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HISTORIC RESOURCE STUDY
TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE NATIONAL HISTORIC SITE
TUSKEGEE, ALABAMA

Prepared by
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HISTORIC RESOURCE STUDY

Tuskegee Institute

I. The Young Booker T. Washington

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"It is at the bottom of life that an individual should begin and not at the

"I was born a slave on a plantation in Franklin County, Virginia . . . ,"²
and there was nothing unusual about his birth among slaves. He saw the light of
the world ca. 1856 on the James Burroughs plantation near Hale's Ford in Franklin
County, Virginia. The child became the property of and increased the value of
the Burrough's estate. The 1860 census showed that he was a male mulatto aged
four.³ The value of the young lad in an inventory of the estate of 1861 listed
"1 negro boy (Bowker [sic]) \$400.00."⁴ He never knew his father, but
later discovered that his mother had named him Booker Taliaferro. Mr. Taliaferro,⁵
a white man, lived on a neighboring plantation at the time of his birth. In

1. E. Davidson Washington, comp., *Quotations of Booker T. Washington*, (Tuskegee, Alabama: Tuskegee Institute Press, 1938), p. 7.

2. Booker T. Washington, *Up From Slavery*, (New York: Del Publishing Co., Inc., 1965), p. 15.

3. Louis R. Harlan, *The Booker T. Washington Papers*, 4 vols. (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1972), 2:5. (Hereafter cited as Harlan, *BTW Papers*.)

4. *Ibid.*, 2:11.

5. Washington, *Up From Slavery*, p. 16.

his early school years he tacked the first name of his stepfather, Washington Ferguson, to the end of his own, and has since been known as Booker T. Washington. ⁶

Washington remembered slavery, but he was too young for the institution to make a great impression. The most vivid memories came from the years of the War Between the States. He remembered the cabin assigned to the family measured only 12 x 16 feet. Many holes permeated the walls making the inside drafty. The floor consisted of the earth. Sweet potatoes were stored in the center of the one room cabin for use by the master's family. The slaves slept on a "pallet" layed on the dirt floor with a few rags as mattress and blankets. Food consisted of corn bread and pork, with an occasional treat of molasses. A bare minimum of clothing consisted of a rough flax shirt, pants, and wooden soled shoes with a leather strap over the top. ⁷
⁸
⁹

The job assigned to Booker's mother was plantation cook. A task that gave access to the master's family circle, and one which brought greater respect than field work. Occasionally late at night his mother would awaken the children

6. Hubert W. Peet, "The Man Without a Name," *John O'London's Weekly*, February 17, 1950, p. 93. Peet wrote that the name "Booker" had origins in Nigeria where the word "Bukar" was used by mothers, and meant "sonny" in referring to small boys. The name "Washington" was added when he first attended school. He noticed that the other children had three names when the teacher called roll. When asked his name he quickly answered "Booker T. Washington," and the name remained with him through life.

7. Booker T. Washington, *The Story of My Life and Work*, (Atlanta: J. L. Nichols & Company, 1901), pp. 15-16.

8. Washington, *Up From Slavery*, p. 21.

9. *Ibid.*

and serve them fried chicken. In later years Washington realized that the fowl had been stolen as such a treat was forbidden. He forgave his mother for the action blaming slavery as creating a need to steal.¹⁰

As the lad matured, the value of his slavery brought about an assignment to carry corn to the mill. He was still young and holding the large sack of corn on the back of the horse became a formidable task. More than once the corn slipped off, and ~~skinned~~^{dropped} to the earth. Not being able to lift the heavy sack a long wait ensued until a passer-by graciously helped the boy load the corn back on the horse.¹¹

There were other memories of slavery, but none so important as hearing the slaves talk of the war. The slaves would gather together secretly, and through news from the "grapevine" keep track of the successes and failures of the Federal Armies. All knew that with victory by the North they would be free. Each victory brought a higher level of singing and laughter. When Lee surrendered the slaves knew it, but kept silent. One morning the plantation slaves received word to meet at the "big house." When ^{they} gathered a Federal Officer read the Emancipation Proclamation, and pronounced the Negroes "forever free."¹²

10. *Ibid.*, p. 17.

11. Washington, *The Story of My Life and Work*, p. 18.

12. *Ibid.*, pp. 19-20.

The long prayed for day had arrived. The freedmen milled about happily, but with reservation as to what would become of them. Freedom meant one must survive through his own initiative and work. The necessities of life, as few as they might have been, would no longer be doled out by a master. To Booker's mother, freedom meant things hoped for, a life yet unseen, and she was happiest for her children. Their young lives, still untouched, could see many years of sacred freedom.

After the war Booker's mother wasted little time packing the few family possessions to begin the trek to Malden, West Virginia. His mother had married a slave from a plantation near Hale's Ford during the war whose name was Washington Ferguson. Throughout the war Mr. Ferguson had managed to stay behind Union lines. Soon after, he secured a job at Malden in the salt furnaces, and sent word for his family to join him there. Mrs. Ferguson began a long arduous journey with her children Booker, Amanda, and John across the West Virginia mountains to meet her husband.

The new life of freedom gave Booker T. Washington an overwhelming desire to gain an education. To read was a privilege denied in slavery. At Malden hope of gaining the skill was renewed when Mr. William Davis opened a school in 1868. Disappointment followed on the heels of hope as Booker's father discovered the value of the boy as a laborer, ^{and sent him daily} ~~The lad had to go~~ to work in the salt furnace. ¹⁴ Despite the setback he determined to gain an education. First, by learning

13. Washington, *Up From Slavery*, p. 30.

14. Washington, *The Story of My Life and Work*, p. 23.

letters from a Webster "blue back" speller, and then by making arrangements with the teacher for lessons after the day's work. To Washington, ". . . night-school gave me faith in the night-school idea, with which, in after years, I had to do both at Hampton and Tuskegee."¹⁵

In spite of the education Washington gained from the night school he still wished to attend regular classes with the other children. Arrangements made between his teacher and stepfather provided that Booker work in the salt furnace from four A. M. to nine, and attend class during the day, returning at night for work.

Then came employment in the dangerous coal mines. School had to stop as no time remained after working hours for Booker to attend class. The Washington self-help and willful determination rose to the occasion. He later wrote on his thoughts during the discouraging months underground:

"In those days, and later as a young man, I used to try to picture in my imagination the feelings and ambitions of a white boy with absolutely no limit placed upon his aspirations and activities. I used to envy the white boy who had no obstacles placed in the way of his becoming a Congressman, Governor, Bishop, or President by reason of the accident of his birth or race. I used to picture the way that I would act under such circumstances; how I would begin at the bottom and keep rising until I reached the highest round of success."¹⁶

While in the coal mines he longed for a better job. When a position as servant opened in the household of General Lewis Ruffner the young man jumped

15. Washington, *Up From Slavery*, p. 34.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 39.

at the opportunity. The General's wife, Viola Ruffner, "..... had the reputation of being very strict and hard to please, and most of the boys who had been employed by her had remained only a short time. . . ." Mrs. Ruffner, a Yankee lady, demanded exacting cleanliness and orderliness. Every board in the fence in place, every hinge on the doors oiled, and the house and person meticulously clean. During the time at the Ruffner's, Washington learned the pride of discipline that should be a part of every person's life. Mrs. Ruffner encouraged the boy's education, and when he decided to leave for Hampton Institute, she favored the decision.

Hampton Institute had come to Booker T. Washington's attention while working in the coal mine. He overheard some of the laborers talking about the school for Negroes. From that moment he churned over in his mind the idea of attending the school. When the day arrived to leave he had little money, and no knowledge of what the school offered. But leave he did, and with the well wishes of Mrs. Ruffner, his own family, and the many friends he had made in Malden.¹⁷

17. Washington, *The Story of My Life and Work*, p. 27.

18. Washington, *Up From Slavery*, p. 41.

"Perhaps the thing that touched and pleased me most in connection with my starting for Hampton was the interest that many of the older coloured people took in the matter. They had spent the best days of their lives in slavery, and hardly expected to see the time when they would see a member of their race leave home to attend a boarding-school. Some of these older people would give me a nickel, others a quarter, or a handkerchief."¹

The great day arrived, and with only a satchel containing a few personal items, Booker T. Washington set out on the five hundred mile trip from Malden to Hampton Institute, Virginia. A stagecoach ride through the West Virginia mountains marked the first portion of the trip. When evening arrived the stage stopped at a boarding house. The other passengers made their way to the rooms, and prepared for dinner. The innkeeper bluntly told the young Negro that he could not be accommodated: "This was my first experience in finding out what the colour of my skin meant. In some way I managed to keep warm by walking about. . . ."²

After the experience at the boarding house Washington became painfully aware of the meaning of racism. Taking to the road the next day he walked or hitched rides on passing wagons to reach Richmond. Money could no longer be spared on extravagance of travel by stage or train. Upon arriving at Richmond the young man sought employment unloading ships to replenish his funds. After a few days working at low wages, he left Richmond for Hampton.³

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1. Washington, *Up From Slavery*, p. 43.
 2. *Ibid.*, p. 44.
 3. Washington, *Story of My Life and Work*, pp. 35-36.

Hampton Institute impressed the young man when he walked onto the campus grounds. A new hope encouraged him with the site of the brick and frame buildings. Things would change for the better.

Booker immediately presented himself to Miss Mary F. Mackie, the Lady Principal. The journey left him dirty and ragged so first impressions did not favor the boy. Miss Mackie could not decide to accept him so she showed him a room saying: "The adjoining recitation-room needs sweeping. Take the broom and sweep it."⁴ With vigor, and remembering the lessons from Mrs. Ruffner, Washington swept and dusted the room three times. The job completed, Miss Mackie entered the room, and carefully rubbed her handkerchief over the tables and benches. Not a bit of dust could be found. Booker T. Washington gained acceptance, and⁵ began his school career at Hampton.

The years 1872 to 1875 Booker T. Washington attended Hampton Institute. During these college years many influences entered that solidified his later educational and philosophical ideals. Education in agriculture, industry, and teaching, stressed at Hampton, impressed on Washington that such an education best fitted the Negro. General Samuel Chapman Armstrong, secretary of Hampton, had the greatest impact upon the young man. General Armstrong's unselfish Christian devotion went far to gain respect from the student. Although the General fought against the Confederates he held no animosity. The school existed for the education of the Negro race, and the faculty and school plant lived up to the task.

4. Washington, *Up From Slavery*, 47.

5. *Ibid.*

Washington did not receive education with ease. In preparatory education he qualified among the best students, but not in the ability to pay tuition. Much of the tuition and board could be worked off through labor at the school. Due to the performance during his entrance exam he received the job of janitor. Through summer vacation jobs most remaining fees could be paid. At one point Hampton treasurer, and later close friend, J. F. B. Marshall extended credit to Washington when his funds ran completely out.⁶

At Hampton, Washington learned that self-help, faith in a person's honesty,⁷ and dignity in labor could overcome most every obstacle.

In June 1875, Booker T. Washington joined with other graduates to receive a diploma on the commencement platform. During the exercises Washington demonstrated the devotion to helping his race that eventually led to fame. A debate on the annexation of Cuba took place for the families and friends of graduating students. At one point, during the heat of argument, Washington made it clear that Cuba should not be annexed. The United States had many domestic problems to deal with that had much more urgency than the Cuban controversy. The U. S. had already passed through a bloody war, so should not the results of that crisis first receive attention? An entire race in the South needed education, and the energy of the nation should be directed toward it.⁸

6. *Ibid.*, pp. 54-62.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 56.

8. Harlan, *BTW Papers*, 2:63.

During the debate Washington displayed the diplomacy, and propaganda abilities that served his cause so well in later years. His ability to turn an unrelated international political event toward internal race relations not only helped win the debate, but gave a glimpse of Washington's personality. A constant devotion, an imperturbable drive to bettering the Negro race characterized him. He had only one mind, and a single goal of seeing the race rise materially in ^a the white dominated society. ⁸

College over, and with certificate in hand, Booker T. Washington returned to Malden, West Virginia.

VI. The Years After Graduation

"In later years, I confess that I do not envy the white boy as I once did. I have learned that success is measured not so much by the position that one has reached in life as by the obstacles which he has overcome while trying to succeed. . . ."⁹ ¹⁰

Hampton Institute sent the graduating class out into the world to make some kind of positive impact on the race. Armstrong and Chapman had faith in their graduates, and looked to the future for the results of their endeavor in education. When Washington arrived in Malden in the fall of 1875 he immediately accepted an offer to teach school. For two years he taught day and night

¹⁰ Washington, *Up From Slavery*, p. 39.

classes to the local Negro children. The service he had received by his teacher a few years before was being repayed. Washington encouraged many of his students to attend Hampton, which some found possible.^{11 10}

After teaching two years, he decided a literary education should be sought. He left for Washington, D. C. to attend Wayland Seminary in an eight month course of study.^{12 11}

At Wayland not a single industrial class could be found. The curriculum followed a classical line in Greek and Latin, but nothing that taught trades or agriculture. The students knew much mentally, but to deal with real life, to labor, would be disastrous. Washington considered the education impractical: ". . . At Hampton the student was constantly making the effort through the industries to help himself, and that very effort was of immense value in character-building. The students at the other school seemed to be less self-dependent. They seemed to give more attention to mere outward appearances. In a word, they did not appear to me to be beginning at the bottom, on a real, solid foundation. . . ."^{13 12}

To begin at the bottom, not the top. To labor for the needs of others, and so gain self-respect, and to be practical using common sense in the world were

¹⁰ 11. Washington, *Story of My Life and Work*, p. 43.

¹¹ 12. Basil Mathews, *Booker T. Washington* (College Park, Maryland: McGrath Publishing Company, 1969), p. 56.

¹² 13. Washington, *Up From Slavery*, p. 70.

the virtues that rang as the truth to Booker T. Washington. In disgust he left Wayland and returned to Malden.

Soon after returning to the Kanawha Valley, and to his surprise, Washington received a request to go on a speaking tour for the colored citizens of the Valley. In 1877 the question of where the West Virginia state capital should be located came up for public vote. The controversy lay between Wheeling, the capital since 1862, and Charleston, a more central location in the state. The colored citizens of the Kanawha Valley held public meetings supporting Charleston. As a result of these meetings the Negroes asked Washington to make the speaking tour in their behalf. In typical Washington style, fervor, and eloquence, the tour encouraged a large voter turnout that made Charleston the permanent state capital. The editor of the *Courier* in Hinton, W. Va. wrote to his subscribers on the significance of Washington's speech:

"The colored citizens of this place were interestingly and eloquently addressed by Mr. B. T. Washington, of your county, at the Court House. He aroused the people to a sense of their duty, and allow me, through your columns, to assure my brethern in your county that we will stand by them. . . ."13

The speaking tour proved a great success. Local politicians encouraged Washington to make politics a career. He graciously declined believing that to best serve the interests of the Negro, another career fitted him best.

13. Harlan, *BTW Papers*, 2:71.

Booker T. Washington returned to work as teacher in the valley. After a time Samuel Chapman Armstrong wrote to Washington inviting him to make a post-graduate speech at the Hampton Institute anniversary celebration 22 May 1879. Chapman wrote that "..... The idea is to bring out the facts of actual experience, to show what clear heads & common sense colored graduates of this school have attained, and to win respect of all by a generous noble manly spirit. . . ." ¹⁴

The speech titled "The Force that Wins" won commendation from the faculty and students. Washington's easy manner, and simple, but moving speech credited him as a man, and Hampton for the education it offered.

Immediately after the speech Washington returned to Malden. A letter soon arrived from General Armstrong requesting that he return to Hampton as a teacher, and to pursue further study.

Booker T. Washington returned to Hampton in the summer of 1879. The school had changed considerably. Industrial education, and the academic departments stressed more the practical needs of the Negro. Washington believed such an education furthered the best interests of the race.

The intervening two years from 1879 to 1881 Washington spent in important duties. The first year he received the responsibility of teaching plains Indians sent to the school. The idea of training Indians in a college had been suggested in order to provide teachers for their own tribes. At first breaking the Indians

14. *Ibid.*, 2:75.

from old habits such as not wearing shoes, and dressing properly on cold days required persistent reminders. With patience Washington pursued the task with one significant compromise. The Indians, so used to living in the wilds, required time to pursue the old living styles. On weekends they would go to the forests and set up a camp. The men would hunt, fish, play games, and cook over a fire. These days of living as if they were on the plains offered relaxation needed to pursue weekly academic studies. Eventually the Indians learned English, and became more civilized. Their education progressed equally well with the other students.

15

General Armstrong assigned Washington the task of teaching the night school for the second year. The night school provided poorer students with an opportunity to work for wages during the day, and gain some education in the evenings. After a year the night-school student could enter regular day classes. The money earned during the year of work, and supplemented with summer jobs, provided enough funds to complete studies in regular day classes. The night-school students received the title "Plucky Class" for their pluck at laboring all day, and then instead of resting ^{to} attend classes. The idea of students working for tuition, and to provide night schooling for the poor student, stayed with Washington when he went to Tuskegee.

Booker T. Washington had gained the education he sought. His experiences from slavery, to laboring in Malden, and as a student and then teacher formed

15. Harlan, *BTW Papers*, 2:94-106.

the man and his philosophy. He had confidence in all races, but wished to serve the interests of the Negro. While he continued with teaching at Hampton, two men in Tuskegee, Alabama worked to establish a Negro school in the town. One, a Negro Lewis Adams, and the other, an ex-Confederate Colonel W. F. Foster, joined forces partly in self-interest, and partly in the interests of the Negro race to create a Normal school.

Tuskegee Institute Established

"When I reached Tuskegee, the only thing that had been done toward the starting of a school was the securing of . . . \$2,000. There was no land, building, or apparatus. . . ."¹

During Reconstruction

Education of the Negro ~~after the Civil War~~ in the South had been neglected.

Such an institution as Hampton served the education needs of Negroes, but not all could afford to attend the school so far from the deep South where most *negroes* lived. In 1880 former Confederate Colonel and democrat, Colonel W. F. Foster sought election to the Alabama State Legislature. Without the Negro vote his defeat would have been certain. A Tuskegee man, ^{and} a former slave, Republican Lewis Adams received the political wooing of Foster. ^{A local} ~~Local~~ Republican leader, and well respected for the education gained during slavery, Lewis made a deal with Colonel Foster. The Negro vote would be swung in his direction if a school for Negroes would be established at Tuskegee. The Colonel agreed, and the election favored him. Foster left for Montgomery to take his chair on the state legislature.²

Colonel Foster kept his promise and with the aid of fellow Democrat the Hon. A. L. Brooks, pushed a bill through the legislature establishing a school for Negroes at Tuskegee.³ The bill allowed for \$2,000 to be appropriated for

1. Washington, *Story of My Life and Work*, p. 57.

2. Lewis W. Jones, "A Southern Answer to Booker T. Washington." Address given by Lewis W. Jones at Tuskegee, Alabama, 7 January 1958.

3. See Appendix for "An Act to establish a Normal School for colored teachers at Tuskegee." Harlan, *BTW Papers*, 2:107-08.

teacher salaries only. The school would be established for training persons of the Negro race in preparation to entering the teaching profession. A shortage of Negro teachers in rural districts made such training necessary. The rural areas of Alabama had large Negro populations. Most white teachers would not take a job teaching in the regions. Negro teachers provided by the school at Tuskegee could fulfill the need.

The board of Commissioners, Tuskegee banker Mr. Geo. W. Campbell, Mr. M. B. Swanson, and Mr. Lewis Adams, sent a letter to Samuel Chapman Armstrong.⁴ The letter requested that a qualified white man be recommended as principal of the newly established school, but Armstrong replied, ". . . The only man I can suggest is one Booker T. Washington a graduate of this institution, a very competent capable mulatto, clear headed, modest, sensible, polite and a thorough teacher and superior man. . . ."⁵

A few days elapsed when Armstrong received word that the young Negro would do. The students and faculty congratulated Booker T. Washington on his success. General Armstrong did not wish to loose a teacher of Washington's ability, but knew the opportunity should not be turned down. Washington left Hampton, and arrived at Tuskegee 24 June 1881. He immediately sent a letter to J. F. B. Marshall upon his arrival dated 25 June 1881:

4. Washington, *Story of My Life and Work*, p. 61.

5. Harlan, *BTW Papers*, 2:127.

" . . . The place has a healthy and pleasant location-- high and hilly--think I shall like it. Will open school 1st Monday in July. Please send me the addresses of some publishing houses where I can get my books at reduced rates. I will use about the same kind of text books as you use there. . . ."6

Washington expressed that he would follow the educational philosophy of Hampton Institute. Education would be best suited for the Negro if it practically applied to life's needs. The note also reflected the beginning of the struggle to establish the physical plant of Tuskegee Normal school.

During the intervening time between his arrival and the opening of classes Washington spent meeting people, and interviewing prospective students. He found the race question serious. The Southern white people " . . . were opposed to any kind of education of the Negro. Others inquired whether I was merely going to train preachers and teachers, or whether I propose to furnish them with trained servants."⁷

On the Negro side of the problem, the coloreds asked him why he proposed to teach their children to work. They had worked two hundred and fifty years, and wanted their children to gain an education, and live like white people--without working.⁸ These questions were asked of Washington as he toured Tuskegee and Macon County. He resolved to teach the value of work as he had learned at Hampton. Resolving the two forces would not be an easy task.

6. *Ibid.*, 2:132.

7. Booker T. Washington, *My Larger Education* (Miami: Mnemosyne Publishing Inc., 1969), p. 22.

8. *Ibid.*, pp. 21-22.

