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The Demise of Industrial Education for African Americans:
*Re*visiting the Industrial Curriculum in Higher Education

A Thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
Of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Humanities

By

William Lawrence Allen
B.F.A., Eastern Michigan University, 1994

2006
Wright State University

June 8, 2007

I HEREBY RECOMMEND THAT THE THESIS PREPARED UNDER MY SUPERVISION BY William L. Allen ENTITLED The Demise of Industrial Education for African Americans: *Re*visiting the Industrial Curriculum in Higher Education BE ACCEPTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF Master of Humanities.

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ABSTRACT

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for African-Americans: Revisiting the Industrial Curriculum
in Higher Education.

The purpose of this study was to examine the causes that

led African Americans to resist industrial education higher

education, which ended industrial training programs in

predominantly Black colleges and universities during the

1920s. Three key factors helped create this reform

movement: 1) the death of Booker T. Washington; 2) the

improved educational levels of African Americans; and 3)

the rise in aspirations of African Americans to expand the

benefits of higher education. The loss of the Civil War

caused a reorientation of southern and economic conditions.

Newly freed slaves had to be granted citizenship.

   Southern Whites were more concerned with rebuilding the

South while holding onto the power. Several key characters

emerged as leaders within the debate of African American

education during the late 1800s and early 1900s.

Armstrong, Washington, and Jones were among the many

supporters of industrial education, while DuBois and Miller

supported the argument of the liberal arts education for African Americans.

Three *research questions* addressed the issues surrounding the ideology of African Americans' education: (1) What role did hegemony and ideology play in African American education and how did they influence Booker T. Washington's and W. E. B. Dubois's position on how African Americans should be educated; (2) What was the Black ideology of African American education; and (3) What was the White ideology of African American education?

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Chapter I—Introduction

This study examined the causes that led African

Americans to resist industrial education in higher

education, which ended industrial training programs in

predominantly Black colleges and universities during the

1920s. Three key factors helped create this reform

movement: 1) the death of Booker T. Washington; 2) the

improved educational levels of African Americans; and 3)

the rise in aspirations of African Americans to expand the

benefits of higher education.

Industrial education in the America has been credited to

European educators and philosophers. Chief among them was

educator Johann Heinrich Pestalzzoli (Harlan, The Making of

a Black Leader 63, Louis, Biography of a Race 123).

Pestalzzoli believed that "impression resulted from

expression" (Barlow 22). The applications, theories, and

concepts spelled out in books coalesced effectively in the

mind of students if they took these theories and applied

them to real acts.

Historically, the European Industrial Age eventually

phased out the tradition of apprenticeship as the chief

means of transferring knowledge and labor practices to a

younger generation. Larger numbers of skilled laborers were needed as market demands and capitalist ambitions grew. Instead of one-on-one training, investment was placed in schools with specialized training programs. Students came from working class and poor families, and they became the future labor resources for their given trades. Their labor often helped alleviate economic burdens of the institute (Barlow 26-28). These ideas eventually made it to American shores.

The history of industrial education in Black higher education began with the end of the Civil War and the North's increased influence on the South. According to historian David Leverin Lewis, the victorious North was ahead of the South economically. The North had growing urban centers of diversified manufacturing and industry, along with agriculture in its rural areas. With growth came the emergence of business tycoons and captains of industries such as financiers George Foster Peabody, Andrew Carnegie, and oil magnate J.D. Rockefeller, all of whom played important roles in education funding. They assembled labor forces numbering in the thousands who built their lives and homes near their places of work. These factors merged together and spurred the growth of the cities. Social services, such as public education, were needed to

help with the demands placed on the urban environments. Money was generated through local and state tax dollars along with donations from businesses and private citizens, thus establishing the public school system (Lewis, Biography of a Race 117-118). According to Pamela Walter of Indiana University, northern states had practiced funding schools through property taxes since the1820s (Walters 39), which attracted freed African Americans to the North. However, the prospective African American college student of the 19th and early 20th century did not have total access to higher education. They were compelled to go south to Black institutions (Thompson 49).

The South had subsisted on slave labor and agriculture for its economic vitality and seceded from the Union to preserve it (Lewis, Biography of a Race 118). The loss of the Civil War destroyed that system, and the southern states had to rebuild under the thriving North's economic system. The affluent White planters who survived were concerned first with themselves and maintaining order (Wormser 32). Therefore, priority given to education had been miniscule up to that point. Any available resources for education went to underprivileged White children (Walters 39). However, because of the passage of the Morrill Act in 1862, the South was obligated to help

educate the millions of poor, illiterate ex-slaves (Humphries 3). The Morill Act spurred the founding of many land-grant colleges across southern states after the Civil War. Although the act did not exclude academic training, it did explicitly state the purpose of "teach[ing] such branches of learning are related to agriculture and mechanical arts, in such a manner as the legislatures of the states may be respectively prescribed…" (Christy 3).

The climate of Reconstruction made it possible for Samuel Chapman Armstrong to establish the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute in 1868. Chapman was a former Union officer who spent time with the federal government agency, the Freedman's Bureau, working to clothe and educate ex-slaves (Harlan 60, Litwack 61, Wormser 43). He left the bureau and to found Hampton by receiving financial and material assistance from the American Missionary Association and private contributors (Harlan 61). Armstrong implemented a curriculum which combined military training exercises learned while serving in the army during with vocational training like he had observed while growing up in Hawaii (Harlan, The Making of a Black Leader 58-61).

Hampton's curriculum was beneficial to its students in the years following the Civil War. According to Harlan, admittance to the school was probably not as financially

burdensome as other institutions, as the institutes famous pupil, Booker T. Washington's "sweeping exam" demonstrated (Harlan, The Making of a Black Leader 61). Hampton's industrial curriculum provided the maintenance of its facilities, which cut expenses, while at the same time raised money through student labor, as its student-operated farm generated, where many students managed to earn their way through school. Only the most economically distressed students with little or no outside support had problems adjusting and could not complete their studies, which occurred on many occasions (64-65).

Hampton's academic courses included reading, natural philosophy, math, spelling, moral science, and grammar (Harlan The Making of a Black Leader 63). However, it was the trade courses that were the backbone of the school. Students were offered courses in trades such as printing, painting, shoemaking, farming and janitorial services. If students already had skills in a given field, they stayed in that capacity and their work often paid their tuition and provided that service to the school (Harlan 65-66). Moreover, women may have found themselves in the Boarding Department or the Girls Industrial Department which included occupations such as sewing and domestic work. Bible study and citizenship courses also accompanied these

courses and served as the philosophical basis of the self-help doctrine on which manual labor rested (Watkins, Race and Education 41). Harlan argued that Hampton's schedule "remained unchanged for twenty years" (The Making of a Black Leader 61, 63-66), making it one of the most lasting programs in a Black university and college.

Hampton's industrial education curriculum was intended to be apolitical. Armstrong believed "Blacks should abstain from politics and civil rights" so that industrial training had no interference **(**61**)**. He was credited with persuading Washington to disregard thoughts of careers in ministry and law. Armstrong convinced Washington that he would be more effective as a leader in teaching and promoting industrial education. Washington, in his Atlanta Compromise speech in 1895, reinforced that idea (Harlan, The Making of a Black Leader 61, 206-207) and patterned Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute in 1881 on the inspiration given to him by Samuel Chapman Armstrong, thus pushing his institution to the forefront of the Black industrial education movement.

In addition, most liberal arts colleges dedicated to African Americans had not been in existence very long before Hampton opened its doors. Wilberforce had the honor of being the first Black college when it was founded by the

Methodist Episcopal Church in 1843. In 1857 it offered its first college degree. Wilberforce also had the first African American college president, when Daniel Payne assumed the position in 1867 (Appiah 1993).

Liberal arts colleges such as Wilberforce, Fisk, and Howard University taught elementary education and a minimal amount of coursework found in industrial institutions in their early years. However, the founders believed in higher education for African Americans. Their ideas of the capabilities of African American students differed from that of Armstrong and Washington. According to Joe M. Richards, the founders of Fisk intended for the school to be a college. They could not teach at a college level immediately after the Confederacy's surrender because African Americans had been barred from education while in bondage. College courses were not offered until four students met the requirements in 1871. Fisk's normal school program became an incubator for its college (Richardson 123-125).

Many courses taught at the Black liberal arts colleges were based on programs taught at predominately White institution. Several foreign language courses, including Greek, Latin, German, and French, were offered (Richardson 125). In addition, courses in astronomy, history and

political science were available. These courses were introduced to students at various stages through the standard four years of education. Both the industrial school and the liberal arts college had Bible study. However, the liberal arts colleges such as Fisk and Howard proposed to produce well-educated ministers by opening theological departments (125). In these colleges, Bible study was not just intended for moral uplift, but for intellectual acquisition.

Just as the social, geographical, and economic factors affected students' choices for attending an industrial school, these factors also affected the liberal arts college-bound student. The background of students at the liberal arts college varied little from those at the industrial schools initially. When black colleges opened, the students ages ranged "from seven to seventy" (Richardson 124-125). Many were illiterate and economically challenged. In the early to mid-1880s, the average college student was in his/her mid-twenties (125). By that time, Fisk was taking in better educated students that came from both underprivileged families as well as the Black middle class. W.E.B. Du Bois attended Fisk only through the generosity of the citizens of his hometown. Other students were the sons and daughters of "privileged domestics,"

barbers, and doctors from southern urban centers that gave these institutions their character. Ironically, Margaret Murray, who helped establish Tuskegee and later became Mrs. Booker T. Washington, was also a Fisk graduate and classmate of Du Bois (Lewis, Biography of a Race 54, 61, 63, Harlan 182).

