in Cities* (1896)*, The College Bred Negro* (1900)*, Economic Cooperation Among Negro Americans* (1907)*, Morals and Manners Among Negro Americans* (1913). The Atlanta University Studies exemplify an early HBCU Community-Based Research (CBR), social justice education model. Du Bois, undoubtedly had to bring together a community of institutions, organizations and communities in order to conduct his studies, that were ultimately aimed to effect social, economic and political change in Black Atlanta, and other urban areas. Out of context of those studies, one program in particular, the People's College, best exemplifies Du Bois' intellectual contribution to research and practice in the field of social justice education. Unfortunately, the conferences were discontinued in 1914, as a result of the impacts of World War II and a lack of continued institutional and financial support.[553]

The Negro Problem is considered to be the supreme articulation of the Du Boisian philosophy of education. His position on the "uplifting of the race" proposed that the

[551] Ibid, 198.
[552] Du Bois, *The Cultural Missions*, 105-115.
[553] Du Bois, *The Cultural Missions*, 105-115.

development of a critical mass of Black intelligentsia, who were both prepared and committed to command their communities, was imperative. More importantly, he argued, that HBCUs like Atlanta University, with a heavily liberal arts leaning course of study, were the best institutions to train and educate the "Talented Tenth". He further posited that HBCU programs should administer courses of study that were culturally relevant, contextually grounded and student-centered, in order to prepare men and women for the leadership of their race. They would be academically trained, and thus knowledgeable of the implications of racial, economic and political dynamics, but most importantly, they would be committed to "race uplift."[554]

For his part, Du Bois believed Pan-Africanism, Afrocentrism and biculturalism should be the central premise upon which adult and higher education for Blacks should be based.[555] In *Souls…* Du Bois asserts that "…intelligence, broad sympathy, knowledge of the world that was and is, and the relation of men to it— this is the curriculum of that Higher Education which must underlie true life."[556] This type of contextual curricula, which incorporates subject matter and materials that are most socially and culturally relevant to the learner and his/her everyday life, is a core tenet adult and social justice education research and practice.[557]

Much of today's Black, African American and Africana Studies curricula are heavily informed by Du Bois' philosophy of education.[558] His scholarship consistently dealt with the Black experience relative to the environment, history, economic organization, social organization

[554] Derrick P. Alridge, *The Educational Thought of W.E.B. Du Bois* (New York: Teacher's College Press, 2008), 18.
[555] Panafricanism is defined by Boyd C. Boyd James as a "back to Africa ideologue." James, *Garvey, Garveyism and the Antinomies*, 211. "Afrocentricity is a frame of reference wherein phenomena are viewed from the perspective of the African person…the Afrocentric approach seeks in every situation the appropriate centrality of the African person." Asante, "The Afrocentric Idea in Education", 171. Biculturalism is similar to W.E.B Du Bois' theory of "double consciousness" where the African in America struggles to negotiate their African and American selves. Du Bois as cited in E. P. Isaac, Talmadge Guy, and Thomas Valentine, "Understanding African American Learners' Motivation to Learn in Church-based Adult Education," *Adult Education Quarterly,* 52 (2001): 13.
[556] Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk*, 189.
[557] Davis as cited in Sharan B. Merriam, Rosemary S. Cafarella, Lisa M. Baumgartner, *Learning in Adulthood: A Comprehensive Guide* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 2006), 159.
[558] Frederick Dunn, "The Educational Philosophies of Washington, Du Bois, and Houston: Laying the Foundations for Afro-centrism and Multiculturalism," *The Journal of Negro Education*, 62 (1993), 24-34.

and stratification, political organization, ideology/values, art/literature, social problems and community case studies; each of his reports dealt, directly or indirectly, with issues relative to adult and community education.[559]

Du Bois resigned his position as chair of the sociology department in on July 5, 1910 to assume his new position as the Director of Publicity and Research for the newly formed organization, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP).[560] Just five years earlier, the first meeting for his organization Niagara Movement was held; many scholars document the founding principles and aims of this organization, as the precursor to the NAACP.[561] He resume his position as chair, in 1934, only to resign again returning to the NAACP in 1944 amid disagreements with the new AU President, Edmond Asa Ware. Du Bois cultural and intellectual legacy at AU is infinite.[562] In February of 2013, the Atlanta University Department of African-American Studies, Africana Women's Studies and History, Chaired by Dr. Stephanie Y. Evans, hosted a commemorative celebration of the AU Du Boisan legacy. The conference brought scholars, activists and community persons alike, from all over the world, who wished to celebrate the 50th anniversary of Du Bois' passing, and to honor his legacy.[563]

Ira D. A. Reid

Not much has been published about the early life Ira De Augustine Reid; unfortunately, no autobiography was published and no extensive biography has been written, to date. His own research and writings are voluminous, however, and lend substantive insight into his philosophical thought and contributions to adult, community and social justice education. Reid

[559] Werner J. Lange, "W.E.B. Du Bois and the First Scientific Study of Afro-America," *Phylon*, 44 (1983), 135-146.
[560] Lewis, 386.
[561] Alridge, *The Educational Thought*, 50.
[562] Gates and Higginbotham, *African American Lives*, 249.
[563] Clark Atlanta University Du Bois Website;
http://www.cau.edu/CMFiles/Docs/CAU2013DuBoisConferenceCFP.pdf

was born on July 2, 1901 in Clifton Forge, Virginia.[564] His father Daniel Augustine Reid, was a Baptist Minister, and his mother Willie James was a homemaker. They lived in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania where Reid lived a solidly middle-class life. He lived in the suburbs of Pennsylvania and attended integrated schools. It might be assumed that, he like his contemporary Du Bois, was shielded from directly experiencing the cruelties of slavery and segregation until much later in his youth.

A career opportunity, later brought Reid and his family to Savannah, Georgia.[565] An elder Reid was familiar a prominent figure in Black Atlanta, the first Black President of Morehouse College John Hope. Hope was able to convince Reid to allow his son to attend the Morehouse Academy.[566] Reid subsequently, entered the Atlanta Baptist College, now Morehouse College, in 1918 at the age of sixteen. After having stayed out of college for a year, and being "exempted from the draft", Reid would earn his Bachelor's degree in 1922.[567] After graduating from Morehouse College, Reid traveled south stopping in Tyler, Texas and Huntington, West Virginia, to teach social sciences in high schools. From there, he enrolled in a summer's worth of graduate level sociology courses at University of Chicago, and eventually landed in Pittsburg, where he earned a Master's Degree in Social Economics from the University of Pittsburg in 1925.[568]

During the same year, Reid was employed as the industrial secretary for the New York branch of the Urban League, a position for which he had been prepared as a fellow with the National Urban League; Reid worked as Charles S. Johnson's research assistant. Under the

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[564] New York University, Schomberg Center for Research in Black Culture, Digital Archives, Ira De. A Reid, Biographical File, http://www.nypl.org/archives/3932.
[565] Ira De A. Reid, Verticle file, Robert W. Woodruff Library, Atlanta University Center Archives, Atlanta, Georgia.
[566] Bacote, *The Story of Atlanta University*, 289.
[567] Woodruff Library Archives website, accessed via http://www.auctr.edu/rwwl/Home/tabid/410/Default.aspx; Gates and Higginbotham, *African American Lives*, 705; Ira De A. Reid, Vertical file, Robert W. Woodruff Library, Atlanta University Center Archives, Atlanta, Georgia, 504.

[568] Gates and Higginbotham, *African American Lives*, 706.

guidance of Johnson, the first Black President of Fisk University, Reid conducted various sociological studies one of which was entitled, *The Negro Population of Albany, New York* (1928). During this same year he would be named as the new director of research for the National Urban League.

In 1934 Reid earned a PhD from Columbia University and was made an offer to join faculty of Atlanta University, soon thereafter. President John Hope recommended Reid's hire to the then chair of the sociology department, Du Bois. Of Reid talents Du Bois, said "'Reid…is the best young Negro in sociology today.'"[569] One of Reid's first major undertakings as a new faculty member of the AU Sociology Department, was to direct a WPA study for the Emergency Relief Administration of trends among the country's white collar workers. It was announced as "…being carried on in 91 cities in 32 states with the aid of 2,000 WPA workers at the cost of $457, 000 said to be one of the most extensive surveys of Negro life ever attempted."[570]

Reid's next major undertaking at Atlanta University would be the founding of the People's College in 1942 (an extensive record of the history, philosophy and practice of the program is forthcoming, at a later point in this chapter). He worked closely with Du Bois at Atlanta University until Du Bois' second resignation in 1944. Reid would then assume the position of chair of the Department of Sociology, serving from 1944 to 1946. He would also receive a promotion as the editor in chief for the *Phylon,* a position that he would hold until 1948.[571]

During and after his time at AU, Reid would receive a number of distinguished faculty appointments. In 1945, he became one of the first Black people to obtain a full-time faculty

[569] Ibid, 706.
[570] "Speaks Today: Ira De A Reid." *Atlanta Daily World*, July 2, 1936, Ira De A. Reid, Verticle file, Robert W. Woodruff Library Archives, Atlanta, Georgia; Bacote, *A Story of Atlanta University*, 289.
[571] American National Biography Online website; http://www.anb.org.proxy-remote.galib.uga.edu/articles/14/14-00501.html.

position at Predominately White University in the north, New York University. And in 1948 Reid became the chair of the Haverford department of Sociology and Anthropology. All throughout, his scholarship activities continued. Reid continued to ascend in his profession as a senior sociological researcher studying the multiplicity of political and economic problems facing Black folk. Among some of his major publications were: *Negro in American Civilization: A Study of Negro Life and Race Relations in the Light of Social Research* (1930); *Social Conditions of the Negro in the Hill District of Pittsburg* (1930); *Negro Membership in America Labor Unions* (1930); *Incomes and expenditures of 751 Negro Families in Atlanta Georgia* (1934); *The Negro Community of Baltimore—Its Social and Economic Conditions* (1935); *Adult Education Among Negroes* (1936), *The Urban Negro Worker in the United States,1925-1936* (1938), *The Negro Immigrant: His Background, Characteristics and Social Adjustment, 1899-1937* (1939), *The Negro in the American Economic System* (1940); *In a Minor Key: Negro Youth in Story and Fact* (1940); his seminal text, *Sharecroppers All* (1941); *The Annals of the American Social Academy of Political and Social Science" Racial Desegregation and Integration*, and edited text for which John Hope Franklin and Rayford W. Logan contributed chapters (1956) and many others.[572]

Following in the same vain as his colleague Du Bois, Reid's "…passport was suspended from 1952 to 1953 for suspected communist sympathies."[573] Interestingly, Reid had given a talk at Morehouse College during his time at AU, expressing his thoughts on the socialist part. He said:

> …the sociologist party offered an 'intellectual challenge' to the thinking people of America…[offering]…that all goods should be produced for the use of the majority rather than for the profits of the few; that the state rather than private interests, should

[572] Gates and Higginbotham, *African-American Lives*, 706.
[573] Ibid, 706.

> own and operate the utilities that serve the great masses of the people…The party's platform…stands for increased inheritance taxes, wider taxation of land, values, public control of all public utilities, extension of the present public works program, and the payment of full wages for all so-called relief workers, free education of all youth both on the secondary and college levels, abolition of both tenant farming and large cooperate agricultural projects, and absolute opposition to fascism, to war and to military training.

It can be assumed that these talks and others, that openly and criticized the government and promoted other systems, may have made him a target for suspicion. Reid's scholarship and activism did not end with this retirement from Haverford in 1966. More recently, historians and sociologists have moved to further document and substantiate Reid's intellectual legacy as a pioneer both academic fields.

While the primary resource information does not easily lend itself to capturing Reid's philosophy of education, there is much to be gleaned from an analysis of those persons with which he studied closely and through his own research. As was said of Reid by others who studied him, "'He does not shout, but his facts do…."[574] He wrote often on adult education theory and practice, race relations, the politics of the agricultural industry, the social implications of economics and politics and numerous other sociological topics. An analysis of his scholarship in these areas, reveal much regarding his educational thought.

In the 1945-1946 academic year, Reid brought adult education scholar Edward C. Lindeman, to AU as a visiting professor.[575] In his seminal text, *Adult Education Among Negroes*, Reid references Lindeman's theory of adult education which heavily informs his thinking and practice. At one point he writes, that any educational movement, "…must first of all have leaders…persons who become conscious of a need for such an adjustment and thereupon

[574] Ira De A. Reid, Verticle File, Robert W. Woodruff Library, Atlanta University Center Archives, Atlanta, Georgia, 504.
[575] Rufus Clement Papers, Presidental Files, February 9, 1946, Box 302, folder 6, Robert W. Woodruff Library, Atlanta University Center Archives, Atlanta, Georgia.

undertake to spread this consciousness throughout the group."[576] Much different from Du Bois whose educational philosophy placed a heavier emphasis on the cultural and political aims of education, Reid's believed that programs of Black education should focus more on the implications economic empowerment. This is particularly interesting given the fact, that Booker T. Washington's program had a similar focus. Reid delineated the aims of education according to three distinct purposes, "Education for the living—the *economic*; Education for a fuller life—the *cultural*; Education for parent and home—and in general racial problems—the *social*."[577] Further, he believed that any effective program of education must have…leaders, learners, teachers, knowledge, method, science, goals and culture."[578]

While Reid's stance on race relations appears, in ways, to be more liberal that than that of Du Bois' (i.e. he believed in "interracial cooperation" rather than separation), he does not engage the social implications of race with any trepidation; he said, "…there is no problem that we call racial that is not fundamentally social."[579] Even though he often suggests race collaboration for the as an effective means of combating racism, he was critical of the ways in which Black people negotiated their position in society. He posited that they were often, too emotional about the race problem to deal with it rationally, objectively and effectively. He said:

> It is amazing, for example, how *ineffectively*, Negroes often discuss race problems. This factor is demonstrated most clearly whenever a group of Negro students and white students are brought together to discuss the Negro problem in the United States. In many instances the Negro group is so emotional about the problem, so ill fortified with facts, that the weakest argument of the white group seems most formidable to them. There is no justification for this. We realize how difficult it is to live in the midst of the type of pressure to which the negro is subjected, but there is an increasing need for a type of

[576] Ira De A. Reid, *Adult Education Among Negroes*, (The Associates in Nero Folk Education, Washington, DC 1936), 7; This is also a theory that is reflected in Du Bois' philosophy of education.
[577] Reid, *Adult Education Among Negroes*, 7.
[578] Reid, *Adult Education Amoung Negroes*, 8.
[579] "Racial Problem is Social, Says Reid." *Atlanta Daily World*, February 9, 1946, Box 302, folder 6, Rufus Clement Papers, Presidental Files, Robert W. Woodruff Library, Atlanta University Center Archives, Atlanta, Georgia.

> emancipation that is going to come only when we can rationally approach the problem of discrimination and segregation."[580]

While Reid was sympathetic to those issues impeding Black progression, he believed that the collective community, particularly HBCUs, was addressing race relations in ways that were productive. He argued that conversations about racism in the Black community were too heavily focused on those issues that were outside of their locus of control. Racist white people, he saw as a large part of the problem, but not *the* single, or most pervasive one.

To this end, Reid, like Du Bois was a proponent of the study of race relations, as a part of the HBCU program of study. He saw the Black College and University as having a distinct role in improving the countries race relations. He did not see the study of race, however, as an endeavor that Black schools should pursue for some of the more romanticized reasons. The study of America's race problem, he argued, should a practical and methodical endeavor. To this end he charged HBCUs with the following mission:

> 1) that race relations programs will generally profit by the experience of educators, (2) that the experience of scientists will dictate revisions in certain basis assumptions and hypotheses about race, (3) that we recognize the interest of white students to study the Negro, (4) that Negroes recognize that they have a shared responsibility for solving many of these maladjustments, and (5) that the solution of the problems of race relations involves mutual confidence and mutual participation by both whites and Negroes—a confidence that will mean neither exploitation nor revenge but the defining of the problem in terms of community welfare."[581]

According to Reid, HBCUs, like Fisk, Atlanta and others, had a responsibility to serve the Black community and the larger society by interrogating, analyzing and developing solutions for Americas race problem.