In his travels through the county, Washington observed the poor conditions of the Negroes. Most lived in dilapidated one-room shacks. The neglect of necessary facilities as indoor water systems, and sanitary toilets stood out in his mind. Water, if indoors, would sit in a bucket, and the entire family would use the same dipper for drinking. Illness and debilitating health characterized many of the families' condition. Seeing the problems first hand encouraged Booker T. Washington to implement programs of sanitation in food service, and necessary facilities at the school. He believed that education should teach a person how to live in cleanliness, and so remain healthy. He also encouraged the ideal of self-help by keeping homes, and fences in repair, and painted. The farmers relied so heavily on cotton that the crop would be planted up to the door of the shanty. Washington determined, as he prepared to open school, that the Negro farmers should be taught to raise as much of their own food as possible. The raising of cotton, without providing for food, brought profits which quickly disappeared when ^{purchases} ~~purchased~~ at a store ^{for staples were of a much} ~~at a much~~ greater expense than could be grown.⁹

On 4 July 1881 the school at Tuskegee opened. Since the money appropriated could be used only for teacher salaries Washington faced difficulty obtaining a place to hold class. He spent some time looking for a suitable structure to rent or buy during the month before school began. Washington related that:

" . . . My first task was to find a place in which to open the school. After looking the town over with some care, the most suitable place that could be secured seemed to be a rather

9. Basil Mathews, *Booker T. Washington*, pp. 64-66.

dilapidated shanty near the coloured Methodist church, together with the church itself as a sort of assembly-room. Both the church and the shanty were in as about as bad condition as was possible. I recall that during the first months of school that I taught in this building it was in such poor repair that, whenever it rained, one of the older students would very kindly leave his lessons to hold an umbrella over me while I heard the recitations of the others . . ."¹⁰

The church lay approximately two miles from the present Tuskegee Institute
¹¹
grounds.

Many anxious persons applied for entrance to the new school. Booker T. Washington interviewed them, and chose about thirty to attend the first session. Classes opened, with Washington as sole teacher. The attendance soon rose to an
¹²
average of forty. The students attended class with vigor. They had been denied an education, and the opportunity appeared heaven-sent. The students criteria for entrance in the school require they be at least fifteen years of age, and only those who had some previous education. Some of the first Tuskegee students included teachers from the region. It was noted by Washington that some of the former students entered a higher class than ~~former~~^{their} teachers also attending.
¹³

Washington wrote to James F. B. Marshall on 7 July 1881 requesting that Miss Olivia A. Davidson come to Tuskegee as a teacher. Miss Davidson eventually

10. Washington, *Up From Slavery*, pp. 84-85.

11. Booker T. Washington, ed., *Tuskegee & Its People: Their Ideals and Achievements* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1905), p. 36.

12. Harlan, *BTW Papers*, p. 137.

13. Washington, *Up From Slavery*, p. 92.

became the second wife of Booker T. Washington. She had, like Washington, been born a slave in Tazewall County, Virginia, 11 June 1854. Her mother, Eliza Davidson, escaped with children to Albany, Ohio during the Civil War. Miss Davidson's credentials well qualified her for teaching. Educated first at a black college in Ohio, the Albany Enterprise Academy, she then worked as a teacher for freedmen during Reconstruction. She then returned to school for a short while in Memphis, then enrolled at Hampton in 1878. Graduating as a member of the Senior class in 1879, she received a grant to attend Framingham State Normal School in Massachusetts, graduating in the spring of 1881. Miss Davidson had a weak constitution, and needed a rest before taking on her duties at Tuskegee.¹⁴

The students came mainly from Macon, and neighboring counties. They did not have dormitory facilities so boarded with willing families in Tuskegee.¹⁵ The church soon did not serve the needs of the growing Tuskegee Normal School. Washington found an abandoned plantation of 100 acres one mile northwest of downtown Tuskegee. The owner, William Banks Bowen, asked \$500 for the land, and the three shanties upon it.¹⁶ The price was quite low, but too expensive when no funds had been provided. Washington sent a letter to his old friend, and treasurer of Hampton, J. F. B. Marshall, asking if a loan from the school treasury could be made. A two hundred dollar down payment would suffice, with

14. Harlan, *BTW Papers*, 2:137-38.

15. Washington, ed., *Tuskegee and Its People*, p. 36.

16. Harlan, *BTW Papers*, 2:135.

the remainder and interest to be paid within a year. Mr. Marshall could not
loan the money from Institute funds, but did make a private loan.¹⁷

Washington wasted no time making use of the newly purchased farm and build-
ings. On 13 July 1881 the money from General Marshall arrived, and by 16 July
twenty-five acres had been cleared of timber for farming.¹⁸

The structures ^{needed} need cleaning and repair so Washington:

"... lost no time in getting ready to move the school
on to the new farm. At the time we occupied the place there
was standing upon it a cabin formerly used as the dining room,
an old kitchen, a stable, and an old hen-house. Within a few
weeks we had all these structures in use. The stable was re-
paired and used as a recitation-room and very presently the
hen-house was utilized for the same purpose."¹⁹

The students, led by Washington, daily went to the farm and cleared the
land and put the buildings in repair. Many of the students believed the work
degrading and resisted. But when "Mr. Washington" started swinging the axe to
bring down a tree, all others joined in. In a short time the shacks could be
used and crops had been planted.²⁰

17. Washington, *Up From Slavery*, pp. 96-97.

18. Harlan, *BTW Papers*, 2:142.

19. Washington, *Up From Slavery*, pp. 97-98.

20. *Ibid.*, p. 98.

Self-help could be looked upon proudly by the students as classes for the regular term began in September, 1881. Olivia A. Davidson had arrived August 25. Miss Davidson immediately set about raising money to pay back the loan to Mr. Marshall, and to finish off the mortgage. She made personal visits among whites and Negroes of the community soliciting contributions of baked goods and main courses to be sold at 'suppers.' Through the selling of food at the dinners and by direct soliciting of contributions, enough money filled the Tuskegee school²¹ coffers to pay all debts.

The first full-year term began on a positive note. One hundred and thirteen students regularly attended classes for the academical year 1881-82. Booker T. Washington, principal and teacher; Olivia A. Davidson, assistant principal and teacher; and John W. Cardwell, teacher, made up the Tuskegee faculty for the first year. Through donations from people in the North and South in clothes, books,²² school supplies, and food stuffs the students had enough to wear and eat.

The year's course of study had divisions between a Junior Class and a Preparatory Class. The classes offered should be listed here as the future years of Tuskegee demonstrate a definite trend and philosophy which evolved. Students took all the classes mentioned, but, of course, at different levels of their education. The classes of 1881-82 consisted of: language, mathematics (algebra), geometry, geography, history, writing, astronomy, physiology and

21. *Ibid.*, pp. 98-99.

22. *Catalogue of the Tuskegee State Normal School At Tuskegee, Alabama For The Academical Year 1881-82.* Hampton, Va.: Normal School Steam Press, 1882, 1.

hygiene, vocal music, calisthenics, literature, natural philosophy, zoology and botany, civil government, chemistry and mineralogy, and mental philosophy. The industrial and agricultural training that became the watchword of Tuskegee, is interpreted through the farming students did in the afternoon, and the use of their labor in beginning construction of Porter Hall during the first year. Note that the first agricultural work at Tuskegee needed to be done. Without it the students would have been insufficiently fed, the school fail, and everyone forced to return to their homes. A sad failure that could have left the race marked for many generations, and fulfilled may whites' desire to say 'I told you so.'

23

IV The First Building - Porter Hall

The main problems facing the school in its first year consisted of regular attendance and proper accommodations. The three original structures included with the purchase of the plantation proved only temporarily adequate. Expanding enrollment, and the need for permanent buildings designed for education, made the original structures obsolete. Washington thought out the need by immediately placing Tuskegee on a self-building program. Since contracting for builders would be costly, student labor provided economy and education. Porter Hall came under immediate planning. It would be a wood frame building.

24

23. *Ibid.*

24. Harlan, *BTW Papers*, 2:151.

The work to be done first, as always in the enterprise, was securing of money. Miss Davidson traveled North for the purpose of securing funds and advertising Tuskegee. She spoke to church groups and other organizations. Few had heard of the school, and securing donations did not come easy, but her work provided enough cash to begin construction.

25

On 30 ^{March} ~~Mar~~ 1882, graduation exercises commenced at the completion of the first session. The laying of the cornerstone for Porter Hall highlighted the ceremonies. With confidence the principal suggested completion to be in September 1882 at the outset of the second session. Projected attendance predicted a larger student body, and the building was badly needed.

Students did nearly all the labor. They dug the basement, laid the brick into the foundation, and assisted in the framing of the Hall. The labor lowered construction costs, and aided in paying for students' education.

26

The structure reached completion on the second anniversary of the school's founding, 1883. Far behind schedule, but the first obstacle--the beginning of a permanent school plant--had been overcome. Tuskegee historian Max Bennett Thrasher wrote:

"The new building, placed on the site of the old farmhouse on the plantation, was named Porter Hall, after one of

25. Washington, *Up From Slavery*, p. 105.

26. Booker T. Washington, "How Tuskegee Does Its Work," *Frank Leslie's Popular Monthly*, LII (September 1901): 430.

the chief contributors to the building fund. It was a wooden building three stories high, with a basement, and contained six recitation rooms, a large chapel, a reading-room and library, a boarding hall, and, in the third story, dormitories for girls. . . ."27

Mr. A. H. Porter gave \$500 toward the building fund. Booker T. Washington gave a further description of the room's uses:

" . . . all the operation of the school were for a time conducted [there]. In the basement were a kitchen, dining-room, a laundry, and commissary. The first story was devoted to academic and industrial classrooms; in the second was an assembly-room, where devotion and public exercises for the whole school were held, while the third was given up to [girl's] dormitories."28

Porter Hall measured 67 x 58 feet. The cost, without furnishings, came to \$4,450.00. ²⁹ The success of the school, while yet small, could be attributed to Washington's steadfastness, and Miss Davidson's early donation campaigns.

27. Max Bennett Thrasher, *Tuskegee Its Story and Its Work*, (Boston: Small, Maynard & Company, 1900), p. 27.

28. Booker T. Washington, *Tuskegee and Its People*, pp. 37-38.

29. *Porter, BTLW Papers*, 2:211.

Building a School With The Hands 1882-1895

The first year of Tuskegee Normal School had many problems to overcome. Students needed to be on campus to fulfill duties in the farming and industrial aspects of their education. Donations came, but barely met costs. Prior to opening of the second year of class Washington traveled to Charleston, W. Va., and was registered upon the ledgers of the courthouse as marrying Fanny N. Smith. ¹

Fanny and Booker had been old friends in Malden. He encouraged her attendance at Hampton from ~~where~~ ^{which} she graduated in 1882. The Tuskegee teachers, and the Washington's boarded together in a rented house upon their return. The marriage ² produced one daughter Portia Marshall Washington.

The Tuskegee staff increased with Booker T. Washington and Olivia Davidson remained as principal and assistant-principal. R. S. Parrott, M. J. Maddox, Margaret E. Snodgrass, and Lucy J. Smith added their skills to the teaching staff for the year 1882-83. The students attended more regularly, their number ³ averaging one hundred and twenty-five.

The course of study changed little from the first session. The major change came through a more regular attendance of students, and the placing of

1. Harlan, *BTW Papers*, 2:207-08.

2. *Ibid.*, 2:68. Portia is the only surviving child of Washington's three marriages. Her name by marriage is Portia Washington Pitman. She is in her mid-nineties and resides in Washington, D. C.

3. *Catalogue of the Tuskegee State Normal School at Tuskegee, Alabama*. 1882-83. Hampton, Virginia: Normal School Press, 1883.

the school on a footing which allowed students to better work off their expenses.

Booker T. Washington developed an eye for permanency as the last trim on Porter Hall received paint. Plans were already underway to construct a more permanent and expensive brick building. Again J. F. B. Marshall received Washington's plea for money. The General, in good faith, sent \$200, which he had himself borrowed. The money went toward the construction of a brickyard, an undertaking that would provide building materials for the structures.⁴

The brickyard eventually served triple purposes. The school received brick for its use at low cost. The towns people had a supply from which to buy. And most importantly, students learned a trade that found ready hiring after graduation.⁵

The farming land had been expanded with money sent from the North by donation. With land under cultivation the school had a viable agricultural department despite the fact that there was only one blind horse and a few implements for working the soil.⁶

With the most basic needs of life fulfilled in the fields, the next logical step in the education of the youth came through books. The students needed

4. Harlan, *BTW Papers*, 2:224.

5. Thrasher, *Tuskegee*, p. 29.

6. Washington, *Up From Slavery*, p. 103.

for study

shelter from the environment, so buildings needed construction. Who would do the best job constructing these edifices? A construction contractor, of course, but they would be costly and only the builder would benefit. The student required training in the industries. Washington orchestrated the beginning of a new building with directions to construct a brick kiln. The students set to work after classes in the afternoon. The job looked easy at first, but Booker became aware of many difficulties:

"In the first place, the work was hard and dirty, and it was difficult to get the students to help. When it came to brickmaking, their distaste for manual labor in connection with book education became especially manifest. It was not a pleasant task for one to stand in the mud-pit for hours, with the mud up to his knees. . . ."⁷

The construction of the kiln failed not once, but three times, and some students left the school in disgust. Booker would not hear of defeat;

"We tried several locations before we opened up a pit that furnished brick clay. I had always supposed that brick-making was very simple, but I soon found out by bitter experience that it required special skill and knowledge, particularly in the burning of bricks. After a good deal of effort we moulded about twenty-five thousand bricks, and put them into a kiln to be burned. This kiln turned out to be a failure, because it was not properly constructed or properly burned. We began at once, however, on a second kiln. This, for some reason, also proved a failure. The failure of this kiln made it still more difficult to get the students to take any part in the work. Several of the teachers, however, who had been trained in the industries at Hampton, volunteered their services, and in some way we succeeded in getting a third kiln ready for burning. The burning of the kiln required

7. Washington, *Up From Slavery*, p. 111.

about a week. Toward the latter part of the week, when it seemed as if we were going to have a good many bricks in a few hours, in the middle of the night the kiln fell. . . .⁸

The funds provided for building the kiln had been consumed in the mistakes. The enterprise failed, and seemed at an end. Washington took a watch that he acquired a few years before and pawned it in Montgomery. With only fifteen dollars he purchased the required material to try the fourth time. The last kiln worked, and a successful industry began at Tuskegee.⁹

The bricks, made by the students, were molded by hand, and so a bit rough in shape. This did not slow their use, and the construction of Alabama Hall, the second structure built at the school was underway.¹⁰

In writing to General Marshall, Washington did not relate the early problems of constructing the brickyard and kiln. A letter dated April 22, 1883, Booker gave positive assurances that not only would the yard be operating soon, but that cooperation between Mr. R. R. Varner and the school had been most encouraging;¹¹

" . . . We have been fortunate in securing a good part of the outfit for the yard. We went to Mr. Varner who operated a yard some years ago to buy his moulds, brick barrows &c. and he very kindly gave them to us. There are 14 prs. moulds and several barrows. . . .¹²

8. *Ibid.*, p. 111.

9. *Ibid.*, pp. 111-12.

10. Washington, *Frank Leslie's Popular Monthly*, (September 1901), p. 430.

11. R. R. Varner owned Grey Columns which is included in the Historic Site. The Varner's, and the school cooperated on many occasions. Mr. Varner bought bricks, rented property to the school, and generally encouraged Tuskegee's development whenever possible.

12. Harlan, *BTW Papers*, 2:228.

The brick making continued by hand for several years until the purchase of a brick molding machine reduced the labor.¹³

The brickyard grew to a great success supplying brick for school buildings, and for purchase by Tuskegee town people.

VI The Buildings, 1881-1895

Alabama Hall

The brick kiln worked well enough to provide brick for construction. Students lined the walls of the basement to form the foundation. Miss Davidson travelled North to secure funds for completion of the building. Due to her efforts construction commenced.¹⁴

The labor could be done by students, such as digging the foundation, and laying brick. Money lacked for the purchase of specialized tools, and to hire skilled supervisors. The structure eventually cost \$10,000 after a discouraging period of forced discipline by Washington of supervisors and students.¹⁵

Construction of Alabama Hall demonstrated the philosophy of Washington that the Negro should rely on his own efforts;

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13. Thrasher, *Tuskegee Its Story and Its Work*, p. 29
 14. Washington, *Story of My Life and Work*, p. 79.
 15. Thrasher, *Tuskegee*, p. 29.

" . . . The boys have done the painting [on Alabama Hall], made the bricks, the chairs, tables and desks, have built a stable, and are now moving the carpenter shop. The girls do the entire housekeeping, including the washing, ironing and mending of the boys' clothing. . . ."16

In Washington's mind the school needed to function with outside help kept at a minimum. Of course, funds for the physical plant came from Northern philanthropists and occasional festivals held by the school, but by and large the actual construction and maintenance was done by students with teachers as supervisors. Every item that could be conceivably produced at the school, was. In the early years the tables, chairs, and even the structures could not be called high quality, but with available funds, which Washington stretched to the penny, the work could be described as incredible.

The students topped out Alabama Hall in the summer of 1885. The building measured 43 x 76 feet. It had four stories " . . . and contain[ed] besides dormitories for 100 young women, kitchens and dining rooms for teachers and students, and reading and sitting room for the young women."¹⁷

The growing pains of the school made buildings obsolete nearly upon completion. Alabama Hall "¹⁸ . . . soon proved inadequate to meet the needs of the Woman's Department."¹⁹ An added wing gave more space. A one-story frame

16. Washington, *Story of My Life and Work*, p. 81.

17. *Seventh Annual Report of the Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute for the Year Ending May Thirty-First, 1888*, Tuskegee Ala.: Normal School Press, 1888, p. 25.

18. Washington, *Tuskegee and Its People*, p. 43.

19. *Ibid.*, p. 40.

frame building added to the rear of Alabama Hall served the expanding needs of the womens' department.

Cassedy Hall

In 1892 the first boy's trades building, Cassedy Hall, was completed. Cassedy Hall served the trades department until 1900 when George Foster Peabody provided funds for ^{the building's} alteration to a men's dormitory. ^{§ 20}

Students furnished labor, and the school brickyard provided bricks. A smaller building next to Cassedy Hall contained the blacksmith shop and foundry. When plans called for Cassedy to become a men's dormitory, the new, well-equipped Slater-Armstrong Memorial Trades Building replaced the first trades building. ^{§ 21}

Cassedy Hall was located at the east entrance to the school.

Phelps Hall and Phelps Hall Bible Training School

Olivia Egleston Phelps Stokes recognized that many Negro ministers lacked proper bible training. Often Negro preachers had no formal training, and offered unfulfilling ministries. Miss Stokes had faith in Tuskegee, and offered to fund construction of a building and bible training program. ^{§ 22}

Phelps Hall and Phelps Hall Bible Training School resulted from Miss Stokes' efforts. The hall, a three-story wooden building, had a broad veranda around

20 1. *Alabama Journal*, Apr. 4, 1940, p. 8.

21 2. Thrasher, *Tuskegee*, p. 41.

22 3. Harlan, *BTW Papers*, 3:183.

23
it. The rooms consisted of a chapel, assembly room, and office on the first floor, and dormitory rooms on second and third floors. ^{24 5} The hall and training school opened in November 1892. Miss Stokes provided funding for all furnishings which included a library, reading room, recitation rooms, and forty sleeping ^{8 25} rooms.

The attendance at the ceremony of dedication of Phelps Hall on March 9, 1893 was attended by friends of Tuskegee including Samuel C. Armstrong of Hampton, the philanthropic Stokes sisters--Caroline and Olivia Egleston--and Dr. and Misses Lyman Abbot. After speeches which outlined the hopes of religious education for the Negro race and bible school ^{8 26} officially opened.

Booker T. Washington in retrospect wrote of the accomplishments and philosophy of Phelps Hall Bible Training School in 1901:

" . . . This is an undenominational school--not theological at all--which aims to train men and women to do religious work among the colored people. As is the case in other departments of the school, the students are trained to teach the need and dignity of labor by practice as well as by precept. Many of the students in this department expect to fit themselves only to do

23 4. Washington, *Leslie's*, Sept., 1901, p. 431.

24 5. *Historic Assets: Macon County, Ala., Montgomery, Ala.:* South Central Alabama Development Commission, June 1975, p. 149.

25 6. Harlan, *BTW Papers*, v. 1, 3:271.

26 7. Harlan, *BTW Papers*, v. 3, 3:293.

missionary or Sunday school work, but among the men who have been graduated as preachers a large proportion combine with the profession of preaching. Several of them are farmers, one is a painter, one a tailor, and still another a brick mason."²⁹

Science Hall - Thrasher Hall

Science Hall, later renamed Thrasher Hall in memorium to Max Bennett Thrasher early historian of Tuskegee Institute, ^{stood} ~~extended~~ three stories and was constructed by student labor. ²⁸ On the first two floors Thrasher Hall provided recitation rooms and laboratories and the third for sleeping quarters for teachers and students. ²⁹ Completed in 1893 it became known simply as Science Hall, but when Max Bennett Thrasher passed away in 1903 at Tuskegee the Institute honored him by renaming the building Thrasher Hall. ³⁰

Foundry and Blacksmith Shop - (Band Cottage)

Constructed in 1889 the foundry and blacksmith shop served the expanding industrial department. Student-made brick provided the material for construction of the one-story cottage. Mr. Lewis Adams who played a large role in establishing Tuskegee Institute moved his shop to the building in 1890. He taught foundry and

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- 27 8. Washington, *Leslie's*, 1901, p. 431.
 - 28 9. *Historic Assets: Macon County*, p. 143.
 - 29 10. Washington, *Leslie's*, Sept., 1901, p. 431.
 - 30 11. *Historic Assets: Macon County*, p. 143.

blacksmithing until his death in 1903. Mr. Adams made the tin roof which still exists. In the vicinity of the foundry existed a machine shop, supply room, and sawmill. All of the structures except the foundry and Cassedy Hall were moved in 1903 to provide room for a railroad depot and tracks from Chehaw Station five miles south of Tuskegee. ¹²³¹

Olivia Davidson Hall, 1887

The original Olivia Davidson Hall provided sleeping quarters for 60 men students. ^{32 a} It's completion followed soon after the finishing of Alabama Hall.