African American industrial institutions and colleges shared a few characteristics. Both were committed to supplying African Americans with well-trained teachers. Harlan and Richardson reported that Tuskegee and Fisk had intentions of creating teachers to instruct the masses (Harlan, The Making of a Black Leader 139-140, Richardson 124). Hampton supplied Tuskegee with its founder and many of its staff. Fisk's students such as Du Bois had long careers as either college or public school teachers. Booker T. Washington hired many teachers from Fisk, including his third wife, Margaret Murray (Harlan, Biography of a Race 182, 274).

A difference between some of the industrial schools and liberal arts colleges in the African American community was the makeup of the faculty. Tuskegee had an all-Black faculty (Appiah 1903), while Hampton was White-controlled, but would allow African American instructors to teach

there, as Washington had done. The colleges were almost all White-founded, funded, and conducted, with Wilberforce being the exception when Daniel Payne took over in 1867 (1993).

The choice between attending an industrial school and a liberal arts institution seemed to have changed between the industrial schools and colleges as time went on. As indicated earlier, when both the industrial and liberals institutions were founded, students were largely poor local ex-slaves or the first offspring of former slaves. As time went on, however, the industrial schools such as Hampton and Tuskegee maintained their industrial agenda longer than other colleges and continued to serve the more financially strapped southern African Americans (Fultz 98). The colleges took in both rich and poor. A growing Black middle class chose to send their children to liberal arts colleges as opposed to industrial colleges. A college education was a credential that middle-class communities held in high esteem (106).

In conclusion, industrial education crossed the Atlantic from Europe to the northern most parts of the United States during the 1800s. It was a program that transferred specialized labor techniques to larger groups of people and supplanted the one-on-one teacher-apprentice approach, thus

expanding urban industrial, economic, and population growth. The growth of urban centers created demand for services such as education to sustain communities, and out of this demand grew the public education system. At the same time, the South relied on slave labor and agriculture to sustain its economy.

Furthermore, the loss of the Civil War caused a reorientation of southern and economic conditions, and newly freed slaves had to be granted citizenship. Southern Whites were more concerned with rebuilding the South while holding onto the power, while the aspirations and needs of millions of newly freed African Americans from slavery would be ignored. Education was one of the demands of the ex-slaves. In order to satisfy this demand, several schools, including institutions of higher learning, were created for African Americans (Lewis, Biography of a Race 57, Harlan, The Making of a Black Leader 33). These institutions used either the more popular industrial educational program or the liberal arts curriculum. The industrial schools for African Americans focused on manual training in the occupations that they were allowed to practice during the post Civil War and Jim Crow eras. Farming, masonry, carpentry, domestic, and janitorial services were offered along with rudimentary reading,

writing, and arithmetic. Many African American students who attended these schools were very poor, illiterate ex-slaves. Their labor at the schools helped with the maintenance and economic health of the institution. The stated goals of industrial schools were to train African Americans in citizenship, to help them adjust to the socioeconomic conditions of their communities, as they existed, and to make them reliant and acceptable to the White majority. Industrial education was the preferred educational program for Blacks for several decades.

   Many Black liberal arts colleges that were established around the same time as the industrial schools evolved from primary or secondary schools only a few years after opening. Liberal arts college students received coursework that was similar to that offered in New England institutions, such as Latin, Greek, and Political Science. As African American communities developed materially and educationally, particularly in the North, more families sent their children to liberal arts colleges with the intentions of pursuing careers beyond racially prescribed occupations of the day. Thus the goal of many of these institutions was to allow their students to occupy positions of an industrial education curriculum that did not fill.

Industrial and liberal arts schools shared some characteristics and differed in other ways. The overriding similarity was the idea of creating future educators and leaders of the African American communities. Self-reliance was also a similar goal. However, industrial students had more specialized job skills, but the liberal arts student was not trained for a specific trade. They could, therefore, seek employment in occupations outside of the rural sphere.

The next chapter is a review of the literature on liberal arts and industrial education in historical Black colleges and universities and Booker T. Washington's and W.E.B. Dubois' positions on Black education.

Chapter II—Review of the Literature

Industrial and Liberal Education

Extant literature reveals that by the 1920s African Americans wanted industrial education programs omitted from many Black institutions of higher learning. The idea of what constituted higher education among Blacks changed as they moved further away from Emancipation. After the Civil War, local, state, and federal governments were left with the dilemma of what to do for millions of emancipated African Americans, particularly in the South (Appiah 329). African Americans had to learn how to survive outside the plantation. Factors such as job and educational opportunities in urban centers caused many African Americans to leave the rural areas for cities in the South and the North (Lewis, Biography of a Race 218, Aberjhani 131, Fultz 98). The North provided a better education for African Americans. By the 1920s the number of educated African Americans rose significantly. Ironically, many African Americans and their sons and daughters went south for a college education, where segregation and disfranchisement inhibited the development of the African

American community, and thus higher education (Lewis, When Harlem Was in Vogue 158).

Education was one of the solutions that both government officials and Blacks agreed upon was desperately needed. It was thought that education would rapidly improve the living conditions of African Americans, teaching them self-reliance. It also helped them understand the "free society" in which they lived.

The industrial education curricula were the programs that a number of Black colleges and universities used. They emphasized training students in manual labor with the intent of making them self-sufficient. Since the majority of African Americans lived in rural areas, they were trained in occupations that were common in those communities. For example, these programs included courses in carpentry, brick masonry, agriculture, metal work, and domestic work. Academic courses in math, reading, and writing were offered to complement the manual training courses. Liberal arts programs comprised philosophy, history, literature, art, religion, and math courses. It was believed that a liberal arts education was not unlike what was being taught in White institutions and, therefore, made its recipients eligible for jobs in various professions such as business, law, and civil service. For

this thesis, the debate over an industrial education versus a liberal arts education will be limited to higher education.

According to Michael Dennis, an Assistant Professor of History at Arcadia University, industrial schools served a secondary purpose for Southern Whites (115, 123). When federal control of Southern politics receded, Whites moved to reestablish absolute control over every aspect of southern society (119, 123). Black education was an area that was seen as a possible threat, and the federal government's reluctance to interfere in southern affairs allowed local officials to redistribute funds from Black schools to White schools (Walters 41).

Over several decades, many institutions assisted with funding African American education by dispatching field agents to distressed communities. These organizations were both private and federal institutions. Established in 1846, the American Missionary Association (AMA) was an early abolitionist organization that helped escaped slaves in Canada and the U.S with education and material resources. During and after the Civil War, the AMA became more education-focused, by assisting several normal schools, trade schools, and colleges (Richardson viii, 40-42). Richardson credited the AMA with establishing "seven

colleges", including assisting with the founding of Howard University (123).

The United States Congress established the Freedman's Bureau, just after the Civil War, as part of Reconstruction with the stated purpose of assisting freed slaves transition to life outside the Southern plantation system. One Bureau official, Samuel Armstrong Chapman, went on to found the Hampton Institute, which became a model for Black industrial schools. With the end of Reconstruction, the federal government ended the Bureau's work. Private foundations such as the Peabody, Phelps-Stokes, and Slater funds offered financial support and administrative direction to Black education, however most of these foundations chose to support institutions that conducted vocational training (Wolters 8, 9, Lewis, Biography of a Race 118).

Though educating African Americans appeared to be an expedient solution, the type of education provided and the end-result of education programs was the basis of a debate that began in the mid to late 1800s and lasted until the 1930s (Anderson 14, Lewis, Biography of a Race 123, Hawkins 43). Industrial education and liberal arts education were the two competing programs, but the split of opinion as to which curriculum African Americans should pursue was based

on three factors: the immediacy of the needs of African

Americans; the perceived intellectual "limitations" of

African Americans; and the social, political and economic

implications to the South (Hawkins 90, 111-112, Ravitch

98).

After the Civil War, the southern economy was

devastated. Southern Whites were more concerned with

holding onto the power and reinvigorating the region's

economy than they were with elevating Blacks through

education (Lewis, Biography of a Race 117-118). They

resented Northern and federal influence, but were more

agitated by the idea of former subordinates being

designated as social equals. Some education officials

thought that industrial education for Blacks addressed

these misgivings. By implementing industrial education

programs, African Americans learned to provide for

themselves without burdening local, state, and federal

governments as Hampton University founder Samuel Chapman

Armstrong and his pupil Booker T. Washington noted

(Washington 41-42; Harlan 75; Ravitch 98). In fact,

Southern Blacks would become useful to their communities by

providing manual skilled labor.

The Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute and

Tuskegee Normal School, established by Washington in

Alabama in 1881, were the two most prominent industrial schools. Wormser describes normal schools as institutions whose education levels were "between intermediate and high school" (43). It was Chapman's idea that Hampton's graduates would go into other communities to teach what they had learned, promoting industrial education and its rewards (Wormser 43). These schools were popular with many northern business magnates, who gave millions of dollars to support an industrial education for African Americans. Southern Whites allowed and often encouraged the industrial schools for Blacks as long as it did not threaten the social order (Watkins 13-14). Washington believed himself a living example of the success of an industrial education and became the most influential promoter of industrial education (Lewis, Biography of a Race 256).

