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ABSTRACT

THE IMPACT OF ACCREDITATION ON THE TEACHER
EDUCATION CURRICULA AT TWO HISTORICALLY
BLACK COLLEGES FROM 1920-1940

by

Denise J. Shaver

Chair: Lee Davidson

ABSTRACT OF GRADUATE STUDENT RESEARCH

Dissertation

Andrews University

School of Education

Title: THE IMPACT OF ACCREDITATION ON THE TEACHER EDUCATION CURRICULA AT TWO HISTORICALLY BLACK COLLEGES FROM 1920-1940

Name of researcher: Denise J. Shaver

Name and degree of faculty chair: Lee Davidson, EdD

Date completed: October 2014

Problem

Many historically Black colleges and universities (HBCUs) are experiencing major challenges in meeting accreditation requirements. Without good accreditation status they are in jeopardy of losing student enrollment and facing closure. Concern about accreditation has become a growing topic of interest within the African American higher education community. This study explored the topic by looking at some of the historical origins of the accreditation movement in HBCUs. It uses various experiences of two higher education organizations to detail some of the original challenges and the impact on HBCUs from regional accreditation. It focuses on HBCUs through the time period 1920-1940. This time period was selected as it is considered a crucial time for two premier

colleges selected for this study. Tuskegee Institute and Atlanta University modeled the industrial and classical curriculum, respectively. These two curriculum models were the most common models utilized in HBCUs.

Understanding the role that accreditation may have played on HBCUs and their curricula, particularly teacher education programs, is critical when one considers the far-reaching influence African American teachers had on their community. Analyzing the interaction of the regional accreditation organization, the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools (SACS), and the approval processes of these schools highlights the forces shaping these schools, these teachers, and later their community. The role of accreditation in this process, primarily regional accreditation, will be specifically detailed.

Method

This study used a problem-oriented historical approach to research. It formulated a question generally prompted by reading secondary sources in a historiography, then evaluated primary sources in order to draw conclusions for this initial reading. While the purpose, statement, and objectives emerged from an extensive review of the literature, the historical method was utilized and the research stayed close to primary and secondary data sources related specifically to HBCUs and higher education.

Results

The accreditation process was a catalyst for curricula changes in the teacher education programs at Tuskegee Institute. Furthermore, social, economic, political, and racial hegemonic forces were apparent in these curricula changes at the institution. The

impetus for curriculum changes at Atlanta University ranged from meeting student and African American community needs to remaining current with national educational trends. Although governmental, state, and private organizations urged HBCUs toward the vocational curriculum, regional accreditors such as the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools (SACS) did not endorse a particular curriculum model.

Conclusions

First, accreditation standards influenced the Tuskegee Institute's teacher education curriculum. Second, Tuskegee employed the accreditation movement to strengthen the academic curriculum of the teacher education program which allowed them to avoid pejorative repercussions by not strictly adhering to the Tuskegee-Hampton curriculum model, an education that combined cultural uplift with moral and manual training. Third, accreditation did not influence schools to adopt any particular curriculum model. Fourth, economic, social, and political realities provided an impetus for the adoption and maintenance of the Tuskegee-Hampton curriculum model. Significant federal, state, and private funding directly impacted the teacher education program at Tuskegee. Finally, social motivations such as the needs of the African American community and norms of educational practices influenced teacher education curriculum changes at Atlanta University.

Andrews University

School of Education

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FROM 1920-1940

A Dissertation

Presented in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Doctor of Philosophy

by

Denise J. Shaver

October 2014

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

SACS	Southern Association of Colleges and Schools (previously known as Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools)
HBCU	Historically Black Colleges and Universities
NCA	North Central Association of Colleges and Schools
PWI	Predominantly White Institutions

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

General Introduction

Various socially, economically, and politically infused ideologies flourished at the end of the reconstruction era and continued through the early twentieth century. The educational arena provided fertile ground on which to wage these ideological wars. The reconstruction era was a brief yet pivotal part of American and African American history, lasting from 1865-1877, during which the question on how to deal with all aspects of the lives of former slaves, including their education, emerged. Historically Black colleges and universities (HBCUs) proliferated throughout the South in response to the need for education.¹ Different types of higher education institutions developed. Curriculum debates ensued around the best curriculum models for American institutions of higher learning. These debates revolved around varied issues including regional and racial differences.

R. P. Harris and H. D. Worthen stated that land grant colleges began in 1862 with the Morrill-Wade Act. They offered a wider range of education for students geared toward industrial and agricultural work. The Morrill-McComas Act of 1890 extended the

¹Renee F. Cooper, "Reconstruction and Education: Voices from the South, 1865-1871," *Prologue* 27, no. 2 (1995): Abstract.

establishment of these schools for Negro youth.² In addition to these, several other external factors affected American education at the turn of the twentieth century. Various legislative and economic issues complicated the decision-making process including the rise in immigration and industrialization. These issues provided an additional dimension of social and economic fear about immigrants who some feared would take industrial jobs.

Christopher Matthews, in his research on the Gilded Age, described this as a time in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries that was marked by economic prosperity and unprecedented growth of commerce in the US. It was characterized by the increasing rigidity of class structure revolving around hierarchical economic relations, but defined by racial and ethnic identifications.³ Though this age introduced prosperity for the rich, immigrant and minority groups continued to struggle and search for a way to improve their economic circumstances. He also stated that during this era, the American economy was transformed from a largely rural agrarian economy to a booming industrial economy.⁴ Drastic changes to the American landscape were taking place as the twentieth century grappled with even more challenging issues such as World War I. Then, in the late 1920s and throughout the 1930s, the experience of the Great Depression was a

²Rosalind P. Harris and H. Dreamal Worthen, "Working through the Challenges: Struggle and Resilience Within the Historically Black Land Grant Institutions," *Education* 124, no. 3 (Spring 2004): 447, accessed April 20, 2014, <http://web.a.ebscohost.com/ehost/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?vid=3&sid=75981b7e-d183-4f9d-8739-5f28c69d83c1%40sessionmgr4002&hid=4104>.

³Christopher N. Matthews, "Gilded Ages and Gilded Archaeologies of American Exceptionalism," *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 16, no. 4 (December 2012): 718, accessed April 23, 2014, http://download.springer.com/static/pdf/680/art%253A10.1007%252Fs10761-012-0199-5.pdf?auth66=1398296910_4cca33ad0cb7c01e200a62b73826b1e0&ext=.pdf.

⁴*Ibid.*, 719.

cataclysmic domestic and international economic downturn.

Accreditation arises in the midst of all of this societal turmoil. According to Roy Edelfelt and James Raths, regional accreditation emerged as a force of standardization in education in the nineteenth century.⁵ Regional accreditation associations were based on partner memberships supported by dues, fees, and grants. William White asserted that at the end of the nineteenth century, a plethora of issues such as a lack of secondary school curricula, college admission requirements, and the growth of college attendance fueled the need for educational standards in America. Prior to this time, no attempt was made to standardize or evaluate schools.⁶ Accreditation associations sought to bring order out of this chaos. These organizations and regional accreditation associations began to have a powerful influence over colleges and universities. Their power would continue to grow and become a significant force in higher education. They would be one of many external forces to impact higher education in America during this time. This historical study seeks to evaluate the impact of accreditation on two historically Black colleges and universities from 1920 to 1940.