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[580] Reid, *Adult Education Among Negroes*, 46.
[581] Ira De A. Reid, "*The Precarious Present*," 267-68 in Trevor Bowen, *Divine White Right: A Study of Race Relations and Interracial Cooperation in Religious Organizations and Institutions in the United States, with a section on The Church and Education for Negroes, the Institute of Social and Religious Research* (New York and London: Harper Brothers: 1934), 266, Rufus Clement Papers, Presidential Files, Robert W. Woodruff Library, Atlanta University Center Archives, Atlanta, Georgia.

The Founding of the People's College (Institutional Analysis)

In a 1938 study of educational, socioeconomic, and occupational trends among Blacks living in Georgia, historian Walter D. Cocking found that "between 1920 and 1930, the urban population of the State increased 15.2 per cent…The Negro rural farm population decreased 26.4 per cent…[and] in 1930 only 51.9 percent of the Negro population lived on farms."[582] Regarding the reality the shifting rural and urban demographics Reid wrote, "The South is in transition." The conditions confronting Reid when he arrived in the growing metropolis that was Atlanta in 1935, were the result of various social and economic complexities— ones differing significantly from those affecting Blacks living in the North. The evolving economic and industrial growth in the south, the shift in industry, changed the racial landscape, and "...sent white farmers scurrying from the spent land to the mills and again to the barren hills…pushed the Negro tenant from the farm to the city slum…brought Northern capital in big and little packets to Southern cities and hamlets."[583] Negotiating this demographic shift —the migration of Blacks fleeing the exploitation of the sharecropping system to the urban centers of the South— would ultimately become the central-most focus of Reid's social justice agenda. He wondered how Black families could best negotiate an honorable place in the developing socioeconomic strata of the industrial, "New South."[584]

In his seminal text, *Adult Education Among Negroes*, Reid provides further evidence of the dismal circumstances and conditions confronting Blacks living in the South, particularly regarding their educational access and attainment. Reid knew well the experiences of the

[582] Cocking, Walter D., *Report of the Study of Higher Education of Negroes in Georgia* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1938), 9.
[583] Arthur F. Rapier and Ira De A. Reid, *Sharecroppers All* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1941), 77-78.
[584] Reid, *Adult Education Among Negroes*.

"landless Negro" who had been "…pushed cityward, into casual labor and unemployment."[585] Even with the growing numbers of Black people moving to urban centers in search of better employment and earning opportunities, circumstances that were exacerbated by a lack of training and education, those conditions had not changed much in eight years. "In 1938 only one Black person out of every five in Georgia was literate."[586]

According to Reid, the need for adult, community and social justice education programs grew out of a specific set of social and economic circumstances facing Blacks living urban areas. He believed the Black condition to be a community problem in need of a collective response and solution.[587] A collaboration between community institutions and organizations, both public and private, would be most effective in addressing the social ills confronting Black folk. He said:

> With the rapid increase of Negro populations in industrial centers, and their growing demands for placement in industrial jobs, it is physically impossible…for a private organization to handle the volume of placements that should develop in the Negro community if its workers are to have their share of industrial opportunity. Urban Leagues should not relax their vigilance…but should continue to do a pressure, advisory, and educational jobs with employers, labor unions, and Negro workers…[should fall]…squarely on the shoulders of the public employment service.[588]

Institutional and community collaboration as a means of attaining social justice, is a core tenet of what has been more recently defined in the education scholarship as CBR.[589]

Those institutions and organizations located in urban areas, Reid posited, had a distinct advantage over those serving learners living in rural areas in terms of addressing the plethora of crises facing Blacks. He argued that the extension education programs being administered in rural areas were, "…overburdened and extension units of the schools like Hampton and

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[585] Rapier and Reid, *Sharecroppers All*, 77-78.
[586] Cocking, *Report of the Study*,16.
[587] Rapier and Reid, *Sharecroppers All*, 19.
[588] Ira De A. Reid, "Placement of Negro Worker Public Responsibility." *California Eagle*, September 11,1941, Ira De A. Reid, Vertical file, Robert W. Woodruff Library, Atlanta University Center Archives, Atlanta, Georgia.
[589] Strand, et al., *Community-Based Research,* 8.

Tuskegee [could] reach only persons in their immediate vicinity."[590] It can be argued, however, that some of those rural education programs (i.e. Tuskegee's), of which he was critical, ultimately served more learners over longer periods of time, proving their sustainability and impact (this position and comparison will be further examined in Chapter 5 of this study). In any regard, Reid believed that those institutions that were closest to the people and their problems, in proximity, circumstance and *culture*, would be best fit to understand and address their life and education needs.[591]

While the People's College did not officially hold its first session until October of 1942, the makings of it began in the early 1930s. The People's College concept grew out of two social justice education programs directed by Reid and conducted in cooperation with the public library systems serving inner city New York and Atlanta. These adult education "experiments" were conducted at the 135th street branch of the New York Public Library, at the Schaumberg Collection of Negro Life and History in Harlem, New York and the other at the Auburn Avenue Branch of the Carnegie Library located in Atlanta, Georgia. As with many of the other programs that Reid would found, administer and direct throughput his career, the primary aim of the Atlanta program was one of social justice education. In his own words, it was designed "To help effect change for the betterment of all in the social order."[592]

The funding for the programs, $31,000 in grants provided by the Carnegie Corporation and $15, 000 by the Julius Rosenwald Fund were to extend from 1931-1934. The various course offerings, that were academic, lifestyle and extra-curricular in their design and content, included "….parent education, journalism, changing racial attitudes, preliminary rules of order, book

[590] Reid, *Adult Education Among Negroes*.
[591] Reid defines culture as "…the most perfect adaptation that an individual makes to his environment in order that he might live most successfully and most happily"; Reid, *Adult Education Among Negroes*, 8.
[592] Reid, *Adult Education Among Negroes*, 24.

clubs and lectures" and they also had a community chorus.[593] As with most adult education programs, the delivery and methods of instruction varied to address the cadre of learning styles most prevalent among adult learners. Multiple methods of instruction were utilized to engage the learner-participants including "…lectures, study groups, or discussion groups, in music, drama, art, philosophy, economics, and education."[594] The programs also offered courses that dealt with culturally-grounded, civic matters as well, that were likely to extend its interests to a larger percentage of the adult learner community.[595]

While both the Atlanta and New York adult education programs were moderately successful, by Reid's own admission, the lessons learned from their administration were constructive; they would later provide the framework for the development of the People's College concept. The most instructive lesson that Reid learned from the Atlanta program was the limitations of its budget.[596] He discovered that the acquisition of both private and public funds and earning the respect and support from those within the community to be served, as paramount to any program's success and sustainability. He also noted the importance of allowing the needs of the learner-participants to shape the programmatic aim and curriculum; the organizing body or institution should not, instead, impose their programmatic agendas upon the community. This, the validation of the knowledge of community members as a relevant, valuable and pertinent component of program planning, has been identified as a core tenant of CBR and social justice education.[597] All was not lost, however, on his collaborative effort with the public libraries. He found, that "There did remain…a vision of what could be carried on the future, and an

[593] Ibid, 31.
[594] Ibid, 25.
[595] Talmadge C. Guy, "The American Association of Adult Education and the Experiments in African American Adult Education", in Elizabeth Peterson , ed., *Freedom Road, Adult Education of African Americans*, (Malabar, Florida: Krieger Publishing Company, 2002).
[596] Reid, *Adult Education Among Negroes*, 26.
[597] Ibid, 24.

appreciation for organization, and dramatization of the adult education idea."[598] Reid would eventually carry his idea of adult education, and all of the lessons learned from his missteps, to Atlanta University.

On March 30, 1931 Reid was offered a position at AU by the then president of Morehouse College, and his long-time family friend, John Hope. While he initially, rejected the position offer, he would later reconsider it. Almost immediately after arriving in at Atlanta, in 1935, Reid began implementing his social justice education agenda. On February 25th of that same year, Reid submitted a proposal to President Hope outlining his vision for a social justice education program that would "…bring education to the community…"[599] He wrote:

> For some years the affiliated colleges of the Atlanta University system have realized the importance of the effectiveness of a program that reached beyond the confines of the campuses and into the several communities…the aim of [the People's College] program will not be alone one of providing for a closer group living, but to provide the enrichment of the mind and the body of individuals as well, in order that he might utilize more fully the resources of the world about him…Atlanta University has at its command numerous resources for conducting the program...[600]

Reid's proposal then, of course, turned to the challenge of properly funding the three-year program that would serve learners living in the Fulton and DeKalb County areas. Reid requested $52, 000 to fund this program, and provided a line item budget proposal for the first year of operation that included the following: a director's salary of $5, 000; a clerical aid who was to be compensated $1, 500; a $2, 250 honoraria for staff members; $5, 000 for equipment; $2, 000 to cover the costs of Travel; $1, 500 to publicize the program and $250 for a contingency fund, totaling an amount of $17, 500 per year needed to operate a program that he would call, The People's College.

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[598] Ibid, 28.
[599] "The Descent from Olympus", *School and Society*, 57, (January-June, 1943), p. 494-495.
[600] John Hope, Presidential Files, February 25, 1935, Box 166, Folder 2, Robert W. Woodruff Library, Atlanta University Center Archives, Atlanta, Georgia.

While the People's College proposition was in consideration, Reid went busily and diligently about the work of community education in and around Atlanta area. He often collaborated with local churches to host community education programs. One held at the First Congregational Church on Sunday evening, April 24, 1938, for example, aimed to provide a local high school student with a scholarship monies to attend college and "…to acquaint the Atlanta public with the activities and culture of college life."[601] Top this end, the scholarship written on history of Black education reveals the church as one of the central-most institutions in housing and promoting social justice education efforts. Reid found the church to be "…by far the foremost social institution among Negroes."[602] Many of Reid's community talks and lectures throughout his career and given on behalf of the People's College would be hosted and sponsored by Black Churches located in the metropolitan Atlanta area.

Vision, Mission and Objectives

Historically, HBCUs functioned as community organization centers that operationalized what political scientist Edward Weidner called a *communiversity*, or "…a socially responsible university relating to a socially responsible community.[603] In this way, Reid saw the vision, mission and objectives of any educational education program, adult, community or social justice, as the vehicle through which learners within institutions and communities, could explore their life, academic or creative interests. That exploration and discovery, he believed, would make for more conscious and responsible collective that would the whole of society. In his own words:

> The purpose of an adult education program is not to add another organization to the community, but to aid people who wish to become learners, people who have faith and

[601] "College Night Program Plans Reportedly Complete; Dr. Ira De A. Reid Principal Speaker." *Atlanta Daily World*, April 22, 1938, ProQuest Historical Newspapers, Auburn Avenue Research Library Archives, Atlanta, Georgia, 1.
[602] Reid, *Adult Education Among Negroes*, 28.
[603] Edward Weidner, "Communiversity." Vital Speeches of The Day [serial online]. February 15, 1969;35:277-279. Available from: Readers' Guide Retrospective: 1890-1982 (H.W. Wilson), Ipswich, MA.

> intellectual curiosity, to aid them in self-expression, in appreciation, and in a discovery of their interests—the program's the thing…[it] is to satisfy the deeper desires for a fuller living…for social education, to overcome the errors of an unintentional miseducation, to provide free expression and social adjustment for the individual in relationship to his intimate environment as well as to the group of which he is a part. [604] [605]

Thus, individual self-actualization, a sense of social responsibility and "social action", Reid posited, was to be the primary purpose of any educational program.[606] Much like the premises outlined in the CBR and social justice education models, is the commonality that should inspire individuals within institutions, organizations and communities to collaborate on community education programs and projects.

In his original program proposal, Reid outlined what he saw as the vision, mission and objectives of the People's College program. In it he delineated ten areas of focus, which were:

1. The promotion of Adult Forums in Local Communities.
   This program is to include not only the general forum idea but to encourage the use of panel discussions. This program is to be initiated by a member of the University staff. Subjects and literature to be suggested the Studies and the Research Division.
2. A School for Leaders.
   One of the first promotional efforts will be the bringing together of lay persons interested in promoting some from of adult education in the respective communities. This school will be most informal, and will emphasize the steps the University is trying to take to make the program fulfill the proper needs.
3. Studies and Research Bureau.
   To provide materials for the use of local groups; to assist in the planning; to prepare reports of the project.
4. A Demonstration Unit.
   The physical facilities of the University system make possible the use of several rooms for demonstrating model apartments, housing; business establishments in three field particularly- grocery stores, barber shops and eating establishments. These three activities represent the foremost small business activities of Negroes. How to operate these clean, sanitary, attractive basis will be an educational effort of this type.
6. A Portable Library.

[604] Reid, *Adult Education Among Negroes*, 40.
[605] Ibid, 38.
[606] Rufus Clement Papers, Presidential Files, Box 268, Folder 11, Robert W. Woodruff, Atlanta University Center Archives, Atlanta, Georgia, 4.

Extending the facilities of the University Library together with the resources of the state and local libraries is a piece of promotion work that the University should undertake.

7. A Portable Theatre.
   For four years the university has emphasized the development of drama among students. In no community does the theatre carry real significance for the Negro population. The use of the University Players, with a traveling theatre, giving productions free of charge in local area and in the smaller towns seems a desirable feature.
8. Folk of Community Players
   Likewise the Universities program will include the development of locale talent in productions that will be used for intercommunity competition.
9. Folk or Community singing.
   This is a very real contribution that can be made to group living. The rapid changes of the past fifteen years have driven into the background much of he cultural heritage of the Negro song. This would be revived through the encouraging of competitive singings. In the promotion of this program through service rendered as lecturers and discussion leaders in the local areas.
10. Lecturers and Instructors.
    The University staff would be utilized in the promotion of this program through services rendered as lecturers and discussion leaders.[607]

Further, the People's College aimed to provide the Atlanta community of learners, of all ages and backgrounds, a safe place to cultivate their minds and lives the without the social, cultural or economic constraints perpetuated in the larger society and within majority institutions. The college was designated as a program that would "…take the University to the community…[allowing them to]…understand [and] share better the world in which they live, to secure better jobs and in general to keep alive intellectually." [608]

Funding

Reid's "School for all the People" was clearly not founded as a financial endeavor; it was motivated solely by his desire, and that of his collaborators, to effect social justice through

[607] "People's College Opens." *Atlanta University Bulletin*, December 1942, 40, Box 268, folder 11, Rufus Clement Papers, Robert W, Woodruff Library, Atlanta University Center Archives, 4-6.
[608] Ibid, 4-6.

community education.[609] Reid's initial funding proposal for the People's College program requested a sum of around $18, 000 per year, which would subsequently, be provided by various cooperating public and private organizations, with an interest in investing in and invigorating Black Atlanta.

The People's College was jointly financed by the colleges and universities located in the Atlanta University Center —primarily Atlanta University, Clark College, Spelman College and Morehouse College, and the Gamon Theological Seminary— the Atlanta Urban League; the YMCA (Butler Street branch); the YWCA (Phyllis Wheatley branch); teachers of the Atlanta Public School System; Ashby Street School; University Homes; the Auburn Avenue Research Library; School System; Ashby Street School; University Homes; the Auburn Avenue Research Library; professionals from the Black business community and other civic leaders and activists.[610]

In a letter dated November 5, 1942, AU President Rufus Clement asked a Mr. Warren Cochrane, with the Butler Street Branch of the YMCA, if he would serve on the advisory board for the People's College. He responded, with an emphatic yes, writing:

> I would like to commend the University for initiating The People's College….The Butler Street YMCA has been happy to cooperate in this effort, although it has taxed our facilities at some times, mainly because of our limited equipment, nevertheless we are very glad to offer the use of our building for this purpose….It is a source of real pleasure to know that men as busy as yourself take the time and make the effort to affiliate themselves with community enterprises such as the Young Men's Christian Association and other civic movements.[611]

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[609] Ibid, 4-6.
[610] "The People's College of Atlanta University: A School for all the People." Brochure, Ca. February 1943, Box 28, folder 11, Rufus E. Clement, Presidential Files, Robert W. Woodruff Library, Atlanta University Center Archives, Atlanta, GA.
[611] Letter from Warren R. Cochrane to Rufus Clement, November 5, 1942, Box 28, folder 11, Rufus E. Clement, Presidential Files, Robert W. Woodruff Library, Atlanta University Center Archives, Atlanta, Georgia, 1. Return Letter from Rufus Clement to Ira De A. Reid, February 16, 1943, Box 28, folder 11, Rufus E. Clement, Presidential Files, Robert W. Woodruff Library, Atlanta University Center Archives, Atlanta, Georgia, 1.