The death of Booker T. Washington in 1915 was the first significant loss to the industrial education movement. For years, he toured the country promoting education in general, Tuskegee, and other institutions with industrial programs (Washington 24-25). Washington secured funds through speaking engagements and publishing books supporting his school and its position (54-55). In his speeches and publications, Washington argued that some African Americans exhibited behaviors detrimental to their

interests. Northern urban Blacks, like those he encountered in seminary school in Washington D.C., though well educated and more financially stable, lacked a true work ethics, economic sense, and self-sufficiency (184). The rural southern Blacks, like those he encountered in the Alabama countryside before opening Tuskegee, were desperately impoverished and poorly educated. He argued his program remedied this problem (18-19).

According to historian and biographer Louis Harland, Washington influenced philanthropists in northern states by tying industrial education to their business interests. Most industrialists and business magnets believed that Southern interests needed to be respected in order to keep those markets stable (Harlan, *The Making* 141-142, Watkins 13-14). In turn, industrialists, education foundations, politicians, and Southern Whites and Blacks gave millions to Tuskegee, Hampton, and other schools with similar programs (Harlan 158). In addition, Ronald Butchart contends that some "Black educators and promoters presented education as a 'civilizing' remedy that instilled higher morals for a deficient Race to Whites" (337).

Many African Americans who heard, read, or studied under Washington saw him as a man to be emulated, which resulted in increased enrollment and endowment dollars. Washington

achieved unsurpassed popularity in both the Black and White communities. With his death, dissenters gained ground (Harlan 159).

According to William Watkins, Thomas Jesse Jones had one of the largest impacts on Black higher education after the death of Washington (Watkins 98). Jones' career in African American education included stints as the director of the Phelps-Stokes Fund, a White operated, Black focused education and housing organization, as well as Hampton. In his literary contribution Negro Education: A Study of the Higher & Private Schools for Colored People of the United States, Lewis and New York University professor Donald Johnson agree that Jones validation of industrial education strengthened his position as a leading authority among Whites on Black education after Washington's death (Johnson 90, Lewis, Biography of a Race 547). Jones reported that African American schools lacked uniform standards and its instructors were not qualified for their positions (Watkins 110). Jones found that the education of Blacks was better under White control and a liberal arts college education was to be discouraged because vocational training was the most realistic and appropriate option for Blacks. According to Ravitch, these ideas were entrenched for a decade and a half after the publication of *Negro Education*. However, a

student protest movement on Black college campuses during the1920s made it clear that Jones' ideas and influence did not have the impact of Washington within the African American community (Lewis, Biography, 547).

Furthermore, a liberal arts education was what many White college students received; therefore, many African Americans assumed that they would receive the same quality of education as White students. Blacks thought that education led to citizenship and respect that would dispel racial stereotypes assigned to them (Worsmer 8, 15, 131). Material, social, and political gains were the profits of education, and White Americans were not restricted in realizing their goals. African Americans saw Whites at the top of society in all professional occupations, and they believed education would allow them to reach the same heights of achievement (Harlan, The Making 33). Some African Americans realized their educational aspirations and became the leaders of the opposition of industrial education. They greatly influenced the students who took it upon themselves to push for change. Liberal arts education was taught at several Black institutions: Howard University in Washington D.C.; Fisk University in Nashville, Tennessee; Atlanta University in Atlanta Georgia; and Wilberforce University in Wilberforce, Ohio. These schools

provided an alternative to industrial education, producing African Americans who worked in occupations such as university teaching, journalism, and law.

Two beneficiaries and supporters of liberal arts programs were author and sociologist W.E.B. Du Bois and Kelly Miller of Howard University. Du Bois and Miller saw flaws in the industrial program that they believed doomed African Americans to surrender control of critical aspects of their life within a society dominated by Whites with racial biases (Wolters 20, Andrews 118).

Du Bois experienced explicit racism in the South while attending Fisk University in Nashville, Tennessee, and later teaching at Atlanta University, in Atlanta, Georgia. He also experienced the subtle racism of the North in his native Great Barrington, Massachusetts, and at Harvard University (Lewis, Biography 67, 97). Despite being African American, his level of education exceeded most Whites. Du Bois believed industrial education stifled African American aspirations and relegated them to serfdom. In his 1903 book, The Souls of Black Folk, Du Bois critiqued Washington's endorsement of industrial training. Du Bois argued that industrial education programs would not produce leaders who could fill roles such as doctors, lawyers, and government officials. Dubois further argued that if African

Americans wanted to pursue more professional occupations, they would have to go to Whites for support (Du Bois 63, Watkins 115-116). After Washington's death, Du Bois argued against Washington's chief successor as advocate for industrial education, Thomas Jesse Jones. Consequently, African American college students sought Du Bois's aid during the campus uprisings of the 1920s, looking to him as an advisor and critic (Lewis, The Fight for Equality 146-147).

Kelly Miller, a Howard University graduate and instructor, made a case for the reason African Americans should not have been dissuaded from liberal arts programs. Although he was not a supporter of the total ban on industrial education, Miller believed that a college education was not to be discouraged. In Alaine Locke's 1925 anthology The New Negro, Miller made the case for Howard University as proof that African Americans could receive a college education beyond an industrial education and on the same level with other colleges (Miller 312, 315). He credited the missionaries who founded Howard for not shortchanging the aspirations of African Americans (315). Miller also argued that despite 'Howard's past agricultural and theological instruction, which was on the level of

other industrial schools, these curricula did not keep up with Black progress' (315).

In his 2001 publication, <u>Teaching Equality</u>, Adam Fairclough reinforced previous researchers' findings that industrial education was the favored form of education of philanthropists and politicians during segregation (3). It was thought that the industrial schools provided African Americans with skills to make them self-sufficient contributors to the socioeconomic conditions of the day, while at the same time not upsetting the customs of the South. However, Harlan noted that African American schools lagged behind White industrial schools in curriculum by the late 1800s. White vocational students were exposed to more competitive and lucrative fields coinciding with the industrial age, whereas African Americans were directed to agriculture, carpentry, and other forms of cheap manual labor (Harlan, The Making 63).

The debate between liberal arts and industrial education in African American institutions reached its crescendo in the late 1800s and continued through the early 1920s. However, the seeds of the debate began as early as the founding of the first college dedicated to the instruction of African Americans. According to Dr, Paul Griffin's, <u>Black Theology as the Foundation of Three Methodists</u>

Colleges, Wilberforce University founder and Black

theologian Daniel Payne "had no interest in promoting

industrial training" (95). The two other subjects of the

book advocated industrial instruction. Joseph Price,

founder of Livingstone College in North Carolina in 1881

(the same year Tuskegee opened) and Isaac Lane, who

established Lane College in Jackson, Tennessee, a year

later, implemented industrial education programs at their

institutions. Price and Lane's advocacy of industrial

training and Payne's advocacy for liberal arts education

had striking similarities with Du Bois and Washington (v,

95).

　　Lane and Price had resided in the south the majority, if

not all of their lives. Both men had been impoverished, and

Lane had been a slave. Unlike Washington, neither men had

any intimate contact with Whites. Therefore, Lane and Price

had to learn to work to provide for themselves, which meant

their labor was restricted to the few industrial or

agricultural fields occupied by Blacks at that time.

Despite Price's formal education, he surmised through his

early experiences and the conditions of the South that

industrial education was the way to go (Griffin 97-98).

　　In contrast, Payne was not impoverished. Although born

in the south, he was free. Through his extended family, he

had contact with the upper classes, both White and Black.

Having been a carpenter, Payne believed his calling was to

be a minister and educator. A slaveholder influenced to

believe that a superior education was required, which made

the difference between freedom and bondage. Payne's

earliest attempts to establish schools in the 1830s were

thwarted by racists who controlled local governments. He

left the South for the North in order to fulfill his

destiny (Griffin 3, 96).

According to Louis Harlan, Booker T. Washington was the

most famous of all proponent of industrial education,

calling him "the leader of choice" among African Americans

(Harlan, The Wizard of Tuskegee 5, 33). Washington credited

Armstrong with reinforcing his belief in industrial

education and patterned Tuskegee after Hampton. However,

Harlan revealed that Washington made attempts to secure

advanced education and had ambitions to become a lawyer or

clergymen (67, 95-96). Armstrong persuaded Washington to

continue to spread the gospel of industrial education,

which he did throughout his life through propaganda. Harlan

also believed that Washington's influence on African

Americans waned as groups such as the National Association

for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) publicly

challenged his beliefs. Despite this development,

Washington maintained a great deal of influence through a
vast network of African Americans who received his
endorsement for positions in public service and the press
(Lewis, Biography of a Race 433). Those persons would be
part of what became known as the Tuskegee Machine (Harlan,
The Making 254). In addition, Washington spoke positively
of the support from many White philanthropists and
politicians (Washington 111).

David Lewis argued that W.E.B. Du Bois had advantages
over Booker T. Washington in the area of education.
Washington had the backing of White industrialists,
philanthropists, and government officials who contributed
to the success of his program. However, Du Bois had the
advantage of a northern upbringing, which contributed to
his attaining a higher level of education. In addition, he
had youth and years on his side. When Washington died in
1915, Du Bois gained a larger audience to promote his
argument supporting African American higher education.
About 5 years after Washington's death, Du Bois became
intimately involved in the reform movement of Black
colleges during the 1920s at Fisk and Hampton. Du Bois also
challenged institutions such as Harvard, which sought to
cap Black and Jewish enrollment, while not placing
restrictions on other ethnic groups (Lewis The Fight for

Equality 87-91). Du Bois used his position as editor of the NAACP's <u>Crisis</u> magazine and speaking engagements to express the idea that African American college students be given the same education opportunities shared by others (Wolters 19).