Davidson Hall topped out at four stories, and was the first building to be designed by R. R. Taylor who ^{designed} ~~went on to design~~ ^{later} most of Tuskegee's buildings. ^{b 33}

The hall contained not only dormitory rooms for boys, but recitation rooms and sleeping quarters for some teachers. ^{c 34}

31 12. *Historic Assets: Macon County*, p. 145.

32 3. *The Alabama Journal*, Apr. 4, 1940, p. 3.

33 b. Washington, ed., *Tuskegee and Its People*, pp. 40-41.

34 e. Thrasher, *Tuskegee*, p. 41.

Dorothy Hall (Girl's Industrial Building), 1901

Margaret Murray Washington (Mrs. Booker T. Washington), directed the girl's industries. In 1901 the department moved into Dorothy Hall, a more spacious and better equipped building. The department received the title of "domestic services," as it concentrated on homemaking including ". . . sewing, dress-making, millinery, laundering, cooking, housekeeping, mattress-making, upholstering, broom-making, and basketry."³⁵ These trades equipped women to become successful homekeepers or to seek employment. Mrs. Olivia and Carolyn Phelps Stokes donated the building in memory of Dorothy Lamb Woodbridge. Students constructed the hall.³⁶ The structure cost \$15,000, stood two stories with an exterior of brick, and a tin roof. Its dimensions were 93.6 x 143 feet outside, with rooms designed to accommodate the needs of each department. Dorothy Hall stood in front of the Slater-Armstrong Memorial Trades Building, and it consisted of ". . . a two-story central part, its long axis extending northeast and southwest, with a projecting stairwayhall, 14 x 18 feet and four one-story wings."³⁷ The room arrangement called for nine rooms on the first floor;

Single spaced quote
"Opening ^{from} the entrance hall are the office, the waiting-room, and a basketry. A cross hall, at the right hand end of the entrance hall leads to the rooms for dressmaking, millenery, and

35. Washington, ed., *Tuskegee and Its People*, 48-49.

36. *Historic Assets: Macon County, Ala.*, 121.

37. *Twenty-Fourth Annual Catalogue of the Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute, 1904-05*, Tuskegee Institute Press, 1904, 82.

plain sewing. On the left hand side a cross hall leads to the wash-room, the assorting-room, and the ironing room."³⁸

The girls' laundering industry also extended into the basement with its ". . . three rooms -- one for drying, one for washing, and one for soapmaking."³⁹ The remainder of the building provided ten rooms on the second story which were ". . . a kitchen, a diningroom, a broommaking-room, and two rooms for mattressmaking and upholstery."⁴⁰

The various rooms ran from sizes as small as 13.6 x 15 feet to 20 x 24 feet. Within Dorothy Hall girls provided much needed products for campus, and for sale.⁴¹

Armstrong Hall

The Armstrong Hall men's dormitory, completed in 1892, was named in honor of Hampton Institute's General Armstrong.⁴² The hall contained ". . . reading and sitting rooms, bath room, printing office and two recitation rooms. . . ." ⁴³

38. *Ibid.*

39. *Ibid.*

40. *Ibid.*

41. *Ibid.*

42. Harlan, *BTW Papers*, 3:521-523.

43. Washington, *The Story of My Life and Work*, 97.

Sawmill

In the academic year 1886-87 the sawmill began operation. The demand for lumber outside of Tuskegee Institute caused a shortage for school needs, but the income helped pay for the mill, engine, boiler and student labor. The outfit cost over \$1,000.⁴⁴

Student harvested timber from Tuskegee Institute forested grounds provided all wood and wood products. The school sawmill cut the logs into lumber, and the carpenter and paint shops put the finishing touches on pieces destined for molding.⁴⁵

44. Harlan, *BTW Papers*, 2:315-316.

45. Washington, *Working With the Hands*, 74.

Donations, Endowments, and Fund Raising

The Alabama State Appropriation, raised to \$3,000 at the end of the first session in 1882, ^{scarcely paid} paid ~~barely enough~~ for teacher's salaries.¹ Endowments for necessary teaching aids, industrial equipment, housing, and academic buildings had to come from other sources than the Alabama education fund. The Principal's report for 1895 showed an expenditure of \$79,836.50, but the State appropriation remained at \$3,000.² Of the \$80,000 in expenditures \$26,000 went toward teacher's salaries.³ The remainder of funding came from interested persons mainly from the North. The donations made to the Institute had far-reaching ramifications not only in keeping the school from a humiliating failure, but by giving Washington a foothold among influential and powerful persons.

The first donation came to Tuskegee through some relatively large donations, but most by small amounts. After an initial loan from J. F. B. Marshall of Hampton Institute of \$200, to assist in purchasing the original 100 acre Bowen farm, solicitation of donations commenced.⁴ Any amount in money, books, food, and clothing was gratefully received. The students came to Tuskegee in 1881 some with no money, and others had few clothes. Donations of \$300 from

1. Harlan, *BTW Papers*, 2:498.

2. *Fourteenth Annual Report of the Principal of the Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute*. Tuskegee, Ala.: Tuskegee Institute Press, 1895, p. 3.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 88.

4. Washington, *Up From Slavery*, p. 97.

"a friend in Connecticut" arrived making it the largest for the year. Others gave \$1.00, or \$5.00.⁵ As needed cash flowed in, some companies offered books such as the Century Publishing Company; an organ from Smith American Organ Co.; and clothes from the Framingham, Mass., Unitarian Sewing Circle.⁶ In the early years such donations added greatly to the confidence of the teachers, and respect of students toward Tuskegee who could see that the school received support. As Booker T. Washington, being trained in a normal and industrial philosophy at Hampton, recognized that larger sums had to be raised for expensive equipment.

To kick-off the fund raising Washington believed personal appearance to the giver would best succeed. A series of trips to the North resulted from year to year. In April and May 1882 Booker T. Washington visited Connecticut, Rhode Island, Massachusetts, and New York. Wherever he stopped in to see a businessman or philanthropist he espoused the industrial idea of Tuskegee. The training of young coloreds in trades generally received support from potential donors as the system seemed practical. The significant contacts made by Washington included John Fox Slater Fund; Phelps, Dodge and Company; and Alfred Haynes Porter. Many small gifts fell to Washington by a ^{great} number of persons.

The money offered by Alfred Haynes Porter of \$500^{had} provided a large enough sum to begin construction of Tuskegee's first structure Porter Hall.⁷ The meeting with William Earl Dodge made valuable contacts for donations from the

5. *Catalogue of the Tuskegee State Normal School at Tuskegee, Alabama For the Academical Year 1881-82.* Hampton, Va.: Normal School Press, 1882, p. 13.

6. *Ibid.*

7. Harlan, *BTW Papers*, 2:200.

John F. Slater Fund of which Dodge served as a trustee. The Slater Fund had been established to assist Negro education.⁸

As the school year 1882-83 opened a total of \$7,521.94 had been spent on operation of Tuskegee. Of the amount \$2,000 came from Alabama State appropriation with the remainder being donated. Porter Hall cost \$4,450.00 of the \$7,500.⁹ The student enrollment expanded to 125, with six full or part-time instructors.¹⁰

Fortunately demonstrating the success of Tuskegee but unfortunately for the students the number attending outpaced ^{the} provision of accommodations. The lack of buildings during the second winter of 1882-83 ". . . Compelled . . . large numbers of young men in[to] shanties or huts to sleep, where there was almost no protection from rain and cold weather."¹¹ Porter Hall provided sleeping quarters for some men and women, but immediately new plans for a building got underway. Efforts at raising financing redoubled.

In September of 1883 the Trustees of the Slater Fund awarded \$1,100 under special agent J. L. M. Curry. The Slater Fund increased over the years as the trustees believed the work at Tuskegee to be successful. With the Slater Fund ". . . a carpenter shop was built and started, a windmill set up to pump water

8. Harlan, *BTW Papers*, 2:206.

9. Harlan, *BTW Papers*, 2:211.

10. *Catalogue of the Tuskegee State Normal School at Tuskegee Alabama, 1882-1883*. Hampton, Va.: Normal School Steam Press, 1883, p. 2.

11. Washington, Booker T., *The Story of My Life and Work*, Atlanta, Ga.: J. L. Nichols & Company, 1901, p. 69.

into the school building, a sewing machine bought for the girl's industrial room, and mules and wagons for the farm, and the farm manager's salary was also paid for nine months."¹² A dollar was truly stretched to its full capacity by Washington.

Olivia A. Davidson joined with Washington in ". . . earnestly presenting our cause at the North with so much encouragement that the work on the new building, called Alabama Hall was vigorously pushed during the fall and winter."¹³ Their efforts raised \$5,000 toward the erection of Alabama Hall which eventually cost \$10,000.¹⁴

Upon the recommendation of Dr. J. L. M. Curry \$500 arrived at Tuskegee from the Peabody Fund. Curry served as agent for the Slater and Peabody Funds. Through his concern for education of the Negro Curry promoted industrial education for the race.¹⁵

The success of the years 1884-1894 depended on the raising of funds, adding buildings, and increasing agricultural land of Tuskegee. Washington and Miss Davidson spent time in the North securing funds ". . . This, of course, was the hardest and most trying part of the work. Beginning early in the morning, the day was spent in seeing individuals at their homes or in their offices; and

12. Washington, *The Story of My Life and Work*, p. 79.

13. *Ibid.*

14. *Ibid.*, p. 79-80.

15. Harlan, *BTW Papers*, 2:217-218.

in the evening, and sometimes during the day, too, addresses were delivered before churches, Sunday Schools, or other organizations. . . .¹⁶

The trips brought fresh donations from the Slater Fund, and others who encouraged the work. It came at a cost to Olivia Davidson, who, being in weak health had to take long rests between trips to regain her strength.¹⁷ Washington, being a tireless worker, continued speaking to groups while maintaining a reign on the administration of Tuskegee from such outposts as New York, Boston, or Connecticut. On his return to Tuskegee a careful examination of the school might end with new orders to increase production of the brickyard, or to make plans for a new building.

Enrollment outpaced acquisition of necessary buildings so fund raising took predominance in all activities of the school officers. In 1888 there were 394 students and 26 "officers and teachers." The school had ". . . 600 acres of land, three large buildings, two of which are of brick, six cottages and a number of outhouses [out-buildings] . . ."¹⁸ The operational expenses came to \$26,755.73 of which \$10,006.75 went toward teacher and officer salaries. Donations came from hundreds of persons, mostly from the North, and amounted from a few dollars to thousands. The sawmill proved successful adding \$1,053.33 to school credits, but such industries as the farm, carpenter shop, industrial

16. Washington, *Story of My Life and Work*, p. 89.

17. Harlan, *BTW Papers*, 2:246.

18. *Seventh Annual Report of the Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute for the Year Ending May Thirty-First, 1888*. Tuskegee, Ala.: Normal School Press, 1888, p. 25.

room, and teacher's home created a debit. The debit of these branches amounted to \$4,481.74. Regular donations covered all debits, and Tuskegee at the end of school year 1888 operated in the black.¹⁹

The careful management of funds by school treasurer Warren Logan aided the development of Tuskegee immeasurably. Logan, like many of the early staff, had graduated from Hampton Institute in 1877. Hired by Washington in 1882 Logan taught choral singing, band, and bookkeeping.²⁰ Having received special training under J. F. B. Marshall in bookkeeping, Washington soon relieved Logan of most teaching responsibilities in favor of his talents in ^{balancing} ~~keeping~~ the books.²¹

Mr. J. H. Washington, also a graduate of Hampton and brother of Booker T. Washington, came to Tuskegee in 1885. He eventually served as director of the mechanical industries.²² Together Logan and J. H. Washington ". . . in the absence of the Principal, were in a large measure the mainstay and dependence of the institution for counsel and wise direction."²³ During Booker T. Washington's absences Logan disbursed funds, and J. H. Washington kept students and teachers on duty.

Washington reported in the annual report of the Principal for the year ending 1894 that;

19. *Ibid.*

20. Harlan, *BTW Papers*, 2:47.

21. Washington, *Story of My Life and Work*, pp. 77-78.

22. Max Bennet Thrasher, *Tuskegee: Its Story and Its Work*, Boston: Small, Maynard, & Company, 1900, p. 33.

23. Washington, *Story of My Life and Work*, p. 78.

". . . during the thirteen years there had come into our treasury, \$421,955.42 in cash from all sources. Of this amount \$37,000 has come from the State, \$5,162.50 from the Peabody Fund, \$15,500 from the John F. Slater Fund, \$51,450.91 from the students toward their expenses. The remainder, \$321,842.01 has come in the form of gifts from individuals, organizations, concerts and the county of Macon. During the thirteen years, the students have done labor for the Institution to the value of \$187,612.52."²⁴

The income for the financial year May 31, 1893 to May 31, 1894 from all sources was \$64,107. The students paid \$6,911.28. Of the expenses, \$3,000 came from the State appropriation, and the remainder came from "generous individuals and organizations." The students received \$34,893.20 for labor during the year from the funds. The John F. Slater Fund amounted to \$4,000, and was increased to \$5,000 for the following year.²⁵

In addition to the Slater and Peabody Funds property donations and scholarship funds were permanently established by 1894. Mrs. Mary E. Berry, of Macon County, moved to New York City, and deeded a four hundred acre plantation to Tuskegee Institute located a few miles from town. Rental of the property provided a hundred dollars to school finances. The La Fayette Fund given by an "Elderly Northern Friend" eventually established an endowment of \$10,000 with the interest used in the Nurse Training Department. Miss Olivia E. P.

24. *The Thirteenth Annual Report of the Principal of the Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute.* Tuskegee Alabama, May 30, 1894, p. 2.

25. *Ibid.*

Stokes, who with her sister had provided Phelps Hall, gave \$2,000 to be invested with the proceeds going for assisting students toward the Christian ministry. And the Dizer Fund of \$1,500 could be lended to graduates of Tuskegee at 8% interest in varying amounts to assist them in establishing a "model Christian home" in various communities.²⁶

As various scholarships, donations, and endowments made possible the attendance of students who were generally unable to afford an education some of the costs had to be defrayed by cash. Tuition was free but the ". . . price of board including washing, lights, fuel, room-rent, mending of clothes, etc., [amounted to] \$8.00 per month."²⁷ Part of the expense could be worked out at the rate of two to three dollars a month. Such items as books, and a school uniform had to be purchased. The uniforms were sold at cost of materials.²⁸

The physical plant by 1895 demonstrated an impressive increase from the one-hundred acre farm and three shanties originally purchased. Land holding increased to 1,800 acres with nine large buildings, eight cottages, and numerous out-buildings. The Home Farm, Marshall Farm, and Berry Farm made up the acreage of Tuskegee Institute. The Marshall Farm near the Institute provided food for the school and agricultural training for students. The Berry Farm brought in proceeds from rent, and the Home Farm was the original one-hundred

26. *Ibid.*, pp. 3-4.

27. *Catalogue of the Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute*, Tuskegee, Alabama, Normal School Press, 1894, p. 58.

28. *Ibid.*, p. 59.

acre site of the school. Construction of buildings continued to provide adequate accommodations for the increasing enrollment, and expanding industrial departments.²⁹

29. *Fourteenth Annual Report of the Principal of the Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute*, Tuskegee, Ala., 1895, pp. 87-88.

Agricultural Department, 1881-1895

"Soon after securing possession of the farm we set about putting it into a condition so that a crop of some kind might be secured from it during the next year. At the close of school hours each afternoon, I would call for volunteers to take their axes and go into the woods to assist in clearing up the grounds . . . soon a large acreage was put into condition for cultivation."¹

As simple a process as Washington would have one believe, in his romanticized versions of the work at Tuskegee, the Agricultural Department did not show great success for a number of years. The school started with no implements, wagons, or livestock, and the teachers had only rudimentary knowledge of agriculture. Washington wrote favorably in the *Tuskegee Catalog* to prospective students of the farm which would ". . . be cultivated so as to supply labor, as far as possible, to those students unable to meet their boarding expenses."² He also reported that: "Means for purchasing tools, stock, & c., for beginning the cultivation of the farm [had] already been secured."³ The positive attitude came from Mr. George W. Campbell, a trustee who gave a horse.⁴ Also,

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1. Washington, *Story of My Life and Work*, p. 67.
 2. Harlan, *BTW Papers*, 2:173.
 3. *Ibid.*
 4. Washington, *Story of My Life and Work*, p. 67.

from general donations of which \$707.00 went toward farm implements and improvements.⁵ Not until 1883 did Atticus Greene Haygood make a specific donation of \$1,000 to be used "as follows:

1. Tools	\$ 200.00
2. Horse, wagon, harness etc.	\$ 225.00
3. Finishing windmill	\$ 150.00
4. Carpenters Shop (pay)	\$ 200.00
5. Girl's Industrial Department	\$ 90.00
6. Farm Superintendent	\$ <u>135.00</u>
	\$1000.00" ⁶

With such bare implements as a horse, tools, and student labor the farm was not able to supply the needs of the school. In 1883 a letter by Washington printed in the *Southern Workman* reported the failure of agriculture:

"The farm has been held back somewhat by drouth and other causes. Now that we have been able to add a farm manager, this industry will be made still more valuable."⁷

The new farm manager and instructor, Henry C. Ferguson, coordinated at once the activities of agriculture.⁸ Apparently he proved successful for upon

5. Harlan, *BTW Papers*, 2:211.

6. Harlan, *BTW Papers*, 2:244-245.

7. Harlan, *BTW Papers*, 2:241.

8. *The Alabama Journal*, April 4, 1940, p. 11.

his resignation in 1888 Washington commended him saying; ". . . that the school is indebted to you for much of its success."⁹ Ferguson's main accomplishment was to demonstrate the practicality of growing other crops along with cotton. He had planted successfully various fruits including grapes and melons. The operation of the brick-kiln also came under his jurisdiction, and showed success. Ferguson went far in teaching students that labor and agriculture did not demean their character.¹⁰

Attracting students to agricultural and industrial training did not occur easily. Most young people looked at such training as a return to old days of hard work under slavery. A profession such as lawyer or doctor would release one from the drudgery of labor. Washington believed agriculture should be emphasized since;

". . . about eighty-five percent of the coloured people in the Gulf states depended upon agriculture for their living. Since this was true, we wanted to be careful not to educate our students out of sympathy with agricultural life, so that they would be attracted from the country to the cities, and yield to the temptation of trying to live by their wits. We wanted to give them such an education as would fit them to be teachers, and at the same time cause them to return to the plantation districts.

9. Harlan, *BTW Papers*, 2:458.

10. *Ibid.*, 2:458-459.

and show the people there how to put new energy and ideas into farming, as well as into the intellectual and moral and religious life of the people."¹¹

The training would not be superficial for Washington staked the uplifting of the Negro race in America to education. From the moment a new student stepped onto campus, and wondered at the future that might be his, the idea of labor filled every experience. Washington's school trained teachers to go out among the Negro population, and when a student left he would know that: "We shall prosper in proportion as we learn to glorify and dignify labor and put brains and skill into the common occupations of life."¹²

The entire concept required an evolution toward a thought, and intelligence favorable to agriculture. For instance, a system of crop-lien mortgaging had grown in the South after the Civil War. When the war closed millions of former slaves entered the job market with little or no skills except in growing cotton. It soon became apparent that the Negro must return to the plantation in order to find employment. In order to equip him with provisions for the year he would appeal to the plantation owner for which he was employed, or to a local merchant if he had acquired a piece of land. The plantation owner or merchant would reply; ". . . Give me a mortgage on your cotton crop and I will advance you provisions on which to live for the year."¹³

11. Washington, *Up From Slavery*, pp. 95-96.

12. E. Davidson Washington, *Quotations of Booker T. Washington*, Tuskegee Institute, Ala.: Tuskegee Institute Press, 1938, p. 5.

13. Harlan, *BTW Papers*, 2:503.

The farmer, being uneducated in newer and more productive farming techniques, could generally not raise enough cotton to meet the advance or interest, which could amount to 25 or 30 percent.¹⁴ Coupled with the crop-lien problem, the farmer convinced himself that cotton could be the only profitable crop. It never occurred that raising foodstuffs and stock would free him from relying on paying high prices to merchants;

" . . . The people seemed to have no other idea than to live on this fat meat and corn bread, - the meat, and the meal of which the bread was made having been bought at a high price at a store in town, notwithstanding the fact that the land all about the cabin homes could easily have been made to produce nearly every kind of garden vegetable that is raised anywhere in the country. Their one abject seemed to be to plant nothing but cotton . . ."¹⁵

The philosophy finally concluded by Booker T. Washington, and also extended to industrial training was two-fold: To teach the dignity of intelligent labor, and to discourage through every possible means the crop-lien system. Students learned the latest agricultural methods including soil analysis, and use of the most modern equipment. They learned that cotton destroyed the nutrients of the soil which had to be replaced through the wise-use of fertilizers. In business tactics teaching included the fact that a Negro family could raise nearly all the vegetables, fruit and stock needed for a year's food, and use a relatively small amount of land. By growing foodstuffs a family could be

14. *Ibid.*, p. 504.