Mr. Cochrane's response was typical of those that Reid received in response to his requests for institutional and community's support and participation in the People's College venture. While some of those who volunteered, lacked resources themselves, they were dedicated to making their contribution to the collective community good. This type of university and community collaboration, as exemplified with the early planning of the People's College program, is a core tenet of CBR and social justice education. The entire community understood their connectivity, and came together with the shared mission of providing equal access and opportunity for the Atlanta community of non-traditional learners.

In a letter dated October 16, 1942, a lawyer working with the A.T. Walden of the Law Offices of Austin T. Walden, in Atlanta, also responded enthusiastically to a request from President Rufus Clement to teach a People's College class on "everyday law". He believed that "The People's College [would] serve a splendid purpose and the University is to be congratulated upon taking that progressive step."[612] Again, professionals, community leaders and activists alike, volunteered their time and services to the People's College program. Dedication to service, and the community good is a primary characteristic of the HBCU, CBR and social justice education models.

The facilitators of the sessions —local faculty, staff, administrators, professionals, etc.— "…teachers, businessmen, ministers, civic leaders, physicians, artists, social workers…[whose]…services were freely given", volunteered their time to work and teach in the college. [613] The People's College tuition was free, and students were only required to pay a

[612] Letter from Austin T. Walden to Rufus Clement, October 16, 1942, Box 28, folder 11, Rufus E. Clement, Presidential Files, Robert W. Woodruff Library, Atlanta University Center Archives, Atlanta, Georgia, 1. Return Letter from Rufus Clement to Ira De A. Reid, February 16, 1943, Box 28, folder 11, Rufus E. Clement, Presidential Files, Robert W. Woodruff Library, Atlanta University Center Archives, Atlanta, Georgia, 1.
[613] "The Descent from Olympus", *School and Society*, 494-495.

registration fee of 50 cents.[614] To this end, Reid notified those persons to commit themselves to this community service effort understanding that:

> There is no remuneration for teaching in The People's College during the 1942-1943 session. Any expenses incurred for travel, materials and other essential purposes will be defrayed by The People's College. All major services and conveniences are being donated by the cooperating individuals and institutions.[615]

In this way, the teachers, faculty, staff and community persons working with the People's College did so because of their dedication to the community cause. The primary resource information does also indicates that Reid was supportive and of those persons who volunteered their time in working with the People's College. If an instructor with the college assumed any financial costs as a result of their participation, monies spent on transportation, for example, Reid asked them to submit those "bills" to him for reimbursement.[616]Again, this type of dedication to community service and collaboration, is an integral part of the historic mission of the HBCU program and social justice education.

The various participating institutions and organizations not only lent their support in terms of providing teachers for the classes, they also donated their facilities and classrooms for program's use, as well. Local schools and churches in the community offered the free usage of space. [617] The primary resource information revealed various requests for the use of materials and facilities from persons working with the People's College to various departments, organizations and institutions with the Atlanta area community. One hand written letter documents a request from Hale Woodruff, an esteemed Black artist and founder of the AU Art

[614] "The People's College of Atlanta University…."
[615] Ibid.
[616] Letter from Ira De. A. Reid to the teachers working a session of the People's College, April 30, 1943, Box 28, folder 11, Rufus E. Clement, Presidential Files, Robert W. Woodruff Library, Atlanta University Archives, Atlanta, Georgia.
[617] "Atlanta University, The People's College." Document, October 2, 1942, Box 28, folder 11, Rufus E. Clement, Presidential Files, Robert W. Woodruff Library, Atlanta University Archives, Atlanta, Georgia; "The People's College Third Session." Brochure, Ca. November 8, 1943, Box 279, folder 16, Rufus E. Clement Papers, Presidential Files, Robert W. Woodruff Library, Atlanta University Archives, Atlanta, Georgia.

Department, to President Clement. Woodruff was requesting the use "the art tables" which were to be transported to the "the old Spelman Library Reading Room on the ground floor of Laura Spelman Building- where the classes will be held."[618] In this letter, Woodruff also extended an invitation to the President and his wife, in hopes that they would have time to grace the students with their presence at his art class. To that end, the entire AU community, those directly affiliated with the university and not, collaborated to ensure the success of the People's College.

Program Staffing, Design and Instruction

In 1942, Du Bois published an article in the *Amsterdam News* entitled, *The Negro and the War*, expressing his optimism regarding the potential that the active contributions of those Black men and women fight in World War II, along-side their White counterparts, might bring. To that end he said, "I said some time ago that I feared that the Negro would get less out of this war than he got out of the last; but I think I was wrong. It looks, on the whole, as though the American Negro was…on the way to gain a great deal…."[619] Du Bois' optimism would be tempered, however, as the war continued. By 1945 he believed that Blacks had, in fact, made lesser gains than he had anticipated. Among the greatest was the perpetuation of racism, the "'jim crow' army and of segregation in army circles which will have formed a basis of similar segregation in civil life."[620] As had been the experience of Black people historically, their commitment and cooperation with White people, brought with it the hope for improved race relations. Like in many times past, however, their hopefulness would be disparaged by the harsh

[618] Letter from Ira Hale Woodruff to Rufus Clement, October 19, 1942, Box 28, folder 11, Rufus Clement Papers, Presidential Files, Robert W. Woodruff Library, Atlanta University Archives, Atlanta, Georgia, 1. Return Letter from Rufus Clement to Ira De A. Reid, February 16, 1943, Box 28, folder 11, 1.
[619] WEB Du Bois, "The Negro and the War." *Amsterdam News*, May 9, 1942 in David L. Lewis (Ed), *A Du Bois Reader*, 742.
[620] WEB Du Bois, "Negro's War Gains and Losses." *The Chicago Defender*, September 15, 1945 in David L. Lewis, ed., *A Du Bois Reader*, 742.

realities of racism. The conditions suffered by Black veterans, civilians and their families exemplified just how much their social and economic circumstances had not changed.

Reid's research, conducted in Atlanta in 1930, reflected the harsh employment, economic and education realisms facing Black folk living in urban centers. At that time, Atlanta had "…the forth highest illiteracy rate in the fifteen cities having over 50,000 Negro inhabitants…[with]…10.4 per cent of the population [being] illiterate."[621] HBCUs, which had historically taken up the cause to fight illiteracy, found themselves anemically prepared to assist with community education efforts in the ways that they had in times past. At a time when all institutions of higher education were suffering the impacts of war (i.e. losing students, faculty and staff to the registry), HBCU programs suffered doubly.[622] In his article, *The Role of Negro Higher Education in Post-War Reconstruction: The Negro Land Grant College,* R. B. Atwood, expressed a hopeful anticipation regarding the future of Black higher education. He believed there to be a unique opportunity for Black colleges and universities to capitalize on the opportunity to solicit wide-spread support for their educational programs and services. He said:

> Following the war there is certain to be a great demand for re-training courses, sponsored and financed perhaps by the government, to prepare war industry workers for other jobs. This is an eventuality for which the Negro land grant colleges should plan. Thousands of men in colleges and others who were about to enter college have been inducted into the armed forces. They have not given up their desire for an education, but, matured by the holocaust of war, they will demand that the colleges have something of value to give them.[623]

While Atwood refers specifically to those Black colleges that have agricultural, technical and industrial education as their primary curricular aim, AU President, Rufus E. Clement also lent his expertise regarding what the HBCU response to the war, should be. He said, when the military

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[621] Reid, *Adult Education*, 23.
[622] Felton Clark, "Negro Higher Education in the War and Post-War Reconstruction", *The Journal of Negro Education,* Vol. 11, No. 3, (Jul., 1942), pp. 279-291 Published by: Journal of Negro Education Stable URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/2292664.

[623] Clark, "Negro Higher Education in the War…."

service men and women return, many will be "untrained men [and women] returning to find their places in a civilian world which cannot offer all of them employment or opportunities they had earlier in life…."[624] He put forth that it would be the responsibility of the Black college and university, to assist them in their efforts to matriculate back into civilian society and "…to bring order and hope back to the shattered world."[625]

While there may have been varying perspectives regarding how and to what degree Black folk would be impacted by the war, there was no debate regarding the wide-spread suffering occurring in Black communities. Many were coming to the city from the rural areas, or returning home from the war, experiencing conditions that were exacerbated by the impacts of racism, segregation and oppression. What Reid and other Black proponents of education in Atlanta did recognize was the opportunity for HBCU programs to make good use of their resources (i.e. cultural capital), for the betterment of the larger community of Black folk seeking education, training and employment. Seizing upon this unique opportunity, Reid devised a HBCU model of social justice education that would assist Black veterans —who found themselves doubly disenfranchised at home while fighting for democracy abroad— civilians and their families. In 1942, the federal government designated several hundred centers of education throughout the country that were to serve as "…War information Centers." –places where persons interested in testing for entrance into the war…..or returning veterans….etc. ……"The most unique effort of the University during the war was the promotion of an adult education program know as the People's College."[626] And with the support of President Clement, and the Atlanta professional,

[624] Rufus E. Clement Papers, Presidential Files, Box 268, Folder 11, Robert W. Woodruff Library, Atlanta University Archives, Atlanta, Georgia, 2.
[625] Ibid, 2.
[626] Bacote, *The Story of Atlanta University*.

business and organizational and lay communities, the People's College concept would become operationalized.

After securing funding, the next first challenge for Reid, who would act as the program's director, was to secure the instructors for the classes, those persons who he deemed as most pertinent to optimal program operation.[627] In a letter dated October 1, 1942, President Clement called on the AU faculty to volunteer their efforts to assist Reid with the administration of "a war-related", community education program.[628] With that, Reid brought together some of the most distinguished and well-respected members of the Atlanta community to bring into fruition. These "leaders", Reid believed must be "…humble people who have a relationship with kindred groups…They are the encouragers."[629] Some of the more notable faculty members whose names appeared on the letter was Clarence A. Bacote, "Mr. W.E.B., and Mr. John Hope."[630]

Reid also solicited the advice of respected community and organizational leaders and activists, to assist his efforts in starting the People's College. A Mrs. G.T. Hamilton, an Executive Secretary with the Atlanta Urban League, made her advice available to Reid regarding the types of courses that she believed would be of most value and benefit to the community. She suggested that Reid include a discussion-panel-style course on community leadership; another on "Feeding the Family"; one on "Glamour in Your Old Clothes", which she said, "would be especially helpful to low income groups, if offered in neighborhood centers" and yet another on "Understanding Modern Art."[631] She also recommended that he solicit even more community

[627] Rufus Clement Papers, Presidential Files, Box 268, folder 11, Robert W. Woodruff Library, Atlanta University Archives, Atlanta, Georgia.
[628] Ibid.
[629] Reid, *Adult Education Among Negroes*, 8.
[630] Letter from Rufus Clement to select Atlanta University Faculty, October 1, 1942, Letter from Ira De A. Reid to the teachers working a session of the People's College, April 30, 1943, Box 268, folder 11, Rufus E. Clement Papers, Presidential Files, Robert W. Woodruff Library, Atlanta University Archives, Atlanta, Georgia.
[631] Atlanta Urban League Papers, October 22, 1945, Box 17, Folder 7, Robert W. Woodruff Library, Atlanta University Archives, Atlanta, Georgia, 1.

support by submitting the same type of needs assessment to other organizations; she said, that it "…might be a guarantee of sustained interest and attendance."[632] Again, institutional and organizational collaboration to affect social justice is a core tenet of the CBR model.

Ira. D. A. Reid Meeting with the People's College Faculty
(W.E.B. Du Bois seated 5th from the right)[633]

The dedicated faculty of AU and other community leaders would answer Clement and Reid's call to be of service. On October 8, 1942 Reid thanked the faculty and staff who had agreed to work with the People's College for their first opening session. His letter read:

> At the outset, I want to thank you for joining us in this effort. Your interest is going to mean a great deal in making this program the vital one that it should be. I am asking the Staff to meet in the Exhibition Room of the Atlanta University Library on Thursday, October 15, at 8 o'clock to discuss our final plans and the technical arrangements that must be completed before Registration Day.[634]

Registration was to be held the next day, in various locations throughout the city— at the AU Library, the cooperating YMCA and YWCA branches (Butler Street and Phyllis Wheatley), the

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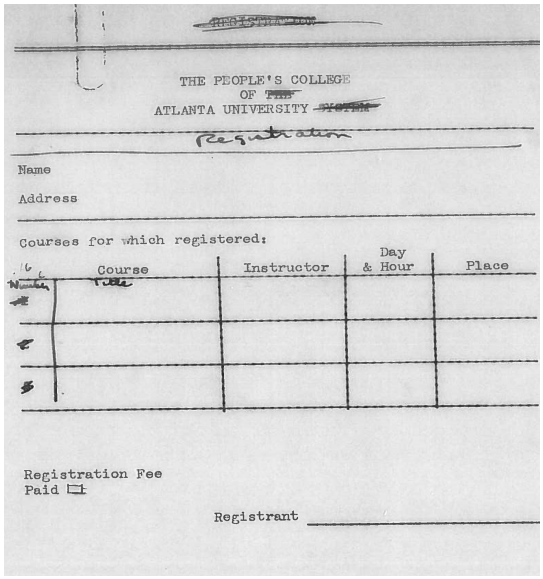
[632] Ibid,1.
[633] Box 268, folder 11, Rufus E. Clement, Presidential Files, Robert W. Woodruff Library, Atlanta University Center Archives, Atlanta, Georgia.

[634] Letter from Ira De A. Reid to the Staff of the People's College, October 8, 1942, Letter from Ira De. A. Reid to the teachers working a session of the People's College, April 30, 1943, Box 268, folder 11, Rufus E. Clement, Presidential Files, Robert W. Woodruff Library, Atlanta University Center Archives, Atlanta, Georgia.

University Homes Housing Projects and the Auburn Avenue Research Library. As with all other aspects of the People's College, registration was held at times that would be most convenient for working people, most times from 7:30-9:00 in the evenings. Interested learners needed only bring their desire, enthusiasm and a registration fee of 50 cents, and they would be allowed to particulate in the AU centers' most exciting community education venture.[635] [636][637]

The announcement of the initial registration for the People's College was followed by an influx of media promotion, most of which was published and circulated by the city's first and most popular Black newspaper— the *Atlanta Daily World*. An article published on October 19th publicized, "People's College to be Opened At Atlanta University October 19: Broad Venture…"[638] And with that, the registration for the first session of the People's College would begin, and would be received with an overwhelmingly positive, public response.



THE PEOPLE'S COLLEGE
OF ~~THE~~
ATLANTA UNIVERSITY ~~SYSTEM~~

Registration

Name

Address

Courses for which registered:

Course	Instructor	Day & Hour	Place

Registration Fee Paid ☐

Registrant _____

People's College Registration Form[639]

[635] "People's College To Be Opened at Atlanta University…", 7.
[636] Ibid, 7.
[637] Ibid, 7.
[638] "The People's College of Atlanta University: A School for all the People….".
[639] Box 268, folder 11, Rufus E. Clement, Presidential Files, Robert W. Woodruff Library, Atlanta University Center Archives, Atlanta, Georgia.