Kelly Miller's essay "Howard: The National Negro University" underscores the notion that African Americans should not be limited to a basic education that restricted their ability to reach higher economic levels in society (10). Miller praised Howard University for its programs and counters Thomas Jesse Jones' contention that African American colleges are substandard.

Booker T. Washington explained that his experience at Hampton University in Virginia and his struggle to establish the Tuskegee Institute in Alabama reaffirmed his belief that the industrial education model was the most expedient way to elevate the conditions of Blacks, especially in the South (Washington 10). Washington believed that African Americans needed to develop a work ethic and skills that would make them indispensable to their respective communities (71-72, 92). He also believed that Blacks in the urban centers of the North were perpetuating racist opinions of Whites by seeking forms of

education and employment outside of their socioeconomic sphere (Wolters 20).

In The White Architects of Black Education, William Watkins contended that African Americans had little to no input on the foundations of public education (1-3). Although African Americans were freed and Reconstruction legislation attempted to put them on the same social level as Whites, Blacks were the objects of education policies and not the subjects of them (Watkins 13-14, 19-20). Watkins pointed to Hampton founder, Samuel Chapman Armstrong, the Phelps-Stokes family, and Thomas Jesse Jones as some of the leading program builders and maintainers of African American education.

The Harlem Renaissance is one of the first major literary and artistic expressions of African Americans' talents and abilities after slavery. The movement proceeded after a period of time when many southern Blacks headed for urban areas of the north. Known as the Great Migration, African Americans sought better living and working conditions (West and Aberjhanji 10). There was also a pursuit of better education. It can be inferred that these events were a rejection of Booker T. Washington's public call for African Americans to "cast down their buckets in the South" (Washington 100). These scholars compiled a

reference of the leading persons and institutions of the Harlem Renaissance who benefited from liberal arts education.

During the 1920s, several Black colleges experienced student uprisings. These uprisings manifested themselves through campus strikes and media campaigns (Wormser 133-136, Lewis, The Fight for Equality 132-142). One of the main factors that led to the unrest was the failure of school administrators to compensate for the educational progress of African Americans through the last part of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century (Wolters 10). Also, the faculty and staff of the institutions were led by racist beliefs of the period that African Americans had intellectual limitations. These beliefs were evident in the coursework and social policies that were prevalent on many campuses across the nation (Wolter 5).

In 1920, Hampton Principal James Edgar Gregg moved to have Hampton incorporate 4-year college courses. Gregg believed that the move was necessary because the institute received socially and academically advanced African Americans (Wolter 232- 234). Hampton's foundations had been built on vocational training for African Americans emancipated from slavery who were illiterate and unaware of middle-class domestic customs. By the 1920s, the African

American population had progressed far faster than southern whites and White society as a whole (232-234). White faculty members also embraced racist beliefs and had a need to placate the public that was not always in favor of education for African Americans (248-249). These beliefs were evident in the coursework and social policies that students were to observe. The students entering colleges were less inclined to subscribe to the vocational education that schools such as Hampton provided. While Wolters credited Gregg with a significant degree for recognition of the changed needs of African American students, he gave most of the credit to students who pushed for higher standards (248). The dissatisfaction of students for substandard education resulted in a series of student protests, which typified life on many college campuses in the 1920s.

In conclusion, several key characters emerged as leaders within the debate of African American education during the late 1800s and early 1900s. Armstrong, Washington, and Jones were among the many supporters of industrial education, while DuBois and Miller supported the argument of the liberal arts education for African Americans.

As founders of two prominent industrial institutes, Armstrong and Washington believed that industrial education

was the panacea to improving the conditions of African

Americans and keeping peace between Blacks and Whites.

Their argument was that industrial education was an

efficient program that served the multiple problems

confronting the African American community and the South.

Armstrong and Washington believed that their program would

create a self-sufficient African American community that

could serve and participate in the economic life of the

South and the country. However, Washington, in particular,

skillfully navigated the turbulent racial attitudes of

those times by not publicly challenging White authority.

Instead, he offered to work with whatever assistance and

rights he was able to secure. It was his plan for African

Americans to build trust within the White community, which

in turn would yield Black citizenship in the larger

society. He criticized liberal arts education as

inefficient for not teaching a practical trade that would

earn students a living. He wanted African Americans to

concentrate on building wealth, not so much for African

American themselves but for the White elite, which he knew

Whites respected. It was this agenda that garnered him

financial support from public and private resources. After

Armstrong and Washington passed away, Jones embraced their

ideological position and championed their cause well into the 1920s.

On the other hand, DuBois and Miller believed in the full and immediate rights to education for African Americans that the rest of America was receiving. As a Harvard University graduate, DuBois believed that through an unlimited and self-determined educational endeavor, African Americans could improve their circumstances. He also thought the industrial school method of education for African Americans surrendered too much control of their self-determination and community life to a social system that did not allow for their full participation. Miller also believed there was a middle ground between the two camps, but did not believe African Americans should limit themselves or track themselves only into achieving an industrial education that would benefit the White elite.

The next chapter introduces the methods used in this project, namely, the historical research method and critical [race] theory.

Chapter III—Methodology

This thesis uses the historical research method to analyze the reason African Americans resisted industrial education that ended industrial training programs in historically Black colleges and universities during the 1920s. In what follows, I discuss the historical research method and critical [race] theory that are used to guide the analysis in chapter IV.

Historical Research Method

Charles Busha and Stephen Harter provide us with six steps for conducting historical research to analyze historical phenomena:

1. The recognition of a historical problem or the identification of a need for certain historical knowledge.

2. The gathering of as much relevant information about the problem or topic as possible.

3. If appropriate, the forming of hypothesis that tentatively explains relationships between historical factors.

4. The rigorous collection and organization of evidence,
   and the verification of the authenticity and veracity
   of information and its sources.

5. The selection, organization, and analysis of the most
   pertinent collected evidence, and the drawing of
   conclusions; and

6. The recording of conclusions in a meaningful
   narrative. (91)

The historical research method reaches an international
audience of humanitarians, historians, and social
scientists concerned with historical problems plaguing U.S.
higher education. It explores interdisciplinary approaches
to new data sources, new approaches to older questions and
material, and practical discussions of computer and
statistical methodology, data collection, and sampling
procedures. The use of a historical method also emphasizes
a variety of other issues, such as methods for interpreting
visual information and the rhetoric of social scientific
history (Tuchman 315-317).

Critical Race Theory

According to William W. Neher, he argues, "the critical
perspective derives from a school of thought often referred
to as critical [race] theory. This school developed in

philosophy in Germany in the 1930s under the leadership of
Theordore Adorno and Max Horkheimer at the Institute for
Social research in Frankfurt, German, (hence, the term
Frankfurt school). . . . Critical [race] theorists are
consequently largely concerned with issues of power and
control in modern organizations" (27) to include but not
limited to academic institutions.

Hegemony

The concept of *hegemony* is rooted in Marxist ideology.
Antonio Gramsci used the term to denote the predominance of
one social class over others. It is also a process of
domination in which one set of ideas subverts or co-opts
another. Hegemony not only represents social, political,
and economic control, but also the ability of the elite
ruling class to project its own way of seeing the world so
that those who are subordinated by it accept it as "common
sense" and "natural." Hall argued that "common sense" is
not coherent; it is usually disjoined and episodic,
fragmentary and contradictory.

    Hall defined hegemony as a process in which the
dominant class not only dominates individuals, but also
leads them to accept subordination as a normal process
(12). Social inequalities in academic institutions of
higher learning are frequently sustained with the consent

of the weak and not simply because of repression (Warren 10). As Fiske puts it,

> Consent must be constantly won and rewon, for people's material social experiences constantly remind them of the disadvantages of subordination and thus poses a threat to the dominant class. Hegemony posits a constant contradiction between ideology and the social experience of the subordinate that makes this interface into an inevitable site of ideological struggle. (291)

The Three Functions of Ideology

The three functions of ideology are representing sectional interests, reification, and ideological control, also known as hegemony.

<u>Representing Sectional Interests</u>

Ideology represents the dominant group interests as universal. That is, the interests of the dominant group are accepted as the interests of all societal members. Put differently, ideology serves to make the interests of the ruling elite in society appear to be the interests, needs, and concerns of all societal members. For example, during Booker T. Washington's times accepting the ruling elites' interests that an industrial education was the best

education African Americans could get and receive financial support from the ruling class was to agree that society's interests take precedence over the personal interests of African Americans during Reconstruction. African Americans, such as Booker T. Washington, accepted the dominant interests when the dominant elite defined racial progress as a less important problem for society's survival than other concerns presented as crucial by the ruling elite.

Reification

Ideology is the naturalization of the present through reification. Through the process of reification, socially constructed phenomena come to be perceived as objective realities separate from individuals who created them. For instance, race is a political and social construction (Lopez 191-195). The dominant ideology might reify itself by suggesting, "That's simply the ways things are" (Calvert & Ramsey 474), which further suggests that "the way things are" is immutable (Mumby 10). Some African Americans like Booker T. Washington who agreed with and supported the ruling elites' ideology of Black intellectual inferiority on the grounds that such intellectual inferiority is "natural" or "biological" supported the reified condition of U.S. society about African Americans intellectual

ability to succeed. Deetz and Kersten explained, "Even

though members [of society] participate in the

construction of social reality, the results of these

constructions become natural and eventually dominate

[African Americans]" (164) who accept that they are

inferior to Whites. In society, for example, the societal

hierarchy, the rule system, and [ace are often reified.