Statement of the Problem

Understanding the historical issues and pressures that were influencing curricula development and modifications of teacher education programs at the crucial time from 1920 to 1940 will help us comprehend the role of accreditation on HBCU programs. As

⁵Roy A. Edelfelt and James D. Raths, *A Brief History of Standards in Teacher Education* (Reston, VA: Association of Teacher Educators, 1999), 4.

⁶William G. White, "Accreditation of Seventh-day Adventist Liberal Arts Colleges in the North Central Association Region of the United States, 1922-1939" (PhD dissertation, University of Reading, 2002), 3-4.

Cooper noted, in the late 1800s and early 1900s, the federal government distributed funds to historically Black colleges for teacher education programs. Cooper argued that they were to offset the desperate and inequitable educational environment created for Blacks. It was to support pay for Black teachers. These funds were given with the assumption that African Americans should remain relegated to domestic, vocational, and mechanical training.⁷ Understanding the role of accreditation in shaping teacher education at HBCUs during this time frame promises to assist in determining the forces that shaped Black American education for years to come.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this dissertation was to conduct a historical case study on the effects of accreditation on the teacher education curricula of Atlanta University and Tuskegee Institute, two premier historically Black institutions of higher education, between 1920 and 1940. Atlanta University, now Clark University, was selected due to its strong classical curriculum model. Tuskegee Institute, now Tuskegee University, was chosen because it was the bulwark of the industrial curriculum model for African Americans. Another rationale for the selection of these schools was the era in which they were accredited. Both schools received their regional accreditation from the SACS organization in 1931 (Tuskegee Institute) and 1932 (Atlanta University). Finally, the study sought to identify major underlying social, political, or economic motives for the curricula changes.

⁷Cooper, "Reconstruction and Education," Abstract.

Research Hypothesis

The focus of the inquiry is conveyed in the following research hypothesis:

1. The accreditation process was a catalyst for curricula changes in the teacher education programs at Atlanta University and Tuskegee Institute.
2. Teacher education programs were urged toward a particular curriculum model.
3. Social, economic, and political forces shaped both the accreditation process and the curricula changes of these institutions.

Importance and Significance of the Study

Preeminent historian of African American education James Anderson stated that HBCUs received stark criticism and limited support from their inception.⁸ Accreditation may have been part of that criticism. It potentially provided either a bridge or a barrier to social and academic acceptance for minority-serving institutions. With the growing power of accreditation as it relates to higher education, including HBCUs at that time, it is essential to discern their effect on the curriculum choices and models for HBCUs, especially in teacher education programs. The type of curriculum through which these teachers matriculated would influence their social and political outlook and, later, their approach to education.

The training that shapes the socio-political perspective of teachers is extremely important given the influence teachers have in the lives of their students and community.

⁸James D. Anderson, *The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1988), 238.

According to Adah Ward Randolph, African Americans were builders of the community, along with parents and children.⁹ It is, therefore, necessary to understand the forces and motivations for curriculum adoption and adaptation during the time these schools received their accreditation, because of the potential impact they had on the African American community. The literature review revealed a lack of available historical research regarding the role of accreditation on historically Black colleges and universities during this period. This research sought to fill that gap.

In *The Education of the Negro* (1939), noted African American historian Horace Mann Bond shared the fact that the need for Negro teachers was great indeed during the first half of the twentieth century. Approximately six thousand Negro teachers were needed annually in the South due to deaths, retirement, and other factors, but on average, four-year and two-year colleges produced only an average of 2,400 Black teachers. In 1929-1930, the state of Alabama had 210 African American teachers to replace the 500 needed that year.¹⁰ Given the racial norms of the South, historically Black institutions produced the majority of Negro teachers. Furthermore, the African American community needed quality teachers. Anderson posits that the Tuskegee-Hampton curriculum model, an education that combined cultural uplift with moral and manual training, was a way to perpetuate and maximize the promotion of racial roles. Classical training, with its focus on liberal education inclusive of foreign languages and logic, focused on higher order thinking and promoted the idea that HBCUs should train future leaders and professionals

⁹Adah Ward Randolph, "The Memories of an All-Black Northern Urban School: Good Memories of Leadership, Teachers, and the Curriculum," *Urban Education* 39, no. 6 (November 2004): 596-620.

¹⁰Horace Mann Bond, *The Education of the Negro in the American Social Order* (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1934), 268.

to assist the race in gaining social, economic, and political autonomy.¹¹ Thus, increasing not only the number of available Black teachers, but also the professional and academic quality of these teachers, was vital for the colored community in the South.

It is improbable that accreditation standards were free from social, racial, and political bias. This study also examined the social, economic, or political ideology and bias apparent in the accreditation influence on the curricula of these two schools, especially on teacher education programs. Specific attention was given to the role adjustments to the classical or industrial model of these schools.

Limitations and Delimitations

The main limitation of the study was locating the necessary documents. The report specifying the reason for Tuskegee's initial Class B accreditation rating was not found. Locating sources was a part of the historical process, but the findings were sometimes limited due to availability, access, and time required to find primary source data. Budgetary constraint was another limitation to the study.

Delimitations are things that the researcher chose not to pursue. The most significant delimitation of this study was the decision to restrict the study to only two historically Black colleges. During that time frame, Fisk University also had a highly regarded teacher education program. Comparing Fisk to other HBCU comparable institutions that utilized either the industrial or classical model for their curriculum would have been ideal; however, time and money precluded me from embarking upon such a large study.

¹¹Anderson, *The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935*, 239-240.

Resistance Theory

While historical methods guided this story, the guiding conceptual framework is the Resistance Theory. There are various definitions for this theory. K. K. Abowitz purported that resistance theories were useful to explain the way in which marginalized groups advocate for improved treatment relative to their position in an institution. In an educational context, resistance illuminates how working class groups and marginalized people struggle against the norms or authority that work against their perceived best interest.¹² This perspective on resistance theory will serve as the foundation for this study. Ways in which African Americans resisted the hegemonic forces which sought to keep them confined and restricted to previously established subservient economic, political, and social norms will be explored.

In a poignant discussion on resistance theory, Luis Moll made the profound assertion that “power never goes unchallenged; it always produces friction, resistance, and consternation.”¹³ Nicholas Burbules echoed this sentiment in *A Theory of Power in Education* by stating that resistance is always a possibility.¹⁴ In his discourse on resistance theory, a pioneer in critical pedagogy, Henry Giroux, described resistance as an ideological construct as he examined the relationship between school and the wider

¹²Kathleen Knight-Abowitz, “A Pragmatist Revisioning of Resistance Theory,” *American Educational Research Journal* 37, no. 4 (Winter 2000): 878, accessed April 23, 2014, <http://aer.sagepub.com/content/37/4/877.full.pdf+html>.

¹³Luis C. Moll, “Rethinking Resistance,” *Anthropology & Education Quarterly* 35, no. 1 (March 2004): 126.