Annie L. McPhetters, the first professionally trained librarian to work for the Atlanta Public Library system, documented what she witnessed as the Atlanta community flocked to the various registration centers located throughout the city. She found the People's College registrants to be hopeful, enthusiastic and inspired by the opportunity. They came to:

> …register singly, in twos and in groups… [they were]…quick to sense what [the school's] importance would mean to them and hastened to respond to its fair call….this call gave them new life, new hope, and the desire to overtake a long lost opportunity…it opened new channels, for a man can feel like a man when he 'knows'.[640]

She also referenced the feeling of anticipation and appreciation that many of learner-participants displayed as they looked through the course offerings making note of what they found intriguing. Mrs. McPheeters recalls watching their excitement escalate when they learned that they would be taking classes from a certain well-respected professor, or from a teacher who had once taught their. Still, "some thrilled to the joy of begin in class again, others at the opportunity to study the love of studying….and realized the need of formal instruction permeating and improving the welfare of the group."[641] What Mrs. McPheeters found is further proof against the mega narratives that often depict Black people as wholly apathetic and uninteresting in their own education and progress. The first session of the People's College began on that same evening of October 19, 1942, hosting over 500 registrants and participants from in and around the Atlanta community.[642]

One of the most interesting aspects of the People's College was its curricular design. The program aimed to serve learners, of all ages, who were likely to be non-traditional —poor,

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[640] "The Book Shelf," *Atlanta Daily World*, November 8, 1942, ProQuest Historical Newspapers, Auburn Avenue Research Library Archives, Atlanta, Georgia, 4.
[641] "The Bookshelf: The People's College…", 4.
[642] "230 Are Enrolled in People's College." *Atlanta Daily World*, October 18, 1942, ProQuest Historical Newspapers, Auburn Avenue Research Library Archives, Atlanta, Georgia, 1; William W. Cooper, "Adult Education Programs of Negro Colleges and Universities," *Journal of Negro Education* 14 (1945), 308.

working-poor, working-class adults— who may have encountered barriers in continuing their education in the past. Reid described those learners as one who may have "…problems, perplexities and difficulties, who need[ed] not only knowledge, but courage."[643] The program's curriculum was designed to provide its participants with optimal access and availability to its services. With its non-standard admissions and participation requirements; affordable costs; classes that were held at convenient times, and in a multiplicity of locations throughout the city; student-centered instruction; varied delivery methods and instructional strategies and community collaboration and support, the People's College exemplifies the CBR model of social justice education.

An analysis of the People's College program design reveals the administration's knowledge of and sensitivity to the challenges facing the community of learners who were to be program participants. Throughout, the learners' needs remained at the center of the program planning and administration processes. In this way, the prerequisite and admission requirements for those learners interested in registering for the program were lenient— their accessibility to the programs' services was of paramount importance the programs' administrators. In this regard, the college would "…be open to anyone interested in securing an informal education."[644] Adults from all professional backgrounds and levels of education were welcomed; "…domestics, porters, clerks, business agents of labor unions, college professors and their wives, ministers, housewives, skilled and unskilled laborers, mail carriers, social workers, and so on," came to register to take advantage of this most exciting education opportunity.[645]

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[643] Reid, *Adult Education Among Negroes*, 8; Rufus Clement Papers, Woodruff Library AUC Archives, Box 268, Folder 11, "People's College Opens…", 4-6; William Ayers, et al, *Handbook of Social Justice in Education*, 88.
[644] "People's College To Be Opened At Atlanta University…", 7.
[645] Cooper, "Adult Education Programs…", 1.

Once a student had been admitted into the People's College, their participation and matriculation expectations for continuing in the program were equally casual. In this way, leaners need only to be literate and have the desire to learn in order to register for and attend classes; their level of education, beyond the most basic literacy skills, was inconsequential.[646] "No official credits of any kind were required. If the applicant could read and write and had a desire to learn, he was admitted, no questions asked, and attendance was optional."[647] Homework assignments, exams, textbooks and any other form of formal instruction or evaluation were not required, for "The joy of accomplishment was the reward for successful work.[648] Unlike many traditional programs of study, enrollees in the People's College, were not subjected to the added pressures that standardization can produce. It can be argued, that learning environments that focus less on learning outcomes, versus the learning process, provide students with a more rich and authentic experience.

Another unique aspect of the People's College curricular design was its affordability. The college gave the community of non-traditional learners access to course content similar to that of a traditional, liberal arts course of study, and allowed them the benefit of engaging with some of the best professors and professionals in the country. They were able to do so, however, virtually free of charge.[649] Unlike those students attending the traditional AU program, the registrants with the People's College were not required to pay tuition. An enrollees' only out-of-pocket expense was a nominal registration fee of 50 cents, which was most likely utilized to cover the costs of books and other instructional supplies, and allowed a student to take three classes per academic

[646] "People's College To Be Opened At Atlanta University…", 7; "People's College Opens. " Rufus E. Clement Papers, Presidential, Files, Robert W. Woodruff Library, Atlanta University Archives, Box 268, folder 11, 4-6.
[647] "The Descent from Olympus", 494-495.
[648] "Registration for People's College is Slated Tonight: Classes to meet for ten weeks; Tuition is free." *Atlanta Daily World*, ProQuest Historical Newspapers, ProQuest Historical Newspapers, Auburn Avenue Research Library Archives, Atlanta, Georgia, 1; "The Descent from Olympus", 57; "Atlanta University, The People's College".
[649] "230 Are Enrolled in People's College…", 1.

session.[650] The People's College administrators were sensitive to the financial barriers that many poor, working-poor and working-class folk experienced to accessing quality education.

The various conveniences of class times/days, locations and methods of delivery were also designed to optimize the community's participation in the People's College. A promotional document dated October 2, 1942, announced the that first session of the People's College would "…begin on Monday, October 19, 1942, and end on February 18, 1943….classes and courses will meet once a week for 17 weeks…on Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday or Thursday evening for one hour at 7:30 or 8:35 o'clock."[651] Courses were offered primarily in the evenings, and a typical academic session would last anywhere from ten to seventeen weeks in length. In this way, the course scheduling of the People's College was designed to accommodate the schedules of full-time, working students, many of whom had families. A flyer advertising the program: announced that "The People's College teaches things you want to learn at hours to suit your convenience."[652] Most of the classes were only an hour in length, presumably to allow working people with children, the time needed to return home to their families or to work, if need be. AU's President Clement spoke to the importance of flexibility in program planning saying:

> ...it must be kept in mind that many of the men who will return to the colleges after the war will be older than the regular or normal group of college and university students. Many of them will be married; some will be parents. It will be necessary, therefore, that these persons assume their family responsibilities as soon as they can find jobs that they are trained to handle. It may be the task of the larger universities to conduct such programs of training and study as will rehabilitate these men [and women]…for useful lives within a short period of time."[653]

[650] "The People's College of Atlanta University…"; "People's College To Be Opened at Atlanta University", 7.
[651] "Atlanta University, The People's College".
[652] Box 268, folder 11, Rufus E. Clement Papers, Presidential Files, Box 268, Folder 11Robert W. Woodruff Library, Atlanta University Archives, 3-4.
[653] Ibid, 3-4.

Concessions were also made to assure that the People's College class locations were highly visible and accessible via various sites established around metropolitan Atlanta. The primary centers of administration were strategically located in and around the community, not in places that were isolated from it. It had been said that some HBCUs stood like "ivory towers" within communities, secluded socially, culturally, economically and otherwise."…Morehouse, Sale Hall, YMCA, Clark College Thayer Hall, University Homes, Eagan Homes, AU Power Plant, 78 ½ Auburn, AU Library, AU School of Social Work, Spelman L. Spelman Studio, Urban League, Auburn Ave Library [and the] Forth Ward, West Side", were often host locations for classes.[654] The program administrators were also flexible enough with the scheduling of classes to allow students to request that course sites be added and/or changed.[655] Reid simply required them to submit a request that included the names of twenty persons within a community who expressed an interest in attending a class, along with the type of course that they would like to take.[656]

As a result of the high enrollment and enthusiastic public response to the first session of the People's College, the program administrators added a second session to the 1942-1943 academic calendar. It commenced on March 1, 1943, and continued for ten weeks through May 7th. With the opening of the program's second session, new courses were added to the curriculum, many of them at the request of students.[657] An article published in the *Atlanta Daily World* announced that the People's College would reopen as, "'…an educational program designed to

[654] "The People's College Third Session." Brochure, Ca. November 8, 1943, Box 279, Folder 16, Rufus E. Clement Papers, Presidential Files, Robert W. Woodruff Library, Atlanta University Center Archives, Atlanta, Georgia.
[655] "People's College Reopens March 1." *Atlanta Daily World*, October 31, 1943, ProQuest Historical Newspapers, Auburn Avenue Research Library Archives, Atlanta, Georgia, 1.
[656] "People's College Classes Begin on Monday Night: Many New Courses Added to Second Term." *Atlanta Daily World*, February 28, 1943, ProQuest Historical Newspapers, Auburn Avenue Research Library Archives, Atlanta, Georgia, 1.
[657] "People's College Reopens March 1", 1.

set men [and women] free from the drabness of unfulfilled lives and to enable more satisfactory functioning in a war-toned society'", with a cadre of new course additions.[658]

The program's curriculum was also student-centered in terms of its instructional design and delivery methods. Student involvement and engagement became a more integral part of the program planning process as the People's College experienced increased success. In this way, the program attempted to address "…the living levels of the average man and woman whose interests [had] developed beyond the offerings of the public night school."[659] The colleges' administrators believed the students to be of central-most importance to the program's continued sustainability.[660] To this end, participants were given the opportunity to request that certain types of courses be added and/or removed from a session's offerings. The college advertised their commitment to their students interests writing, "If You're Not Satisfied…with what we offer, choose your own subject, secure your friends…and we will start a class for you….[it] may be discontinued if the attendance over a two-week period falls too low."[661] This process of valuing, respecting and engaging the community participants' knowledge as imperative to a program's quality, is a core tenet of CBR and social justice education. Further, self-directed learning was an integral part of the program's popularity.

The administrators of the People's College believed that the programs' viability would also depend on the quality of instruction offered by its teachers, and their ability to effectively engage their students. They said, "Classes must be interesting…That is the test of their beginning and their survival."[662] The methods of instruction to be utilized by the teachers of the People's College classes, were uniquely designed for non-traditional students. To this end, Reid wrote

[658] Rufus E. Clement Papers, Box 268, Folder 11, 3-4.
[659] "The Descent from Olympus", 494-495.
[660] "The People's College Third Session."
[661] Ibid.
[662] "Atlanta University, The People's College".

thoughtfully about the importance of the role of teachers in the learning process. He encouraged the teachers with the People's College to utilize those instructional methods that they deemed as most effective given the course content, specific student needs, class size, etc.[663] In this way, Reid valued the expertise and experience of his faculty, allowing them the latitude to facilitate the learning process based on their own assessment of what would be most effectual. Of teachers he said:

> To be sure *he[or she] has acquired a certain body of knowledge,* but he has much a loss as to how it might be best applied as is the learner. If he is a true believer in adult education, he knows how transitory knowledge is and how closely *it must be related to the problems of living*.[664]

Reid recognized the art of instruction itself to be a learning process that occurs best without the confinement and restriction of curriculum standards that may limit, hinder or degrade it. Thus, he believed the most effective teachers to be those who recognized themselves as 'pupils'. In this way, a teacher should be flexible and reflective enough adjust their teaching strategies, based on their learning, that of their students and the varying contexts that shaping both. Adult and community education, in particular, must allow for a level fluidity in teaching and learning that allows an optimal exchange of information. Reid encouraged the People's College instructors to freely explore and discover their own methods for best engaging the participants.[665]

The methods of instructional delivery were also designed to best suit adult learners, who bring with to class with them a variation in learning styles. In this way, the instructional methods and strategies were differentiated to assist students who learned best through auditory, tactile and/or visual methods. To this end, class lectures were infused with movies, music, class

[663] Ibid.
[664] Reid, *Adult Education Among Negroes,* 8.
[665] Reid, *Adult Education Among Negroes,* 8.

demonstrations and a radio lecture series.[666] In addition, students were allowed to access to extra-curricular and social activities that would complement the more formal course instruction; the college offered a "community chorus", a book rental library and other activities in which learners could participate.[667]

One of the more popular delivery methods for instruction was the use of "film forums" and "movie-nights".[668] The films that were shown were always on topics that would promote a critical discussion, to come after its showing. Current events and discussions like "…the war on all fronts, health, housing, and education should appeal to every man who has an interest in his everyday life and well-being as well as the larger interests of his community, his country and the world," were often the subject of the film forums.[669] One of the first movie nights held via the People's College was a viewing of the film, "The Last Stronghold"; this particular session was hosted by the Atlanta University Library.[670] Some of the other, more popular movies that were shown were "'Words for Battle', 'Battle for Books', and Hitler's Secret Weapons.'"[671] The movie forums were free of charge and open to the public, which gave even those learners who had not registered with the college, an opportunity to engage with its students, instructors and information shared.[672] In this way, the People's College prioritized the community's accessibility to its services, as most important.

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[666] "People's College Reopens", 4.
[667] "People's College Registers Tonight." *Atlanta Daily World*, February 26, 1943, ProQuest Historical Newspapers, Auburn Avenue Research Library Archives, Atlanta, Georgia, 1.
[668] "The People's College of Atlanta University: A School for all the People".
[669] "People's College to Show Three Films Thursday." *Atlanta Daily World*, November 11, 1942, Box, 268, folder 11, Rufus E. Clement Papers, Presidential Files, Robert W. Woodruff Library, Atlanta University Center Archives, Atlanta, Georgia.
[670] "Film Forum to be part People's College Monday", Box, 268, folder 11, Rufus E. Clement Papers, Presidential Files, Robert W. Woodruff Library, Atlanta University Center Archives, Atlanta, Georgia.
[671] "People's College to Show Three Films Thursday".
[672] Ibid.

In addition to the convenience of time and location of the People's College classes, there were courses that were offered via a local community radio station, WGST, for the benefit of those students who were unable to attend the traditional face-to-face classes. This particular method of delivery of instruction seemed to be one of the more popular. The classes also held via radio broadcast were on-going throughout the academic sessions.[673] During the airings, students and other listening guests would have the opportunity to hear lecture-interviews conducted by Ira De A. Reid with the AU college faculty and staff or other community professionals.[674] Students were encouraged to engage the radio lectures by writing the station to share their thoughts and reactions to the information shared.[675] This method of delivery, designed to reach as many non-traditional students as possible, also exemplifies the practice of social justice education. In this way, Reid's instructional strategies could be considered a preface to what is today referred to as distance learning.

The content of the interview-lectures conducted via the People's College were, themselves, centered around issues related to social justice education. The concepts of freedom and justice, within various social, cultural and historical contexts, were common themes that were discussed throughout the series. The lectures collectively provided students with an analysis of how political and civic participation and evolvement could be used as a strategy for combating social, economic or racial oppression. One series of broadcasts *Freedom in the Modern World*, addressed these concepts in depth. As a result of their depth and popularity, this particular series of broadcasts were subsequently published in a 1943 edition of *Phylon*.[676] For

[673] "The People's College of Atlanta University: A School for all the People".
[674] "The People's College Opens".
[675] Flyer Promoting a Radio Broadcast of the People's College, Ca. April 1943, Box 268, folder 11, Rufus E. Clement Papers, Presidential Files, Robert W. Woodruff Library, Atlanta University Center Archives, Atlanta, Georgia.
[676] Letter from Ira De A. Reid to WEB Du Bois requesting to have the People's College radio series "Freedom in the Modern World", published in *Phylon*. December 8, 1942; Meeting minutes from Phylon Editorial Committee

the purposes of this dissertation, two lectures that best reflect social justice issues like liberty, histories of oppression, freedom and liberation, will be examined; they are *What Liberty is Today: Our Liberty and Russian Liberty*, which aired on November 25, 1942 and *Africa and World Freedom,* which aired on December 2, 1942.[677]

The first lecture in the series, *What Liberty is Today: Our Liberty and Russian Liberty* aired on November 25, 1942. This lecture-interview was conducted by Reid with Professor Rushton Coulborn, the then Department Chair of the Atlanta University Department of History. In his talk, Dr. Coulbourn discusses how he defines liberty, happiness, work and power, and the purposes of each, within the contexts of American and Russian society. Liberty, Dr. Coulborn posits:

> …is the duty and the right to take an active part in the serious business of society…[one]…in which an individual citizen may contribute his [or her] own creative enthusiasm to his work. I do not mean that he and he alone should control his function in society, but that he should have some say in its control—that the control and direct himself cooperatively with others."[678]

Dr. Coulborn went on to further describe what he believed to be at the heart of the "pursuit of happiness" saying, "Happiness is, in my opinion, work. This is where we have something to learn from the Russians."[679] In this way, the Professor believed American concepts of liberty to antiquated. For, "The Russians know that a man is free if he has an occupation worthy of a man….The Russians know that a man's dignity is involved in his work."[680] According to Coulson the freedom to pursue the work that a person's desires or determines to be purposeful

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December 10, 1942. Minutes of the Twenty-second Meeting "It was 'voted that the broadcasts should be published on expensive paper at the University expense. If the University so publishes them, PHYLON would be willing to distribute them as a supplement which would be a saving of postage." Rufus E. Clement Papers, Presidential Files, Robert W. Woodruff Library, Atlanta University Center Archives, Atlanta, Georgia

[677] "The Broadcasts, Freedom in the Modern World," *Phylon*, IV, (Second Quarter, 1943), Box 268, folder 11, Rufus E. Clement Papers, Rufus E. Clement Papers, Presidential Files, Robert W. Woodruff Library, Atlanta University Center Archives, Atlanta, Georgia, 3-18.