Ideological Control

Ideology functions as control. Ideology creates a

consensus regarding the way the world is. "This consensus,

expressed in thought and action, shifts control away from

the explicit exercise of power…and places it in routine

practices of everyday life" (Deetz & Kersten 164).

Ideological control, also known as hegemony, "works most

effectively when the worldview articulated by the ruling

elite is actively taken up and pursued by subordinate

groups" (Mumby 123). For example, when Booker T.

Washington suggested to African Americans to avoid using

their minds but use their hands by "casting down their

buckets" to serve the ruling or dominant social class,

then the dominant worldview became the worldview of those

African Americans who thought like Booker T. Washington to

track African Americans back into the kind of jobs that

will keep them enslaved to Whites and an oppressive

economic system.

The Three Goals of Critical [Race] Theory

The three goals of critical research include understanding, critique, and

education (Deetz 268).

<u>Understanding</u>

Understanding is the first goal of critical [race]

theory and refers to insight and interpretation. Stanley

Deetz explains that "merely understanding the means by

which consensual realities are formed and perpetuated says

little about whether such a consensus adequately represents

competing interests" (268). Critical [race] scholars are

concerned about the hidden and open practices of

discrimination and segregation in a society. Without this

understanding, certain groups of people in society, for

example, African Americans "remain in a sense victims of

meaning structures that are developed in response to past

situations and perpetuated in their talk and actions

"(Deetz 86). For example, if African Americans had

emancipatory knowledge, which identifies their own self-

knowledge of their plight, this knowledge could be used for

reflection leading to a transformed consciousness, for

which Dubois fought. Dubois believed that if African

Americans become conscious of how an ideology reflects and distorts their social reality and know what factors influence and sustain the false consciousness that it represents, especially the reified powers of domination, segregation, and oppression, they could transform their consciousness to avoid being dependent on these reified powers.

Critique

Critique is the second goal of critical [race] theory, which involves holding the taken-for-granted society up for careful scrutiny to determine whose interests are represented and whose are blocked within that reality. Deetz contends that, "Critique itself operates as part of a participative communication act, the act of reopening effective communication to productive conversation " (87), where the interests of all members of society are represented.

Education

The third goal of critical [race] theory is education, where critical race scholars form "new concepts for societal members and researchers in such a way as to enhance understanding of societal life to allow for undistorted discourse and to enable members to employ alternative responses to societal life (Deetz 140). From

DuBois's viewpoint, education would include providing African Americans with alternative discourses, strategies for engaging in productive and constructive social and economic conflict, and participative decision-making skills to help then gain control of their own lives through a liberal arts education that would free them from White and/or systemic dependency.

Understanding, critique, and education are ways in which African Americans could free themselves from ideological, economic, political, and social control from societal oppression.

Research Questions

Three research questions are used to address African American leaders' and White American leaders ideologies of African American education. They are as follows:

1. What role did hegemony and ideology play in African American education and how did they influence Booker T. Washington's and W. E. B. Dubois's position on how African Americans should be educated;

2. What was the Black ideology of African American education; and

3. What was the White ideology of African American education?

In conclusion, the historical research method and critical [race] theory were used to examine hegemony and ideology, the Black ideology of African Americans education, and the White ideology of African American education, the basis of this thesis.

The next chapter presents the analysis of the above phenomena using critical race theory.

Chapter IV—Analysis

The purpose of this study was to examine the causes that
led to the resistance of industrial education by African
Americans in higher education, which ended industrial
training programs in predominantly Black colleges during
the 1920s. Three key factors created this reform movement:
1) the death of Booker T. Washington; 2) the improved
educational levels of African Americans; and 3) the rise in
aspirations of African Americans to expand the benefits of
higher education. In this chapter, I discuss hegemony and
ideology and how they played a role in both Washington's
and Dubois' and the White Establishment's ideology of
African American's education.

Three research questions address the issues surrounding
African Americans education are: (1) What role did
hegemony and ideology play in African American education
and how did they influence Booker T. Washington's and W. E.
B. Dubois's position on how African Americans should be
educated; (2) What was the Black ideology of African
American education; and (3) What was the White ideology of
African American education?

The historical research method and components of critical [race] theory, namely, the three functions of ideology and hegemony, are used to undergird this research.

Hegemony and Ideology

It was stated in Chapter 3 that hegemony is a process of domination in which one set of ideas subverts or co-opts another. Hegemony not only represents social, political, and economic control, but also the ability of the elite ruling class to project its own way of seeing the world so that those who are subordinated by it accept it as common sense and natural. That is, "hegemony is frequently construed as the ideological domination by one class (or grouping of class fractions) of another" (Mumby 86) . . . and involves the "ability of one class to articulate the interests of other social groups to its own" (Mouffe 183). Historically, the South had been motivated to pursue an oppressive system for a variety of reasons, which may be classified broadly as economic, political, and ideological through hegemonic activity, such as Jim Crowism.

Theories about oppression break down similarly, according to which motive or motives are viewed as primary. For example, economic explanations of oppression are the most common. Proponents of this view hold that dominant groups are motivated to dominate others by the need to

expand their economies, to acquire raw materials and additional sources of labor, or to find outlets for surplus capital and markets for surplus goods. The South needed to create a system of oppression, extending beyond slavery, in order to use African Americans as cheap labor to build their economy, thereby enriching the White elite of southern society.

From a hegemonic view, this suggests that southern Whites created a system of oppression to dominate African Americans in order to keep them economically bound to such an oppressive system by denying them economic opportunities that could help them out of their situation. Moreover, it was stated that ideology serves to make the interests of the ruling elite in society appear to be the interests, needs, and concerns of all societal members. In the South, ideology served elite White southerners. That is, through their oppressive policies and actions, the ruling elite made African Americans believe that the interests, needs, and concerns of the South were more important than their achieving equal rights and social standing with Whites. Thus the ruling class was able to solicit the help of individuals like Booker T. Washington to spread the Gospel of these oppressive policies to prevent African Americans from seeking equal rights and social standing with Whites,

but to achieve an industrial education that will benefit the system. By doing so, African American could best serve the South in its quests to rebuild the economy where the South would benefit from their cheap labor.

Alternatively, some academic and political historians stress the political determinants of southern oppression of African Americans, contending that Whites were motivated to expand primarily by the desire for power, prestige, security, and diplomatic advantages vis-à-vis African Americans. In this view, late 19th-century southern oppression was intended to restore the South's former antebellum glory after its humiliating defeat in the Civil War.

Because oppression is so often viewed as economically motivated, discussions of its effects also tend to revolve around economic, political, and social issues. Disagreement arises between those who believe that oppression implies exploitation and is responsible for the underdevelopment and economic stagnation of poor African Americans in the South, and those who argue that although rich southerners benefit from oppressing the poor, some African Americans have enjoyed greater economic benefits from contact with the rich than have other African Americans in the South because they consciously or unconsciously helped the ruling

elite oppress their own people, such as Booker T. Washington. Thus, it is prudent to examine the economic impact of oppression on a case-by-case basis.

As explained in chapter 3, hegemony and ideology are moral motives used to constrain subordinate groups' activities in a given society. These activities can be played out in the educational, cultural, political, social, economic advancement, and the self-determination of African Americans, as it is still being played out in some parts of the South today. According to these perspectives, political, cultural, social, and religious beliefs force minorities into subjugation as a missionary activity. The South was motivated at least in part by the idea that it was White people's responsibility to civilize backward peoples like African Americans. However, it was not the South's intentions to civilize African Americans, but to keep them enslaved to a system of oppression and subjugation similar to that of slavery, but without the physical chains.

The South's expansion under White segregationists was based in large measure on a belief in the inherent superiority of the White culture. The desire of the United States to protect the free world and White people from backwards people who may taint society through

miscegenation is another example of moral, ideological, and hegemonic concerns.

Black Ideology of African Americans Education

The question may be asked, "Is a leader's ideology and academic upbringing and exposure influenced by the way he or she has been socialized? We could assume that the ideology of Booker T. Washington and his followers and W.E.B. DuBois and his followers concerning the shaping of African Americans' education has been influenced by the way they have been academically and socially trained. Therefore, what are the backgrounds of Booker T. Washington and W.E.B. Dubois and could their upbringing and demographic backgrounds shaped their ideological positions about the best way African Americans should be educated after slavery.

Booker T. Washington's Ideology of African American Education According to Booker T. Washington's Up from Slavery: An Autobiography, he was born a slave (1). He was an American educator, author, and leader of the African American community who urged Blacks to attempt to uplift themselves through industrial educational attainments that would benefit Whites. Washington was born April 5, 1856, on a plantation in Franklin County, Virginia, the son of a slave. Following the Civil War, Washington's family moved

to Malden, West Virginia, where he worked in a salt furnace and in coal mines, attending school whenever he could. From 1872 to 1875 he attended a newly founded school for Blacks, Hampton University, formerly named the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute. After graduation he taught for two years in Malden and then studied at Wayland Seminary in Washington, D.C. In 1879 he became an instructor at Hampton Institute, where he helped to organize a night school and was in charge of the industrial training of 75 Native Americans. The school was so successful that in 1881 the founder of Hampton Institute, the American educator Samuel Chapman Armstrong, appointed Washington organizer and principal of a Black normal school in Tuskegee, Alabama, now called Tuskegee University (Washington 106-110). Washington made the institution into a major center for industrial and agricultural training and in the process became a well-known public speaker. On September 18, 1895, in Atlanta, Georgia, Washington made his famous compromise speech. In this address, he urged Blacks to accept their inferior social position for the present and to strive to raise themselves through vocational training and economic self-reliance (Washington 217). Many Whites, pleased by his views, and many African Americans, awed by his prestige, accepted Washington as the chief spokesperson for the

African American community (Washington 218). More militant Blacks, such as the American writer and sociologist W. E. B. DuBois, objected to such quiescent tactics, however, and strongly opposed Washington. Washington died on November 14, 1915.