15. Washington, *Up From Slavery*, p. 86.

free of mortgaging the cotton crop for provisions. Since little land need be planted for sustenance a cash crop of cotton could still be grown. The graduates of Tuskegee carried these ideas to the rural farmer, and began a process of change to the lives of the race.

Yet with so much at stake the agricultural department developed slowly. A portion of the problem Washington blamed on C. W. Greene, the second farm superintendant.

The new farm manager, Charles W. Greene arrived at the school in June 1888 to take up the important duty of making agriculture a success at Tuskegee Institute. The;

" . . . charge of the farm in those early years meant not only the growing of farm and garden products for the students and teachers, the care of livestock - including cows, pigs and poultry, but also meant the 'lending a hand' in the upkeep of the school's grounds and roads, the felling of trees, hauling and cutting of wood for cooking purposes, fuel in the dormitories and cottages - as well as wood for the burning of bricks."¹⁶

To Washington's chagrin Greene's work fell short. A letter from the principal outlined a multitude of problems in carrying out the duties of the agricultural department. Washington ". . . relieved [Greene] from all outside work," relegating to Mr. Ferguson, who remained on the payroll after resigning

16. *The Alabama Journal*, April 4, 1940, p. 11.

from the department, responsibility of superintending ". . . plastering, making bricks and doing other work . . ." on the construction activities.¹⁷ A man had to be hired to oversee the brickyard operation, and poor upkeep of fences and stock caused a financial loss.¹⁸ Soon after Greene received the reprimand Washington sent James Nathan Calloway to carefully inspect the farm keeping in mind that the ". . . home farm should present a model after which our students and others can take pattern . . ."19

In a report of June 30, 1892 Calloway noted ". . . that our home farm is especially a truck, fruit and dairy farm . . .," and the largest criticism was directed toward it:

"The truck as a whole is quite grassy. This however is being killed quite rapidly. The cabbages look best of all. The tomatoes show a great lack of attention. This crop can not make more than half. The sweet potatoes in the new-ground have just been cleared but have suffered a little from neglect. The peas above reservoir look quite well. The corn and cane are growing nicely but need work."²⁰

The fruit trees had "been gnawed by rabbits." The attempt at growing grape vines had failed through neglect. Calloway noted that the fruit trees and

17. Harlan, *BTW Papers*, 3:232.

18. *Ibid.*, 3:232-233.

19. Harlan, *BTW Papers*, 3:241.

20. *Ibid.*

grapevines could be improved. Finally, the dairy farm proved to be in good condition.²¹

The poor management by Greene continued. Again in April 1893 Washington was forced into writing another note, this time about the poor condition of the barn ". . . and especially about the proper care of the stock in regard to feeding and other matters."²² A spot inspection by Booker had revealed that Mr. Greene did not superintend the students in their duties. Consequently the cows and horses received improper feeding, and feed mixtures of corn and bran lacked control. The area around the barn being littered with rubbish gave a poor appearance and needed clearing. An ultimatum reached Greene on the conditions;

single source
". . . I remind you of the fact that you have been relieved of the care of the brick-yard. Thus being relieved I had hoped you would make improvements. On the other hand the school is growing and every man and every department in connection with it must grow, and if this is not the case some one must suffer."²³

The full implementation of productive farming and experimenting awaited realization under George Washington Carver, hired by Washington in 1896. Until Carver's work began the farm produced a relatively large output despite the

21. *Ibid.*, 3:242.

22. Harlan, *BTW Papers*, 3:311.

23. *Ibid.*, 3:311-312.

problems with the farm manager. The students attending Tuskegee under C. W. Greene's superintendance did have a chance to learn farming techniques, and work off some of the costs of their education.

The Farm in 1890

Tuskegee Institute consisted of 680 acres in 1890. A total of 28 officers and teachers taught a student body of 447. The farm production included vegetables, fruit and stock:

"Agricultural and Mechanical Work"

"In all cases the actual work is done by students in all the industrial departments. The following shows the scope and extend^t of our agricultural work for the present year:

Acres in turnips	3
" " beets	1-1/2
" " tomatoes	2
" " onions	1-1/2
Acres in beans	1
" " squash	2
" " Pumpkins	1
" " Cucumbers	1
" " radishes	1-1/2
" " water-melons	3
" " musk-melons	1
" " kâle	1/2

"	"	asparagus	1/4
"	"	okra	1/8
"	"	strawberries	1/2
"	"	parsnips	1/6
"	"	spinach	1/6
"	"	cauliflower	1/16

Stock

the number of stock is as follows:

horses	7
colts	3
mules	4
oxen	15
cows	11
calves	7
hogs	80
sheep	8
barnyard fowls	125
total	260

Fruit Trees

Number of Apple Trees	60
" " cherry "	15
" " pear "	80
" " peach "	250

"	"	plum	"	8
"	"	apricot	"	4
"	"	chestnut	"	6
"	"	Jap. persimmon		4
"	"	ornamental		275

Care of stock and fruit culture receive special attention.

We have recently completed a new barn at a cost of \$4000.
 which will house sixty head of stock and has all the convenience
 for caring for ^{and} making manure. . . .²⁴

Industrial Department 1881-1895

"Industrial education teaches the Negro how not to drudge in his work."²⁵

The training of the Negro youth in industries could resolve the race problem according to Booker T. Washington. There need be no laws against discrimination, no laws to allow the Negro a vote, and no ". . . unmanly cowering or stooping to satisfy unreasonable whims of Southern white men. . . ."²⁶ The Southern white believed that if a Negro gained an education that he would cease to do manual labor, and thus a white man would have to take up the drudgery . . .

24. Harlan, "To William LeRoy Broun," *BTW Papers*, 3:87-89.

25. E. Davidson Washington, *Quotations of Booker T. Washington*, Tuskegee, Ala.: Tuskegee Institute Press, 1938, p. 22.

26. Harlan, *BTW Papers*, 2:259.

"Just here Industrial Education coupled with the mental comes in. It 'kills two birds with one stone,' viz.: Secures the cooperation of the whites, and does the best possible thing for the black man. . . ."27

Tuskegee Normal School educated students ". . . with not only trained heads and hearts, but with trained hands."²⁸ Unlike the white, Washington impressed upon the students to dignify labor, to work with intelligence, and so raise the level of living.

Upon graduation a requirement to teach two years in an Alabama public school had to be fulfilled.²⁹ Not every student who attended Tuskegee taught because they did not complete the four year course and graduate. Some persons, for various reasons, left school early. Often the reason was money, but also some came only long enough to learn a trade. The pride and joy of Tuskegee, the graduate, went to the rural areas with proficiency in at least one trade, and the basics of a liberal education--history, mathematics, reading, science, and writing. The responsibility of Tuskegee Normal School was ". . . not to send into these places teachers who will stand off and tell the people what to do, or what ought to be done, but to send those who can take hold and show the people how to do."³⁰

27. *Ibid.*, 2:260.

28. *Ibid.*, 2:260.

29. *Catalogue of the Tuskegee State Normal School, 1882-1883*, Hampton, Va.: Normal School Steam Press, 1883, p. 15.

30. Harlan, *BTW Papers*, 2:260.

In all of the departments--industrial, academic, and agricultural the development of spirit and body went hand in glove. The success of the Negro depended on the total development of the races' future--the children. Consequently the development of Tuskegee could be likened to the maturing of the Negro race for which teaching, and training concentrated on basics, and a practical education. For most, even the basics had been neglected, and many Negroes never had the chance to learn simple math or better farming techniques. Fulfilling the call for trained teachers Tuskegee became a self-contained school, a city in itself:

" . . . with a farm of five hundred acres, carpenter's shop, printing office, blacksmith's shop, and brick yard for boy's, and sewing department, laundry, flower gardening, and practical house-keeping for girls, is trying to do its part towards furnishing industrial training. . . ."31

Each department provided a service to the students and teachers with the students doing the labor and teachers supervising:

" . . . The boys raise the vegetables, have done the painting, made the brick, the chairs, the tables, the desks; have built a stable, a carpenter's shop, and a blacksmith's shop. The girls do the entire housekeeping, including the mending, ironing, and washing of the boys' clothes; besides they make many garments to sell."32

31. *Ibid.*, 2:261.

32. *Ibid* 2:261.

Manual training gave a student a chance to help himself. Not only did the school receive necessary service, but the student could pay for education through labor. Upon leaving Tuskegee the training opened doors to employment, and not a life of laziness on the street corner.

The true founding of a viable industrial department occurred in the fall of 1883. Trustees of the Slater Fund gave \$1000 to be used toward equipping the department. The main industrial training had been the farm and brickyard. Although through necessity ". . . a small blacksmith shop and wheelwright shop, and a printing office had been established in which a small press was worked by 'manpower.'"³³ The Slater donation provided money in which ". . . a carpenter shop was built, . . . a windmill was set up to pump water to the school buildings, a sewing machine was bought for the girl's industrial department, and mules and wagons were bought for the farm."³⁴

The development of the department continued until by 1885 the New York *Evening Post* ran a most encouraging article on the work at Tuskegee:

". . . That the institution owns 580 acres of land, free of debt; a brickyard from which 10,000 bricks are daily turned out by the students, and a windmill and tank sixty-five feet in the air, with pipes and attachments for carrying water to any part of the premises; that there is one college building which cost \$6,500, and another to cost over \$10,000 in process of erection - being

33. Thrasher, Tuskegee: Its Story and Its Work, p. 30.

34. *Ibid.*, pp. 30-31.

built by students - besides a large number of cottages for boys, poultry-houses, sheds, etc.; that there is a printing office, a carpenter shop, a laundry, a sewing school, forty acres of growing crops, with live stock and tools; and that preperations are now being made with the limited funds that are at the command of this most deserving school to add to the industrial department black-smithing, tinsmithing, shoemaking, fruit-canning, broom-making, and a saw-mill!"³⁵

The establishment of a sawmill lowered the costs as timber from the farm could be cut for building material and firewood. Similar to the brickyard, the sawmill soon showed a profit as persons outside of the school found a ready supply of finished lumber. The mill cost figured;

"Saw Mill and Log Wagons	\$320.00
Labor- (outside)	53.70
Freight	61.90
Lumber, board of engineer, etc.	65.34
Fixtures	148.10" ³⁶

Add to the cost the engine and boiler at \$1,147, and the entire price came to \$1,796.04. With students cutting trees, hauling, and sawing the logs into boards ". . . we are realizing something now regularly from the sale of

35. Harlan, *BTW Papers*, 2:278.

36. Harlan, *BTW Papers*, 2:316.

lumber. . . ."37 After the installation of the mill, which required skills from persons outside the school, students did all the labor from felling trees to final finishing of boards. The use of oxen provided the pulling power of the heavy log wagons.³⁸

The carpenter shop well established by 1885 got its start from an initial donation of \$200.00 from the John F. Slater Fund.³⁹ The department trained not only carpenters but provided ". . . furniture made by the students, beds, washstands, tables, etc."⁴⁰

During the fourteen years from the founding of the school to the Atlanta speech the industrial department grew to include a brickyard, blacksmith shop, sawmill, printing office, sewing room, laundry, and cooking class.⁴¹ Few changes occurred after the establishment of these departments until 1895 when Washington ordered ". . . to have a more direct connection made between the class-room and industrial work, that is, I wish the one dovetailed into the other. . . ."42

There is a direct correlation between the Atlanta speech, and major changes of the Institute. Apparently the greatest construction, and alterations toward concentration on industrial training occurred at about the time of the speech. *Academic education*
Teaching, while still encouraged, became second to an education in the trades.

37. *Ibid.*

38. *Ibid.*

39. Harlan, *BTW Papers*, 2:244.

40. Harlan, *BTW Papers*, 2:279.

41. Harlan, *BTW Papers*, 2:310.

42. Harlan, *BTW Papers*, 4:68.

Washington insisted that the academic department submit to industrial training in such a way that ". . . The students in their composition work can go to the brick yard and write compositions about the manner of making brick or harnessing horses. . . ."43 The math department should concentrate less on theory and ". . . be gotten out of actual problems in the blacksmith shop, tin shop, or farm. . . ."44 The changes were a necessary adjustment to demonstrate a reality to the compromising essence of the Atlanta Exposition Address:

A student in the Industrial Department made a contract to stay in the department two to three years. Any term of shorter duration would not properly prepare the student. The academic course of simple English education offered preparation in math, science, and language that could be readily applied to the industry, and gave students a love for education. Boarding, required to be on campus, influenced students to temperate habits.⁴⁵ The training offered a choice of "Farming, including fruit culture, Dairying, Stock and Poultry raising, Brickmaking, Brickmasonry, Plastering, Saw-mill work, Carpentry, Painting, Shoe-making, Harness-making, Tinsmithing, Blacksmithing, Wheelwrighting, Printing, ~~Matress-~~^{Matress-}making, Mechanical drawing, Cooking, Common Sewing, Dressmaking, Millinery work, Laundering and General house-keeping."⁴⁶

43. *Ibid.*

44. *Ibid.*

45. Harlan, *BTW Papers*, 3:315-316.

46. *Ibid.*, 3:315.

Academic Department 1881-1895

Providing teachers for a rural, largely uneducated race, required expertise in the rudiments--namely the proverbial three R's. Few entering students to Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute brought with them even the basics, although some could read or work arithmetic problems. The Negro of the time should not be downgraded for a lack of education. Most, including youngsters, found it necessary to assist parents in the fields, and had little time for school. More serious was the fact that the largest Negro population lived in rural areas--in small towns or farms--and could not go to schools usually located several miles distant. Further, a code of strict segregation marked the Southern society so the Negro could never consider attending a white school which could be found in every town and hamlet. Few efforts were made to establish Negro schools since the tax paid by the race, considerably less than whites due to farming and the crop-lien system, would not provide adequately for maintenance of a segregated teacher and schoolhouse. At least the low tax-base seemed to be the excuse often used to deny education to a race of Southerners. Even if money had been available whites, unless coming from the North "to save the South," never considered teaching Negro children.

Tuskegee attempted to change all that by training Negroes to teach Negroes. The student admitted to enter attended a nine month school year for a period of four years. Opening on the first Monday in September classes continued until the last of May. In 1882 students entered either the Junior Class or Preparatory Class with its A and B sections. The distinction came through an exam given the first week of each year. Passing satisfactorily in reading and arithmetic through long division gained entrance to the Junior Class. Those who failed,

but could read and write, and had some knowledge of arithmetic entered the Preparatory Class. Students in the Prep class, after gaining basic education, could enter the Junior Class upon successful passing of the ~~entering~~^{entrance} examination.¹

In the 1882-83 academic year the four year course of study began with the Junior year:

"Junior Year

LANGUAGE

Elocution and Reading - Physical and vocal drill.

Orthography - Spelling and dictation exercises, (both written,) and punctuation.

Composition - Original composition, oral and written, including sentence-making, letter writing, (business and friendly,) and composition on general topics; abstracts.

Grammar - Analysis of sentences; parsing.

MATHEMATICS

Mental and Written Arithmetic - Completing factoring, decimal and common fractions, U. S. money and denominate numbers, and begin percentage.

GEOMETRY

Study of lines and angles and common forms of surfaces and solids.

1. *Catalogue of the Tuskegee State Normal School At Tuskegee, Alabama For the Academical Year 1881-82*, Hampton, Va.: Normal School Steam Press, 1882, p. 10.

GEOGRAPHY

Study of natural and political divisions of land and water, commercial geography, special study of the geography and history of Alabama, and map drawing.

History

History
~~History~~ of the United States and outlines of form of government of. Lives and characters of prominent men connected with each period.

WRITING

Elements of letters and Spencerian copy-book.

GYMNASTICS

VOCAL MUSIC

B MIDDLE YEAR

LANGUAGE

Reading and Elocution - Physical and vocal drill; definitions of terms used and principles.

Orthography - Spelling and dictation exercises (written,) and punctuation.

Composition - Original, oral and written, including simple stories, letter-writing (business and friendly,) and compositions on general topics; abstracts.

Grammar - Analysis and parsing; simple figures of speech.

MATHEMATICS

Mental arithmetic completed; written arithmetic and elementary algebra.

GEOMETRY

Geometrical drawing.

GEOGRAPHY

Mathematical and physical geography, first half of year.

ASTRONOMY

Simple lessons in, during last half of year.

HISTORY

Outline of universal history.

PHYSIOLOGY AND HYGIENE

VOCAL MUSIC

WRITING

Elements of letters and Spencerian copy-books.

GYMNASTICS

A MIDDLE YEAR

LANGUAGE

Elocution

Orthography

Composition - Oral and written.

Rhetoric

LITERATURE

Study of lives and principal works of American authors.

MATHEMATICS

Written Arithmetic and Elementary Algebra, completed.

GEOMETRY

Geometrical drawing.

NATURAL PHILOSOPHY

HISTORY

English history and review of American history in connection with.

ZOOLOGY AND BOTANY

Elementary lessons in.

VOCAL MUSIC

GYMNASTICS

SENIOR YEAR

LITERATURE

Study of lives and principal works of English authors.

MATHEMATICS

Review of Arithmetic; book-keeping.

GEOMETRY

Elementary Geometry.

CIVIL GOVERNMENT

Special study of Constitution of the United States and school laws of Alabama.

ZOOLOGY AND BOTANY

CHEMISTRY AND MINERALOGY

MENTAL PHILOSOPHY

GYMNASTICS

VOCAL MUSIC

We expect in future to have a training school in which students of the Normal School may receive practical training as teachers. Lectures on practical subjects are given throughout the course."²

In 1884 night school opened for students unable to meet costs of schooling even if supplemented through part-time labor. The student worked at an industry during the day, and attended classes two hours at

2. *Ibid.*, 6-9.

night.³ A night school student completed one year's normal study in two.⁴ Most night school students attended only one year. The pay for their labor during the day was credited to them, but not paid in cash. At the beginning of the second year enough usually had been earned to cover the cost of three more years coupled with regular day part-time labor. The requirements to enter night school amounted to an inability to pay for school, being no younger than sixteen, and ability to do an adult's labor. If the student chose a particular trade he wished to learn, then an attempt to place him was made. Occasionally the department quickly filled, and the student worked in another area until ^{the} a desired position opened.⁵

The night school remained small in numbers allowing only the poorest of students ^{to enter.} entrance. The full-time day student, of which the foundation of Tuskegee depended, had a strict schedule of activities combining industry or agriculture, academic, and Bible studies. A regular schedule by 1886 illustrated the day of a student:

" . . . 5a.m., rising bell; 5:50 a.m., warning breakfast bell; 6 a.m., breakfast bell; 6:20 a.m., breakfast over; 6:20 to 6:50 a.m., rooms are cleaned; 6:50 work bell; 7:30, morning study hour; 8:20, morning school bell; 8:25, inspection of young men's toilet in ranks; 8:40, devotional exercise in chapel; 8:55, '5 minutes' with the daily news; 9 a.m., class work begins; 12, class work closes; 12:15 p.m., dinner; 1 p.m.,

3. Basil Mathews, *Booker T. Washington*, 76.

4. Washington, *The Story of My Life and Work*, 361.

5. Thrasher, *Tuskegee: Its Story and Its Work*, 66.

work bell; 1:30 p.m., class work begins; 3:30 p.m., class work ends; 5:30 p.m., bell to 'knock off' work; 6 p.m., supper; 7:10 p.m., evening prayers; 7:30 p.m., evening study hours; 8:45 p.m., evening study hours; 8:45 p.m., evening study hour closes; 9:20 p.m., warning retiring bell; 9:30 p.m., retiring bell."⁶

The Classes, seven in all, were divided . . .

". . . A, B, and C, Preparatory, Junior, B Middle, A Middle and Senior . . . [and were] arrange[d] . . . so that a certain number of these classes of divisions work on each of the 5 school days each week, and divide them so as to make as nearly as possible an equal number of students work on one day . . . "⁷

On Saturday the classes were divided in half, and an extra work day alternated every other week. The schedule offered students a chance to concentrate on their chosen trade one day a week, and every other Saturday. Tuskegee could count on^a full day of work every day of the week.

The religious scope of Tuskegee, being Christian but undenominational, went hand in glove with a student's education. On each and every day, as indicated in the daily schedule, students twice worshipped through devotional exercises or prayer. During morning service, offerings of prayers and readings of verse from the Bible gave strength for the day. The morning service included a discussion of news items which had been gleaned from newspapers earlier in the morning. The devotional brought students together at a single time for exchange of ideas. At the close a bell rang

6. Washington, *The Story of My Life and Work*, 99-100.

7. Harlan, *BTW Papers*, 3:359.

and three hours of recitation in the classroom commenced, while the day's industrial students returned to work.⁸

Included in the Academic Department, the Phelps Hall Bible Training School prepared young persons for the ministry. First opened on January 11, 1893, the course of two years involved Bible lessons, lectures, and required mastering of English for preaching and writing. The Bible school remained undenominational. The faculty in 1894 was

" . . . composed of the strongest men in the country, Rev. E. J. Penney in in charge of the work, and he assisted by Rev. B. H. Peterson, and Mr. J. D. McCall, Rt. Rev. B. T. Tanner, Rev. C. O. Boothe, D. D., and Rev. R. R. Morris, D. D., Rev. Geo. W. Clinton have been engaged to give a regular course of lectures during the year."⁹

As in all departments tuition was free. Students could work out a portion of the eight dollars cost of room and board in the industries.¹⁰ Entrance, open to men and women, supplemented academic and industrial training so that graduates went out into the South as " . . . earnest teachers of a wholesome life."¹¹

The Normal Department, being the largest of all the departments, began in the Preparatory Class and continued for four years. Classwork included arithmetic, geography, reading, language, drawing, vocal music

8. Harlan, *BTW Papers*, 2:279.

9. *Catalogue of the Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute*, Tuskegee, Alabama: Normal School Press, 1894, 38.