[678] Ibid, 3-18.

[679] Ibid, 3-18.

[680] Ibid, 3-18.

along with a sense of social responsibility, is happiness. In this context, Black folk living in America were, in large part, denied this fundamental right, and may have gained some sense of purpose or inspiration from listening to this class lecture.

He went on his lecture to explore the social implications of the politics and economics divide in American society. Dr. Coulson believed that the line between the two had been blurred such that there was in effect, no line—all things political were also economic and vice versa. To this end, Dr. Coulbron believed the Black vote to be a paramount importance. The industrial revolution, he said, introduced a social infrastructure where "…both civil-political and industrial-political and [that] the civil industrial sides of politics [were] inextricably involved with one another."[681] Interestingly, the primary critique of Washington's philosophy and program of education was that he did not place enough emphasis on the political aspects of Black social progress (this comparison between the programs will be further explored in Chapter 5); the People's College, on the other hand, did. Dr. Coulson posited that professionals and workers were only as powerful or liberated as their access to and utility of their political voice. He said, "…to make liberty real in modern conditions is to make a radical change in a man's relation to his job—that in addition to giving him the vote. [He or she] must also have some part in composing the orders and therefore in governing the function of his job in relation to all other jobs."[682]

Dr. Coulson's lecture on liberty and happiness was directly relative to the social, economic and political conditions impacting poor and working-class Black people, particularly those who were likely to be attendants of the People's College program. In this way, the People's College lectures were as Reid, Du Bois and other said it should be— culturally relevant, and thus

[681] Ibid, 3-18.
[682] Ibid, 3-18.

more meaningful and useful, to its students. At a time when Blacks were fighting a war abroad, only to returning to America to fight many others, they were undoubtedly seeking methods for which to exercise their own pursuits of happiness. The vote, he posited, would the most effective means for Black people to attain social justice. This type of intellectual inquiry, which had often been limited to the "highly educated Negroes" of the Black community, had now been made readily available to the masses of non-traditional students who yearned to expand their intellectual horizons.[683] And, they could do so with optimal accessibility, from the comfort of their homes and free of charge.

A December 2, 1942 article announced in the *Atlanta Daily World* that at 4:00 pm an "…interview between Dr. W.E.B., and authority on the social history of the African people's and Dr. Ira De A. Reid, director of the People's College", would be held.[684] Du Bois' lecture-interview would be given on the topic of *Africa and World Freedom*. The topic of his lecture is particularly telling, because it exemplifies his educational philosophy, Black education should be culturally grounded and thus, Afrocentric. In a matter of a singular lecture, Du Bois managed provide his student audience with an extensive overview of African history, theory and practice. This had to have been a most informative and inspiring lecture for those students in attendance.

Reid began the interview by quoting Du Bois saying, "Africa is at once the most romantic and the most tragic of continents. Its very names reveal its mystery and wide-reaching influence."[685] Du Bois responded with a more detailed description of how the continent had been named by various people throughout the world's history. He said, "Africa is 'Ethiopia'…'Kush'

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[683] Woodson, *The Mis-education*.
[684] "Dr. Dubois on WGST at 4:15." *Atlanta Daily World*, December 2, 1942, ProQuest Historical Newspapers, Auburn Avenue Research Library Archives, Atlanta, Georgia, 2.
[685] WEB Du Bois and Ira De A. Reid, "Africa and World Freedom", *Phylon*, 4, *Freedom in the Modern World: Four Broadcasts by the People's College of Atlanta University* (1943), 8. Accessed on July 8, 2012 from JSTOR at www.jstor.org/stable/272101.

and 'Punt'…'Land of the Blacks'…the 'Dark Continent' and 'Land of Contrasts.'"[686] Thus, he opens the lecture attempting to help his student-listeners make the connection between themselves and Africa— both named by other groups "Black" and "Dark". This, it can be imagined, would have been an interesting revelation for a listener who had never had the privilege or opportunity to take a World History course, and certainly for those who had not had a previous introduction to Du Bois' work. In this way, Du Bois acknowledged the possible limitations of his audience at the outset, by acknowledging that the "...history [was] unknown to the average person but…[that was]…true and easily verified."[687]

Du Bois then turned his attention to Africa's "long and tragic tale…of human freedom", starting with the history of Ancient Egypt (Kemet), around the time of 1500 B.C. He recounted the epic war stories, battles won and lost by great Egyptian and Ethiopian queens and Kings….like Nefertari, Tirhakah, Candance, "the Black Mahadi", and "Menelik of Ethiopia". [688] This part of his lecture may have been particularly inspiring and relevant to a Black community of listeners who had also suffered a "long and tragic tale" in their pursuit of liberation in America. Hearing the history of their African ancestors, who triumphed over racial persecution, surely provided them with a sense of hope for the own future and the possibility that they too, could overcome.

In the next part of his lecture, Du Bois makes the connections between the histories of Kemet, Ethiopia and Black people in America through a discussion about the institution of slavery. He said, that there were many Black people who resisted being enslaved in America, by

[686] Ibid, 8.
[687] Ibid, 8.
[688] Ibid, 8.

traveling back to Africa and an independent Liberia.[689] But this fact was not left without interrogation. To this end, Du Bois posed that:

> It might seem ironic for Black folk to seek liberty in an Africa which Europe owns and yet they may eventually win it. It was thought at first that free states like Liberia and British Sierra Leone would develop along with other black states like Ethiopia and inherit the earth after Great Britian abolished slavery, but what really happened was that instead of black African labor being stolen and transported abroad it was put to work in Africa to raise new raw materials needed by the growing industry throughout the world. A new industrial slavery, therefore, arose to replace chattel slavery and this colonial imperialism extinguished the

Du Bois sentiment here would be particularly relevant to Black folk, some of whom has fled the rural area to escaped "chattel slavery", only to enter another type of slavery, sharecropping, and then moved to the urban areas, only to be forced into another type of "industrial slavery." Again, Du Bois seemed critically engaged his learner-listeners by exposing them to the common histories and experiences of "Dark" peoples through the world. But he offered them not just information, but hope and inspiration.

Du Bois ended his interview-lecture with a final point regarding African culture and the politics of communalism. As mentioned at various points throughout this dissertation, CBR and social justice education in practice utilize the Afrocentric philosophy of collectivism. That is, the knowledge that all persons within a given community are connected, so the gains and losses of the individuals within a community, will ultimately become that of all within. In this way, the radio lectures given for the People's College, by Du Bois and others exemplify social justice education. The People's College effort was only made possible by individuals within the Black community –educational institutions, community organizations and lay persons– who understood that the experiences of the few would at some point, become that of the many.

[689] Ibid, 8.

In addition to the Freedom in the Modern World series held via WGCT, the People's College sponsored a number of other lectures and performances. A schedule that was advertised in the *Atlanta Daily World* on February 3, 1943, announced a number of activities with which the learner-listeners could participate. They included: an Interview on South America (with Coulson, Hotchkiss, Macomson); March 3; The West Indies (with Reid- Moron, Another to be named); March 10; India (Coulson, Mays, Reid, Another to be named); March 17; China (Reid, Coulson, Kennedy, M. Harvey); March 24, 31, April 7, April 21, April 28, and May 5; "'Seven Sundays' A dramatization of 'God's Trombones'"[690] In addition, the Atlanta Urban League would host a radio program on Saturday, April 10, 1943 at 12:30 P.M. in recognition of Negro Health week.[691]

The People's College radio also offered students attending the AUC's traditional programs of study, with various service-learning opportunities. Dr. Hilda Weiss, a professor with the Atlanta University, Department of History wrote a three-hour long skit for the People's College that had the theme, "International Education [and]…international affairs in Fascist Germany and the United States."[692] The primary characters in the play were to be a faculty member of Spelman College, Dr. Henrietta Herod and AUC students belonging to the University Players Club, representing Morehouse and Spelman Colleges.[693] Dr. Weiss also conducted another lecture-interview on *Can There be Freedom in Germany*?, that was delivered and subsequently published as a part of the *Freedom in the Modern World* lecture series.

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[690] "Radio Broadcast Tentative Program." February 3, 1943, Box 268, folder 11, Rufus E. Clement, Robert W. Woodruff Library, Presidential Files, Atlanta University Center Archives, Atlanta, Georgia, 1.
[691] Flyer Promoting a Radio Broadcast of the People's College, Ca. April 1943, Box 268, folder 11 Rufus E. Clement, Robert W. Woodruff Library, Presidential Files, Atlanta University Center Archives, Atlanta, Georgia, 1.
[692] "People's College in Radio Skit this Afternoon." *Atlanta Daily World*, April 17, 1943, ProQuest Historical Newspapers, Auburn Avenue Research Library Archives, Atlanta, Georgia,1.
[693] Ibid, 1.

The People's College also offered its enrollees access to a Rental Library."[694] The rental library was open to the public, and charged a small fee to its members. Students who were enrolled in the People's College, however, were given a discount and could rent books for a daily charge of two cents.[695] The rental library was met with great success and participation and was open to students during the libraries' hours, from 9:00am until 9:00pm. A promotional document listed some of the best sellers in the library as: "The Weeping Wood (Baum), "New World A-Coming (Ottley), 'Benchly Bedside Himself" (Benchley),…"A Tree Grows in Brooklyn" (Smith)…."[696] Like its many other services, the People's College rental library was created to extend the resources of the traditional programs, to the community's non-traditional students.

With regard to the face-to-face classes held by the People's College, most were co-educational. Men and women's classes were mostly held together, except when it came to those matters of home economics. The content covered the People's College courses included everything from the typical types of classes that would be offered in a traditional, liberal arts program of study to those that focused on social, personal, professional, lifestyle and leisure topics.[697] Some of the most common types offered through the People's College were academic, social and extra-curricular.[698] Some of the course offerings of the People's College were:

Those classes that would have been categorized as relative to a learner's "Home":

- Everyday Language
- Clothing and Clothing Problems
- Courtship, Marriage and the Family
- Marriage and the family
- Life Insurance
- Home management

[694] "People's College To Be Opened At Atlanta University Oct.19…", 7.
[695] "Many Best Sellers in People's College Rental Library…"; "The People's College of Atlanta University…."
[696] Ibid.
[697] "The People's College…."
[698] "The People's College Third Session."

- Home, School and Family Relations
- Feeding the Family
- Consumer Economics
- Home Management
- Clothing and Clothing Problems
- Consumer Problems
- Courtship, Marriage and the Family
- Life Insurance
- Practical Politics
- Civil Service
- Social life
- Religion in Everyday Life
- Home Economics
- Baking duties
- Financial Record Keeping
- Fire and Causality Insurance
- Practical Politics
- Science and Everyday Life
- Household Physics
- Map Reading [699]
- How to read, write and speak English effectively
- Marriage and Parenthood
- Conversation, Manners and Etiquette ("The simple art of social behavior")
- Discovering your personality[700]
- Sociology of Personality
- The development of physical and personality traits[701]
- Everyday Law
- Language in Everyday Life ("How to read, write and speak English effectively")
- Marriage and Parenthood
- Clothing—Make and Remake ("Making the Best of What we Have")
- Feeding the Family in War Times "Food selection and purchasing for meals based on body requirements for the family. Practice in meal planning at different cost levels. A Red Cross approved nutrition course. Special certificate for completion of 20 hours' work"[702]
- Making the Home Livable
- How and What to Buy

[699] Letter from Ira De A. Reid to Rufus Clement, February 12, 1943, Box 28, folder 11, Rufus E. Clement, Presidential Files, Atlanta University Center Archives, Robert W. Woodruff Library, Atlanta, GA, 1. Return Letter from Rufus Clement to Ira De A. Reid, February 16, 1943, Box 28, folder 11, p. 1 and 1; "The People's College of Atlanta University…."
[700] "People's College Registers Tonight." *Atlanta Daily World*, February 26, 1943, ProQuest Historical Newspapers, Auburn Avenue Research Library Archives, Atlanta, Georgia, 1.
[701] "The People's College." *Atlanta Daily World*, October 8, 1942, ProQuest Historical Newspapers, Auburn Avenue Research Library Archives, Atlanta, Georgia, 4.
[702] "The People's College Third Session...."

- How to Fix it
- How and What to Buy
- "A Tinker's Course, designed to teach people how to repair the many little mechanical gadgets found in the modern home found in the modern home and to keep the ordinary household in good condition, will be offered at the University Power Plant".

Those classes that would have been categorized as relative to a leaner's "Job":

- War and Social Problems
- World War Today
- Writing/Effective Writing[703]
- Secretarial Practice
- There will be a number of new courses added to the curriculum in the fields of consumer education, clothing, current events, Negro history, and race relations.[704]
- Secretarial Practice
- Office management
- Office management
- How to Preside at Meetings
- Secretarial Practice and Office Management
- Elements in Mechanical Drawing Civil Service Seminary
- Principles and Practices of Insurance
- Pre-Social Work Seminary
- Social Work for Volunteers
- Social work

Social Work Seminary Class, 1942

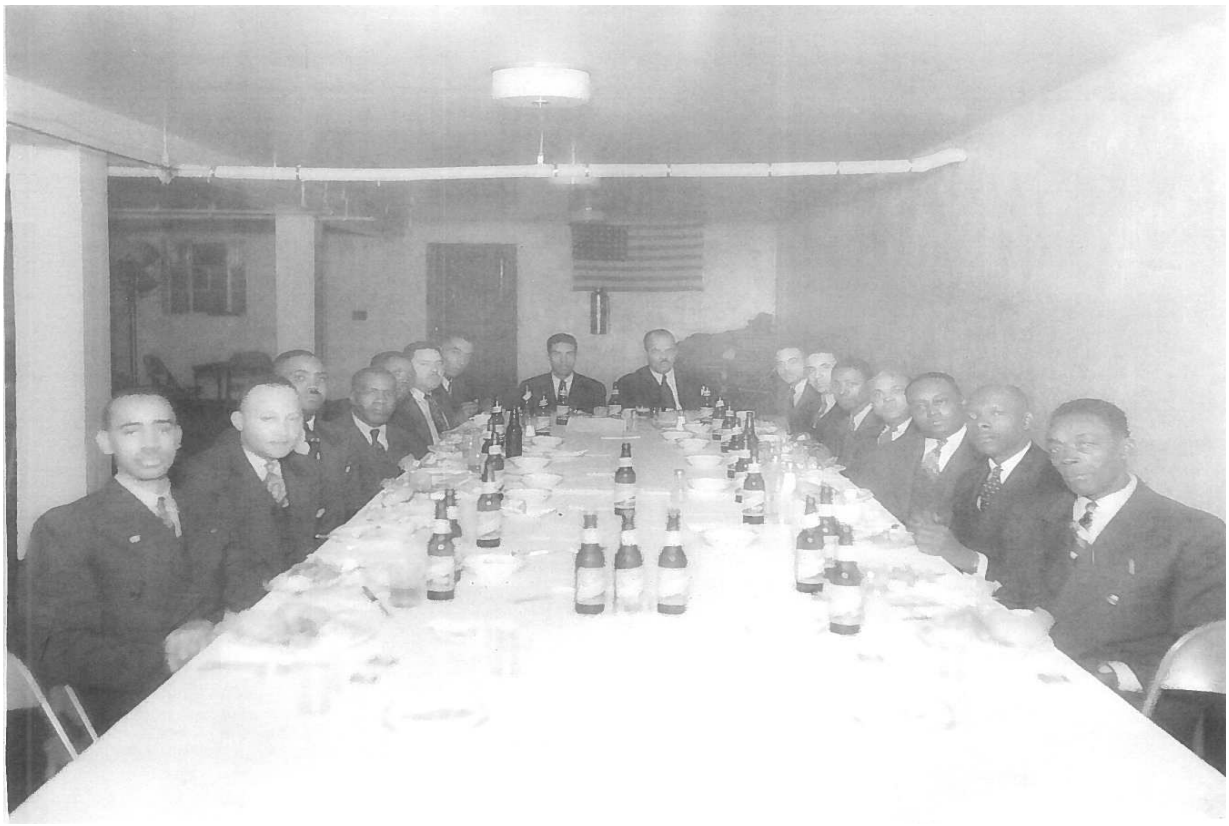
[703] "Registration for People's College is Slated Tonight…", 1.
[704] "People's College Reopens March 1", *Atlanta Daily World*, October 31, 1943, ProQuest Historical Newspapers, Auburn Avenue Research Library Archives, Atlanta, Georgia, 1.