Analysis—Washington and The Three Functions of Ideology

Washington's ideological position concerning the best way African Americans should be educated embraced all three functions of ideology. The first function of ideology represents the White ruling elite's interests as universal. That is, the interests of the ruling elite were accepted as the interests of all societal members as well as African Americans. From slavery to Reconstruction to *Brown vs. the Board of Education at Topeka*, African Americans were not considered societal members, but were pushed to the margins of society and tracked into the worst living conditions unfit for a loose animal until the Civil Rights Movement of the 1950s and 1960s. Put differently, ideology served to make the interests of the ruling elite of southern society, in particular, appear to be the interests, needs, and concerns of African Americans. For example, during Booker T. Washington's times, he accepted the ruling elites' interests that an industrial education was the best education for African American. Since Washington accepted

this ideology, he was rewarded financial support and large endowments from the ruling class to provide an industrial education that would keep African Americans in servitude to Whites.

Washington's ideology about the kind of education African Americans should receive embraced the second function of ideology. The second function of Ideology is the naturalization of the present through reification. Through the process of reification, socially constructed phenomena come to be perceived as objective realities separate from individuals who created them (Deetz 165). For instance, race, together with intellectualism, is a political and social construction (Lopez 191-195). The ruling elite's ideology reified itself by suggesting, "That's simply the ways things are" (Calvert & Ramsey 474), which further suggests that "the way things are" is immutable (Mumby 10). Some African Americans like Booker T. Washington who agreed with and supported the ruling elites' ideology of Black intellectual inferiority on the grounds that such intellectual inferiority is natural and biological supported the reified condition of southern society about African Americans intellectual ability to succeed. Therefore, segregation was the solution to White southerners' belief that Black intellectualism and social

inferiority were the answers to keeping the races separate in every sphere of life and was an attempt by lower class White southerners, with the support and approval of the White southern ruling class, to maintain it. To achieve supremacy over African Americans, segregation was enforced by law and became a way of life in the South. Segregation was often called the Jim Crow system.

Moreover, segregation became common in the South following the end of Reconstruction in 1877. During Reconstruction, which followed the Civil War from 1861 to 1865, Republican governments in the southern states were run by African Americans, Northerners, and some sympathetic Southerners. The Reconstruction governments had passed laws opening up economic and political opportunities for African Americans. By 1877 the Democratic Party had gained control of government in the Southern states, and these Southern Democrats wanted to reverse Black economic, political, and social gains made during Reconstruction (Witwack 62). To that end, they began to pass local and state laws that specified certain places "For Whites Only" and others "For Coloreds Only." African Americans had separate schools, transportation, restaurants, and parks, many of which were poorly funded and inferior to those of Whites. Over the

next 75 years, Jim Crow signs went up to separate the races in every place.

Washington's ideology concerning the kind of education African Americans should attain embraced the third function of ideology, ideological control.

Ideological Control creates a consensus regarding the way the world is. "This consensus, expressed in thought and action, shifts control away from the explicit exercise of power…and places it in routine practices of everyday life" (Deetz & Kersten 164). Ideological control, also known as hegemony, "works most effectively when the worldview articulated by the ruling elite is actively taken up and pursued by [African Americans]" (Mumby 123). For example, when Booker T. Washington suggested to African Americans to avoid using their minds but use their hands to support the ruling elite's ideological position that an industrial education is the only possible education for African Americans, then this dominant viewpoint about African Americans education became the viewpoint of those African Americans who would track African Americans back into servitude, thus taking away their self-determination and independence.

In summary, Washington's ideological position on African Americans achieving an industrial education embraced the

three functions of ideology. The functions of ideology were demonstrated in his famous compromise speech, urging African Americans to accept their inferior social and economic position for the present and strive to "pull themselves up by their bootstraps" through vocational training. Many Whites, especially the ruling elite, were pleased by his views. Therefore, many African Americans accepted Washington as the chief spokesperson of the African American community.

W. E. B. DuBois Ideology of African American Education

According to William Edward Burghardt DuBois's, better known as W.E.B. DuBois, autobiography entitled, The Autobiography of W.E.B. DuBois: A Soliloquy on Viewing My Life from the Last Decade of Its First Century, he was born in Great Barrington, Massachusetts, on February 23, 1868, and died on August 27, 1963 (DuBois 61). He was an African American educator, writer, scholar, sociologist, and historian Civil rights activist who conducted the initial research on the Black experience in the United States. He graduated from Fisk University in1888 and earned a bachelor's degree from Harvard College in 1890, graduating with honors. He also attended the University of Berlin in 1892 and returned to Harvard University earning his doctorate. His work paved

the way for the civil rights, Pan-African, and Black Power movements in the United States.

A descendant of African American, French, and Dutch ancestors, he demonstrated his intellectual gifts at an early age. He graduated from high school at age 16, the valedictorian and only Black in his graduating class of 12. He was orphaned shortly after his graduation and was forced to fund his own college education. He won a scholarship to Fisk University in Nashville, Tennessee, where he excelled and saw for the first time the plight of southern Blacks.

DuBois had grown up with more privileges and advantages than most Blacks living in the United States at that time, and, unlike most Blacks living in the South, he had suffered neither severe economic hardship nor repeated encounters with blatant racism. As violence against Blacks increased in the South throughout the 1880s, DuBois's scholarly education was matched by the hard lessons he learned about race relations. He followed reports about the increasing frequency of lynchings, calling each racially motivated killing "a scar" upon his soul. Through these and other encounters with racial hatred, as well as through his experience teaching in poor African American communities in rural Tennessee during the summers, DuBois began to develop

his racial consciousness and the desire to help improve conditions for all Blacks.

DuBois received his bachelor's degree from Fisk in 1888 and won a scholarship to attend Harvard University. Harvard considered his high school education and Fisk degree inadequate preparation for a master's program, and he had to register as an undergraduate. DuBois received his second bachelor's degree in 1890 and then enrolled in Harvard's graduate school. He earned his master's degree and then his doctoral degree in 1895, becoming the first Black to receive that degree from Harvard.

By that time, DuBois had begun his research into the historical and sociological conditions of Black Americans that would make him the most influential Black intellectual of his time. His doctoral dissertation, The Suppression of the African Slave-Trade to the United States of America, 1638-1870, was published in 1896 as the initial volume in the Harvard Historical Studies Series (168).

After teaching for several years at Wilberforce University in Ohio, Du Bois conducted an exhaustive study of the social and economic conditions of urban Blacks in Philadelphia in 1896 and 1897 (DuBois 161-162). The results were published in The Philadelphia Negro (1899), the first sociological text on a Black community published in the

United States. After he became a professor of economics and history at Atlanta University in 1897, he initiated a series of studies as head of the school's "Negro Problem" program (194). These works had a profound impact on the study of the history and sociology of Blacks living in the United States (DuBois 194-196).

In 1897 DuBois made a famous statement on the ambiguity of the Black identity: "One feels his two-ness—an American, a Negro, two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings, two warring ideals in one dark body" (197). He advanced these views even further in The Souls of Black Folk (Original Edition, 1903), a powerful collection of essays in which he described some of the key themes of the Black experience, especially the efforts of Black Americans to reconcile their African heritage with their pride in being U.S. citizens.

With The Souls of Black Folk, DuBois had begun to challenge the leadership of Booker T. Washington, a fellow educator who was then the most influential and admired Black in the United States (DuBois 236). DuBois objected to Washington's strategy of accommodation and compromise with Whites in both politics and education. DuBois perceived this strategy as accepting the denial of Black citizenship rights. He also criticized Washington's emphasis on the

importance of industrial education for Blacks, which DuBois felt came at the expense of higher education in the arts and humanities.

DuBois also challenged Washington's leadership through the Niagara Movement, which DuBois helped to convene in 1905 (236-238). The movement grew out of a meeting of 29 Black leaders who gathered to discuss segregation and Black political rights (DuBois 236-253). They met in Canada after being denied hotel accommodations on the U.S. side of Niagara Falls and drafted a list of demands (DuBois 236-253). These included equality of economic and educational opportunity for Blacks, an end to segregation, and the prohibition of discrimination in courts, public facilities, and trade unions (DuBois 253).

Unlike Washington's ideological position concerning African Americans educational pursuits, DuBois ideological position took on a flavor that rejected the three functions of ideology. Instead, DuBois embraced understanding, critique, and education.

Analysis—DuBois and the Three Goals of Critical [Race] Theory

DuBois embraced all three goals of critical [race] theory in his quest to uplift the African American community. Understanding is the first goal of critical

[race] theory. As mentioned earlier, Stanley Deetz

contends that "merely understanding the means by which

consensual realities are formed and perpetuated says little

about whether such a consensus adequately represents

competing interests" (268). Critical [race] theorists are

concerned about the hidden practices of discrimination and

segregation in a society. Without this understanding from

slavery to the Civil Rights Movement in the 1950s and

1960s, African Americans would have "remain[ed] . . .

victims of meaning structures that [were] developed in

response to [their condition] and perpetuated in their talk

and actions "(Deetz 86). For example, African Americans and

Black leaders, such as DuBois, had emancipatory knowledge,

which identified their own self-knowledge of their

educational and economic conditions. Therefore, this

knowledge was used for self-reflection leading to their

transformed consciousness to fight for their rights, for

which Dubois stood. Dubois believed that African Americans

should become conscious of how Booker T. Washington's and

the ruling elite's ideological positions reflected and

distorted their economic and social reality about what was

good for them and what was possible and not possible for

them to achieve and knew what factors influenced and

sustained the false consciousness that it represented,

especially the reified powers of domination and segregation. During Reconstruction up to the Civil Rights Movement, African Americans transformed their consciousness to avoid being dependent on these reified powers.