¹⁴Nicholas C. Burbules, “A Theory of Power in Education,” *Educational Theory* 36, no. 2 (June 1986): 101.

society.¹⁵ The resistance theory was used to explain how African American institutions rejected the attempt by the dominant social, economic, and political forces to confine them to menial second-class career tracks. It illuminates how African American educators, by adopting the classical curriculum model for their schools in the South, manifested a form of social resistance. In addition, this research study also investigates ways in which resistance was manifested even by some HBCUs that adopted the industrial curriculum model. More discussion on this will be provided in chapters 2 and 4.

Definition of Terms

Historically Black college and university (HBCU): A minority-serving higher education institution developed for African Americans.

Accreditation: The process of acceptance of institutional membership which requires compliance to organization guidelines and recommendations.

African Americans: Individuals of African descent who were born in the United States of America.

Curriculum: A course of study that includes the scope and sequence of classes to complete a program.

Industrial curriculum: A curriculum which endorsed the development of trades or skills for manual labor in agricultural or mechanical fields.

Classical curriculum: A model that endorses Latin, Greek, and mathematics in

¹⁵Henry A. Giroux, "Theories of Reproduction and Resistance in the New Sociology of Education: A Critical Analysis," *Harvard Educational Review* 53, no. 3 (Fall 1983): 285.

preparation for professional employment.

Tuskegee-Hampton model: An education that combined racial uplift with moral and manual training.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

This literature review discusses trends, reactions, and movements in the historical context of the New South from the 1920s to the 1940s. It also reviews curriculum at large and higher education curriculum models for African Americans. It then summarizes prevalent educational theories which may have served as the impetus for these debates. It also attempts to identify key players and proponents of various ideologies which influenced African Americans, particularly those residing in the South. In highlighting the known elements of this subject, it also demonstrates the gap in research that this study attempts to fill.

Literature was collected from a variety of sources. The ERIC, SAGE, and EBSCO American History and Life educational and historical databases were accessed through the James White Library at Andrews University. ProQuest was used to research dissertations on related topics or processes. Keywords for searches included Reconstruction, New South, classical and industrial curriculum, accreditation, Negro education, Booker T. Washington, W. E. B. Du Bois, and HBCUs. The autobiographies of Booker T. Washington and W. E. B. Du Bois were read as well as books on the New South and education.

Certain pertinent yet non-peer reviewed information was included, such as articles

and information derived from websites. Recent scholarship for this topic would begin around the 1980s since a rich array of scholarship ranging from the Negro in the twentieth century to the Civil Rights movement proliferated during this time. Though great effort was made to utilize sources from 1980 to the present, seminal works that predate that time frame were included. Inclusion of important reports and articles from the US Department of Education and publications such as the *Crisis* published by W. E. B. Du Bois from that era help to depict authentic voices and experiences from the period.¹ Historical research limits its discussions to the time frame being examined in the study. Due to the interdisciplinary nature of the study, discussions about the accreditation process or the potential impact of accreditation on these schools and their curricula in the future were omitted.

Historical Context

New South

The reconstruction era was a brief, yet pivotal part of American and African American history. Though reconstruction lasted only from 1865-1877, Blacks made important political, social, and economic strides, which later allowed them to actualize full civil rights during the Civil Rights Movement. According to Cooper, the end of the reconstruction era gave rise to the New South, which was also marked by racial tensions and some redrawing of Southern social roles.²

¹“History,” *The Crisis Magazine*, accessed October 13, 2013, <http://www.thecrisismagazine.com/history.html>. *The Crisis* was a publication conceived and nurtured by Du Bois. “It will first and foremost be a newspaper: it will record important happenings and movements in the world which bear on the great problem of inter-racial relations, and especially those which affect the Negro-American.” Ibid.

²Cooper, “Reconstruction and Education,” Abstract.

Ayers contended that the New South began in the mid to late 1870s when biracial reformist groups were replaced by conservative White Southern Democrats after the failure of reconstruction. According to him, Southern Democrats came to be known as the *Redeemers* as they “redeemed” southern states from Republican power.³ Ayers also alluded that the New South was not indicative of a geographical location and lacked a clearly designated period of time. This comment refers to the nebulous nature of this term. Though it is widely used in historical writings to refer to the social, political, and economic time period, a clearly defined time frame and geographical location has not been clearly established.

One of the foremost historians on Southern history, Comer Vann Woodward, provided additional insight into the politics and economics of the South by highlighting the surface appearance of unity during the New South which removed some Southern peculiarities while giving rise to others. He informed that by 1880, small farm ownership for African Americans nearly doubled, while the average farm size was cut to less than its previous size.⁴ Though the reality of land ownership may have been true for Whites, Black people were losing the little land they acquired during and immediately after reconstruction during the New South. Most Negroes were circumscribed by the farm, but

³Edward L. Ayers, *The Promise of the New South: Life after Reconstruction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 8-9, accessed October 15, 2013, <http://books.google.com/books?hl=en&lr=&id=ucStjpCXLx0C&oi=fnd&pg=PR11&dq=new+south&ots=vhznseZ2Fb&sig=ue69pMfVJMv0JefNKcCkkHdIO6s#v=onepage&q=new%20south&f=false>.

⁴C. Vann Woodward, *Origins of the New South, 1877-1913* (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1951), 171. C. Vann Woodward is one of the foremost historians on Southern history. *Origins of the New South 1877-1913* is the 9th volume of his seminal work entitled *A History of the South*. *Ibid.*, ix-x.

most Negro farmers “were farmers without land.”⁵ Land loss was far from the only problem encountered by Blacks during this time. Racial discrimination appeared to be mounted in direct proportion to the tide of political democracy among Whites.

Woodward delved into the codified practices of reconstruction and confirmed that Jim Crow laws were on the statute books of Southern states.⁶ According to Lawrence Prescott, Jim Crow codified social norms in practices that relegated Negroes to subservient and inferior social and civil status. He also stated that between 1870 and 1885, Southern states legislatively banned interracial marriages; mandated separate railroad coaches, waiting areas, and restrooms; and established separate schools for Blacks and Whites.⁷ These Jim Crow sanctions were heavily enforced throughout the South though the manifestation of these varied practices. Inequality and limited access to education have longed plagued the American educational system. The thirteenth and fourteenth amendments in conjunction with the 1890 Morrill Acts, the Civil Rights Act of 1865, and *Plessy vs. Ferguson* (1896) helped to establish the right for Blacks to attend public institutions of higher education.⁸

While legal changes were occurring regarding access to education, other factors affected African Americans early in the twentieth century. The Great Migration, a massive relocation movement of Southern Blacks to the North, is commonly seen as the

⁵Woodward, *Origins of the New South, 1877-1913*, 205.

⁶*Ibid.*, 211.

⁷Laurence E. Prescott, “Journeying through Jim Crow: Spanish American Travelers in the United States during the Age of Segregation,” *Latin American Research Review* 42, no. 1 (February 2007): 6.