- Business Mathematics
- Salesmanship
- Occupational Clinic
- Southern Labor Problems
- Business
- Geography
- Government
- Insurances
- Labor problems
- Law
- Politics
- Public speaking

Reid Instructing a Course in Public Speaking, Ca. 1942

- Salesmanship
- Statistical arrangements
- Interviewing callers
- Telephone technique
- Handling reference books
- Filing

- Billing
- Business courses[705]
- Labor Forums[706]
- Building Management and Maintenance



Class in Building Management, 1944

- Civil Service Jobs
- Civil Service Examinations for various level statistical clerks
- Office practice
- Insurance Principles and Practices
- Business Arithmetic
- Business Administration[707]
- Salesmanship and the Psychology of Salesmanship
- Increasing Sales through self-improvement[708]

[705] "People's College to Offer Varied Business Courses", *Atlanta Daily World*, October 14, 1942, ProQuest Historical Newspapers, Auburn Avenue Research Library Archives, Atlanta, Georgia, 3.
[706] "Omegas to Stage Forum Sunday at 4." *Atlanta Daily World*, March 26, 1943, ProQuest Historical Newspapers, Auburn Avenue Research Library Archives, Atlanta, Georgia, 1.
[707] "People's College to Offer Varied Business Courses", Atlanta Daily World, October 14, 1942, ProQuest Historical Newspapers, 3.
[708] Ibid, 3.

- Pre-Induction Training[709]
- Dental Assistants [710]
- A course for dentists' assistants
- A Course in printing (type-setting, proof-reading, typography, getting a job)
- A radio workshop (script preparation, news writing, techniques of studio performing)
- A Refresher course in Public Welfare Administration offered for public service employees[711]
- Speech Making and Parliamentary Law
- Secretarial Science
- Applied Mathematics
- Financial Record Keeping
- Printing, First Course In
- Public Welfare Administration, Refresher Course In
- Salesmanship
- Show Card Lettering and Writing

Those classes that would have been categorized as relative to a learners' "Health":

- Nutrition and Foods
- Human Body in Health and Disease
- Human Body
- Nutrition and Foods
- Hygiene
- Combating social diseases[712]
- Your Health and How to Guard It

Those classes that would have been categorized as relative to a learner's "General Knowledge" or "Leisure":

- Grammar
- Spelling
- Vocabulary
- Arithmetic
- Religious Education
- Masterpieces of Music
- Memoirs of the Literary World
- Arts and Crafts Workshop
- Community Chorus

[709] Flyer: "Atlanta University Announces the Third Session of People's College" Rufus Clement Papers, Woodruff Library AUC Archives, Box 279, Folder 16, Ca. November 8, 1943.
[710] Flyer: "Atlanta University Announces the Third Session of People's College" Rufus Clement Papers, Woodruff Library AUC Archives, Box 279, Folder 16, Ca. November 8, 1943.
[711] "People's College Opens of Nov. 6.", Atlanta Daily World, October 31, 1943, ProQuest Historical Newspapers, Auburn Avenue Research Library, 1.
[712] "Omegas to Stage Forum Sunday at 4", 1.

- This Week's Books
- Conversational Spanish
- Painting
- Handicrafts
- Listening to Music
- Russian Language
- Art
- Books
- Music

People's College Class

- Painting
- Russian People
- Handicrafts
- Historic Bases of Society
- Listening to Music
- Negro in American Life
- Negro in Literature
- Your Government Today
- Gardening
- Philosophies for Today's Living
- Religions and Democracy
- Conversational Spanish
- Global Politics

- Music
- Political Science
  History
- Geography
- How We Got Our Bible
- Religion
- War and Social Problems
- World War Today
- Sociology of War
- Contemporary Problems of Social Welfare
- Theory and Practice of Politics
- Geography of war Theaters
- World's People and Race Relations
- Nazism in Theory and Practice
- Elementary Russian
- The South Nobody Know
- Documents of Freedom
- World Geography
- Negroes and other people
- Conducting Choirs and Chorus Groups (rhythms and tempos, interpretation of music by means of baton, hands, body, eye and facial expression)
- The World at War
- The Negro ("Movie Shorts"; "the part the negro has played in this country's development")
- Ten Commandments, The
- You and Your Government
- Painting
- French for War and Peace
- Radio Workshop
- Reading
- Russian
- How to Read a Newspaper
- How to Read Copy and Proof
- Logic[713]

[713] "People's College To Be Opened At Atlanta University…", 7; "The People's College Third Session…"; Document entitled Atlanta University, The People's College, October 2, 1942, Box 28, folder 11, Robert W. Woodruff Library, Rufus E. Clement Papers, Presidential Files, Atlanta University Center Archives, Atlanta, Georgia.

Reid Teaching a Class, Ca. 1942 or 1943

Some of the more popular courses were "'those dealing with written and spoken English, those preparing students for employment and refreshing them in skills and techniques previously acquired, and those related to everyday living in a southern community.'"[714] So as the early program administrators had appropriately identified, those skills that may have been considered to be basic or elementary in a traditional, liberal arts course of study, were the one that were most need and thus, utilized by the participants in the People's College.

As with all of the other sessions of the People's College, registration for the third session was announced to the public via the *Atlanta Daily World* newspaper. The third session, which

[714] "The Descent from Olympus", 494-495.

appears to be the final holding of the People's College, was to last for twelve weeks from November 8, 1943 through February 18, 1944 (the session would break for two weeks for the Christmas holiday). There was no documentation in the primary resources reviewed that indicating that there were any additional sessions of the People's College held.[715] For the college's last session new courses were added to the curriculum including, "Knowing Your Community," "Negro Literature," "The Human Body," "The World War Today," "Your Government Today," "Gardening," "Philosophies for Today's Living," "Religions of Democracy," "Science and Everyday Life," "Household Physics," and "Tinkering."[716]

The primary resource information offers very little information regarding program and assessment and evaluation. There is, however, some evidence of the recognition of individual learner achievements. Although most of the instruction conducted through the People's College was informal, students received certificates of attendance upon their completion of a session.[717] In a letter dated, April 30, 1943, Reid wrote to the teachers with the college, requesting the names of all students who were to receive certificates. He did mention, however, that certificates were not be awarded to students who had not been documented as having paid their 50 cents registration fee.[718] Students were also recognized and rewarded with "Closing Ceremonies" at the commencement of a session.[719] With regard to the programs' overall assessment and evaluation, it seemed to be an on-going process, with Reid consistently soliciting advice from the professional, institutional and student bodies involved. To this end, a primary resource document entitled, *The People's College* read "…Because The People's College is about to put on its

[715] "People's College Opens of Nov. 6", *Atlanta Daily World*, October 31, 1943, ProQuest Historical Newspapers, Auburn Avenue Research Library, Atlanta, Georgia, 1.
[716] "People's College Registers Tonight", 1.
[717] "People's College To Be Opened At Atlanta…", 7.
[718] Letter from Ira De A. Reid to the teachers working a session of the People's College.
[719] "People's College: What Would You Like to Learn? Proposed Courses." Ca. November 1, 1943, Box 279, folder 16, Rufus E. Clement Papers, Presidential Files, Atlanta University Center Archives, Atlanta, Georgia.

swaddling clothes, we who are nurturing it should observe any fact, situation and reaction that will enable us to plan for its vigorous maturation. Suggestions and criticisms are wanted – in fact, they are solicited."[720]

The Influence and Impact of the People's College

During the 1900s, Atlanta University implemented a number of Community-Based Research programs designed specifically to engage, educate and empower adult learners living in and around the AUC community. Some of those programs included: the Neighborhood Union (1908), MacVicar Hospital at Spelman University (1900), The People's College (1942), the Atlanta University Reading Clinic, the Institute for Teachers in Rural Schools, The Institute for Teachers of French, The Minister's Institute, the School for Agricultural Workers, the Annual Institute for the Training and Improvement of Baptist Ministers (1945), among others.[721] The People's College is among its most successful community education projects of its era.

With regard to the specific commendations about the People's College program, its radio broadcasts seemed to garner the most attention. John A. Griffin, Chairman of the Radio Committee, Georgia School of Technology, said that the series "…demonstrate[ed] most interestingly how an educational institution can make intelligent, dignified, effective use of radio. The series was planned in connection with its general program of adult education…."[722] Few colleges in this area have offered a series of discussions which sustained from week to week the same standards of excellence."[723]

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[720] "Atlanta University, The People's College"
[721] Beverly Guy-Sheftall, *The Black Family's Struggle for an Education at the Atlanta University Center* (Atlanta: Atlanta University, 1983), 25.
[722] Billie Geter Thomas and Ira De A. Reid, "France and the Traditions of Freedom," *Phylon,* Broadcasts by the People's College of Atlanta University, 4, (1943), 23. Accessed from JSTOR on July 8, 2012 from www.jstor.org/stable/272103.
[723] Ibid.

At the outset, the aim of the People's College administrators' was the guide the program's process, while allowing the community to guide its purpose. To this end, "The initial curriculum of The People's College was worked out to reach the basic needs as well as the esthetic desires of people."[724] If implementing this social justice education philosophy in practice is a measurement of the success of the People's College, then it indeed was. In addition to this aspect of the program's success, the dedication of it director is also noteworthy. In a letter sent to Reid from his colleague Robert A. Thompson, a one-time Executive Director with the Atlanta Urban League, he spoke to his tireless dedication to AU and community revitalization in the Vine City area. He wrote, "Dear Mr. Reid…Won't you please stop abusing yourself by taking on the whole world as your personal problem, we all would feel better because we want you to have personal happiness and good health."[725] In addition, AU's President Rufus E. Clement wrote about how much the scholarship and activism of Reid would be missed upon his retirement from the university in 1948. Of his contributions, he said that Reid's assistance in helping the university to build a better relationship with the surrounding Atlanta community would be most noted. Bacote said, "…his departure from the University….was a great loss."[726] This too, the ability to bring communities together around their shared interests and the commitment to making those relationships meaningful and sustainable, is the mark of a leader. For his work with the People's College and other social justice education ventures, Ira De A. Reid should be remembered as such.

[724] "People's College Opens", 4-6; "People's College Opens of Nov. 6", 1.
[725] Atlanta Urban League Papers, October 22, 1945, Box 68, Folder 85, Robert W. Woodruff Library, Atlanta University Center Archives, 1.
[726] Bacote, *The Story of Atlanta University*, 375.

CHAPTER 5

COMPARATIVE INSTITUTIONAL ANALYSIS: THE MOVEABLE SCHOOL AND THE PEOPLE'S COLLEGE

Introduction

Any thorough study of the history of the education of Black adults in the United States must, at some point, engage those questions that have shaped its development and progression. What should be the primary aim of Black education (i.e. economic, cultural, civic or political), what are the most effective strategies for attaining the designated goal (i.e. agricultural, industrial and technical, or liberal arts) and under whose administration and financial control does Black education belong (i.e. race cooperation or separation), are all questions that have problematized the quest for Black education, since slavery. The preponderance of the literature overwhelmingly critiques the public, and less frequent private, conversations between two of the most prominent educational philosophers and practitioners of their time and this —Booker T. Washington and W.E.B. Du Bois— in search of answers. The Tuskegee University, Moveable School and Atlanta University, People's College programs represent the actualization of the Washingtonian and Du Boisian schools of thought.

The purpose of this chapter is to engage the Washington-Du Bois conversation, within the contexts of the founding and administration of the Moveable School and People's College programs, two early HBCU models of social justice education. This chapter also aims to add to their debate through the provision of a comparative institutional analysis between the Moveable School and People's College. In this way, the central premises of the discussion between

Washington-Du Bois —the advantages and disadvantages of both philosophies in practice— will be further shaped and substantiated by the research findings of Chapters 3 and 4. For this purpose, the primary and secondary resource findings on the founding and administration; vision and mission; design staffing and instruction and local and global impact of both programs will be utilized as points of comparison.

The Washington-Du Bois Conversation

> *"It seems to me," said Booker T.,"It shows a mighty lot of cheek, To study chemistry and Greek, When Mister Charlie needs a hand, To hoe the cotton on his land, And when Miss Ann looks for a cook, Why stick your nose inside a book?"*

In January of 1904 a small, hand selected group of Black scholars, leaders and activists were to meet in Carnegie Hall, New York to deliberate the contentions between the Washington and "Anti-Washington men." Those standing with Du Bois firmly believed that "…the American Negro problem must be the center of the Negro university" and any program of Black education "...should be founded on a knowledge of the history of [Black] people in Africa and the United States, and their present condition."[727] Washington's supporters, on the other hand, firmly insisted that the education of Black folk should be primarily "industrial and scientific", with less emphasis on that which made Black folk unique, and more on what made them most like other American citizens. The race problem, the Washingtonians argued, would be best approach from a position of conciliation and cooperation.[728]

The conference would be the culmination of several public and private conversations and

[727] W.E.B. Du Bois, "The Field and Function of the Negro College", in Herbert Aptheker, ed., *The Education of Black People: Ten Critiques 1906-1960* (Amherst: The University of Massachusetts Press), 93 & 93.
[728] Andrew Carnegie, "The Education of the Negro in the National Interests", The Occasion of the Celebration of the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the Founding of the Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute, April 5, 1906, Anniversary Address Delivered by Andrew Carnegie at Tuskegee Institute Alabama, 8.

interactions between philosophical adversaries, Booker T. Washington and W.E.B. Du Bois. Du Bois' private, hand-written letter congratulating Washington on his *Atlanta Exposition Address* and his follow-up public critique of it in *Souls*…; Washington's recommendation of Du Bois to be the superintendent of Black schools in DC, a position that Du Bois would not assume; Washington's offering to Du Bois a seat as the editor of a Hampton Institute scholarly journal to be funded by Tuskegee, and Du Bois' subsequent rejection of the offer; Washington's many invitations to Du Bois to take a faculty position at Tuskegee, and Du Bois' subsequent refusals, were all brought to a pinnacle between the two that was to be addressed at the New York meeting.[729] The long-abated conversations and contentions between the two were to be resolved through a meeting of the minds, a Black think-tank, that would allow both groups of scholars "…to agree upon certain fundamental principles and to see in what way [they understood or misunderstood] each other and correct mistakes as far as possible."[730]

Although the conference ultimately resulted in only two physical meetings, the planning documents, letters, proposals and follow-up correspondence exchanged between the camps are very revealing. In a confidential letter dated February 25, 1903, Du Bois put forth a proposal outlining the agenda items that he believed to be most pressing and pertinent for his impending "…heart to heart talk with Mr. Washington." He sent the correspondence to a Dr. Kelly Miller at Howard University, and it echoed his educational philosophy that prioritized Black political rights and autonomy over all other Black community issues. In the letter, Du Bois offered the following as points of discussion: "1. Full political rights on the same terms as other Americans;

[729] Herbert Aptheker, "The Washington-Du Bois Conference of 1904", *Science & Society*, Vol. 13, No. 4 (Fall, 1949), 344-351 Published by: Guilford Press URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/40399972….Accessed: 23/03/2013 14:23.

[730] Ibid, 346.

2. Higher Education of selected Negro youth [and] 3. Industrial education for the masses…", among others. Du Bois ended his proposal with a commentary that aimed directly at Washington's strategy of race cooperation, accommodation and assimilation. He stated, emphatically, that any effective Black education program would not depend on "help" from Whites, but that Black folk should rely on "self help" for the upward mobility of their race. Du Bois was clearly a proponent of race separation in this regard, which was a direct conflict with Washington's proposal for a more integrated approach to addressing the race relations.[731]

According to historian Herbert Apatheker, the first meeting of the minds produced little in terms of results or records. A second meeting was held, with Du Bois in abesentia, in July of 1904. Du Bois subsequently submitted a public and formal separation from all things Tuskegee in 1905 with his establishment of the Niagara Movement and further solidified his position, through the founding of the NAACP in 1909. The platforms of both organizations were similar to that which Du Bois had previously suggested for his conference with Washington.