Dubois embraced the second goal of critical [race] theory: critique. DuBois held the taken-for-granted oppressive U.S. society up for careful scrutiny and determined that Booker T. Washington and the ruling elite blocked the interests of African Americans to achieve their own self determination through effective educational means preferably a liberal arts education. Deetz contend that, "Critique itself operates as part of a participative communication act, the act of reopening effective communication to productive conversation" (87). By challenging Washington and the ruling elite, DuBois believed that African Americans were members of society and their interests should be represented as well. Dubois's ideological position suggested that "African Americans should not be viewed as inferior to other groups, but they should also not be seen as superior" (McGary 295), given their situation. "W.E.B. DuBois . . . claimed that the major problem of the twentieth century was race and not class" (McGary 291).

Dubois also embraced the third goal of critical [race] theory: education. DuBois, as a Harvard graduate, found ways where African Americans could learn "new concepts . . . in such a way as to enhance [their] understand[ing] of societal life to allow for undistorted discourse and to enable [them] to employ alternatives responses to [social] life" (Deetz 140). Given DuBois's ideological stance concerning African Americans and their right to pursue an alternative education, namely, a liberal arts education, DuBois believed that education would include providing African Americans with alternative discourses, a number of strategies for engaging in productive and constructive social and economic conflict, and participative decision-making skills to help then gain control of their own lives through a liberal arts education that would free them from White dependency.

In conclusion, Carl Schulkin informs us in his book review of <u>Jacqueline Moore, Booker T. Washington, W.E.B. DuBois, and the struggle for Racial Uplift</u>, explains that

> Jacqueline Moore has succeeded admirably in achieving the stated objectives of her new history of the struggle for racial uplift in the United States at the turn of the twentieth century. She has produced a book that can be readily understood

and enjoyed by readers with little or no
background on the subject. She has provided high
school and college students and instructors at
both levels with a detailed explanation of the
Washington-DuBois conflict, a topic that most
textbooks only briefly outline. Finally, and most
importantly, Professor Moore has placed the
Washington-DuBois Conflict in the broader context
of the Black communities search for effective ways
to combat rising segregation and discrimination.
(1)

White Ideology of African American Education: An Economic, Political, and Social Agenda

Of the many problems with which African Americans were faced from the 1890s to 1915 when Washington died, northern philanthropist appeared to be troubled by the social and economic hindrances White southerners placed on Black southerners. According to James Anderson, northern philanthropist sought "to cushion [southern Blacks] against the shock of racism and to keep public education open as an avenue of [their] advancement" (79). Anderson contends that "these philanthropists, [were] less concerned about [Black] constitutional rights and social equality than [they] were with the radical Republicans of the

Reconstruction era, [who] hoped to form an alliance with the South's conservative upper class to protect Black southerners from rampant racism" (79). Anderson goes on to inform us that "northern philanthropists failed to realize the depth and force of White supremacy and its embeddings in the southern culture that their original aim to challenge the South's overt racism was deflected" (79-80). Nothing could have prepared northern philanthropists for the overt oppressive society, White southerners' belief about black inferiority, and White southern treatment of African Americans that even the federal government could control.

The White ruling class, White planters, and the average White citizen did not want African Americans to receive an education, let alone allow their children to attend school with African Americans. Anderson informs us that

> The White planters who dominated local governments in the rural South generally resisted universal public education, particularly when it applied to rural Blacks. White urban industrialists believed that Blacks should be disfranchised and remain permanently in a lower-class status, but they also believed that a proper system of universal education would improve the economic productivity

of rising generations. Moreover, they believed

that universal schooling would socialize the young

to the disciplines and values needed for efficient

service within social roles prescribed along race

and class lines. (Anderson 279-280)

Vincent Parrillo explains that "If one group becomes

dominant and another becomes subservient, obviously one

group has more power than the other. Social-class status

partly reflects this unequal distribution of power, which

also may fall along racial or ethnic lines" (69).

Parrillo's viewpoint suggests hegemony. That is, the

southern White ruling class, together with White planters,

saw to it that African Americans remained uneducated, with

the inability to read. By keeping African Americans

ignorant, White planters and other businessmen were able to

exploit African Americans' labor and pay them low wages.

By doing so, African Americans had no recourse to report

this discriminating and hegemonic behavior because this

economic treatment of them was sanctioned and enforced by

southern local laws. In Keith Beauchamp's, The Murder of

Emmett Till, Clara Davis of Mississippi explained that

African Americans could never disagree with Whites about

the way they were treated. If Whites financially cheated

African Americans or denied them their rights, Davis said

they would come up missing and many African Americans had been murdered and their bodies dumped in the Tallahatchie River. According to Beauchamp, over 500 African Americans had been lynched in the South from 1890 to 1955 when Till was murdered.

White southern ideology of Black education was embedded in the racist theories of that time. Education was used as a vehicle of control to keep African Americans from flourishing economically or competing with Whites. During slavery it was illegal in the majority of southern states to educate Blacks. Keeping Blacks illiterate was a control mechanism that slave owners theorized would keep them dependent on and loyal to their owners even beyond slavery. It was also believed that Blacks had limited mental capacity. These ideas applied to the few free Blacks who sought education in the South. Since slaves were property that was bought and sold, they were compared to chattel. The loss of the Civil War and Reconstruction forced Southern Whites to accept the remedy of education to help their ex-slaves improve their circumstances. However, when Reconstruction ended, local and state governments reasserted control over the South. White southerners adjusted their ideology to the new landscape of free Blacks living among them. However, they sought to make sure that

every aspect of southern life was under their control, and Black education was not exempt.

In the Jim Crow era, Black education was controlled by White ideology as a vehicle to neutralize their ex-charges. Blacks were not to be educated in the same manner as Whites because they were supposedly less intelligent. Education was not intended to elevate Blacks to social, political or economic levels enjoyed by Whites, but a means to an end to serve the white ruling class. Occupations in medicine, law, and government were not open to Blacks. Blacks were to be educated to their environment. Their environment as defined by dominant Whites meant agriculture, manual labor, and domestic servitude. In these capacities, Blacks served Whites, which Whites thought would create "better race relations" between the races.

White ideological control of Black education restricted the amount of schooling Blacks received in correlation to their perceived limitations. White education officials demanded that curricula in Black institutions be adjusted to match these limitations. Industrial education programs as promoted by Armstrong, Washington and others met these criteria, and it de-emphasized literary or mental development and capped Black aspiration. Blacks were familiar with artisan occupations dominated by Whites,

however, more efficient means of production and a stronger work ethic could still be gained through such training. However, literary development was considered useless to a people who had for so long done their most useful work with their hands.

In the case of higher education, White ideological control was "suspicious" if not outright hostile towards Black colleges and Black students. According to Litwack, colleges such as Atlanta University were often cited by Whites as institutions that hurt Blacks by teaching Latin, Greek, and Philosophy courses. Du Bois, who taught at Atlanta University, was charged by the General Education Board agent with not giving students proper instruction. Though he mastered his material, the agent reported he dispensed it without making sure that student understood it (Litwack 82-83). Litwack confirmed Newby's assertion that ''Whites believed Blacks had imitative talents but could never be White (qtd in Newby 177). It could be inferred that this idea is what made industrial training more amenable to Blacks from Whites' perspective. Its routine tasks fit the abilities of the race perfectly. Higher education for African Americans was "an abject failure" that distanced Blacks from their superiors and turned them into criminals in the opinions of some Whites. Higher

education disqualified Blacks from there predestined place (92-93). It implanted higher aspirations that could never be achieved, such as becoming White. In the case of Black men, it was suggested that an education made them want White women (182).

Furthermore, General Education Board member and philanthropists William H. Baldwin, Jr. encouraged Blacks to remain in the south and acquire the best manual training skills in order to build their community and demonstrate to their superiors their worthiness of financial support. David L. Lewis charged that Baldwin, who was also a Tuskegee trustee, had disdain for college educated Blacks. This attitude is congruent with statements made by Whites during these times who complained that Blacks only sought higher education because they wanted "to be White people" (Lewis 241, Newby 176). Further evidence echoed from organizations such as the General Education Board that viewed the Atlanta University's curricula as "suspicious" while endorsing the Hampton-Tuskegee model. White citizens who believed that African Americans could be educated were willing to allow it as long as their economic, social, and political interests were protected. Therefore, they demanded that "…if Blacks were to be taught at all, Whites

should control what and how they are taught" (Litwack 88-89).

White ideological control of Black education was also meant to benefit Whites first, then Blacks second economically. Whites were often the owners of both land and the markets. Black labor acquired from graduates of Black education institutions supplied the southern markets with commodities and services whose prices were set by the Whites. Blacks would have steady occupations that benefited them through industrial instruction. However, price control was mostly in the hands of Whites. In other words, as educator Thomas Bailey stated in 1913 that Blacks were to receive the best industrial education "to best fit him to serve the White man" (Litwack 181). As stated earlier, Blacks were restricted from professional positions that required more education. In addition, Blacks could not compete with Whites economically or professionally. Industrial education benefited Blacks by teaching them "thrift," so Blacks also could not obtain material enrichment either. Blacks who managed to do well and gained materially were perceived as setting a bad example for other African Americans and were an affront to Whites (Newby 175).