⁸John B. Noftsinger Jr. and Kenneth F. Newbold Jr., “Historical Underpinnings of Access to American Higher Education,” *New Directions for Higher Education* 2007, no. 138 (Summer 2007): 9.

most comprehensive domestic demographic shift. In their discussion of this migration, Stewart E. Tolnay, Kyle D. Crowder, and Robert M. Adelman explicated that oppressive racial practices and economic realities were a catalyst for the Great Migration. This migration began around 1910 and continued to ebb and flow until the 1970s. The authors stated, “This massive exodus, commonly known as the Great Migration, created a significant demographic racial shift. In 1900 81% of all Blacks lived in the South and 80% of those resided in rural areas. By 1970 over 50% of Blacks lived in the North with 80% of them living in cities.”⁹

World War I also helped to intensify this demographic shift. Maria Sakovich observed that World War I politics reduced the number of Europeans eligible to work. She stated that the presidential proclamation of April 6, 1917, created the “alien enemies” practice which detained men and women born in Germany and the Austro-Hungarian Empire at Angel Island in California’s San Francisco Bay.¹⁰ There were other political restrictions that encouraged African Americans to move north during this time. In her research on women in the Great Migration, Katherine Curtis White explained that the Black migration increased during World War 1 due to immigration restrictions of many European low-wage workers in the North in conjunction with the mechanization of agriculture, the devastation of the boll weevil infestation, and Jim Crow laws in the

⁹Stewart E. Tolnay, Kyle D. Crowder, and Robert M. Adelman, “‘Narrow and Filthy Alleys of the City’?: The Residential Settlement Patterns of Black Southern Migrants to the North,” *Social Forces* 78, no. 3 (March 2000): 990, accessed October 20, 2013, <http://web.a.ebscohost.com/ehost/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?vid=3&sid=794937a6-95ba-478c-8fdd-5b77a115aed0%40sessionmgr4001&hid=4104>.

¹⁰Maria Sakovich, “When the ‘Enemy’ Landed at Angel Island: San Francisco Immigration Station Sought to Bar Hostile Aliens and Deport Resident Radicals during World War I,” *Prologue: The Journal of the National Archives* 41, no. 2 (Summer 2009): 26, accessed November 12, 2013, <http://www.archives.gov/publications/prologue/2009/summer/angel.html>.

South.¹¹ Many Black men and women took advantage of the opportunity of the work-force void that World War I created and moved north in the hopes of gaining upward mobility. African Americans also relocated for social and economic advantages. Tolnay, Crowley, and Adelman argued that Southern migrants gained more and superior education compared to their Southern counterparts.¹² Many Blacks in the North and South saw education as the key to financial and racial uplift. The push for education as a means of progress has long been a part of the psyche of African Americans in this country.

The Great Depression, which is associated with the stock market crash on October 29, 1929, is commonly known to have had a cataclysmic detrimental effect on the American economy. Murray Rothbard explicated that the Great Depression lasted for eleven years and was even more devastating due to the high unemployment rates. The depression triggered the largest US economic downfall for more than a generation. By 1931, unemployment had surpassed 20 percent and remained above 15 percent until the beginning of World War II.¹³ The Great Depression intensified the struggles of Black people in America.

According to Lashawn Harris, African Americans were already plagued with high poverty and unemployment rates, low wages, poor living conditions, and racial

¹¹Katherine J. Curtis White, "Women in the Great Migration: Economic Activity of Black and White Southern-Born Female Migrants in 1920, 1940, and 1970," *Social Science History* 29, no. 3 (Fall 2005): 415.

¹²Tolnay, Crowder, and Adelman, "'Narrow and Filthy Alleys of the City?'," 993.

¹³Murray Newton Rothbard, *America's Great Depression*, 5th ed. (Auburn, AL: Ludwig von Mises Institute, 2008), xxxv, accessed October 21, 2013, <http://books.google.com/books?hl=en&lr=&id=RHINtHpq8p0C&oi=fnd&pg=PR11&dq=great+depression&ots=wE2T0jioVg&sig=OQ-YroDC7OIUVXnpZEBp494gDA0#v=onepage&q=great%20depression&f=false>.

discrimination prior to the economic collapse of the Great Depression. This calamity further exacerbated the less than ideal social conditions in the Black community. She further asserted that hopes were raised due to President Roosevelt's New Deal programs, but were later dashed by the discriminatory practices of governmental agencies particularly in the South. She concluded that disenchantment resulted because of these conditions which pushed many Black men and women to engage in activities such as joining the Communist Party.¹⁴ The Great Depression only deepened the racial and economic schism.

Despite this disastrous effect, it seems that this event introduced some positive results, especially as it concerned education. William Jeynes described the conditions of education during the Depression. He asserted that despite major cutbacks in education, both students and schools responded well during these times and reported widespread successes. Cutbacks challenged schools to operate more efficiently and student academic achievement increased. He cited four major educational contributions of the Great Depression. First, there was an increased appreciation for education due to economic difficulty. Second, people began to view education as a way out of hard times. Third, the Depression caused people to reevaluate their priorities, propelling many into fields, such as teaching, where they felt that a contribution to society could be made. Finally, during

¹⁴Lashawn Harris, "Running with the Reds: African American Women and the Communist Party during the Great Depression," *Journal of African American History* 94, no. 1 (Winter 2009): 23, accessed October 24, 2013, <http://web.a.ebscohost.com/ehost/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?vid=3&sid=dd24365e-0095-4a36-abb4-98e3d6ac6208%40sessionmgr4004&hid=4207>.

the Great Depression, teacher salaries remained fairly stable, which attracted more qualified people to the field.¹⁵

Anthony Baxter made a relevant connection between education and the Civil Rights movement by explaining that equal access to education culminated in the Civil Rights movement and was the “pearl of great price.”¹⁶ In his research on the Civil Rights movement, Leland Ware revealed that education became the perfect platform from which political activists launched successful campaigns against the suppression and subordination of African Americans and other people groups. Ware credited the “equalization strategy” of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) as the true catalyst that would lead to the successful defeat of racial discrimination. He stated:

In this 1934 memorandum, Houston proposed what would become the NAACP’s equalization strategy. This approach would be carried out over the next several years in hundreds of cases and would ultimately result in the reversal of the *Plessy* doctrine. . . . However, Houston believed that the Supreme Court was not prepared to respond favorably to a direct challenge to *Plessy*. . . . Focusing on education, Houston proposed a series of lawsuits demanding that states comply with *Plessy* by providing equal allocations of financial and other resources for black students in segregated schools. This would be followed by a second series of suits demanding equal salaries for black teachers.¹⁷

In the midst of this social, economic and political turmoil, a curriculum debate

¹⁵William H. Jeynes, *American Educational History: School, Society, and the Common Good* (Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, 2007), 244-246.

¹⁶Anthony G. Baxter, “On the American Civil Rights Movement’s Origins, Nature, and Legacy: Framing the Struggle for the ‘Pearl of Great Price’” (paper presented at the History and Civil Rights Section of the National Association of African American Studies & National Association of Hispanic and Latino Studies, Houston, TX, February 21-26, 2000), 19, accessed November 21, 2013, <http://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED456180.pdf>.

¹⁷Leland B. Ware, “Setting the Stage for *Brown*: The Development and Implementation of the NAACP’s School Desegregation Campaign, 1930-1950,” *Mercer Law Review* 52 (2001): 642, accessed October 27, 2013, <http://www2.law.mercer.edu/lawreview/getfile.cfm?file=52204.pdf>.

ensued between those who promoted either the classical or industrial curriculum for American institutions of higher learning. Though this debate included HBCUs as well as predominantly White-serving institutions (PWI), it would have much deeper implications for Blacks and the institutions that sought to educate them; these models were endorsed by many as appropriate for collegiate-level education.