While the public and official differentiation between the two men's perspectives was made more official during this time, it can be argued that the founding of the Moveable School –an industrial, agricultural and technical education program focused on economic empowerment– and People's College –a liberal arts leaning, leadership education program aimed at building cultural and political capital– represent a continuation and an extension of the conversation between Washington and Du Bois. In this way, the founding and administration of the HBCU models social justice education, exemplified by the Moveable School and People's College programs, add insight to the ongoing conversations regarding the educational thought of

[731] Ibid, 347.

both men, and their historical and present day implications for Black social, economic and political progress.

The Moveable School and the People's College Programs (Comparative Institutional History)

> *"I don't agree," said W.E.B. "If I should have the drive to seek Knowledge of chemistry or Greek, I'll do it. Charles and Miss can look Another place for hand or cook, Some men rejoice in skill of hand, And some in cultivating land, But there are others who maintain, The right to cultivate the brain"*

The analysis of the historical, social, political and economic contexts surrounding the founding of the Moveable School and People's College programs, reveal grave contrasts. In the thirty-five years that passed between the establishment of the Moveable School in 1906 and the People's College in 1942, Black communities throughout the South experienced a number social progressions and regressions that heavily informed the development of both. Although both programs were founded during the era of Jim Crow, how Black folk living in rural Alabama during the early 1900s experienced and responded to racism, contrasted the experiences of those living in an urban Atlanta, in 1942.

One of the more obvious distinctions that can be made between the conditions facing Blacks living in rural Alabama in 1906 and those living in Atlanta in 1942, is the social and legislative responses to Black progress, in contexts. At the turn of the century, slavery had been legally abolished for thirty-five years; the community and judicial backlash, however, was in many ways as devastating as slavery had been. The social response to the efforts toward Black progress during the late 1800s and early 1900s was expressed through an increase in the number of Black people who were harassed, hunted and hanged by White supremacists. To this point, historian Horace Mann Bond found that the rates at which lynching occurred, "…reached [its]

peak in 1893, when twenty-seven persons of the Negro race were lynched."[732] The judicial system further sanctioned and perpetuated the occurrences of race-based, hate crimes by allowing the murder of Black folk to go largely unpenalized. To this point, an NAACP chairman for the National Legal Committee, Herbert K. Stocktonm, reported that "…since 1899 less than one percent of lynchings had resulted in any punitive measures by local and state authorities; and this despite the fact that, starting with Georgia in 1893, state after state had enacted anti-lynching laws."[733] In this regard, the Black families living in Macon County Alabama in 1906, participated in the Moveable School program under extreme duress, and often under the threat of their very lives.

During the early 1900s, institutionalized racism was even further perpetuated by the judicial system, and the South's education policy. In this regard, Bond cites the Alabama Constitutional Convention of 1901 as an event that illumes this fact. He argues that the period from1890-1900 was:

> …one marked by discriminatory legislation enacted against Negroes in each of the states [Alabama, South Carolina, Mississippi, Louisiana, North Carolina], following a kind of social contagion transmitted to legislative bodies. Throughout the two decades mentioned the years were punctuated by frequent and bloody instances of race riots and lynchings.[734]

Bond writes that the tenuous relations between the races culminated in the 1901 conference, further agitating the labor conflicts between Black and White workers and shifts in the ideological platforms of the Democratic Party. Positioned at the center of the conversation as the most contested issue, was the debate over Black suffrage.[735] Du Bois, might have argued that

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[732] Bond, *Negro Education in Alabama*.
[733] Robert L. Zangrando, "The NAACP and a Federal Antilynching Bill, 1934-1940", *The Journal of Negro History*, Vol. 50, No. 2 (Apr., 1965), pp. 106-117 Published by: Association for the Study of African American Life and History, Inc. Stable URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/2715996 Accessed: 30/03/2013 09:26.

[734] Bond, *Negro Education in Alabama*, 165.
[735] Ibid, 165.

those in power would not have been so concerned about the Black vote, had they not recognized it as viable means for the Black community to gain social justice.

At one point during the convention, a Mr. Burns representing Dallas County, Alabama directly referred to Booker T. Washington and other mulattos, as a "mixed-blood…bastdards…" belonging to "…the most vicious and vindictive classes of…citizens."[736] He further, put forth the argument that Alabama's White men should not have be concerned about exercising their citizenry (i.e. seeking and obtaining gainful employment, voting) under the veil of a forced competition for jobs, resources, etc. with an incompetent, underclass. Mr. Burns proposed, "*Be it ordered,* by the people of Alabama, in the Convention assembled, That all bastdards whose disabilities such as have not been removed by the Governor, or City Judge, shall not be allowed to register or vote in this State."[737]

In was within this hostile environment, just a short five years later, that the Moveable School would be founded. The early administrators, faculty, staff and student learners who were involved with the program, did so with the knowledge that the social and judicial consequences, could be very severe. An undertaking like the administration of the Moveable School in rural Alabama in 1906, was a life risking adventure. Although, Du Bois and other Black scholars argued that industrial education programs were too accommodating of the White agenda, there is no doubt that those persons involved with the program, chanced everything to participate in education, even their lives. Learning, of any type or capacity, was viewed as a threat to those Whites who opposed all matters of Black social progress.[738]

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[736] Bond, *Negro Education Alabama*, 176.
[737] Ibid, 176.
[738] Bailey A, Tolnay S, Beck E, Laird J. "Was Anyone Safe? Characteristics of Lynch Victims in the American South, 1882 – 1930", Conference Papers -- American Sociological Association [serial online]. 2009 Annual Meeting 2009;:1. Available from: SocINDEX with Full Text, Ipswich, MA. Accessed March 29, 2013.

For Black folk, the 1930s and 1940s were schizophrenic times. Black communities were doubly devastated by the impacts of the Great Depression and World War II. To this point, Derrick P. Alridge found that, "The number of Black workers in manufacturing, mechanical, and mining work fell from 1,100,100 in 1930 to 738,000 in 1940."[739] His finds are evidence of how the national unemployment crisis even further devastated Black communities. It was during the 1930s that Black folk began to utilize their body politic as a means of engaging racism, in ways that ways that economics had not served them. During this time, they experienced an increase in access to programs, institutions and organizations that could help them to galvanize and effectively respond to the social and judicial injustices impeding their progression efforts. During the 1930s, for example, Black communities experienced a sharp decrease in the number of lynchings that occurred. The decline was a direct result of the lobbying efforts of the NAACP, who "…helped significantly to right and purify the public conscious…." by bringing awareness to the need for a more aggressive legislative response to the problem of lynching.[740] Further, a number of other community organizations who aimed to fight racism and injustice were founded and/or gained popularity during 1940s. The Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA), the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA), the National Urban League, Black churches, fraternities and sororities, etc. all assisted the social justice and education efforts of Black communities, helping to alleviate the impacts of racism and oppression. In addition, other publically funded projects like the Worker's Progress Administration, first named the Emergency Education Program, that aimed to combat the impacts of unemployment and provide teacher and vocational training, were helpful as well.[741] As a result of the efforts of these groups and

[739] Alridge, *The Educational Thought*, 76.
[740] Zangrando, "The NAACP and a Federal Antilynching…", 106-117.

[741] Neufeldt and McGee, *Education of the African American Adult*.

organization, Black folk living in Atlanta during the 1940s, were more likely to experience more sanitized, covert and systemic types of racism than those of previous generations.

Another significant difference in the climates facing the Moveable School's administration, faculty, staff and students and that of the organizers of the People's College was the effects of war and industrialization on the push for civil rights. In his book, *The Strange Career of Jim Crow*, historian C. Vann Woodward found that the migration of Blacks "northward" and "cityward" had impacted their, "…power for making effective political demand for [their] rights…."[742] In addition, the wide-spread wealth and economic growth that the national community experienced as a result of the war, also effected the same in Black communities throughout the south. He wrote:

> In spite of the prosperity boom of the war and post-war years which as scattered wealth so profusely, the great majority of lower-class Negroes still live close to the subsistence level of existence. An urban middle-class of the race, however, has benefited by a share of the prosperity and had entered the competitive struggle to achieve and maintain middle-class living standards and climb up in the world. Rather sharply differentiated from the lower class of the race, the Negro middle class has made a strong bid for the respect and deference of the White world."[743]

Woodard argues, that the Black communities collective participation in the war, become a "powerful lever", a bargaining tool, that could be used to negotiate their civil and political rights.[744]

By 1942 the year that the People's College was founded, Black folks began experience a different type of racism —albeit no less wicked— than that felt by Moveable School program participants. The adult learners to be served by the People's College had more tools for responding to and combating injustice than did those of the Moveable School. While founding, administering and participating a social justice education program was risky during the 1940s, it

[742] Woodward, *The Strange Career of Jim Crow*, 129.
[743] Ibid, 130.
[744] Ibid, 131.

was not a life-threatening proposition; it had been for those living in 1906 Alabama. It may even be the case, that the efforts of those brave Black folk in Alabama, paved the road and cleared a pathway, such that others, like those living in Atlanta, would have the opportunity to leave the farm for city, to take advantage of greater opportunities for employment and education.

Vision, Mission and Objectives

> *"It seems to me," said Booker T.,"That all you folks have missed the boat, Who shout about the right to vote, And spend vain days and sleepless nights, In uproar over civil rights, Just keep your mouths shut, do not grouse, But work, and save, and buy a house."*

The vision and mission of the Moveable School and People's College as they are outlined in Chapters 3 and 4, can be best compared by reviewing the conversations between those persons who were most closely associated both programs, during their early founding and administration. The leadership and activism of Booker T. Washington, W.E.B. Du Bois, Thomas Monroe Campbell, Ira De A. Reid, et al., are very enlightening in this regard. Further, a review of the institutional analyses reveals that the objectives of both programs align closely with the sentiments of each, respectively. While, both programs aimed to effect social justice in Black communities through adult and higher education, their vision, mission and objectives for attaining it differed greatly. The Moveable School aimed to utilize an industrial education model intended to teach the "skill of hand" occupations and character building that would eventually clear a pathway for Black communities to attain economic capital. Conversely, the People's College program implemented a liberal arts education model, that focused on culturally grounded, leadership and political development, by training Black folk to working in various professional capacities.

In 1906, the same year that the Moveable School was founded, Washington published a book entitled, *Putting the Most into Life*, where he puts forth an impassioned argument for his vision and mission for industrial education. He envisioned that industrial education, as it had been enacted through the TU and Moveable School programs, would not only provide Black folks with the foundation for the slow building of economic capital, but that more importantly, labor and hard work would help them to the build the uprightness and discipline needed to have "…a civilized life and a Christian home."[745] He said:

> …the chance for material success in connection with industrial life is relatively of less importance than is the chance for the individual to get development through mastering the difficulties in the management of industrial operations. The mere mastering of these difficulties has made many of the Captains of the Industry of this country. Poverty discourages many a youth who starts out in the busy industrial world, but the fact that others have conquered poverty is an earnest that others, for centuries to come, will get courage and the strength out of adverse struggle.[746]

Washington's sentiment echoes that of many of the White supporters and financiers of industrial education programs like the Moveable School. Some Black leaders and activists simply did not trust or understand a Black man whose ideas regarding Black progress aligned so closely with that of wealthiest of White men.

In an April 25, 1906 address commemorating the 25th anniversary of the founding of Tuskegee, Andrew Carnegie, a northern steel industry businessman, gave the "Moses of his people" and the Tuskegee Machine glowing commendations. He applauded Washington's efforts toward assisting Black folk in the areas of character building and moral development, through the TU industrial education program. He said:

> I say to my colored friends: seek ye first, character; build upon it education—mark you, education in its broadest sense, embracing conduct which is fruit~ and all rights will be added unto you in this country…The colored race, like all other races, must lead sober,

[745] Booker T. Washington, *Putting the Most into Life* (Thomas R. Crowell & Co., New York, 1906), 20.
[746] Ibid, 20.

> honorable, law-abiding, moral lives, and become respectable members of society, noted as a class for good behavior."[747]

Carnegie went on in his address to applaud the many accomplishments of the TU program since its founding, among them fact that it allowed Black folk to prove their "capability" to learn and work to the nation and to show their efforts toward community consolidation. Carnegie was most impressed, however, with "…the music of [their] heavenly choir!"[748] Interestingly, Carnegie made mention of those professionals and skilled workers who had come through the TU program, but spoke most enthusiastically about those skills of those who sang in harmony with the industrial education tune, and danced happily about the pleasantries of life on the farm.

During the summer of that same year, Du Bois spoke to a group of students at the Hampton Institute on the same topic, offering another vision and mission for Black education programs; his plan would later be operationalized through founding of the People's College in 1942. He disagreed with the premise that suggested that Black folk needed to be taught how to be moral, hard-working and upstanding citizens— they already had, as much as any other group by comparison. He argued, Black folk, "...are not lazy; we work, we work continuously; and more of us work than do other Americans."[749] What Black people did require, Du Bois posited, was a culturally-grounded, liberal arts education that would inspire "…self-confidence, self-assertiveness, and self-knowledge—a kind of spiritual hesitation on a world where spirit rules."[750] These would be the characteristics of those who were to be the future leaders of the race, those who would be capable of effectively engaging the politics of community building, locally and nationally. Du Bois and other Black advocates of liberal arts education, believed that

[747] Carnegie, "The Education of the Negro…", 8.
[748] Ibid, 12-13.
[749] Apatheker, *The Education of Black People*, 7.
[750] Ibid, 7.

HBCUs should be those transmitters of culture, that would prepare leaders to interrogate, challenge and, ultimately, change systems of White supremacy.

The director of the People's College, Ira De A. Reid agreed with Du Bois in this way, and developed his community education program around their shared vision. The People's College, utilized a liberal arts program design that focused heavily on Black culture, professional development and the politics of effective community building. At one point, he wrote about the danger of industrial education programs that overwhelmingly encouraged Black folk to stay on the farm. His research revealed that:

> …farm tenants and wage hands [did] not participate in community affairs. They [were] inarticulate benefactors or victims of the public policy and private practices of those who control the life of the community…Few farm tenets and wage hands vote[d]. Across the South the proportion of people who exercise[d] the franchise [was] smallest in the cotton counties where farm tenancy is highest (i.e. TU)…In every phase of community life the landless farmers of the South are plagued by dependency. They have no tradition of participation."[751]

In this way, both Reid and Du Bois, believed industrial education to be detrimental to the progression of the masses of Black folk; for this purpose, political engagement was a primary vision, mission and aim enacted through the People's College program.

Funding

The Moveable School and People's College programs also contrasted greatly in terms the types of funding and resources that financed their operation. Much of the funding received by TU and the Moveable School was the result of contributions made by wealthy, White business owners, industry men and philanthropists from the North (i.e. the Carnegie Corporation and the General Education Board). While Black famers and families living within the TU community contributed financial gifts to the Moveable School, most of the program's backing came from

[751] Rapier and Reid, *Sharecroppers All*, 25.

local, state and federal organizations with a financial interest in creating and maintaining a Black laboring class. Some Black scholars and educators believed the funding of the Tuskegee Machine by wealthy White men was itself, a cause for suspicion. The salaries for the Moveable School administrators, faculty and staff were primarily funded through the TU program, and auxiliary state departments (i.e. The Alabama Department of Agriculture). Scholars like Carter G. Woodson and W.E.B. Du Bois argued, that Black education programs primarily funded by outsiders, would aim to serve their interests first, and that of the participants would always be a secondary consideration, if one at all.

Conversely, the People's College program was almost wholly supported by Black community owned, operated and/or administered groups, institutions and organizations. The Atlanta Urban League, the YMCA, the YWCA, Black churches and other organizations offered their time, expertise and money to the operation of the People's College. Further, the Atlanta community of professionals and academicians who worked with the college were not paid; they often volunteered their services and equipment for the program's use. It can be argued that because so much of the People's College program funding came from within the Black community, that Reid and his associates could design the curriculum with a greater sense of autonomy and control. In this way, voting, race relations and other topics of discussion that may have been excluded from the Moveable School program, were freely taken up as a part of the normal program offerings.