Southern White ideologues believed that educating Blacks would "civilize" the race. However, civilizing the race meant teaching them to accept southern societal norms because social equality with Whites was impossible. Newby cited several instances where Whites believed that African Americans could never catch up to White society because Whites were superior. Newby claims that Theodore Roosevelt agreed with the idea that Blacks would never catch up to Whites (174-175). That is, Roosevelt believed that Blacks would forever be followers and imitators of Whites. By limiting the scope of education, Whites limited the aspirations of Blacks. As late as the 1910's the campaign to limit Black education continued. Baldwin, a philanthropist, also agreed with this notion that Black will forever economically lag behind whites (79).

White ideologues expressed their displeasure of higher education through a concerted attack on its chief promoter, W.E.B. Du Bois. Du Bois, a graduate of Fisk and Harvard was characterized as dangerous to Blacks. Du Bois was characterized as a Black man who wanted to be a White man due to his "over education." Many White racist linked Black higher education to criminality. It was also suggested and perceived by Whites that individuals like Du Bois wanted to

"be White men," so they could have intimate relations with White women (Litwack 100).

In summary, White ideology during the Black industrial education era had an economic, political, and social agenda. Although Anderson and others cited that some philanthropists had ideas to ameliorate the conditions of Blacks through education, southern Whites asserted their control in their part of the country to ensure that they dominated every aspect of life in their sphere. White ideological control of Black education sought to control what and how much education African Americans were to receive. White southerners would allow education as long as it did not challenge their advantaged position under Jim Crow. Whites wanted to maintain control over the Black community for their benefit by denying them the same curriculum they afforded themselves. Through this, they would maintain social, political, and economic control over the South. Black higher education, therefore, was seen as a threat to their control and was always something to be assailed and discouraged by the White community. Material resources and financial support for Black higher education and education in general was always lacking. Black educators like Booker T. Washington did not overtly challenge these notions and thus thrived under this

ideological system of Black inferiority, while his nemesis,

Du Bois, faced continued criticism from the White

community, being characterized as a threat.

Chapter V—Summary, Conclusion, Direction for Future

Research

Summary

This study examined the causes that led African

Americans to resist industrial education in higher

education, which ended industrial training programs in

predominantly Black colleges and universities during the

1920s. Three key factors helped create this reform

movement: 1) the death of Booker T. Washington; 2) the

improved educational levels of African Americans; and 3)

the rise in aspirations of African Americans to expand the

benefits of higher education.

European educators and philosophers were credited for

the inception of industrial education in America. Northern

philanthropic organizations believed that contributing

large sums of money towards southern educational

institution would help stabilize the economy and grow

markets. They also believed that their efforts were in line

with the Christian notion of charity. Educating the masses

of ex-slaves in the South was not exempt. Many business

magnates such as Andrew Carnegie, Nelson Rockefeller,

Robert Ogden, and William H. Baldwin Jr. were actively

involved, serving as trustees of various philanthropic organizations and colleges. However, their religious and economic motivations, which were not monolithic, were also intended to have social and political influence. As time moved on, these motivations shifted with the prevalent attitudes that influences on Black education, either by conforming to the interest of authoritarian ideology or by the influence of some Black or White educators directly involved.

Education for African Americans was, in reality for some, the manipulation of African Americans, particularly in the South during the early years of disfranchisement and segregation. It was true that Blacks at that time benefited from any form of education relative to what they had received prior to the Civil War. However, they found that their educational destinies were not their own, and its benefit was to be limited. Black schools and colleges were scrutinized by philanthropists, politicians, education officials, and local communities and the overt racial attitudes of the time fueled criticism and manipulation.

As already stated in Chapter I, industrial and liberal arts schools shared some characteristics and differed in other ways. The overriding similarity was the idea of creating future educators and leaders of the African

American communities. Self-reliance was also a similar goal. However, industrial students had more specialized job skills, but the liberal arts student was not trained for a specific trade. They could, therefore, seek employment in occupations outside of the rural sphere.

White ideological control of Black education endorsed industrial education. The industrial program taught specialized agricultural and domestic occupations that were believed to instill positive characteristics in Blacks. Industrial education prepared Blacks to work. Black labor provided great value to their communities, yet their own personal enrichment and ambition were limited. Positive race relations between Blacks and Whites were an intended purpose, but resulted in Whites controlling Black economic, political, and social life.

The southern hegemonic attitudes of the South had a negative impact on higher education for the Black population. W.E.B. Dubois and northern philanthropists did not believe that an industrial education would prepare African Americans for the realities of southern society, but believed that a liberal arts education would uplift the race. Instead of turning out a skilled workforce, it turned out an element that challenged the legitimate authority and social norms of the South. Black college educated

individuals were an affront to the southern civilized society because they were perceived as a perversion to what constituted a civilization.

Conclusion

Booker T. Washington and W.E.B. Du Bois, the two leading education debaters, were both in favor of education. However, they differed in which programs in which they believed. Washington believed Blacks would benefit from an industrial education, while DuBois advocated for a liberal arts education for Blacks. Neither man was totally against the other's program. Where they differed was the level and the pace at which African Americans should receive their education, and what was one to do with it upon completion of it. They were both influenced by the ruling elite, but Washington received more support for his ideology of Black education that DuBois.

Washington recognized that Blacks needed an education to counter the handicapping ignorance that had left them intellectually crippled. He believed that the determination he had shown to secure his own education was the best example of a program that could redeem the race. Washington was from the south and had cordial relations with several Whites who encouraged his quest for education. It could be inferred that Washington believed that positive

relationships with powerful Whites could be had as well as long as you deferred to them. Washington had been a houseboy when he was young and studied under Samuel Chapman Armstrong at Hampton University. Both of those experiences compelled Washington to believe that powerful Whites could be persuaded to work with the African American community.

In contrast to Du Bois's level of education, Washington had considerably less. However, Washington received more praise from the ruling class because he did not challenge ideological position on a substandard education for Blacks. He lavished praise on individuals of power and influence and reaffirmed their ideas. For his preference to work within their system, the hegemony promoted Washington as the ideal leader and spokesman for the entire race. Washington was a man that all Blacks, men and women, were to emulate.

Washington believed in the industrial education program. He believed that acquisition of material wealth was most important. Washington grew to understand that the hegemony respected ownership, wealth, and business. Industrial education had shown him that attaining property and money was not only possible, but he was convinced it was the most expedient and effective way to get it. He was also convinced that the occupations that slaves had engaged in

were the ones they could do best and that African Americans should continue to take advantage of. These endeavors were still much in need in the rural south. Therefore, Blacks could dominate this area. He spread this doctrine in two of his most famous books, Up from Slavery and My Larger Education. Louis Harlan, Adam Fairclough, and others confirm Washington's impact on the hegemony and the Black masses from the mid 1890's to the early 1910's.

Du Bois shared Washington's thirst for education, but David Lewis writes that Du Bois's motivation was more for affirming Black humanity and worth. Du Bois's experience of Black education had more to do Black human rights. Du Bois believed, as did Washington, that the vestiges of slavery had crippled African Americans. He thought that intense study of African Americans' plight would eradicate the material and spiritual deprivation Blacks.

Du Bois was highly educated and was raised in the North. Unlike Washington, he was never a slave. His academic credentials even exceeded the credentials of many of those of the ruling class. Du Bois who received his education from Harvard University believed that his academic experience could not and should not be his alone if African Americans were ever going to be part of the American

fabric. Blacks were not afforded every opportunity opened to Whites.

The industrial education program, although adequate to a degree for some, was flawed. Du Bois believed that since the Black community was to be separate, it needed its own leaders. However, racist beliefs of southerners hindered this effort. Instead, Blacks gave Whites too much control over their lives, who were less than cordial towards them in all facets of American life. Blacks such as Washington, who accepted and promoted the industrial education doctrine, were not solving the social, political, and economic hardships of African Americans, from DuBois's perspective.

Industrial education was myopic and kept Blacks ignorant and from achieving a liberal arts education that would perhaps provide a way for them to attain higher economic status.

Direction for Future Research

The industrial education versus the liberal arts education debate has been the subject of debates in many publications. However, there are some areas that can be explored in deeper detail. For example, scholars could explore educators at Black educational institutions and investigate how they were scrutinized by the administrators

of their institutions as well as by the local population where their schools were located.

Since majority of the scholarship I reviewed provided a clear indication of the fate of Black educators, future research could explore this promising area of concern. Future research could address, "Did these teachers seek additional training, or did they go into the professional sphere of their areas of expertise"? Fairclough's Teaching Equality discussed the significant role industrial teachers played in the segregated south, but their fate was unclear.

Another area of inquiry that can be explored involves the students of industrial education. Some may have sought additional education once they graduated from the industrial school. In Up from Slavery, Booker T. Washington claimed he left his studies at Wayland Seminary without earning his degree because of his disdain for urban life and the school atmosphere. Washington thought his industrial education was more useful to his future. Harlan's research could not confirm this fact, but did open the possibility that the curriculum may have had something to do with his departure. This area could open a discussion of whether those who graduated from industrial programs sought additional or higher education at liberal arts colleges.

Since the Normal school was considered between grade school and high school, future scholarship could investigate how these students faired under less specialized curricula. The question may be asked "Did these students meet the success that Du Bois had prophesized, or did these specialized curricula academically ruin the students as Washington and the ideologues suggested"?

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