10. *Ibid.*

11. Thrasher, *Tuskegee: Its Story and Its Work*, 123.

and writing. In the second year students moved into the Middle Class with essentially the same courses but with literature, physiology, and botany added. The third year, A Middle Class, required discipline in geometry, rhetoric, physics, music, government, history, drawing, and literature. A students Senior year made preparation for teaching. Classwork extended to chemistry, psychology, pedagogy, literature, political economy, book-keeping, history, moral science, and grammar. Graduates of the Normal Department obtained an education similar to a modern high school graduate. Completion qualified persons to teach in graded schools.¹² Required of Normal School students was proficiency in at least one industrial trade or in agriculture.¹³

The well-developed programs at Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute provided opportunity to virtually every young Negro despite level of education or monetary problems. By 1894 a woman could choose a career through the competent Nurse-training program.¹⁴

12. *Catalogue of the Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute*, Tuskegee, Alabama: Normal School Press, 1894, 32-33.

13. Washington, *Story of My Life and Work*, 360.

14. *Ibid.*, 42-43.

"I now come to that one of the incidents in my life which seems to have excited the greatest amount of interest, and which perhaps went farther than anything else in giving me a reputation that, in a sense might be called National. . . ."1

That incident, the most significant of Washington's career, catapulted him into the role of national Negro leader. Appointed by whites, and trusted by Negroes his voice rang out the virtue of submission to secondclass citizenship tempered through practical education. In accepting a caste system the race need no longer struggle. By learning a trade no threat could be made against white superiority. Their place would be to labor. Washington merely added virtue to labor by turning the philosophy of work around from being worked as in slavery, to intelligent labor as ~~of~~ free men. Tuskegee appeared to the young as a place to gain an education" . . . in order that they might find some method of living without manual labor; that is they had the feeling that to work with the hands was not conducive to the development of the highest type of lady or gentleman"2

On the eve of the Atlanta Exposition Washington had placed his career on the line since the opening of Tuskegee Normal School fourteen years previously. The philosophy of a race would not be to make "plowboys" and

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1. Washington, *Up From Slavery*, 147.
 2. Washington, *Story of My Life and Work*, 59-60.

"servants" for whites but of ". . . the dignity, beauty and civilizing power of intelligent labor."³

The Board of Directors of the Cotton States and International Exposition contacted Booker T. Washington requesting ^{that} he make an address during the opening ceremonies. Specifically in presenting the Negro exhibit he could point to the achievements of the Negro since emancipation.⁴ In reply to the speaking invitation, he thanked the Directors for recognizing not him personally, but the race as a whole. He hinted at the course the speech would follow at the close of the letter by ". . . Mak[ing] my remarks of service to the Exposition - especially the colored department - and to both races in the South."⁵

The day arrived and Booker T. Washington approached the podium, turned, and looked directly at the crowd. His fiery voice immediately set into the carefully worded speech composed with stories to prove his points. Essentially the Atlanta Address contained a compromise between whites and Negroes. He noted that one-third of the population of the South consisted of members of the African race. If the Negro did not own businesses and farming land, then the entire social and economic condition of the South would suffer. He opposed Negro migration to the North for two reasons: The Negro belonged in the South - the land he had been born

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4. Harlan, *BTW Papers*, 3:570.

5. Harlan, *BTW Papers*, 3:573.

and reared in; and a migration would only glut cities with unskilled people. The only solution would be to learn an industry or improve one's farming techniques. The Negro should "cast down his bucket" where he lived:

"Cast it down in agriculture, mechanics, in commerce, in domestic service, and in the professions. And in this connection it is well to bear in mind that whatever other sins the South may be called to bear, when it comes to business, pure and simple, it is in the South that the Negro is given a man's chance in the commercial world"6

The Atlanta speech may be termed a turning point from the Old South of slavery, Civil War, and Reconstruction. The Old South needed to be forever buried, and a race given a chance to prove their real worth. The whites should only extend to the Negro the respect that would make mutual progress possible. The Negro had tilled the soil, built the railroads, and labored in every capacity. The time arrived for the intelligent training of a race to work equally among whites. In his skillful manner Washington outlined the plan which would be acceptable to all:

". . . In all things that are purely social we can be as separate as the fingers, yet one as the hand in all things essential to mutual progress."⁷

6. Washington, *Up From Slavery*, 155-156.

7. *Ibid.*, 157.

To live socially segregated, but work together would eventually lower the animosities of the race question. It also gave free-run for the South to enact Jim Crow laws, a problem Washington faced in later years. Finally, a new hope for all where

" . . . God, will come, in a blotting out of sectional differences and racial animosities and suspicions, in a determination to administer absolute justice, in a willing obedience among all classes to the mandates of law. This, then, coupled with our material prosperity, will bring into our beloved South a new heaven and a new earth."⁸

Favorable reactions to the speech came quickly. Printed in newspapers throughout the United States brought Booker T. Washington into national view. Most whites saw in him a Negro leader who, with tact and discretion, held possibility of bringing some sort of compromise between the races. The Negro looked upon him as one of their own. A recognized black man, and one in which the South accepted. He had given his speech in Atlanta where a few years before no Negro dared speak. The South had changed, and Booker was appointed the herald of the race question by both sides. For weeks newspapers in the North and South supported the ideals put forth. An optimism surrounded the speech causing Washington to write Hollis Burke Frissel, President of Hampton Institute,

" . . . Every Southern paper had had something to say editorially of my remarks and all in a favorable spirit. So

8. *Ibid.*, 159.

far not a single colored paper that I have seen had made
adverse criticism . . ."⁹

The belief in himself, and ideals would not wane. As time passed many persons had time to reflect on what he said, and a growing disenchantment followed. Particularly callous of Washington was W. E. B. Du Bois who, at first favored the Tuskegeean, but eventually became his major critic. Reflective Negroes as Du Bois wanted a quicker solution than plodding through generation after generation of industrially trained, second class Negroes. Immediate equality in all areas of society was called for by Du Bois. The powerful, and power desiring Washington displayed complexities of character after Atlanta, and offered no compromise. As money poured into Tuskegee in increasing amounts, and Tuskegee received recognition from Presidents McKinley and Roosevelt, Booker would remain confident that he was the spokesman of the race.

9. Harlan, *BTW Papers*, 4:49.

X
Tuskegee Institute: The Greater Years of Growth

"The coloured people and the coloured newspapers at first seemed to be greatly pleased with the character of my Atlanta address, as well as with its reception. But after the first burst of enthusiasm began to die away, and the coloured people began reading the speech in cold type, some of them had been hypnotized. They seemed to feel that I had been too liberal in my remarks toward the Southern whites, and that I had not spoken out strongly enough for what they termed the 'rights' of the race. For a while there was a reaction, so far as a certain element of my own race was concerned, but later these reactionary ones seemed to have been won over to my way of believing and acting."¹

In the years 1895 to 1915, the year of Washington's passing, Tuskegee enjoyed a boom. Nationally recognized, acceptably segregated, and educationally correct money poured into the coffers. Wherever Washington sought funding many willing donors could be found. With wide support from whites, backlash subsided, or at least came under control. To the Tuskegeean went money, and prestige, which to other would-be black leaders was denied. Washington wasted no time consolidating his power and influence. *Confidently Washington made* ~~With confidence,~~ successful speaking tours ~~were~~ made to the North and throughout the Southern states. Articles printed in journals, magazines, and newspapers increased several fold after Atlanta. Public relations became the task of Washington and he consummated it with skill.

1. Washington, *Up From Slavery*, 162.

A speaking tour to Houston, Texas, to speak before the Afro-American State Fair, August 25 to 29, 1896, brought into ~~intimacy~~ ^{and} Booker T. Washington ^{into intimacy.} ~~with~~ Emmet J. Scott. The careful organization by Scott convinced Washington that the man should be hired as his private secretary. With some reluctance Scott accepted, and arrived at Tuskegee September 10, 1897, and remained until 1915.

Emmett J. Scott (1873-1957) attended Wiley College in Marshall, Texas, from 1887 to 1890. He founded his own weekly, the *Houston Freeman*, after working as reporter for the *Houston Post*. After going to Tuskegee, a close relationship built up between Washington and his secretary. During the long absences from Tuskegee by Washington, Scott wielded the full responsibilities and powers of the college president. No other person in Washington's life knew of the activities both in front and behind the scenes than did Emmett J. Scott.²

In the year previous to the arrival of Emmett J. Scott a Negro, Slight of build, agreed to travel from Ames, Iowa to Tuskegee, Alabama. George Washington Carver eventually became the leading Negro American agricultural scientist. His research, especially with the peanut gave him world-wide fame. The addition of Carver as head of the agricultural department placed it on a level that ~~no one had been able to attain~~ ^{had not attained} previously.³

The growing permanent staff of qualified officers reflected a culmination in the administration of Tuskegee. The upgrading extended to all

2. Harlan, *BTW Papers*, 4:171.

3. Rackam Holt, *George Washington Carver*, Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1963, 106.

departments, and fund raising projects. In 1896 the total acreage amounted to 2,460, upon which stood thirty-seven buildings. The livestock of horses, mules, cows, and hogs numbered 265. A total of 46 vehicles "-wagons, buggies, etc. -" provided transportation and haulage. The total value of all the property was set at \$280,000.⁴ Add to this a yearly income from donations, endowments, appropriations, and student fees of \$97,716.86 demonstrated that despite the economic depression in its third year" . . . is the strongest proof that the country has faith in [Tuskegee] . . . "⁵ Students of the year 1895-96 cultivated 650 acres of land. The 867 students attending could choose from twenty-five industrial trades, and found shelter in student-constructed dormitories. The school pointed proudly to Tuskegee graduates engaged in such trades and professions as ". . . Teachers, clerks, ministers, physicians, shoemakers, farmers, printers, lawyers, pharmicists, brick-makers, real estate agents, merchants, dressmakers, domestic service, machinists, tanners, saw-mill men, mattress-makers, dairymen, painters, etc."⁶ Also looking upon proudly as father to son were schools at nearby Mt. Meigs, Ala.; Snow Hill, Ala; and Christianburg, VA. where graduates had wholly founded, constructed, and taught in the schools.⁷

The impetus given by wide support through national fame, and increased donations allowed Booker T. Washington to more easily run the motor, all ready set well in motion, of Tuskegee Institute. Washington did not relax,

4. *Fifteenth Annual Report of the Principal of the Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute*, Tuskegee, Ala.: Tuskegee Institute Steam Press, 1896, 5.

5. *Ibid.*, 3.

6. *Ibid.*, 7.

7. *Ibid.*

but with greater effort sought funds for the school. As more buildings went up, and enrollment steadily increased, more construction funds were asked for from whatever source could provide. The Negro race had built a successful educational institution, and its further expansion became the only concern.

XI

Construction, 1896-1915

"My work at Tuskegee has always been of a three fold nature. First, the executive work of the institution proper; second, the securing of money with which to carry on the institution; and, third, the education through the public press and through public addresses of the white people North and South as to the conditions and needs of the race"²

The full development of industrial education reached its zenith between 1896 and 1915. Industrial training of the time meant the teaching of crafts such as harnessmaking, wheelwrighting, bricklaying, dressmaking, shoemaking, and so on. Education remained the basics of well-known trades which appeared to hold the best possibilities of success. To bring the disciplines up to the highest levels buildings, materials, and tools were needed. Obtaining the equipment required money and it was successfully acquired.

The Buildings, 1896-1915

Chapel (c. 1898)

The groundbreaking for the chapel occurred March 20, 1896. The

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1. Washington, *The Story of My Life and Work*, 369.
 2. *The Alabama Journal*, April 4, 1940, 13.

Phelps Stokes family, always encouraging Christianity as demonstrated by the earlier Phelps Hall Bible Training School, donated funds for construction.³ Completed in 1897 the chapel became the center of religious life, and also served for Sunday evening talks by Booker T. Washington on practical subjects from teaching, to religion, and industrial work. In 1898 President McKinley spoke at the chapel.⁴

Considered the most architecturally significant of Tuskegee buildings the chapel was designed by R. R. Taylor who also taught architecture and mechanical drawing. Valued upon completion at \$30,000 the work from making brick, to digging the foundation, to cutting timber and making the wood-working was done by students.⁵ The building contained 1,200,000 bricks.⁶ Plans called for a Greek cross the ". . . extreme dimension from northeast to southwest, extending through nave and choir, [was] one hundred and fifty-four feet six inches. The dimension from northwest to southeast, through transepts, [was] one hundred and six feet."⁷ Interior construction of lumber, cut and placed by students, formed a roof ". . . of the hammer beam construction. The clear span of the main trusses [was] sixty-three feet, which [was] the width of the nave and transept. The angle trusses [had] a clear span of eighty-seven feet, projection from the walls under

3. *Ibid.*, 4.

4. Booker T. Washington, "How Tuskegee Does Its Work," *Frank Leslie's Popular Monthly*, LII, (September 1901): 434.

5. Washington, *Story of My Life and Work*, 365.

6. Booker T. Washington, ed., *Tuskegee and Its People*, New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1905, 45.

7. Washington, *Story of My Life and Work*, 365.

trusses slightly decreasing the span. The gallery on back [was] thirty feet wide, extending over girls' cloak room and twelve feet into main auditorium."⁸

The flooring consisted of oak, with all other woodworking in yellow pine. Students designed and built the pews and cornices in the joiner shop. The tin and slate roofing, and steam plant for heating and lights were all put in by students. The chapel received the first steam heating and electric lighting of any building on campus.⁹

The spacious chapel seated 2,400 on a bowled floor. The height of the walls were from floor to top ". . . twenty four feet six inches; from floor line to highest point of ceiling, forty eight feet six inches."¹⁰ A square bell tower graced the front, and stood one hundred and five feet. The interior was lighted ". . . from three main chandeliers, with thirty lights each, ten of two lights each, and twelve of one light each, and from a reflecting disc of forty lights over the choir stand."¹¹

The floor plan provided rooms thusly:

"In the rear are choir room, study for minister, and two small vestibules, one on either side of chapel, giving entrance

8. *Ibid.*

9. Thrasher, *Tuskegee: Its Story and Its Work*, 48.

10. Washington, *The Story of My Life and Work*, 366.

11. *Ibid.*, 366-367.

to choir room, study and main auditorium. A large basement is provided, and in this the steam heating plant, is located. At the northeast end of the auditorium is the pulpit platform, which is large enough to seat the entire faculty of eighty eight members. This platform is two feet six inches above the main floor. Immediately behind this and elevated three feet above it, is the choir stand, with seating capacity for one hundred and fifty persons. The chapel is sufficiently supplied with windows to give abundant light and ventilation, a very pretty effect being secured by the use of delicately tinted colored glass."¹²

An interesting sidelight were the stained glass windows of Tuskegee Institute's first chapel with their motif in eleven of the most widely known Negro spirituals. They were probably the only stained glass windows using such a theme.¹³

The student Tuskegee choir could be heard every Sunday. Always stressing music Washington believed the slave past of the race need not be forgotten. To this end he stressed the researching of, and singing of Negro spirituals which were the most remembered of slavery. The Tuskegee choir went on tours to the North for fund raising and benefits. The choir today is one of the strongest and widest known aspects of Tuskegee Institute.

12. *Ibid.*, 365-366.

13.

Slater-Armstrong Memorial Agricultural Building, 1897

The Alabama Legislature of 1896-97 passed an act establishing a Branch Agricultural Experiment Station to ". . . advance the interest of scientific agriculture . . ." at Tuskegee Institute.¹⁴ The act required that buildings and equipment be provided by the Institute. A yearly appropriation of \$1,500 would be added to the regular State appropriation for support of research. The appropriation was specifically designated ". . . for the purpose of maintaining and operating Experiment Stations, with the view of educating and training colored students . . . in scientific agriculture."¹⁵ The head of the Agricultural Department and Experiment Station, George Washington Carver, gained acclaim throughout Alabama and the nation as a result of the experiments conducted at Tuskegee.¹⁶ The Slater-Armstrong Memorial Agricultural Building housed the Department and Experiment Station.¹⁷

The two and a half story structure contained ". . . recitation-rooms, laboratory, museums, library, and an office" ¹⁸ It was well adapted for agricultural experimentation, and equipped for dairying. The value upon completion in 1897 was \$10,000.¹⁹ The dedication

14. *Catalogue of the Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute*, 1897-98, Tuskegee, Ala.: Tuskegee Institute Steam Press Print, 1898, 80.

15. *Ibid.*

16. Washington, *Story of My Life and Work*, 351.

17. Washington, ed., *Tuskegee and Its People*, 44.

18. *Ibid.*

19. Washington, *Story of My Life and Work*, 352.

of the building included an address by United States Secretary of Agriculture James Wilson.²⁰

In the vicinity of the building the experimental farmland and school farm offered agricultural education to students. Experiments included ". . . those relating to soil building, the hybridization of sea-island cotton with some of the common short staple varieties, [and] fertilizer tests with potatoes"21

After 1901 a wing was added at a cost of \$5,000. The building also contained a museum of agricultural products, and results of experiments to illustrate lectures.²²

Slater-Armstrong Memorial Trades Building, 1900

Cassedy Hall served the mechanical industries until 1900 when the Slater-Armstrong Memorial Trades Building was completed. Money for the project came from J. W. and Belinda L. Randall Charities fund of Boston, and George Foster Peabody of New York.²³ The building measured 283 feet by 315 feet built in a rectangular shape around an inner courtyard.²⁴ It contained twenty-seven rooms the smallest being 37 X 42 feet, the largest 37 X 85, with an average ceiling height of 13 feet. The main portion was

20. Washington, ed., *Tuskegee and Its People*, 44.

21. *Ibid.*, 45.

22. "Tuskegee to Date," *The Tuskegee Student*, Tuskegee Institute, Alabama, April 28, 1906.

23. Washington, ed., *Tuskegee and Its People*, 46.

24. Thrasher, *Tuskegee*, 46.

two sides with wings on each side of one story. A later addition was a sawmill room. J. H. Washington directed the department, and R. R. Taylor drew up plans for construction. The completion cost came to \$36,000.²⁵

Constructed of brick from the campus brickyard, the structure had steam heating and electric lighting. The roof was tin.²⁶ Yellow pine provided the woodworking. Student labor was used throughout the construction process.²⁷

Slater-Armstrong Memorial Trades building contained the men's industries. The first floor provided rooms for ". . . the Director's office, wheelwright, blacksmith, tin, carpenter, and repair shops, printing office, woodworking, iron working, foundry, brick masonry, plastering, boiler, engine, and general stock rooms . . ." ²⁸ The second floor contained ". . . the harness, tailor, shoe and paint shops, mechanical drawing, carriage trimming and upholstery rooms, a reading room and an electrical laboratory." ²⁹

As some students pounded iron into tools, cut upholstery for carriage interiors, and cut leather for shoes others engaged in constructing a library, a gift of Andrew Carnegie.

25. Washington, *Story of My Life and Work*, 353-354.

26. Washington, ed., *Tuskegee and Its people*, 46.

27. Thrasher, *Tuskegee*, 46.

28. Indianapolis *Freeman*, February 10, 1900, Booker T. Washington Papers, MS., Library of Congress, Washington D. C.

29. *Ibid.*

Carnegie Library, 1901

Andrew Carnegie, steel magnate, added a library building to Tuskegee Institute. Carnegie was not at first receptive to Washington's overtures for some of the money that the steel king doled for libraries throughout the country. For ten years requests arrived at Carnegie's office, but not until 1900 did a favorable reply cross Booker's desk. An argument to the effect that a library building could be put up at a good price with student labor appealed to Carnegie. He designated up to \$20,000 for a library building.³⁰

Carnegie Library had Corinthian columns at the entrance, and reached two stories in height. Besides the library, design included ". . . a large assembly-room, an historical room, study-rooms, and offices for the librarian."³¹ Students constructed it, and built the furniture.³²

Dorothy Hall, 1901

The girl's trades building, Dorothy Hall, was completed and put into service in 1901.³³ It accommodated the industries of ". . . sewing, dress-making, millinery, laundering, cooking, housekeeping, mattress-making,

30. Washington, *Story of My Life and Work*, 361-362.

31. Washington, ed., *Tuskegee and Its People*, 49.

32. *Ibid.*

33. *Nineteenth Annual Report of the Principal of the Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute*, Tuskegee, Ala.: Tuskegee Institute Steam Press, 1901, 5.

upholstering, broom-making, and basketry."³⁴ The Phelps Stokes sisters, who gave the Chapel and Phelps Hall, also provided Dorothy Hall.³⁵

Huntington Hall, 1900

Sleeping rooms for girl's were provided in a number of cottages and buildings. The importance of homemaking could be taught at the cottages through a home-like atmosphere. The cottages were Willow, Hamilton, Parker Memorial Home,³⁶ and Mary T. Scott Cottage in 1905.³⁷ Aside from the cottages the girl's dormitories included Alabama Hall, Douglass Hall, and Huntington Hall.³⁸ Huntington Hall contained twenty-three sleeping rooms, and had two stories including a basement and attic.³⁹ R. R. Taylor designed the building, and it was finished in 1900.⁴⁰ Mrs. Collis P. Huntington gave the building to Tuskegee Institute.⁴¹

34. Washington, ed., *Tuskegee and Its People*, 49.

35. *Ibid.*, 48.

36. Washington, ed., *Tuskegee and Its People*, 43.

37. *Historic Assets: Macon County, Alabama*, Montgomery, Ala: South Central Alabama Development Commission, June 1975, 153. (Tuskegee Institute Archives)

38. *Twenty-Fourth Annual Catalogue of the Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute*, Tuskegee Institute, Ala.: Tuskegee Institute Press, 1905, 13-14.