Program Staffing, Design and Instruction

> *"I don't agree," said W.E.B. "For what can property avail, If dignity and justice fail?Unless you help to make the laws, They'll steal your house with trumped-up clause. A rope's as tight, a fire as hot, No matter how much cash you've got. Speak soft, and try your little plan, But as for me, I'll be a man."*

The ways that the Moveable School and People's College programs were staffed, designed and instructed were most similar. The administrators of both programs sought to obtain faculty and staff from within the communities themselves, assuming that those closest, culturally and otherwise, to the challenges facing their perspective attendees, would be best fit to serve them. The faculty and staff working with the Moveable School were primarily persons who had been graduates of the institute (i.e. Thomas Monroe Campbell)— many came from low socioeconomic backgrounds, and were first generation adult and higher education participants. The faculty and staff who worked with the People's College, on the other hand, were largely professors of the AUC and Black business and organizational professionals, those likely to belong to Atlanta's Black middle-class, and several generations removed from the economic and educational disparities of those student-participants in the Moveable School. Interestingly, both groups of learners seemed to share the same level of commitment to the concept of community service, and offered to the programs' administrators whatever they had at their disposal to give.

With regard to the program design, the administrators of both approached the planning process similarly, by first conducting a community needs assessment. It can be argued, however, that the Moveable School's initial assessment of their potential students' needs was more effective, because it was more extensive and intimate, at the outset. Washington, Carver and Campbell ate, lived, dined and attended church with their student participants, engaging them more personally, than the administrators of the People's College had with the Atlanta community of learners. Reid's needs assessment process was more formal, and most of his findings on what the students needed came from Black organizational heads and others who worked in community leadership positions. While the People's College did not conduct as thorough a community needs

assessment before the administration of the program began, the administrators later incorporated student needs and requests as the program continued and grew in popularity.

Although the administrators of both programs approached the program design process in similar ways, their results were different, because their students' problems, needs and interests were. Those learners to be served by the Moveable School were primarily illiterate, unskilled, living in extreme poverty, in poor health, and completely isolated by their rural locations, from accessing those services that may have been available to assist them. Those adults who were to participate in the People's College, on the other hand, were several generations removed from slavery, and experienced the social benefits associated with their upward mobility and locale.

In 1906, Washington found many of the families in Alabama to be heavily dependent upon the land, and its owners, to make and earn their living; "…at least eighty per cent of the coloured people in the South are found in the rural districts, and they are dependent on agriculture in some form for their support."[752]

Black families living in and around the metro Atlanta area leading up to the founding of the People's College lived differently, however. In 1934, Ira De A. Reid and W.E.B. Du Bois conducted a study on the incomes and expenditures of 751 Black families and found that many of those surveyed were living middle and working class lifestyle. "More than thirty-three per cent owned homes that had an average of 6.7 rooms in them."[753] Their study further showed that most were employed and or working in a capacity that allowed them to earn a steady income; they discovered that 37.1% of the heads of households were employed as domestic and skilled workers, and 7.9% as professionals (the other percentages were of other occupations, non-skilled

[752] Washington, *The Future of the American Negro*, 31-32.
[753] Ira De A. Reid and WEB Du Bois, "The Incomes and Expenditures of 751 Negro Families in Atlanta, Georgia, October, 1934, 3; WEB Du Bois, "An Analysis of the Family According to Composition, Occupation, and Home Tenure."

workers, did not report, or were unemployed).[754] They also found that the group with "…the largest average income [was] found in the professional class, $27.11."[755] In this way, the comparative institutional analysis reveals that the adult learners served by the Moveable School were in a far deficient position socially, politically and economically, than the enrollees in the People's College. It can be argued then that Washington and his skeleton crew, were challenged to do more, with far less.

While the programs were most similar in terms of their instructional design (i.e. community and student-centered), the course content offered through both, varied greatly. The Moveable School's industrial education model focused on providing the types of courses that would encourage their participants to learn the skills needed to make their rural homes lives more healthy, productive and comfortable. One of the primary critiques of the TU and Moveable School program was the anemic amount of community and political engagement and action courses that were offered. There were not any course offerings that dealt with the issue of the Black vote, for example. Controversial issues like lynching, were discussed within the context of "race relations." The People's College, on the other hand, offered courses that were designed to build leadership through the building of cultural consciousness and professional and leadership development. The course offerings reflected the same. Community politics, like voting, negotiating labor union, race relations, etc. were common and central curricular items.

[754] Ibid, 3.
[755] Ibid, 3.

The Influence and Impact of the Moveable School and People's College

"It seems to me," said Booker T.--"I don't agree," Said W.E.B.
~Dudley Randall, 1952

While the archival records offer much information concerning the local, national and global impact of the Moveable School and People's College programs, there are some that are particularly revealing in this regard. The Moveable School program provided data pointing to its contribution to increasing the number of Black professionals working in the field of agriculture and the number of Black landowners in Alabama. To this point, a one-time secretary for Booker T. Washington found the "…the better class of Negro farmers has greatly increased during the past thirty years, until at present from 90 to 95 per cent of the 3, 800 Negro farmers in the county operate their own farms either as cash tenants or owners."[756]

Horace Mann Bond argues, however, that the programmatic claims of success made by Booker T. Washington and his supporters may have been "exaggerate[ed]" because of their financial obligations and indebtedness to those "…practical businessmen who expected an immediate demonstration of returns on their investment…."[757] In this regard, he wrote:

> …the results [of the TU program] after fifty years are somewhat unsatisfactory. There were few members of the community who had returned to their communities from Tuskegee and who were working at their trades with no great distinction. Booker T. Washington "was remembered and liked by some of the older individuals"; in the Sambo community "the cabins has been whitewashed in preparation for a visit from him about twenty years ago…Negro tenancy in the selected communities studied was as high elsewhere in the Black Belt of Alabama, and the South.[758]

Even with his harsh critique of the overall impact of the TU program, Bond warns against not recognizing the momentous work that had been done there. He calls Washington a "legend", although one that was not so unique in his achievements; all great people, he posited, became so

[756] Bond, *Negro Education in Alabama*, 220.
[757] Ibid, 220.
[758] Ibid, 222.

because of their positioning in history and their natural responses to the social forces of their time.[759]

The primary resource data that is available on the overall impact of the People's College program on the larger community reveal little information as well. There is some anecdotal literature reflecting the appreciation and gratitude with which the community received and participated in the program, but not much beyond those offerings. In the short three years that the program was in operation, the community participants may have benefited most by being inspired to further their education and participate in a most unique community building opportunity.

[759] Ibid, 225.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

Summary of Research Findings

At the outset, the purpose of this study was to provide a comparative, historical, institutional analysis of the Tuskegee University Moveable School, founded in 1906, and the Atlanta University People's College, established in 1942. Both programs are early exemplars of social justice education as it was practiced at Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs) during the era of Jim Crow— a time predating more recent developments in Community-Based Research (CBR) history, theory and practice. It also aimed to illuminate the social, historical and cultural contexts within which social justice education was enacted through both programs, and how it was actualized. Further, the study posited that the TU and the Moveable School programs set a conceptual precedence for later social justice education movements including the Highlander Folk School, the People's College, the Freierian Literacy movement and the Civil Rights Movement.

As a matter of necessity, HBCUs historically met people at their point of need, whether they were social, financial or educational. For many Black folk living during the era of Jim Crow they were all of these and more. During this time in particular and as a result of suffering the impacts of slavery and oppression, Black people found themselves disproportionately impacted by racism, poverty, literacy and disease. The central argument of this study is that the Moveable School and People's College programs represent an early HBCU model of what has more recently been identified by education scholars as Community-Based Research (CBR) and social

justice education. CBR has been defined in the literature according to three core tenets: 1) the collaboration between university faculty, students and community members; 2) the validation of the knowledge of community members as relevant and pertinent to program planning; 3) the promotion of social action, change and justice.[760]

In this way, the Moveable School and People's College programs brought together communities of learners —academics, professionals, activists, preachers, teachers, and lay people— to utilize and integrate their knowledge, experience and expertise, into the program planning process such that they may effectively mobilize around a community cause. Their shared problem, would become their shared concern and programmatic focus. The TU Moveable School and the AU People's College stand out as optimal examples of the HBCU model of social justice education because they were most effective in operationalizing community education and outreach, by meeting the needs of the people as expressed by the learners' themselves (i.e. community-lead needs assessment). When Booker T. Washington, George Washington Carver and Thomas Monroe Campbell developed the Moveable School idea, they did so because the farmers and workers attending their annual conference expressed a need for their families to have access to the information being shared there. And so, they took the education to the people who were in most need of receiving it, but were least equipped to access it. As was the same with the People's College. While Ira De A. Reid initially began his program needs assessment with the leaders of the local Black owned, operated or serving businesses and organizations, he quickly turned his attention to the learner-participants. He asked them what types of classes they wanted, at what times and which locations. Again, the learner's educational needs were identified by those to be served by the program, and were reflected in the curriculum accordingly.

[760] Strand, et al., 8.

The idea of designing an educational program around a problem for the purposes of galvanizing a community to effect social change, was a concept that Booker T. Washington identified as pertinent, early in his career. He once posited that the TU Institute had in fact been "…'built around a problem.'"[761] While education scholars have historically utilized varying strategies to identify and address community problems, Washington's social justice education theory and practice has been adapted throughout history to organize and empower various communities of adult learners. In this way, the TU and Moveable School programs modeled how to effectively use education as a tool for mobilizing communities of adults suffering the impacts social oppression and disenfranchisement.

Social justice education programs like the Moveable School, the United Negro Improvement Association, the Highlander Folk School, the People's College, the Freierian Literacy movement and the Civil Rights Movement were all built around problems —those that were most immediate and pressing to the communities in which they were situated. The problem facing Black Farmers in rural Alabama during the early 1900s, was one that Washington saw and learned from the community, that was primarily economic. Thus, his programs taught the leaners those skills needed to feed their families, grow cash crops and purchase land. Economic empowerment, earned through the virtues that hard work and discipline, he believed, was the most appropriate solution to attain social justice for the community of learners that he aimed to serve.

Myles Horton, Georgian Don West, and later Septima Clark, identified the most pressing problems facing the community of learners that they wished to engage, as ones that were primarily economic and civic. They began their adventure in Monteagle, Tennessee in 1932, working with the people in building a program, just as Washington had in Tuskegee in 1881.

[761] Bond, *Negro Education in Alabama*, 205.

They worked to earn the trust and respect of the adult learners in the community by studying their eyes, their "experience and cultural background", and "genuinely respecting their ideas" regarding what they as their most pressing concerns and needs.[762] Much like what Washington had done upon initially arriving in Tuskegee, the administrators of the Highlander Folk School responded first to a local coal miners' strike, by offering co-educational classes in the evenings on economics; they learned from the people living in the Appalachian Mountains, that they saw their labor and employment issue as one needing immediate redress.[763] The early administrators of the Highlander Folk School did as Washington had, in addressing the most urgent needs of the community, before delving into those larger issues. In this regard, the school's founder Myles Horton said the adult learners that faced some basic challenges that needed immediate redress. "They were hungry. Their problems had to do with how to get some food in their bellies and how to get a doctor…our talk about brotherhood and democracy was irrelevant to people in Grundy County in 1932." [764] Horton's co-learning experience with a community in mountains of Tennessee, mirror Washington's philosophy and practice of social justice education exercised in 1881 and 1906.

The problems facing the communities that would enact the Civil Rights Movement (CMW) were primarily civic and political; as the director of the integration workshops and the Citizenship School program at Highlander during the late 1950s, Septima Poinsette Clark was intimately familiar with those issues that were most challenging for the community of learners that the program was interesting in serving. Their most pressing challenge as a community was to conquer illiteracy and the residual implications of it. They wanted to learn to read and write

[762] Myles Horton, *The Long Haul: An Autobiography* (New York: Doubleday, 1990), 71.
[763] Ibid, 68.
[764] Ibid, 69.

such that they could, "…organize…protest…[and] demand their rights."[765] Again, the Highlander Folk School built an educational program around the problem, just as Washington suggested as the most effective means for designing a social justice education program; for the students of Highlander, the primary problem was educational and political disenfranchisement.

During the 1950s and 60s, Brazilian philosopher, scholar and education activist, Paulo Freire also put forth his thoughts about how adult literacy could be used as a tool for enacting social justice. His philosophy proposed, as did Washington's, to design an educational program around a problem. The issue that was most pressing for the farmers Brazil and Chile was one of illiteracy. Friere's theory of problem-posing education, argued that, "A deepened consciousness of [a learner's] situation leads people to apprehend that situation as an historical reality susceptible of transformation."[766] Thus, Friere's aim was to empower adult learners through an educational program and process that develop their critical and cultural consciousness; through "praxis", Freire argued, a people once plagued by illiteracy could be empowered with the tools that would allow them to effectively "problematize" and change their immediate social circumstances and the world.[767]

Social justice education has been historically utilized as a tool used to address a communities' shared problems, be they primarily economic, cultural, political or civic. The strength of communalism, a sentiment expressed in the African view of man dating back to Ancient Egyptian religion and philosophy, was the power of these movements. The Afrocentric view places emphasis on the quote, "I am because we are; and since we are therefore, I am…",

[765] Ibid, 104.
[766] Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, (New York: Continuum International Publishing Group, 1970), 85.
[767] Tamar Groves, "Looking up to Paulo Freire: education and political culture during the Spanish transition to democracy." *Paedagogica Historica* (2011), 47, no. 5: 701-717. Historical Abstracts with Full Text, EBSCOhost Accessed April 3, 2013.

which honors the correlation and connection between the each individual living in the village, to the ability of the local, national and global community to thrive.

Implications of the Study

At a recent Clark Atlanta University (CAU), School of Arts and Sciences faculty meeting, the Director of Admissions addressed the current discussion regarding Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs), and whether or not there is still a need for them. One of the implications of this study is to add to the conversation, my perspective, based on the historical, cultural, social and political contributions of HBCU programs like Tuskegee University, The Moveable School, Atlanta University and The People's College. HBCUs have historically functioned as centers for enacting social justice, and helping to assure that America lives up to the democratic doctrines that it has espoused since its founding.

At that same meeting, the director mentioned that one way that HBCUs can further substantiate and solidify their place in American higher education, is to return to their historic mission, and doing what they do best— adult and social justice education. It is my hope that this study will contribute to those conversations about reinvigorating programs like the Moveable School and People's College to address the institutional and community concerns in those neighborhoods where HBCUs are centered.

Lastly, it is my hope that this study will also energize the discourse around the need for more research on HBCUs as model centers of social justice and community-based education for adults. While it is not my claim that all HBCU programs are rooted in the history, philosophy and practice of social justice education, programs like the Moveable School and People's College certainly provide a fertile research ground for future exploration. Currently, with the exception of a few other studies such as Diane Burnette's work on continuing education

programs at HBCUs, there are few other studies that provide an analysis of the HBCU program through the lens of Community-Based Research and social justice education. In this way, this study and the continuation of the conversations addressed within can contribute to an understanding of the theory and practice of adult education as it occurs within HBCU environment.

Closing Remarks

I often wonder what a present day conversation between Booker T. Washington and W.E.B. Du Bois would sound like. Had Washington's model of industrial education for economic empowerment been more widely accepted in the Black community, would we now be able to leverage our economic power to further our other social agendas; would a compromise between the races regarding the aim of Black education, as Washington had put forth, made for better race relations; are land and economic capital as powerful a negotiating tool as Washington once suggested? At a time when we have more Black millionaires in this country than ever, how has the getting of the money benefited the masses of Black folk? Du Bois would argue that we now have plenty of "money-makers", many of whom lack the cultural consciousness, competence and commitment to use their money in ways that benefit the larger community.

On the other hand, Washington may ask how HBCU, liberal arts programs have fared in the their mission. At a time when we have more Black holders of PhD degrees than ever, he may ask if the getting of the education has helped the Black community to amassing political power as Du Bois proposed? Washington might argue, that Black folk were too ambitious in their efforts to gain so much, too soon, and that our efforts would have been bettered through those programs that focused on the most immediate needs of Black folk, and those that cooperated

with the shared interests of the Black and White communities. The conversation, and more importantly, the social action and change resulting from it, must continue.

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