Education in the South

Education for the Blacks was a common issue throughout the South after reconstruction and during the New South. Many individuals of both races saw the need for racial uplift through education. According to Abraham Blinderman, the debate surrounding the education of Black men and women after reconstruction was closely aligned with the suffrage movement. He purported that evidence of this is conveyed in reconstruction novels such as Albion W. Tourgee's *A Fool's Errand*. He included the following poignant comment from the novel, "Let the nation educate the colored man and the poor White man because the nation held them in bondage, and is responsible for their education; educate the voter because the nation cannot afford that he should be ignorant."¹⁸ The understanding of the need for a literate workforce became more prevalent during this time and different forms of institutions of higher learning became more popular.

According to Harris and Worthen, land grant colleges began in 1862 with the Morrill-Wade Act and offered a wider range of education for students geared toward

¹⁸Abraham Blinderman, *American Writers on Education after 1865* (Boston, MA: Twayne Publishers, 1976), 79.

industrial and agricultural work. The Morrill-McComas Act of 1890 extended land grant colleges for Negro youth.¹⁹ According to Hyman,

One major difference between the land grants established through the Morrill Acts of 1890 from those of 1862 was an emphasis on teacher training. It was the goal of the black land grants to fill the need for more qualified black teachers because many of the private black institutions focused on pure liberal arts. While the black land grants differed in mission and funding, they were still successful in providing new and improved opportunities for African American students.²⁰

This new mission and funding would have a strong emphasis on vocational education and teacher training programs. The 1890 land grant colleges placed heavy emphasis on agrarian and domestic training for HBCUs and other minority-serving institutions. Discrimination in the form of Jim Crow laws and other subtle practices necessitated a greater need for teacher training programs to provide various people groups with well-trained teachers to educate those groups in a way that was culturally and socially acceptable.

In 1916, the United States Office of the Department of Education embarked upon an extensive study of Negro education in America. The main purpose of the study was to provide an impartial view of the status of Negro public and private schools. Dr. Thomas Jesse Jones was the principal investigator. In this seminal work published in 1917, Jones provided his summary of needs for Negro schools in Alabama. His observation of educational needs included strengthening and extending the elementary school system; increasing teacher training facilities; increasing instruction on gardening, household arts,

¹⁹Harris and Worthen, "Working through the Challenges," 47.

²⁰Noftsinger Jr. and Newbold Jr., "Historical Underpinnings of Access to American Higher Education," 9.

and simple industries; and establishing industrial high schools in the cities.²¹ The list of recommendations for the state of Georgia was identical to the list for Alabama.²² The conclusions promulgated by this report likely had its root in the historical development of industrial education for Blacks in the South.

Powerful Southern men were essential to the spread and emphasis on certain types of vocational education for Blacks. The actions of key players were evident at this time. According to Kelley, the three most influential White men in the South regarding industrial education were Samuel Armstrong, Jabez L. Curry, and Atticus G. Haywood. History would prove Samuel Armstrong to be the most powerful of the three with regard to the Negro. Armstrong founded Hampton Institute in 1868 as a response to the looming “Negro Question.” Armstrong considered untrained Blacks an economic liability to the South and believed that industrial training or industrial education could give the newly freed slave an idea about the dignity of labor.²³ The real staying power of Armstrong was his role as a mentor for Booker T. Washington. Tuskegee would strongly shadow the practices and values of Armstrong’s Hampton Institute. Raymond W. Smock, noted Booker T. Washington biographer, expostulated that Samuel Armstrong recommended the appointment of Washington as the founder of Tuskegee.²⁴ Education is an essential

²¹Thomas Jesse Jones, *Negro Education: A Study of the Private and Higher Schools for Colored People in the United States* (New York: Arno Press, 1969), 33.

²²*Ibid.*, 191-192.

²³Don Quinn Kelley, “Ideology and Education: Uplifting the Masses in Nineteenth Century Alabama,” *Phylon* (1960-2002) 40, no. 2 (2nd Qtr., 1979): 150, accessed November 3, 2013, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdfplus/274656.pdf?acceptTC=true&jpdConfirm=true>.

²⁴Raymond Smock, *Booker T. Washington: Black Leadership in the Age of Jim Crow* (Chicago, IL: Ivan R. Dee, 2009), 62.

vehicle for the transmission of values. Michael Apple stated that transformations in the content and structure of education have lasting effects on the dispositions and values and who we think we are and on who we think we can become.²⁵

Kelley also argued that Southern Blacks as early as 1871 called for a plain, practical and affordable system of public education. He stated, “Apathy and despair were the tenor of the times for African Americans in Alabama.” Many Black men and women in Alabama perceived the impending loss of political freedom and, therefore, saw education, particularly industrial education, as a ray of hope. Booker T. Washington turned his full energies toward industrial education, rather than politics. The “Tuskegee experiment” was the pragmatic experimentation that became popular during this time.²⁶

Since the end of the reconstruction era in 1877, Blacks faced economic problems in addition to the loss of civil rights. Different states experienced diverse realities as it related to social and racial practices.²⁷ Stephen Budiansky recounted the violence that took place in Alabama during reconstruction. He stated that during the period from 1865-1877, more than 3,000 Blacks were murdered throughout the South and by 1874, terror had successfully overturned gains during the earlier years of reconstruction in Alabama.²⁸ These terror tactics worked to stay and even reverse the progress made by the former

²⁵Michael W. Apple, “Education, Politics, and Social Transformation,” AATE/ALEA National Conference Site for Darwin 2014, <http://www.englishliteracyconference.com.au/files/documents/Education%20Politics%20and%20Social%20Transformation%20Article-1.pdf>.

²⁶Kelley, “Ideology and Education,” 150-151.

²⁷Woodward, *Origins of the New South, 1877-1913*, 209.

²⁸Stephen Budiansky, “How a War of Terror Kept Blacks Oppressed Long after the Civil War Ended,” *Journal of American History* 43, no. 1 (April 2008): 30-31, accessed October 3, 2013, <http://web.a.ebscohost.com/ehost/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?vid=4&sid=98060996-39ad-48d9-af7e-58aad134d7bd%40sessionmgr4002&hid=4104>.

slaves since emancipation. For example, Woodward explained that the landless farmer worked for shares of the crop while the owner often furnished tools and other supplies. The owner supplied land and took from one-fourth to half of the crop, depending on the amount of supplies that were provided.²⁹ Unfortunately, this practice known as sharecropping was not limited to that state. Sharecropping created a new form of economic oppression. It established a new system of indebtedness which trapped many Black agricultural families and decreased economic opportunities for many Blacks. The sharecropping system increased the need for trained agrarian workers who could fill the economic needs of the South while passively conforming to the inferior social and political status of the Negro.

Kelley further reported that Curry, a proponent for universal education, also championed the cause of industrial training for the Negro. In 1881, Haywood was appointed as the general agent of the Slater Fund, which was started by John F. Slater, and had the express purpose of uplifting the emancipated population of the Southern states.³⁰ Noted Booker T. Washington autobiographer Raymond Smock purported that the Slater Fund not only endorsed the industrial curriculum for Negro education, but also viewed it as the path to race uplift.³¹ Vocational education certainly assisted newly freed slaves so accustomed to agrarian work with the potential to make a better living doing what was already familiar. However the emphasis on vocational education focused on the

²⁹Woodward, *Origins of the New South, 1877-1913*, 206.