39. *Ibid.*, 13.

40. *Historic Assets: Macon County, Alabama*, Montgomery, Ala: South Central Alabama Development Commission, June, 1975, 155. (Tuskegee Institute Archives)

41. Washington, ed., *Tuskegee and Its People*, 43.

Rockefeller Hall, 1903

The expanding enrollment by 1900 required more accommodations for men students. John D. Rockefeller soon provided \$34,000 for the construction of a dormitory to be named Rockefeller Hall.⁴² The structure, three stories high, provided quarters for 150 students.⁴³ It's accouterments included bathrooms, electric lighting, and steam heat.⁴⁴ Also included were rooms for a library, museum, and hothouse. George Washington Carver lived on the ground floor for thirty-five years.⁴⁵

Administration Building, 1902

The Administration Building was located on the main thoroughfare of the school. It's construction followed Norman lines avoiding woodworking so as to make it fireproof. Plans called for a two story structure with attic.⁴⁶ Located in the building were rooms" . . . of the Principal and Secretary, the rooms of the Executive Council of the Treasurer, of the Auditor, of the Business Agent, and the Commandant of the Battalion, who

42. Itemized Statement, Rockefeller Hall 1903 Folder, Box 709, *Booker T. Washington Papers*, MS., Library of Congress, Washington D. C.

43.

44. *Twenty-Fourth Annual Catalogue of the Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute*, Tuskegee Institute, Ala.: Tuskegee Institute Press, 1905, 13.

45. *Historic Assets: Macon County, Alabama*, Montgomery, Ala.: South Central Alabama Development Commission, June 1975, 151. (Tuskegee Institute Archives).

46. *Twenty-Fourth Annual Catalogue of the Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute*, Tuskegee Institute, Ala.: Tuskegee Institute Press, 1905, 15.

is the head of the Police Department of the school."⁴⁷ Of significance to students at the building was the campus U. S. Post Office, and the Students' Savings Bank.⁴⁸

Huntington Academic Building, 1904

The Collis P. Huntington, or Huntington Academic Building was constructed by funds provided by Mrs. Collis P. Huntington in memory of her husband.⁴⁹ Classroom needs had outgrown the first academic building Porter Hall. The structure was the largest on campus, and all academic studies were done there. Huntington Academic demonstrated the greatest skill by students of the student-built structures in its appointments up to the time.⁵⁰ Having outside dimensions of 183 by 103 feet provided space for ". . . recitation-rooms for all classes, [and] it contain[ed] a gymnasium in the basement for young women, and an assembly-room on the top floor capable of seating 800 persons" ⁵¹ The cost amounted to \$40,000.⁵²

47. "Tuskegee to Date," *The Tuskegee Student*, April 28, 1906.

48. *Ibid.*

49. *Twenty-Fourth Catalogue of the Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute*, Tuskegee Institute, Ala.: Tuskegee Institute Press, 1905, 15.

50. *Historic Assets: Macon County*, Alabama, 141.

51. Washington, ed., *Tuskegee and Its People*, 51.

52. Donation Letters, 1904 Huntington Memorial Academic Building Folder, Box 711, *Booker T. Washington Papers*, MS., Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.

George Washington Carver exhibited his paintings in the auditorium and top floor. The Lewis Adams School and Tuskegee Institute High School were also housed at Huntington.⁵³

Frederick Douglass Hall, 1904

General William J. Palmer, Colorado railroad magnate, provided funds toward the erection of a girl's dormitory. He specified that the building be named for a noted Negro. Frederick Douglass received the honor.⁵⁴ Eventually Palmer payed \$25,000 for completion of the hall.⁵⁵ It provided thirty-three rooms for sleeping quarters, and an assembly room for 750.⁵⁶ In the assembly room ". . . the Dean of the Women's Department [held] meetings with the girls on questions of health, morals and manners."⁵⁷ Two stories in height the interior had a basement in its central section. It was heated with steam, and was provided with electric lighting.⁵⁸

53. *Historic Assets: Macon County, Alabama*, 141.

54. Donation Letters 1904, General William J. Palmer Folder, Box 710, Palmer to BTW, March 1, 1904., *BTW Papers*, MS., Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.

55. Washington, ed., *Tuskegee and Its People*, 43.

56. *Twenty-Fourth Annual Catalogue of the Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute*, Tuskegee Institute, Ala.: Tuskegee Institute Press, 1905, 15.

57. Washington, ed., *Tuskegee and Its People*, 44.

58. *Ibid.*

Tantum Hall, 1907

Miss Margaret W. Tantum became interested in the work at Tuskegee, and donated \$25,000 for construction of a girl's dormitory. Tantum Hall was named in memory of her father, Dr. James D. Tantum. It was formally dedicated in 1907.⁵⁹

Tantum Hall had outside dimensions of 47 feet 5 inches by 150 feet. Its two story height included a two story piazza on the front and a one story piazza on the end. Overall design followed lines of Colonial architecture. The interior contained thirty-seven rooms with the ". . . first story to contain sixteen bedrooms, one room for the matron, one waiting room, two bath rooms in connection with the two guest rooms, and two flights of stairs leading to the second floor. The second story will contain eighteen bedrooms and one sitting room."⁶⁰ The structure was built by students who made the brick and finished the yellow pine for the woodworking. Steam and electric lighting were provided.⁶¹

Boy's Bath House (R.O.T.C. Armory), 1904

Completed in 1904 the Boy's Bath House contained a swimming pool. The funds came from an anonymous donor.⁶² Advocating the gospel of cleanliness

59. Donation Letters 1905, Folder Miss Margaret W. Tantum, Box 718, *BTW Papers*, MS., Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.

60. *Ibid.*

61. *Ibid.*

62. *Historic Assets: Macon County, Alabama*, 147.

the young men were encouraged to make use of the bath house several times a week.

White Memorial Hall, 1909

White Memorial Hall was constructed as a woman's dormitory, and as a center of the ^womans' department activities.⁶³ Mr. Alfred T. White, of New York City, gave \$50,000 for the construction of the building, a memorial to Alexander Moss White of Brooklyn.⁶⁴ White Hall replaced Alabama Hall on the same site. It was dedicated in 1910.⁶⁵

An outstanding feature of the structure was the clock tower with its ". . . bronze tower and clock . . . installed in 1913. The music of the chimes . . . 'The Cambridge Quarters.' The clock controls the electric clocks around the campus."⁶⁶

On the lawn of White Hall stood Adler Bandstand constructed in 1913. The bandstand ". . . was a single-story rustic, wood frame, open structure built of native timbers . . ."⁶⁷ The band played open air concerts often during the bandstand's day.⁶⁸

63. *Historic Assets: Macon County, Alabama*, 127.

64. Donation Letters 1907 T-2 Folder Mr. Alfred T. White, Box 728, *BTW Papers*, MS., Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.

65. *The Tuskegee Institute Bulletin*, Vol. 5, No. 2, (1910-11), Tuskegee Institute Press, 1911, 14.

66. *Historic Assets: Macon County, Alabama*, 127.

67. *Ibid.*

68. *Ibid.*

Tompkins Hall, 1909

The Dining Hall, or Tompkins Hall, named after Charles E. Tompkins of Southport, Connecticut, dwarfed the Huntington Building largest up to the time. It seated 1,600 students, and 180 teachers in a separate dining room. An assembly room seated 2,500.⁶⁹ Robert R. Taylor designed Tompkins Hall.⁷⁰ Upon completion and dedication \$65,000 had been spent on construction.⁷¹

In Tompkins Hall Booker T. Washington took his breakfast. He ate therein order to personally view the care the students received. All persons connected with the preparation of the food, the setting of tables, and cleaning of linen were subject to spot inspections by him. If any tablecloth were soiled or fresh flowers not set upon every table, the guilty person became subject to his reprimand. On the students part Washington expected them to enter the dining hall with clean hands, and clothes, and shined shoes. These bits of discipline he watched carefully at the chagrin and criticism of many officers of the school. He believed the race could not be lifted from slavery if allowed to remain in a condition of squalor and negligence.⁷²

69. *The Tuskegee Institute Bulletin*, Vol. 5, No. 2, (1910-11), 13.

70. *Historic Assets: Macon County, Ala.*, 133.

71. Local Correspondence, 1904 R. R. Taylor Folder 4, Box 553, *BTW Papers*, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.

72. Basil Mathews, *Booker T. Washington*, College Park, Maryland: McGrath Publishing Company, 1948, 109-112.

Milbank Agricultural Building, 1910

The emphasis in agriculture became stronger in the years intervening from the construction of the Slater-Armstrong Agricultural Building (1897) to completion of Milbank (1910). The department had expanded under the direction of George Washington Carver to include divisions of farming, truck gardening, fruit growing, care and management of horses and mules, dairy husbandry, dairying, swine raising, beef production, canning and veterinary science. Milbank was then built in a central location of the productive farm to better serve classroom and field work.⁷³

Tuskegee Institute's own Robert R. Taylor designed Milbank Hall. The structure was a gift of Mrs. Elizabeth Milbank Anderson of New York, and it provided offices and classrooms. George Washington Carver moved his office there from the Slater-Armstrong Building, and at Milbank many of his famous experiments were conducted.⁷⁴

The 1910-11 *Bulletin* offered a detailed description of Milbank as an effort to entice prospective students to enter the profession of agriculture:

"The general plan is rectangular, being sixty feet wide by one hundred and twenty feet long. It is three stories high.

73. *The Tuskegee Institute Bulletin*, Vol. 5, No. 2, (1910-11), 83.

74. *Historic Assets: Macon County, Ala.*, 117.

The principal side of the building faces south.

"The first story contains three large rooms. The room on the north side, nineteen feet wide and the full length of the building, is used for creamery purposes. It is fitted up with both hand and power machinery of the most modern type. On the south side is a room for repairing farm machinery. This room is nineteen feet wide by fifty feet. On the same side is a class-room, nineteen feet by forty feet, for studying live stock. This room is fitted up with raised seats as to give every student a good view of the animal studied. [?] Separating the creamery from the other two rooms is a driveway eleven feet wide.

"The second floor contains the laboratories, museum, two class rooms and offices for instructors.

"The third floor contains an assembly room with a seating capacity of three hundred, and nine class rooms.

"Wide stairways give easy and convenient passage from one story to the other. Externally the building is constructed of brick with stone trimmings. The roof is covered with slate. The interior trimming is of southern pine, finished in the natural wood. The walls are plastered. It is lighted by electricity and heated by steam."⁷⁵

Power Plant, 1915.

The central heating plant installed in 1915 demonstrated the most outstanding example of the full development of the industries. As in

75. *The Tuskegee Institute Bulletin*, Vol. 5, No. 2, (1910-11), 84.

previous construction activities all work was done by students under the supervision of R. R. Taylor, Director of Mechanical Industries.⁷⁶ Of course, a power plant required much more skill due to its many electrical and mechanical components than did other structures. The plant provided power distribution to all buildings on campus. It contained within its walls ". . . boilers, . . . engines, generators, electric wiring, transformers, power piping and steam conduits; sewerage system and disposal plant; ice plant; [and] cold storage plant" ⁷⁷ The needs of the Institute required ice making and cold storage due to the overall warm temperatures of the region. Washington included in his report that far more skill had been required of the students in construction of the plant. They had done work by making;

single space
"The galvanized iron work which includes skylights, down spouts and the tar and gravel roofing was done by the Tinsmithing Division. The ornamental iron work which includes the iron stairs, iron platforms, etc., had been ~~done~~ ^{done} by the Machine Division. All the cast iron manhole covers and frames were made by the Foundry Division. All the forging for the wrought iron rollers and other blacksmithing has been done by the Blacksmithing Division. The machine work on the wrought iron rollers, cast iron manhole covers and other such machine work has been done by the Machine Shop Division. All of the

76. *Thirty-Fifth Annual Report of the Principal and Treasurer*, May 31, 1916, Tuskegee Institute Press, Ala., 1916, 12-13.

77. *Thirty-Fourth Annual Report of the Principal and Treasurer*, May 31, 1915, Tuskegee Institute Press, Ala., 1915, 9.

Electrical wiring inside of the building and the lines extending over the school grounds had been done by the Electrical Division. A large part of the carpentry work was done by students and former students of the school. Mr. Jailous Perdue, who is one of our instructors, was the foreman in charge of the work. With some exceptions nearly all the brick work was done by our students and former students."⁷⁸

The final shifting from the old system of power plants within individual buildings to a central plant was done after inspections by representatives of the Westinghouse Company. Their favorable reports as to the safety and quality of work released the plant for use.⁷⁹

The engineer to design the system was Walter G. Franz. He waived his commission for the work. A New York company, Lord Construction, also donated their efforts in putting in much of the technical equipment. The plant cost \$274,612.00.⁸⁰

Laundry (Carver Museum), 1915

Expansion of the womens' industrial department required construction of a separate laundry building. Built next to the womens' industrial

78. *Ibid.*, 10.

79. *Ibid.*, 9.

80. *Thirty-Third Annual Report of the Principal and Treasurer*, May 31, 1914, Tuskegee Institute Press, Ala., 1914, 6.

building, Dorothy Hall, the laundry followed a similar design and was connected by a wall to give the buildings continuity. It's brick exterior measured 57 x 122 feet, and was one story high leaving ground below for a possible addition of a basement. The central power plant provided electricity and steam. Laundry equipment from Dorothy Hall found its way over to the new building, and additional equipment was added. The building considered more fully the comforts of the women by being ". . . generously supplied with windows which give ample light and ventilation. Ventilating flues also run from the ceiling through the roof so as to take off any steam or foul air."⁸¹ The building was protected by a tin roof. Inside trusses supported the roof by being built into the wall which also allowed the floor to be completely free of posts.⁸²

John A. Andrew Memorial Hospital, 1913

In memory of former Governor John A. Andrew of Massachusetts, his granddaughter, Mrs. Charles E. Mason donated funds for construction of the hospital.⁸³ The structure cost \$50,000 plus \$50,000 more in equipment. It was located on high ground on the west side of campus, and dedicated in 1913.⁸⁴ The hospital trained both men and women to enter the profession of nursing. Its purpose was ". . . (1) The better

81. *Thirty-Sixth Annual Catalog, 1916-17*, Tuskegee Institute Press, 1916, 16.

82.

83. *Bulletin of Tuskegee Institute*, Vol. LVIII, No. 1, (February 1965), Tuskegee Institute Press, 286.

84. *The Tuskegee Institute Bulletin*, 1915-16, Vol. 10, No. 2, Tuskegee Institute Press, 20.

care of the people on the grounds, especially in the way of preventing disease. (2) The training of a large number of nurses whose services are always in demand among both white and colored people. (3) It is furnishing the opportunity for a number of young colored internes to be trained, and (4), a place where our people, especially those demanding surgical treatment, can come and receive the best attention."⁸⁵

85. *Thirty-Third Annual Report of the Principal and Treasurer*, May 31, 1914, Tuskegee Institute Press, 1914, 12-13.

"The Negro should be taught book learning, yes, but along with it he should be taught that book education and industrial development must go hand in hand. No race which fails to do this can ever hope to succeed."¹

Academic Department

Tuskegee Institute after the Atlanta Exposition reflected the aura of compromise ushered in by Washington's speech. Education concentrated on industrial training with the academic ~~developed~~ ^{taking second place.} The reformed school, unlike the years before Atlanta, when demand for teachers seemed greater than the need for industrial education, reflected the change in philosophy. This change was coming into its own shortly before the speech when the title of the school became "Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute."² Normal education, while still important, fell behind in importance to the industries. Such training emphasized more individual fulfillment by, on one hand, offering training that employers needed, and on the other, keeping within bounds of acceptable Negro education. Emmett J. Scott noted that ". . . Tuskegee seeks to teach the dignity of labor to its students, to afford them the best possible opportunity for the development of their

1. E. Davidson Washington, comp., *Quotations of Booker T. Washington*, Tuskegee, Ala.: Tuskegee Institute Press, 1940, 18.

2. Harlan, *BTW Papers*, 3:274.

mental faculties, emphasizes systematic industrial training, and fosters the habits of right thinking and right living"³

With such goals in mind not all applicants could have been accepted from a population largely uneducated. However, the program was set up in such a way so that prospective students needed only a bare minimum of requirements;

"The requisites for admission to the Institute are a good moral character, attested by recommendations from some reliable person, a good physique, and a fair ability to read, write and cipher. No student who cannot read and write is admitted, and no student is admitted to any department, on any terms, under fourteen years of age"⁴

The course covered four years being delineated by the first year Preparatory Class; second, Junior Class; third, Middle Class; and fourth, Senior Class. The three classes A, B, and C of the preparatory Class reflected individual needs of the student. Those with deficiencies in areas of the academic such as in English, math, history and science were placed at the level best suited to prepare him for entering the higher classes. For instance, the C Preparatory Class included individuals lacking basic English skills, but could be entered only by students in the Night-School. The B and A classes were also basic but reflected

3. Thrasher, *Tuskegee*, 53.

4. *Ibid.*, 54.

higher levels of previous education. The English Prep classes in comparison;

"Language: - Text-Book: Woodley's Foundation
Lesson in English, Vol. I
Reading: - Stepping Stones to Literature,
Books II. and III; Home Reading."

Then B Preparatory Class;

"Language: - Text-Book: Sections 1,191, Mother Tongue,
Book I.
Literature: - Stepping Stones to Literature,
Book IV; Black Beauty; Home Reading."

And Finally A Preparatory Class;

"Language: - Text-Book: Section 1,191,473. Mother
Tongue Book I.
Literature: - Stepping Stones to Literature, Book V.;
Dickens, Christmas Carol; Home Reading."⁵

The levels of education as demonstrated in the English department also extended to all other areas of academic education. The delineation served only to bring the individual to the level necessary to enter the Junior Class in the next school year.

5. *Twenty-Fourth Annual Catalogue of the Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute (1904-05)*, Tuskegee, Ala.: Tuskegee Institute Press, 1904, 27.

The Junior Class composed all students during the second year after successful completion of the Preparatory Class. Following the Junior year students entered the Middle Class with its A and B divisions. The divisions served the same purpose as in the Preparatory Class.

Finally, if students passed all courses, had worked off part of their tuition, received grants, or obtained summer employment the Senior Class was entered. During the Senior Year students decided on choosing the Normal School or Industrial training. The final year prepared them to enter their chosen profession.⁶

The academic and industrial training extended over a six day period each week. The student body was divided into Night School and Day School. Night School students worked at the trades during the day accumulating their board in the treasury to eventually enter the day school while;

"The day-school students are divided perpendicularly through the classes into two sections, section No. 1 working in the industries every other day for three days a week and attending academic classes the remaining three days, while this situation is exactly reversed for Section No. 2. Thus every week-day half of each day-school is in the Academic Department, while the other half is in the Industrial"⁷

6. *Ibid.*, 19-20.

7. Washington, ed., *Tuskegee and Its People*, 62.

However, when one section was having a day in the industrial department the academic students of the day received lessons to be applied to their day in the industries; ". . . Interest in physics is aroused and sustained when the Academic instructor takes his class to the machine shop to see the industrial application, the utility of the science; a lesson in chemistry is fixed by a study of bread-making in the kitchen"8

It can be seen that a close correlation between the academic and industrial education made one inseparable from the other. To dwell upon the four year academic course-work in detail would be too lengthy for the scope of this study. Briefly stated in the *Thirtieth Annual Catalogue* students took the following classes:

"Day School: Junior Class

Reading	Concrete Geometry
Grammar	Writing and Drawing
Arithmetic	Geography
	Gymnastics (for girls)

Day School: B Middle Class

Reading	Agriculture (half year)
Grammar	Hygiene (half year)
Arithmetic	American History
	Gymnastics (for girls)

8. *Twenty-Fourth Annual Catalogue*, 1904-05, 24.

Day School: A Middle Class

Required

Reading

Grammar

Algebra

Elective

Bookkeeping

Ancient History

Chemistry

Note: Students are required to elect one subject and may elect two. Choice should be determined by the vocation the student intends to follow.

Day School: Senior Class

Required

English

Elective

Education

Economics

Modern History

Bookkeeping

Geometry of Physics or

Chemistry

Note: Students are required to elect two subjects according to the demand of the trade or profession. A third subject may be elected."⁹

When the student stepped upon the platform to receive a diploma he took with ^{him} an appreciation of academic living. In English great literature had touched his soul. The sciences fitted him with knowledge of the

9. *Thirtieth Annual Catalogue*, 1910-11, Vol. 5, No. 2. Tuskegee, Ala.: Tuskegee Institute Press, 1910, 23-24.

workings of machines, and composition of dairy products. With arithmetic the books could be balanced, and projected costs of farming over the next year calculated. History had given an appreciation of great men, and an awareness of his own race. And, grammar served to better allow communication with his fellow man.

"For some time after the Institute was established the students as general thing were not anxious to learn trades. They were glad to work while at the school, but it was a means to an end and not for the sake of what the work would teach them. Often the parents who sent them wanted their children 'taught books.' The last five or six years have seen a change in this respect. Now, almost without exception, the students wish to learn a trade"¹

The education of the race depended on a large class of industrial workers as Washington ~~distinguished~~ ^{remarked} during a speech in South Carolina:

" . . . but the time has come when a larger portion - not all, for we need professional men and women - of the educated colored men and women should give themselves to industrial or business life. The professional class will be helped in proportion as the rank and file have an industrial education so that they can pay for professional services."²

At Tuskegee, like no other Negro school, a student received an industrial education. Tuskegee offered a range of practical classes which in 1896 numbered nineteen but by 1915 the divisions had expanded to twenty-four.