³⁰Kelley, "Ideology and Education," 150-151.

³¹Smock, *Booker T. Washington*, 78-79. The Slater Fund donated so much money to Black industrial education that Congress awarded the gold medal for race uplift to its founder.

Tuskegee-Hampton model. As previously stated, this curriculum focused on hard work and placed little value on academic development.

Kelley elaborated further about the racially charged economic practices in the South. For example, Alabama was infamous for the criminal convict lease system, a *de facto* “slave labor system,” which provided slave-like labor to White employers, who did not compensate the laborers. Black men and women were disproportionately imprisoned longer for petty crimes. The advent of industrial training for African Americans in this area appeared to be a blessing. Industrial education in Alabama was built around race issues and Black educators could scarcely risk offending those in power.³² The encouragement of the industrial curriculum for Blacks had not only a subservient class maintenance agenda, but also an economic agenda. African Americans who experienced any legal infraction were utilized by this system for capitalistic gain. It was in this system’s best interests to ensure that all Blacks had some industrial training that could be used to serve the racist power structure directly as manual or agricultural laborers or indirectly through the pseudo penal convict-lease program.

Smock provided greater insight into the cultural and racial climate in Alabama at the end of the twentieth century. He shared the fact that Macon County was an extremely poverty-stricken section of Alabama in 1881 with about 13,000 Negroes and 4,600 Caucasians.³³ White business owners had reservations about building Tuskegee, but were driven by the economic opportunity it presented. Notwithstanding, other Whites feared

³²Kelley, “Ideology and Education,” 151.

³³Smock, *Booker T. Washington*, 64.

that educated Black men and women would leave in search of better employment opportunities.³⁴ Other realities likely accompanied the reservations to build the school. James Glaser stated that the Deep South was heavily populated with Blacks. This area was the most rural and was comprised by the most uneducated, oldest, and most native Whites.³⁵ Fear by the uneducated, rural, and poor Whites, coupled with the economic interest of the agrarian elite, formed a power rationale for curtailing or confining the progress of Blacks in this area. He further stated that Tuskegee was the premier industrial Negro institution of higher education. Founded on the Fourth of July in 1881 by an act of the Alabama state legislature, Tuskegee sought to meet the needs of the masses of Black farmers in the Alabama Black Belt region. Ronald Wimberley classified the Black Belt as Southern counties with high concentrations of Blacks.³⁶ The institution made tremendous strides under the leadership of Booker T. Washington. Tuskegee maintained that the great majority must live by tilling the soil thus training and education in this area was of the utmost importance. A. W. Jones reported that approximately 57% of Blacks were literate in 1890 and only about 120,000 Black farmers owned the land they farmed.³⁷

³⁴Smock, *Booker T. Washington*, 67.

³⁵Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, and South Carolina are states that are collectively classified as the Deep South. It is considered the “most southern” in its demography, character, economy, and politics. James M. Glaser, “Back to the Black Belt: Racial Environment and White Racial Attitudes in the South,” *The Journal of Politics* 56, no. 1 (February 1994): 28, accessed July 6, 2014, <http://web.a.ebscohost.com/ehost/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?vid=3&sid=67e612b4-47c7-4081-bf30-96d9e771c80f%40sessionmgr4005&hid=4101>.

³⁶Ronald C. Wimberley, “Sociology with a Southern Face: Why Are We Sociologists and What Are We Doing About It in the South?” *Social Forces* 86, no. 3 (March 2008): 892, accessed July 6, 2014, <http://web.a.ebscohost.com/ehost/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?vid=4&sid=67e612b4-47c7-4081-bf30-96d9e771c80f%40sessionmgr4005&hid=4101>.

³⁷Allen W. Jones, “The Role of Tuskegee Institute in the Education of Black Farmers,” *The Journal of Negro History* 60, no. 2 (April 1975): 252.

Academic historian Louis R. Harlan focused his research on the life of Tuskegee Institute founder Booker T. Washington. He noted that Tuskegee began with an average attendance of thirty-seven anxious students. During the first month, they met in a shanty joined to the African Methodist Episcopalian Zionist (A.M.E.Z.) church. Washington was the only teacher.³⁸ The students made the bricks that built the buildings at Tuskegee, modelling Negro industrial education in the South. Samuel Chapman Armstrong began to use his influence to provide Washington with fund-raising opportunities in the North.³⁹

R. E. Zabawa and S. T. Warren reported that the earliest Black newspapers aimed at reaching Alabama's rural Black population began in the 1890s, but were short-lived. The most successful papers came from Tuskegee under the impetus of Booker T. Washington and the Tuskegee Institute between 1905 and 1965. The Black agricultural press was essential in the education of rural Negroes and helped overcome rural isolation.⁴⁰ Newspapers became an important means of education and communication for the highly illiterate agrarian population. Education for Negroes affected many aspects of the life of the Negro, expanding the way in which the word and meaning of the term "education" was perceived within the Black community.

Georgia, like most Southern states, faced unique challenges with regard to race and equality. Anderson reported that in 1865, the Georgia Educational Association was

³⁸Louis R. Harlan, *Booker T. Washington: The Making of a Black Leader, 1856-1901* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972), 73.

³⁹Smock, *Booker T. Washington*, 75.

⁴⁰Robert E. Zabawa and Sarah T. Warren, "From Company to Community: Agricultural Community Development in Macon County, Alabama, 1881 to the New Deal," *Agricultural History* 72, no. 2 (Spring 1998): 459.

established by Black educators with three primary goals: to supervise schools throughout the state, to establish school policy, and to raise funds for education.⁴¹ S. R. Wright's research on Georgia from 1875-1900 found that African American schools played a pivotal role in the Black community in Atlanta, Georgia. These schools became important centers for the community. In Georgia, life in the New South had flagrant discriminatory practices such as the "grandfather clause," which deemed that only individuals whose grandfather had the right to vote in 1865 were eligible to vote in the future. This legally sanctioned clause significantly curtailed the voting potential of Southern Blacks. Through overwhelming challenges, African Americans in Georgia voted to take over control of Black colleges from White missionaries and philanthropists. Despite the Black communities' monetary contributions, the fear that their voices would remain unheard fostered a fervor to obtain autonomy for Negro schools.⁴² Immediately following the Emancipation Proclamation, Black people in Georgia were intentional about gaining and maintaining control over Black education.

Wright further explained that Black leaders organized community protests to gain educational control. Baptist Pastor Emmanuel K. Love championed the cause of the establishment and supervision of a Negro-operated school. As the spiritual leader of the First African Baptist Church of Savannah from 1885-1900, the largest Black church in

⁴¹Anderson, *The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935*, 11.

⁴²Stephanie R Wright, "Self-Determination, Politics, and Gender on Georgia's Black College Campuses, 1875-1900," *The Georgia Historical Quarterly* 92, no. 1 (Spring 2008): 93-119, accessed May 11, 2014, <http://web.a.ebscohost.com/ehost/detail?vid=3&sid=f48466b1-618d-4fc9-bab6-f0f5b4f9dd9f%40sessionmgr4003&hid=4107&bdata=JnNpdGU9ZWwhvc3QtbGl2ZQ%3d%3d#db=a9h&AN=31328613>.

the state with a congregation of 5,000 members, Love wielded considerable power.⁴³ Historian, scholar, and political activist Clarence A. Bacote revealed that several Black political leaders helped to transfer Black education to the control of Black people. For instance, Councilman William Finch fought to establish public schools; Chief Justice Joe Brown of the Georgia Supreme Court lauded the educational and economic attainments of Blacks through Northern-supported Negro colleges.⁴⁴ The economic and political power of Blacks of this caliber empowered African Americans in certain parts of Georgia to be more militant and confrontational in their response to the end of reconstruction. Public schools in the South are largely attributable to the push of these African American activists.

Many African Americans in Georgia struggled to gain ownership of their education and struggled to maintain their own homes and lands. In his discussion on Blacks in Georgia during reconstruction, Paul Alan Cimbala explained that a small group of farmers along the Savannah River fought to maintain the lands acquired through reconstruction. Unfortunately, their fight was futile and the lands were soon returned to the former plantation owners.⁴⁵ On July 5, 1870, Georgia Negroes celebrated the passage

⁴³Wright, "Self-Determination, Politics, and Gender," 93-119.

⁴⁴Clarence A. Bacote, "William Finch, Negro Councilman and Political Activities in Atlanta during Early Reconstruction," *The Journal of Negro History* 40, no. 4 (October 1955): 352-354, accessed May 13, 2014, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2715658?seq=16>.

⁴⁵Paul A. Cimbala, "The Freedmen's Bureau, the Freedmen, and Sherman's Grant in Reconstruction Georgia, 1865-1867," *The Journal of Southern History* 55, no. 4 (November 1989): 603, accessed November 28, 2013, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdfplus/2209042.pdf?&acceptTC=true&jpdConfirm=true>. Cimbala states that in the Georgia territories acquired during Reconstruction the Freedman became accustomed to looking to their leaders to carry out their decisions and to keep the peace in their community. Robert Harrison, Review of *The Freedmen's Bureau: Reconstructing the American South after the Civil War*, by Paul A. Cimbala, *The Journal of Southern History* 74, no. 2 (May 2008): 474-475, accessed November 28, 2013, <http://www.jstor.org/discover/10.2307/27650184?uid=3739256&uid=2129&uid=2134&uid=2&uid=70&uid=4&sid=21103826975621>.

and signing of the Fifteenth amendment with a large parade. Despite the significant gains and freedoms some Blacks in Georgia experienced, racism was alive and well throughout the South. As late as 1871, Atlanta public schools were still reserved for White children. It was not until February 1872 that the Atlanta Board of Education began supporting two Black schools.⁴⁶

In addition to changes in elementary and secondary schooling for Blacks, development of higher education also took place. Atlanta University, currently known as Clark Atlanta, was “founded in 1865, by the American Missionary Association, with later assistance from the Freedman’s Bureau. . . . Before consolidation [in 1940, it was] the nation’s oldest graduate institution serving a predominantly African-American student body.”⁴⁷

Clark College was founded in 1869 as Clark University by the Freedmen’s Aid Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, which later became the United Methodist Church. The University was named for Bishop Davis W. Clark, who was the first President of the Freedmen’s Aid Society and became Bishop in 1864. . . . For purposes of economy and efficiency, during the 1930’s, it was decided that Clark would join the Atlanta University Complex. While students on the South Atlanta campus fretted over final examinations in the winter of 1939, work was begun across town on an entirely new physical plant adjoining Atlanta University, Morehouse College, and Spelman College.⁴⁸

The school is named after Bishop D. W. Clark. Bishop Gilbert Haven procured

⁴⁶Bacote, “William Finch, Negro Councilman and Political Activities in Atlanta during Early Reconstruction,” 358.

⁴⁷“The History of Clark Atlanta University,” in *Clark Atlanta University 25th Anniversary: 1988-2013 Program* (Atlanta, GA: Clark Atlanta University, 2014), 11, accessed May 11, 2014, <http://www.cau.edu/publications/CAU25FD032014-P1.pdf>.

⁴⁸Ibid., 11-12. “During the 1980s some of the advantages of proximity, which had seemed promising earlier, again became evident. Clark College and Atlanta University through consolidation preserved the best of the past and present and ‘Charted a Bold New Future.’ Clark Atlanta University was created on July 1, 1988.” Ibid., 12.

400 to 500 acres of land in Atlanta to which they moved the school in 1872. Because schools established for Negro education were few, the enrollment, as at other colleges, included pupils of all ages. He also noted that, although secondary students attending college was not uncommon, the limited number of available schools for Blacks made the need more pressing for the Black community. Clark functioned as an elementary and secondary school and as an institution of higher education. Both Tuskegee Institute and Atlanta University offered elementary and secondary schools increased access to education for Black people. As late as 1915, the college had a large enrollment of elementary students. In 1940, Clark was included in the Atlanta University affiliation and was renamed Clark College.⁴⁹

Atlanta University wielded tremendous power and influence within the African American community. W. E. B. Du Bois established the scholarly publication *Journal of Negro Studies* at Atlanta University. He asserted that any study conducted on the Negro between 1896 and 1920 probably depended to some degree on the studies conducted at Atlanta University. From the 1890s to the 1930s, this institution was the only institution in the world conducting large-scale studies on the Negro.⁵⁰

This University would also distinguish itself in other ways. Atlanta University was a model of resistance against the oppressive laws and norms of the South. This institution did not uphold or practice any form of racial segregation. Black and White

⁴⁹Glenn Sisk, "The Negro Colleges in Atlanta," *The Journal of Negro Education* 33, no. 4 (Autumn 1964): 405, accessed November 14, 2013, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2294470>.

⁵⁰William Edward Burghardt Du Bois, *Writings: The Suppression of the African Slave-Trade; The Souls of Black Folk; Dusk of Dawn; Essays and Articles*, ed. Nathan Irvin Huggins (New York: The Library of America, 1986), 601.

faculty and staff shared the same quarters and shared the same dining facilities. In fact, Atlanta University rejected state appropriations during the early part of the twentieth century so that it would not have to conform to state mandates on segregation and curriculum. Rather than succumbing to the popular notion by many Whites that the industrial curriculum was best suited for the Negro, Atlanta lost the opportunity to gain additional financial support by refusing to adopt it, although industrial courses were offered at the institution.⁵¹ This will be explicated later in the findings section of this dissertation.

Curriculum

Having explained some of the geographical and educational contexts of the study, some attention is given to the nature and role of curriculum in this discourse. Because this work delves into the role of accreditation in changing the teacher-education curriculum, it is necessary to explore its social and educational components including definition, social influence, and history. Fenwick English defined curriculum from a historical perspective as any document or plan that exists in a school or school system as it relates to teaching and methods used in the process. Curriculum design is the act of creating the curriculum while curriculum delivery refers to the act of implementing, supervising, monitoring, or providing feedback to improve the curriculum. In an attempt to limit this discussion to the confines of this definition, this study will focus more heavily on curriculum delivery. English highlighted another important component of curriculum, the hidden curriculum.

⁵¹Du Bois, *Writings*, 605.

He stated that this is the one that is taught without formal recognition.⁵² An anachronistic perspective on the curriculum debates involving HBCUs clearly identifies the work of hidden curriculum at play.