1. Thrasher, *Tuskegee*, 75.

2. *Ibid.*, 52.

The addition of an industry kept pace with technological advancements. In 1896 a student chose from carpentry; repair (carpentry); blacksmithing; printing (house, vehicle, and furniture); plumbing, foundry, and machine building; shoemaking; brick-masonry; plastering; brick-making; saw milling; tin work; harness making; tailoring; free hand drawing; architectural drawing; and canning.³

Each industry was not isolated, but joined together in a single purpose. When a new building came under planning all the industries were coordinated toward completion of the project. The drawing department drew up plans, while the saw mill cut logs, taken from the school farm, into boards. The brick making division turned out bricks for the students in masonry to set into the walls. The wagons made in the wheelwright department hauled the materials, with the draft animals being controlled by harnesses made in the harness shop. As the building went up students engaged in plastering the interior, and others set woodworking in place. The tin shop turned out the roofing. The plumbing, with fixtures made in the foundry, was installed. And finally, the work clothes and shoes worn by the student workers may have been made at the school.⁴

From 1896 to 1915 the class offerings remained the same with a few changes. With technological improvements the industries were adjusted to include by 1905 electrical engineering, and steam fitting. The classes

3. *Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute, Catalogue 1896-97*, Tuskegee, Ala.: Normal School Steam Press, 1897, 60-78.

4. *Ibid.*, 72-75.

of architectural drawing, greenhouse management, and canning increased the educational choices.⁵ By 1915 the increase in automobile use made necessary the addition of auto mechanics. Students could also choose in the same year sign painting.⁶

The results of the work can be seen in the output of necessary supplies. Besides putting up buildings students maintained electric generators and steam boilers. Arc and incandescent lamps lit the campus due to students' work. An electric system, and telephone service linked the buildings. All of the labor of installing and maintaining the systems was done by students. At the evening meal fruit, served from one-gallon cans made in the tin shop, had been grown in the school orchard.⁷

The value of products for 1905 from the mechanical divisions amounted to \$100,295. The output encompassed from;

" . . . the harness shop 36 sets of new harness were made in addition to the repair work done on all the harnesses belonging to the school and for outside parties, In the electrical division, the interior wiring of the academic building, Emery Dormitory No. 2, and three cottages, was done by students, besides extending the electric light system on the outside of

5. *Twenty-Fourth Annual Catalogue of the Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute, 1904-05*, Tuskegee, Ala: Tuskegee Institute Press, 1904, 60-81.

6. *The Tuskegee Institute Bulletin*, Vol. 10, No. 2, (1915-16), Tuskegee, Ala.: Tuskegee Institute Press, 1915, 61-98. The *Tuskegee Institute Catalogs and Bulletins* from 1881-1915 give the tools and machinery used in each of the industrial divisions. Such information can be used to refurbish rooms or buildings during the historic period or for further interpretation.

7. Washington, *Working With the Hands*, 76.

the buildings. In the brickmasonry division 548,000 bricks have been laid, 224,800 laths have been put on, and 9,018 square yards of plastering have been manufactured."⁸

The value of work went beyond simply services thus provided, but increased the equity of the campus and aided the education of students.

Industrial Education, Women's Department, 1896-1915.

"While the men must work to get and keep the home, the wives and daughters must, in a great measure, supply and guard the health, strength, morals, and happiness of the family. Their responsibility is great in all that makes for the development of the individual and the community . . ."⁹

The education of women enabled them to qualify for a teaching position, but stress lay on building women to care for the home and family. Womens' industries reflected training designed to prepare the student for all aspects of home life. While any one of the trades could lead to factory employment the direction was more toward the home.¹⁰

The girls' department in 1896 included plain sewing, dressmaking, millinery, cooking, laundry, nurse training, housekeeping, and mattress

8. B. T. Washington, "Twenty Five Years of Tuskegee," *The World's Work*, April 1906, 7434.

9. Washington, *Working With the Hands*, 98.

10. *Ibid.*, 98-100.

making and upholstery.¹¹ By 1905 basketry, broommaking, and gardening had been added.¹² A feature of the department included the practice cottage. The cottage, similar to those found in country regions of the South, prepared girls for home life. The girls lived on a fixed budget, kept house, prepared meals, and entertained.¹³ The 1911 and 1915 womens' department changed little except for stressing outdoor work. Vegetable gardening, ornamental gardening, and poultry raising would help the future family by providing food, and adding grace to the home.¹⁴

The results of the work for the year 1905 was;

". . . 1,412 articles were made in the millinery division, 1,309 in the dressmaking division, 2,505 in the plain sewing division, 5,118 in the mattressmaking division, 1,367 in the broommaking and basketry divisions, and 498,076 pieces were ~~laundred~~ ^{laundred} during the year" ¹⁵

In addition the women produced poultry for the table, and honey from the apiary.¹⁶

11. *Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute Catalogue, 1896-97*, Tuskegee, Ala.: Normal School Steam Press, 1897, 71-76.

12. *Twenty-Fourth Annual Catalogue of the Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute, 1904-05*, Tuskegee, Ala: Tuskegee Institute Press, 1904, 82-93.

13. Washington, *Working With the Hands*, 100-101.

14. *The Tuskegee Institute Bulletin*, Vol. 10, No. 2, (1915-16), Tuskegee, Ala.; Tuskegee Institute Press, 1916, 109.

15. B. T. Washington, "Twenty-Five Years of Tuskegee," *The World's Work*, April 1906, 7434.

16. *Ibid.*

Agricultural Department, 1896-1915

"The purpose most eagerly sought by the Agricultural Department of the Tuskegee Institute is to ~~demonstrate~~^{demonstrate} to the farmers of Alabama, first of all, that with right methods their acres can be made to yield unfailing profit, and that they can win in the fight against the deadly mortgage system"¹

The agricultural department had been neglected in favor of training teachers up to 1896. The fact that most Negroes of the South engaged in farming was long recognized. Equipment and buildings did not fill the need in training farmers to go out among the population to assist in spreading more efficient techniques. The principal pointed out that;

"Notwithstanding the fact that 85 per cent. of the colored people of the Gulf States depend for their living upon agriculture in some form, very little has been done thus far in giving first-class training along the various lines of ~~culture~~^{agriculture . . .}"²

A temporary set-back for improving the program of agriculture occurred in 1895 when the barn burned. Full recovery did not result until 1900 when money from persons in Brooklyn made possible the

1. Washington, *Working With the Hands*, 163.

2. *Fifteenth Annual Report of the Principal of the Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute*, Tuskegee, Ala.: Tuskegee Institute Press, 1896, 4.

replacement of the building... To avoid a future occurrence of such a great loss separate buildings were planned including ". . . a hennery, creamery, dairybarn, horse-barn, carriage-house, tool-house, piggery, silos, and slaughterhouse."³ Accordingly the stock was replenished, and the department showed improvement despite the tragedy.

The course in agriculture covered a two year period. During the first year, besides required academic courses, agricultural students engaged in livestock raising, horticulture, practical agriculture, botany, dairying, bacteriology, and vegetable physiology. The second year students endeavored in cryptogamic biology, agricultural chemistry, principles of heredity, seeds and grasses, dairying, horticulture, farm drainage, vegetable pathology, animal nutrition, and bacteriology of milk.⁴ Coursework gave students a knowledge of farming as a science.

Teaching agriculture as a science had an end to release farmers from the drudgery of their work. Few Negro farmers, of which many of the students were sons, had been enabled to learn modern methods due to the mortgage system. The school aimed to teach the race through its agricultural department;

". . . To get to own land, even if it be so little, on which a man can raise such crops as he chooses, and from which he need not move from year to year. To cultivate a little land well, instead of poorly. To raise every article

3. Washington, ed., *Tuskegee and Its People*, 46.

4. *Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute, catalogue 1896-97*, Tuskegee Ala.; Normal School Press, 1897, 59.

of food possible, and to go without all those absolutely essential which he cannot raise, until he has the money to pay for them. To learn to utilize the natural resources of the country - fruits, nuts, and forage - now almost ^{wholly} ~~wholly~~ neglected, and to improve the dairy, poultry yard and hog pen. To acquire sufficient education so that he may be able to plan out what he wants to do, to keep account of what he is doing, and to understand if he has done what he ought."⁵

Trained people leaving Tuskegee influenced farmers throughout the South, especially those who could not leave ^{the farm} ~~their work~~ to acquire a better education.

After assuming head of the department in 1896, George Washington Carver immediately set out to show farmers how they could improve cotton-exhausted or generally poor soils. Within a few years he had ". . . raised two hundred and sixty-six bushels of sweet potatoes on a single acre of common land, and made a net profit of one hundred and twenty-one dollars. The average yield . . . is thirty-seven bushels per acre."⁶ Carver and his eight assistants led continuing experiments in improving soils and increasing production. Students engaged in the experiments and thus received methods for their own future research. The State of Alabama supported the work by a grant for the Experiment Station.

5. Thrasher, *Tuskegee*, 106.

6. Washington, *Working With the Hands*, 136.

As demonstrations in increasing production proved successful the farm provided ". . . the vast amount of farm and garden products, used by the 1,200 people constituting the population of the school. . . ." ⁷ In 1901 ". . . 135 acres of the home farm were devoted to the raising of vegetables, strawberries, grapes, and other fruits. The Marshall farm, with 350 acres in cultivation, is utilized for the growing of corn, sugar cane (from which syrup is made), potatoes, grain, hay and other farm products." ⁸

The Marshall farm under J. N. Calloway employed steadily ". . . thirty to forty-five boys . . ." ⁹ Students attending Night-school could elect agriculture instead of a trade.

Farming techniques improved so that by 1904;

". . . we cultivated 900 acres of land. Our sweet potato crop alone amounted to 6,500 bushels. Our daily herd, which has been cared for by students, contains 171 milch cows, and 16,332 pounds of butter were made during the year . . ." ¹⁰

Sale of the produce to the Institute came to a value of \$56,188. ¹¹

7. Washington, *The Story of My Life and Work*, 352....

8. *Ibid.*

9. *Ibid.*

10. B. T. Washington, "Twenty-Five Years of Tuskegee, *The World's Work*, (April 1906), 7434..

11. *Ibid.*

A number of divisions could be chosen from by 1911, and covered a period of three years for a degree. The divisions included farming, truck gardening, fruit growing, care and management of horses and mules, dairy husbandry, dairying, swine raising, beef production and slaughtering, canning, and veterinary science. Of 2,400 acres constituting the farmland, 1,000 acres came under year around cultivation. The students maintained 1,200 head of stock. The Truck garden produced vegetables for sale to town. In the division of management of horses and mules 172 animals provided haulage. Dairy cattle numbering 212 supplied all dairy products. The swine raising and fruit growing division increased the food produced.¹²

The farm work by 1911 reached full production compared with 1915. The wide use of fertilizers, modern equipment, scientific application to practical problems, and proper business practices resulted in the success.¹³

12. *The Tuskegee Bulletin*, Vol. 5, No. 2., (1910-11), Tuskegee Institute, Ala.: Tuskegee Institute Press, 1911, 83.

13. *The Tuskegee Institute Bulletin*, Vol. 10, No. 2, (1915-16) Tuskegee Institute, Ala.: Tuskegee Institute Press, 1916, 119.

"Any Institution runs a great risk when it begins to grow."¹

The Institute grew in size of the physical plant, curriculum, trades, and extension services from 1896 to 1915. Programs required money which came from yearly donations, student fees, legacies and endowment investment. However, the major portion of funds came from the hundreds of persons, Negro and white, who gave small amounts from fifty cents to a few dollars. The formulation of the projected budget and investment of the endowment fund lay in the hands of the Trustees. Booker T. Washington took the responsibility of acquiring donations.

Tuskegee showed remarkable growth by 1896 compared to its founding fifteen years previously. The school was nationally famous as was also the principal. In 1881 when Washington arrived at Tuskegee no college awaited his administration. With only a loan of \$200 he put a down payment on a farm of 100 acres with only three shanties. Tuskegee in 1896, through wise use of funds, boasted a student body of 1,164 with 88 teachers. Property valuation had increased to \$300,000 with no mortgages. The campus contained 42 buildings largely built by the hands of students. The farm, timber, and campus acreage amounted to 2,267. This was quite a growth from 100 acres, 35 students, and two teachers. Yet the greatest growth had not occurred.²

1. E. Davidson Washington, *Quotations of Booker T. Washington*, Tuskegee, Ala.: Tuskegee Institute Press, 1938, 32.

2. *Fifteenth Annual Report of the Principal of the Normal and Industrial Institute*, Tuskegee, Ala.: Tuskegee Institute Press, 1896, 6.

The United States Congress in 1862 passed the Morrill Act - which allowed Federal mineral lands to be given to colleges in the United States. In 1895 Congress under the Act gave 25,000 acres of land in Alabama to Tuskegee Institute. The lands could be sold so as to provide funds for use by the Institute.³ The lands, located in Walker, Tuscaloosa, and Jefferson Counties, yielded some funds over several years through sale.⁴

The cost of running the institution in 1896 came to \$97,716.86. Of the income \$56,545.50 went directly to the conduct of the Institute. The remainder went toward maintenance and increase of the permanent plant. The breakdown of income came ". . . from the following sources:

Donations	\$62,835.96
Endowments.	2,153.27
State Appropriation	3,000.00
Slater Fund	5,400.00
Peabody Fund.	1,200.00
Interest on Invested Funds.	172.55
Cash from Students.	9,356.91
Departmental Receipts	2,262.19
Miscellaneous Sources	9,840.78
Cash on hand.	1,495.20
	<u>\$97,716.86</u> "5

3. *Ibid.*, 7.

4. *Thirty-Second Annual Report of the Principal and Treasurer, Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute, Tuskegee, Ala.*: Tuskegee Institute Press, 1913, 10.

5. *Fifteenth Annual Report, 1896*, 3.

The Institute operated in the black. To add further to the income, students did labor to the amount of \$45,288.10. The income from student labor was interpreted only on paper to be used only in defraying the costs of the individual's schooling. Many students received aid through scholarships of \$50 a year which covered tuition. A permanent scholarship of \$1,000 was invested and provided a yearly tuition stipend of \$50.⁶

The Dizer Fund provided aid to graduates of Tuskegee Institute. The founders of the fund increased the amount to \$4500 in 1896. Graduates could take out loans from the fund to be used toward construction of homes. In this way comfortable homes could be provided at low cost. The interest collected upon repayment went directly in aiding the school.⁷

The 1905 Treasurer's Report demonstrated a marked increase in the expenses of running the Institute. The cost rise occurred through the pains of growth in construction, increase of student body, improvement of the trades, and general inflation of necessary goods. The total receipts came to " . . . \$324,928.55, of this amount \$111,827.51 was for permanent improvements and equipment, \$18,730.83 for endowment and the remainder, \$213,155.04 for general expenses" ⁸ The school showed an indebtedness of \$25,389.58, but that had been reduced from 1904.⁹

6. *Ibid*, 4.

7. *Ibid*.

8. *Twenty-Fourth Annual Report of the Principal and Treasurer, Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute, Tuskegee, Ala., May 31, 1905*, 15.

9. *Ibid.*, 16.

Endowments and donations included monies given of the ". . .Special Donations for Plant and Equipment, Endowment Fund Statement . . .[of the] . . .Andrew Carnegie and William K. Jesup Funds, the Dizer Fund, Cochran and Milholland Fund, Harmon Students' Loan Fund, Students' Beneficiary Fund, Cuban Students' Fund and Donors' List . . ."10 The Donors' List listed the numerous small donations given by persons throughout the United States. The receipts also showed the first income from the mineral lands of \$10,000 of 2500 acres.¹¹

The receipts remain meaningless unless compared to the growth of the Institute. By 1905 the school plant consisted " . . . of 2,300 acres of land; 83 buildings, large and small, used for dwellings, dormitories, classrooms, shops, barns, together with equipment, stock in trade, live-stock, and other personal property."¹² The valuation of the plant excluding the unsold mineral lands was set at \$831,895.32.¹³ And all for the education of 1,504 students, 194 children in the Training School (Kindergarten) in which Tuskegee students taught, and 56 in a night school for adults.¹⁴

In ten more years Dr. Washington increased the valuation several fold. The assets of the Institute at the end of the academic year 1915-1916 totaled \$3,642,955.98.¹⁵ Of the amount \$1,530,745.81 included

10. *Ibid.*, 15.

11. *Ibid.*, 15-16.

12. *Ibid.*, 7.

13. *Ibid.*, 7.

14. *Ibid.*, 5.

15. *Thirty-Fifth Annual Report of the Principal and Treasurer For the Year Ending May 31, 1916*, Tuskegee, Ala.: Tuskegee Institute Press, 1916, 20.

the real estate, buildings, stock in trade, and movable equipment. The endowment fund amounted to \$2,025,391.37. All expenditures came from yearly donations and appropriations, and interest from the endowment.¹⁶ The average attendance was 917 men and 647 girls.¹⁷

The success of Tuskegee can be attributed to Booker T. Washington, his philosophy of labor, and ability to make friends. Upon his death on November 14, 1915, he left a large educational institution in the hands of R. R. Moton. The school did not falter, but continued in the work of lifting a forgotten race to usefulness and respect.

16. *Ibid.*

17. *Ibid.*, 12.

~~XL~~

Tuskegee Institute: Extension of Its Work

The Effect of Tuskegee Institute on the Southern Negro

"If ~~you~~ ^{we} ask ~~me~~ to sum up ~~it~~ in a single sentence what, in my opinion, is the greatest evidence of progress on the part of the millions of black people in the South, I should say that it does not consist in anything that is tangible or visible, so much as in the change in the spirit of those people concerning the subject of labor, for there is little hope in this world, or in any other world for any race until it has learned that it is just as honorable to work in a field, in a shop or in a kitchen as ~~it~~ is to preach the gospel, teach school or write poetry. That is the great and fundamental thing which my race has learned." 1

1

E. Davidson ^{Washington} ~~Washington~~, comp., Quotations of Booker T. Washington, 14.

The effect of Tuskegee Institute compared to the goals of Booker T. Washington in "uplifting the race" is difficult to measure. The school had success toward the goal, and students were received into occupations throughout the South, but actual impact upon the race must be left for future research.

The training of Negro youth had some positive effect, since before the establishment of such schools as Tuskegee, farming was basically the only work a colored could find, and in that occupation he had only rudimentary knowledge. Perhaps many whites ^{agreed} ~~agreed~~ with Washington's view of the race when he stated;

"We shall constitute one-third and more of the ignorance and crime of the South, or one-third of its intelligence and progress. We shall contribute one-third to business and ~~industry~~ industrial progress of the South, or we shall prove a veritable body of death, stagnating, depressing, retarding every effort to advance the body ~~politic~~." 2

^{politic}

The Negro ^{needed} ~~required~~ mental and hand training after freedom in 1865. Gone were the days when the black could be held in involuntary servitude, and taught only to do the most menial and undesirable labor. The law called them forever free, and they could live "hand to mouth" leeching off of the white population wherever possible, or they could be trained in higher levels of skills. With skills in industry, and applying greater mental power to farming, the race would be able to make their own living, and increase the wealth of the entire South. In the population of coloreds a labor force had to be employed as they consisted of a large proportion of the population. A compromise between the races was required with the Negro gaining education, and on the part of the whites, hiring them for reasonable wages.

The development of Negro education in the South occurred ~~relatively~~ slowly after emancipation. The foundation of slavery binding the ^{Negro} ~~race~~ to the soil could not be loosened easily. In 1867 4,640,000 Negroes lived in the Southern States. Out of that number 114,522 attended day or night schools by 1869. Two years after the establishment of Tuskegee Normal School in ~~1881~~ ¹⁸⁸³ there existed 16,086 colored schools in the South with an enrollment of 821,380. They consisted of graded (day and night) schools, technical, and Bible schools. Illiterate-
racy among the colored population had been reduced from one-hun-

dred to seventy per cent, in that time. Alabama had discouraged free education for Negroes for many years while other Southern States moved ahead. In 1875 Alabama supported three Normal schools, and a smattering of graded schools. Various societies supported an additional five Normal schools in the State. The entire colored enrollment was estimated at 533.³ The *Addition*

3

J. M. Keating, "Twenty Years of Negro Education," *The Popular Science Monthly*, Vol. XXVIII (November-April 1885-86), 24-37.

addition of Tuskegee alleviated some of the educational needs of Alabama Negroes, but facilities ~~still lacked~~. *to educate the entire race still lacked.*

The majority of Tuskegee students came ~~from~~^{from} Alabama, but any qualified Negro could attend ~~from~~ any State, territory, or foreign nation. From 1881 to 1895 ~~1~~ one-hundred and ninety-four graduates and hundreds of under-graduates had passes through the halls of the institution. Any level of education ^{aided} ~~aided~~ the individual in obtaining employment. ⁴ By the 1914-15

4

Fourteenth Annual Report of the Principal of the Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute, Tuskegee, Ala.: Tuskegee Institute Press, 1895, 88.

school year over 1,500 students enrolled with a graduating class equalling over 300 per year.⁵ The increase of the school

5

Thirty-Fourth Annual Report of the Principal and Treasurer, Tuskegee, Ala.: Tuskegee Institute Press, 1915, 7.

plant and student body demonstrate that the Institute was having an impact on illiteracy, and ~~improved~~ skilled training of the race. *was improved.*

But with all the success of the school itself what was the impact upon the race ^{which} ~~which~~ it was founded to serve? What impact positive or negative did Booker T. Washington have upon the uplifting of the race?

The personality of Washington may have brought more credit to the work at Tuskegee than was deserved. At the time the normal school was established Fisk University, the University of Atlanta, and Hampton Institute had ^{trained} ~~trained~~ thousands of Negroes in the trades and professions. All that these schools lacked was a Booker T. Washington to lead the race, and bring credit to the institution. The leadership assigned to Washington - by blacks and whites - placed him in a position to dictate the means of Negro ~~P~~ progress. This philosophy, simply stated, was one in which the ^{masses of Negroes} ~~black~~ should ^{first} learn trades and ^{enter the} not ~~professions~~. The value and effect of the idea toward raising the Negroes' condition or of keeping the race in servitude is open to conjecture. ~~d~~ Much has been written opposing Washington's philosophy of "working with the hands" as has much favorable to ^{it} ~~him~~. A Southern historian C. Van Woodward felt that Washington's beliefs fell short even to the point of naivete:

"The shortcomings of the Atlanta Compromise, whether in education, labor, or business, were the shortcomings of a philosophy that dealt with the present in terms of the past. Not that a certain realism was lacking in the Washington approach. It is indeed hard to see how he could have preached ~~of~~ or his people practiced a radically different ^{philosophy} ~~philosophy~~ in his time and place. The fact remains that Washington's training school, and the many schools he inspired, taught crafts and attitudes more congenial to the pre-machine age than to the Twentieth Century; that his labor doctrine was a compound of individualism, paternalism, and antiunionism in an age of collective labor action; and that his business philosophy was an anachronism." 6

6

Hugh Hawkins, ed., Booker T. Washington and His Critics: The Problem of Negro Leadership, Lexington, Mass.: D. C. Heath and Company, 1962, xiv.

The Washington philosophy was intended to raise the millions of Negroes in the South at a time of increasing industrialization. Along with big business came ~~by~~ unions to ~~protect~~ collectively ^{protect} the interests of the workers. Individual initiative resulting in successful enterprises became a rarity. The days of a man learning all aspects of a trade slipped away without Washington perceiving it. Instead of blacksmithing, which required the individual to learn metalworking from melting ingots and reforming them into tools, horseshoes, and wagon wheel strapping, the worker had to specialize in one aspect of the operation. At the end of the Nineteenth Century the blacksmith trade was ending ^{and increasingly} being replaced by pre-cast or stamped metal products. The workers skill came in the specialization of one aspect of the assembly process ~~from start to finish~~. The

working of metal is one example of the change in industry during Washington's time. Many other examples can be given such as in shoemaking, printing, furniture manufacture, machine building and even farming. The invention of improved machinery for farming required more hands to operate the increasing complexity of the business ~~with its land~~.

A few trades were still valuable as their nature were ^{changed} ~~changed~~ little during industrialization. These included brick masonry, carpentry, plastering, electric^a ~~la~~ engineering and architectural drawing. But these trades could ~~only~~ stand ^{only} a relatively few before the market became glutted with workers.

The refusal of Washington to sanction the entering of professions by the race may have been misdirected or at least misunderstood by his antagonists. In the Atlanta ^{speech} ~~speech~~ Washington told his race to "Cast down your bucket where you are;". . . "Cast it down in agriculture, in commerce, in domestic service, and in the professions"

7

Washington, Up From Slavery, 155.

The speech clearly stated that Negroes should not be denied ^{a/} the opportunity to enter professions. What he later ^{p/}plained was that the vast numbers of Negroes should enter trades, that is, those ^{jobs} ~~businesses~~ which were most open to blacks. During Reconstruction Negroes rushed forward to become politicians, lawyers, and doctors. Few found it honorable to work and wanted to be released from the drudgery of labor. The point made was

that the professions supported the mass, and the masses were best suited in a trade. While Washington advocated second class citizenship the condition was only a step toward full acceptance when the race had shown ability and intelligence. Washington believed the race should concentrate on material upliftment through the trades, and the professions would follow in the wake. The opposition considered it ~~by~~ bowing and cringing before the whites. The leader of the opposition, W. E. B. Du Bois wrote in 1903 ~~that~~ what he believed the results of Washington's philosophy would be;

"As a result of this tender of the palm-branch,^R what has been the return? In these years there have occurred:

1. The disfranchisement of the Negro.
2. The legal creation of a distinct status of civil inferiority for the Negro.
3. ~~The steady~~ withdrawal of aid from ~~institutions~~^S for the higher ~~training~~^{training} of the Negro.

These movements are not, to be sure, direct results of Mr. Washington's teachings; but his propaganda has, without a shadow of doubt, helped their speedier accomplishment." 8

8

Hawkins, Booker T. Washington and His Critics, xiii.

Du Bois, being a contemporary of Washington, may have not analyzed the situation as it stood. The antagonism was further compounded by Du Bois' frustration at the ~~leadership~~ ^{leadership} role assigned to Washington. In the estimation of Du Bois one single leader~~t~~, leastwise Washington, could speak for all the complex needs of the race. At least several leaders were needed to speak for ~~the~~ the race, ~~in many areas~~. Civil rights, equality of the races, educational needs, job opportunity, and ~~all~~

philanthropic efforts by whites required more than the voice of one individual. After 1896 the Tuskegeean virtually held in his pocket the decisions of where donations went, to whom, and ^{for} ~~fro~~ what purpose. Du Bois believed the race would be elevated by a "Talented Tenth," or those ^{trained} ~~trained~~ in higher education - the professions - to lead the masses from darkness. But ^WWashington controlled the major philanthropists, ~~and~~ ^{and} their money was siphoned to trade schools, and cut-off from most institutions of higher education for blacks. It was Washington's philosophy with its conciliatory attitude that dominated race relations in the South from 1896-1915.

The leadership of Booker T. Washington influenced Negro life far more than did Tuskegee graduates. But some tangible results of the School's work, and that of the graduates can be seen. In the South and a few foreign nations Tuskegee graduates established schools, or aided people in improving farming methods.

In Macon County Washington provided a number of services for the Negro community. The Tuskegee Negro / Conferences began in 1892. Farmers from neighboring rural areas gathered together at the Institute to exchange ideas on farming. The facilities at Tuskegee greatly aided the farmer as he could see first hand the use of modern equipment and techniques. For those unable to attend the conferences Washington sent a wagon - the Jesup Agricultural Wagon - to teach by doing in the farmer's field. In 1907 the Farmer's Short Course was started and offered a quick farming course teaching modern methods. The techniques taught by the Institute resulted with ". . . more than five

hundred of the thirty-eight hundred Negro farmers in Macon County owning ^y their farms by 1910, and more than 90 per cent of the total were either owners or cash renters." ⁹

9

Samuel R. Spencer, Booker T. Washington and the Negro's Place in American Life, Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1955, 121.

In 1898 the first Negro County Fair was held as a further incentive for the Negro farmer.

The farmer's wife gained aid in cooking, sanitation, rearing children, dressmaking, canning, vegetable gardening and poultry raising through the efforts of Mrs. Washington. On Saturday's Mrs. Washington held the Women's Meetings which grew to 300 weekly participants.

The most outstanding work done for Negroes was the establishment of schools throughout Macon County. In 1904 Washington began the program that eventually resulted in fifty schools for Negroes. Modeled after ~~th~~ Tuskegee young Negroes received education in liberal arts, cooking, crafts, and gardening. He ^{also} ~~also~~ established a library for boys and girls in the town of Tuskegee, and a Ministers' Night School for the clergy in the region.

For the health and welfare of the Negro a hospital was constructed where free medical aid could be sought. Washington also formed a Building and Loan Association to help Negroes build homes through low interest loans. ¹⁰

10

Ibid., 122.

The influence of Tuskegee reached well beyond Macon County carried by graduates trained in public school education, and at least one trade. Throughout Southern states colored children were denied equal opportunity in grade school education. Tuskegee attempted to provide the educators to alleviate the basic need. The main problem was lack of funding of schools for Negro children, but also qualified Southern whites refused to teach in a non-white system. A number of white teachers from the North drifted to Southern states for the purpose of elevating the colored race, but in most communities local whites alienated the immigrants and occasionally ran them out of town.

For example, the discrepancy in funding Negro education was represented in South Carolina;

" . . . in district 9 Beaufort County . . . there was expended on the white children enrolled in the public school in 1911 \$127.30 per capita, and on the colored children enrolled in the same district \$2.74 per capita, or forty-six times as much on the white children as on the colored children." 11

11

Booker T. Washington, "Black and White In the South: Schools for Negroes," The Outlook, Vol. 106 (March 14, 1914), 591.

The inequity in funding Negro education was demonstrated in other counties of South Carolina. Under these conditions colored children attended a school open only two or three months

a year with a teacher paid at a rate of \$15 per month - less than half that of a white teacher. Alabama fared no better in Negro education as demonstrated by Wilcox County where for the education of white children was spent \$17 per capita, but for each black child just 37 cents. The State Superintendant of Education for Alabama reported in 1914 that

" . . . ^{there} ~~her~~ are 328,024 colored children in Alabama. Of this number 190,000 did not enter any school at all during the last year, and 90,000 of those entering were in school only from two to three months" 12

12

Ibid.

Such statistics were repeated ~~thru~~ throughout the South. The compromising attitude of Washington's ~~phil~~ philosophy did little to loosen the pocketbooks of Southern whites. The compromise appeared to be one-^{sided}~~sided~~ with the Negro remaining second-class, but not receiving encouragement form whites to learn even a trade.

Faced with the perplexity of a prejudice-rent ~~x~~ South, in that era ~~o~~ at the height of Jim Crow laws of disfranchisement and segregation, Tuskegee graduates founded schools. Being educated from the first day of class ~~in~~ as freshman to graduation on the labor philosophy of Washington these schools followed the Tuskegee model. The actual numbers of schools so founded is not known, but a representative list is given here to illustrate the far-reaching influence of Tuskegee ~~is~~ ideals on the Southern Negro:

- 1) Cornelia Bowen (class of 1885) founded Mt. Meigs ~~Colled~~ Colored Institute at Waugh, Alabama in 1889.
- 2) Mr. W. D. Floyd (1887) established Hawkinsville (Alabama) Rural and Industrial School in 1899.
- 3) William J. Edwards (1893) established the Snow Hill Normal and Industrial Institute at Wilcox County, Alabama.
- 4) John W. Oveltree (1893) founded the East Tennessee Industrial Institute at Harriman, Tennessee in 1893.
- 5) At Denmark, South Carolina Elizabeth E. Wright (1896) ~~ex~~ established the Voorhees Industrial School in 1899.
- 6) William H. Holtzclaw (1898) established the ~~Utica~~ Utica Normal and Industrial Institute in 1903 at Utica, Mississippi.
- 7) Warren E. Glen (1902) established two schools during his career. The Cordova Institute at Cordova, South Carolina was formed in 1902, and one year later he founded the Haloche Industrial Institute at Taft, Oklahoma.
- 8) In 1908 Nannie L. Butler (1908) established the Mary H. Holiday Public School near Luna Landing, Arkansas. 13

13

Rev. Anson Phelps Stokes, Tuskegee Institute The First Fifty Years, Tuskegee, Ala.: Tuskegee Institute Press, 1931, 33-34.

These § schools demonstrate the positive effects Tuskegee made in training qualified persons for teaching Negro youth throughout the South. They do not give the full impact as many graduates went directly to work for schools systems or entered a chosen trade. But Tuskegee's I influence went further with a number of ~~extend~~ extension programs directed toward educating and aiding those unable to attend the institution.

Extension Services of Tuskegee Institute

Negro Farmers' Conference

An invitation to farmers of Macon and surrounding counties in the "black belt" of Alabama to meet together culminated in the Tuskegee Negro Farmers' Conference, first held in 1892. The celebrities were the Negro farmer, and a few ministers and teachers, ^{but} not the politician. The conference became an annual event held in January or February shortly before Spring plowing. ^f ^{x 14}

^{x 14}
Harlan, BTW Papers, 3:209.

The Conference had two objectives;

"... 1st, to find out from the people themselves, the facts as to their condition and get their ideas as to the remedies for present evils, - 2nd, to get information as to how the young men and women now being educated can best use their education in helping the masses." ^{2 15}

^{2 15}
Albert Shaw, "Negro Progress on the Tuskegee Plan," Review of Reviews, Vol. IX, No. 4 (April 1894), 437.

The star of the Conferences was the Negro ~~far~~ farmer who came and ^{stood on} received the podium to speak freely on his successes as an abject lesson to others, ~~less fortunate~~. Since many could not read, and no printed literature reached the farmer that dealt with his particular need, the conferences gave time for an exchange of important ideas. The ^{men received} practical ideas offered ~~advice~~ ^{advice} on how to grow varied crops, improve livestock, ^{and} hygiene, and ~~for women how to keep a clean, attractive home.~~ ^{and} ^{3 16}
Women learned how to improve family hygiene, and to keep an attractive home.

#16

Booker T. Washington, "Land-Hunger In The Black Belt,"
Lippincott's Magazine, Vol. LXXVII, No. 462 (June 1906), 759.

The conferences evolved a gospel of thirteen points to be followed throughout the year;

- "1. Do not stand still and complain, but go forward - mere fault-finders accomplish little.
2. If you have an immoral minister or teacher, get rid of him.
3. It is wrong to keep your family in a house with but one room; have at least two rooms - three are better.
4. Do not plant too much cotton, but more corn, peas, sugar cane, sweet potatoes, etc.; raise hogs, cows chickens, etc.
5. Do not mortgage your crop; if you have done so, go in debt as little as possible.
6. Pay off the old debt as soon as possible, and do not make another one.
7. Keep out of law-suits. Do not lie around town on Saturdays.
8. ~~Don't~~ Don't waste money on excursions, whiskey, cheap jewelry and other things that can be done without.
9. Own a home just as ~~soon~~ soon as possible. Begin buying one this year.
10. A three-months school amounts to but little; extend the term to at least six months, by each one taxing himself.
11. See that you treat your wife better than you did last year.
12. Do not be deceived by emigrant agents.
13. Give the lessons learned in these conferences to your neighbor." # 17

#17

Max Bennett Thrasher, "Tuskegee Negro Conference," The Chataquan, Vol. XXXI, No. 5 (August 1900), 506-507.

After the conferences the farmer returned to his home with new ideas and skills that could be communicated to his friends. Students also gained a real education in the problems and needs of their own

race. The Farmer's Conference became ^{an} ~~an~~ ^{annual} event that all who could manage the trip to Tuskegee by walking, riding horses, or by ox-pull carts attended. Unfortunately, relatively few could make the journey.

~~The Jesup Agricultural Wagon filled the gap.~~

To reach rural farmers unable to attend the Conference the Jesup Agricultural Wagon brought the classroom to the countryside.

Jesup Agricultural Wagon

The need to reach Negro farmers in the field was ^{recognized} felt by Booker T. Washington. In the early years of Tuskegee Normal School Washington travelled to nearby towns to talk with farmers on moral living, cleanliness, and farming techniques. While the children attended regular classes their parents benefitted from instruction by the school, ~~also~~. ^{Such} The direct contact gained respect for the work at Tuskegee by both Negro and white. Washington began ^{this} a tradition of ~~extension services~~ ^{which became a} that ~~evolved into~~ a permanent program.

After his arrival in 1896 from Iowa State College George Washington Carver set out on journeys by wagon equipped with farm tools, and farming exhibits. Leaving Tuskegee wholly on his own time Carver ^{gave} effected demonstrations to poor farmers on many phases of farming. He covered such subjects as improving soils exhausted by cotton raising, the use of native plants for food and forage, and improvement in plowing and cultivating, ^{and lessons in scientific farming.} Carver's travel helped induce the Alabama Legislature to establish the Tuskegee Agricultural Experiment Station for educating young coloreds in agriculture. ^{2/8}

⁺¹⁸
 Thomas Monroe Campbell, The Movable School Goes to the Negro & the Farmer, Tuskegee Institute, Ala.: Tuskegee Institute Press, 79-83. ^{Tuskegee}

Insert I

^{donations of Jesup made possible}
 The ~~extension service~~ ^s culminated ~~with~~ the Jesup Wagon, a gift of ~~Morris Ketchum Jesup~~. A businessman turned philanthropist Jesup became a trustee of the Slater and Peabody funds for support of industrial education. The Jesup Wagon carried exhibits in farming techniques

Insert I

The trips made by Carver were encouraged, but he alone could not handle the huge work of reaching the masses of Negro farmers. Dr. Washington appointed a committee, headed by Carver, to design and equip a wagon for the demonstrations. With the plans in hand Washington sought aid from Morris K. Jesup to fund the project.

to rural Alabama communities. ²¹⁹

²¹⁹

Harlan, BTW Papers, 2:244.

In June 1906 the wagon left Tuskegee with George R. Bridgeforth as extension agent. The work continued under Bridgeforth until Thomas M. Campbell graduated in November. Washington then requested that Campbell take on the task of heading a "Farmer's Cooperative Demonstration" as the Movable School became known. ³²⁰ The new director

³²⁰

Campbell, The Movable School, 90-92.

saw that the equipment carried by the wagon was of the latest invention, but available ~~at~~ in price to the poor farmer. The items included ". . . a cream separator, a milk tester, a revolving hand churn, a ~~the~~ two-horse steel-beam plow, a one-horse steel-beam plow, a diverse cultivator, a spike toothed harrow, a middle burster, a set of garden tools." ^{544 21} Thomas Campbell expanded the demonstration circuit over the next few years.

^{544 21}

Ibid., 94.

The ~~pass~~ passage of the Smith-Lever Act expanded agricultural extension ^s services in Alabama under the Land Grant Colleges. The Alabama Polytechnic Institute at Auburn accepted responsibility for the work in ~~the~~ Alabama. Under the Act greater appropriations allowed ^{with higher appropriations the} extension programs. ~~The~~ work could be carried further distances from

~~14~~ 18

Macon County so the mule-drawn Jesup wagon was retired in favor of
crating the exhibits for travel by railroad in 1914. ^{68 22}

522

Ibid., 106.

The Tuskegee Press

To carry the ideals of Tuskegee Institute to the rural Negro the Institute Press published three newspapers. They were the Tuskegee Student, The Tuskegee Messenger, and the Southern Letter. In them news of ^{interest} ~~interest~~ was printed for the ^{Negro} ~~race~~.²³

23

Stokes, Tuskegee Institute The First Fifty Years, 39

Rosenwald Schools

Julius Rosenwald contributed matching funds for the construction of graded schools in the South for Negro children.²⁴ The funds were distributed through the Tuskegee Institute.

24

Thirty-Second Annual Report of the Principal and Treasurer, Tuskegee, Ala.: Tuskegee Institute Press, 1913, 6.

In the last report submitted by Booker T. Washington in 1915 he reported that ninety of the schools had been started or completed ²⁵ using the Rosenwald donations.²⁵

25

Stokes, Tuskegee Institute The First Fifty Years, 40.

Department of Records and Research

Over a number of years inquiries as to the history or ^{present} condition of the Negro resulted in the establishment of the Department of Records and Research. Founded in 1908 the

first director was Monroe N. Work under whose leadership
 the program ^{was} greatly expanded. Mr. ^{Work} established the
 biennial Negro Year Book which contained valuable infor-
 26
 mation on the condition of Negro life in America.

2

26

Ibid.

National Negro Business League

The philosophy of Negro self-help was embodied in
 the National Negro Business League founded by Booker T.
 Washington in 1900. The first meeting was held in Boston
 with four hundred Southern and Northern Negro Businessmen
 attending. The League emphasized what the Negro had ~~at~~ done
 and could do for himself rather than looking to radical groups
 and politicians for support. The organization grew in numbers
 with local leagues located throughout the nation wherever
 communities of Negroes existed. The League encouraged indi-
 vidual Negroes to start and run businesses, and in turn,
 hire other Negroes as the business expanded. Washington
 was president of the League from 1900 to his ^{death} ~~death~~ in 1915. 27

27

Emmett J. Scott and ~~Lyf~~ Lyman Beecher Stowe,
Booker T. Washington Builder of a Civilization, New York:
 Doubleday, Page & Company, 1916, 185-86.

However, by 1900 the spread of large corporations with capital in the millions nullified the theory that any individual could rise through simple hard work in the business community. Washington did not understand this shift in the economy, and success by the Negro was then limited.

28

John Hope Franklin, From Slavery to Freedom,
New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1967, 396.

The NNBL spread the influence of Washington further. The local leagues established Tuskegee ideals in urban areas as other programs of Washington had influenced Southern rural areas. With the leadership of Washington firmly secured by the Atlanta address the League went unchallenged for a decade after its founding.

29

Spencer, Booker T. Washington and the Negro's Place in American Life, 124.

Tuskegee Institute Influence in Africa

Along the northern west coast of Africa, between the countries of Ghana on the west and Dahomey on the east, was the German Colony of Togo. It was fitting that Tuskegee graduates should travel to that region where slave traders had taken some of their forebears to the United States in the Eighteenth Century. The German government attempting to raise the economy of the subsistence-farming natives inquired

of Booker T. Washington to recommend persons qualified in cotton growing. The Institute selected Sheperd L. Harris, Allen L. Burks and John W. Robinson to accompany James N. Calloway, director of the Institute farm, to the colony. Their work established cotton as one of the staple crops of Togo.

30

Washington, ed, Tuskegee and Its People, 194-95.

In 1905 five graduates left for the Sudan in eastern Africa with the same mission as the original team ^{had in} ~~to~~ Togo. ³¹

31

Twenty-Fourth Annual Report of the Principal and Treasurer, Tuskegee Institute, Ala.: Tuskegee Institute Press, 1905, 6.

Conclusion

The influence of Booker T. Washington as the leader of the Negro race from 1896-1915 greatly aided in the establishment of Tuskegee Institute ^{extension} programs. Persons interested in Programs to "uplift" the Negro in America and Africa could turn to to the school at Tuskegee for willing aid.