One of the major curriculum theorists of the time was John Dewey. While John Dewey called for a balanced and well-rounded curriculum, he also lauded the industrial curriculum. He stated that manual training and commercial studies are indispensable to life to prepare man for the most persistent and permanent occupations for the majority of the people.⁵³ Educational theorist Michael Apple proclaimed “that the curriculum does not stand alone but is the social product of contending forces.”⁵⁴ This statement provides further credence for this study because it was proven that various social forces influenced the American curriculum at the turn of the twentieth century.

The noted curriculum scholar William Pinar conveyed the fact that schools are influenced by current social problems.⁵⁵ These social problems include social trends and socio-economic problems. Herbert Kliebard asseverated that progressive education in its purest form saw industrial education as a means to an end. From the 1890s to the early twentieth century the role of the school switched from the focus around the teacher to one

⁵²Fenwick W. English, *Deciding What to Teach and Test: Developing, Aligning, and Auditing the Curriculum* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Corwin Press, 2000), 2, 8, accessed May 12, 2014, http://books.google.com/books?hl=en&lr=&id=hvL4E9i7teIC&oi=fnd&pg=PR7&dq=%22what+is+curriculum+%22+&ots=nZg2_4q5kO&sig=73coiJgSL-ZFQE1e3C8dxcg5rOI#v=onepage&q=%22what%20is%20curriculum%20%22&f=false.

⁵³John Dewey, “The Educational Situation,” *Journal of Curriculum and Supervision* 17, no. 2 (Winter 2002): 117.

⁵⁴Michael W. Apple, “Social Crisis and Curriculum Accord,” *Educational Theory* 38, no. 2 (June 1988): 201.

⁵⁵William F. Pinar, William M. Reynolds, Patrick Slattery, and Peter M. Taubman, *Understanding Curriculum: An Introduction to the Study of Historical and Contemporary Curriculum Discourses* (1995; repr., New York: P. Lang, 2008), 14.

focused on the knowledge and values incorporated in the curriculum.⁵⁶ This switch to the curriculum also meant a switch to the transmission of values, since teaching set curriculum was a mechanism to teach specific values which groups deemed important. Blinderman noted that curriculum rationalists like Albert J. Nock saw the classical curriculum, with its emphasis on Greek, Latin, mathematics, metaphysics, English, and history, as the bedrock of good education. Nock argued that the less rigid and prescribed new elective system, which allowed students to take classes of interest, was the demise of quality in the American collegiate system. The shift away from the classical curriculum and the establishment and development of professional schools worked in conjunction with other demographic and economic factors in leading to an upheaval in the American curriculum as it evolved to match more industrial changes in the country.⁵⁷ Many educators began to challenge the notion of the “one size fits all” approach to curriculum. By the 1920s, domination of the classical curriculum in American education was coming to an end.

Blinderman further declared that a growing school of thought at the turn of the twentieth century endorsed the idea that collegiate knowledge should equip young people with practical skills. Blinderman articulated how pragmatists like Williams James stressed that humans are practical beings whose minds are endowed with the capacity to adapt to new situations.⁵⁸ Curriculum debates continued to rage in the mainstream

⁵⁶Herbert M. Kliebard, *The Struggle for the American Curriculum, 1893-1958*, 3rd ed. (London: RoutledgeFalmer, 2004), 1.

⁵⁷Blinderman, *American Writers on Education after 1865*, 84-85.

⁵⁸*Ibid.*, 78-79.

educational arena with new and powerful groups that entered the debate at the turn of the century.

Industrial, political, and social changes in the country influenced the close attention and conflict over curriculum. Immigration, the growth of the railroads, increased domestic travel and relocation, and journalism prompted curriculum shifts.⁵⁹ According to Kliebard, by the turn of the twentieth century, several ideological groups tried to determine the direction of educational curriculum. Humanists worked to maintain traditional education. Traditional education elevated the topics in the classics such as Greek, Latin, and Algebra as being primary in the curriculum. The second group, the child study movement group, wanted curriculum that was based on the natural order of child development. The social efficiency proponents used science to create a smooth and efficient system of education based upon the industrial factory model. Finally, the social moralists saw education and the curriculum as the principal force in social change and social justice. All of these forces were at work in the Negro curriculum debates, as well.

Pragmatism was a player in defining these curricular options and blending them into an attractive option which laid the foundation for progressive education. A blend of scientifically informed, developmentally guided education, progressive education focused on new and innovative ways to teach. Progressive education was paramount in American education. Michael Katz (1988) distinguished five categories which are subsumed under the umbrella known as progressive education. These categories are:

1. The attempt to change the political control of education

⁵⁹Kliebard, *The Struggle for the American Curriculum, 1893-1958*, 29.

2. A reformulation of educational thought
3. The introduction of educational innovations
4. Promotion of pedagogical changes in education
5. Including scientific management into administrative practices.⁶⁰

In his discussion regarding John Dewey (1859-1952), William Jeynes observed that Dewey was extremely influential in the development and growth of the American educational system, largely because he developed new ideas and effectively systemized some preexisting and contemporary ideas into an educational philosophy. He credited Dewey for bringing a liberal and child-centered approach to education although his ideas were heavily influenced by great educators who preceded him such as Rosseau, Locke, and Bacon.⁶¹ According to Donald General, progressivism sought to change society and provide greater opportunities for democratic living. Progressives later focused on pedagogical techniques and curricular reform. General further asserted that Booker T. Washington and the Tuskegee Institute were to some the embodiment of the progressive spirit and, yet, he is largely ignored in the discussion on progressive education.⁶²

These philosophical debates over the best type of curriculum became regionally charged, as well. According to Mohr, Southern, predominantly White-serving institutions (PWI's), particularly those in former confederate states, staunchly questioned the

⁶⁰Michael B. Katz, *Class, Bureaucracy, and Schools: The Illusion of Educational Change in America* (New York: Praeger, 1971), 114.

⁶¹Jeynes, *American Educational History*, 217-219.

⁶²Donald General, "Booker T. Washington and Progressive Education: An Experimentalist Approach to Curriculum Development and Reform," *The Journal of Negro Education* 69, no. 3 (Summer 2000): 215, accessed October 24, 2013, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdfplus/2696233.pdf?&acceptTC=true&jpdConfirm=true>.

usefulness of the classical curriculum at the culmination of the Civil War. The push to provide students with practical knowledge that would help one secure a job was a more pressing priority. Post-Civil War Americans began to link higher education with economic mobility and freedom, hence the curriculum that met those goals appeared to many to be the most practical route. As curriculum became the major focus in education, the values that curriculum was to support became increasingly contested. This ideological tug-of-war was not limited to predominantly White-serving institutions; Negro institutions also grappled with the issue.

Negro Curriculum

Having established some of the meaning related to curriculum as well as the broad national and historical contexts around curriculum, this section looks specifically at African American curriculum debates from reconstruction to the 1940s. This will provide the context and background for the investigation on accreditation and its impact on the teacher education programs of HBCUs. I will specifically look at the classical and industrial/vocational curriculum models largely utilized in the African American community from the 1870s to 1940. A discourse on the mind-sets of the leading Negro proponents of the classical and industrial curriculum for Negroes, W.E.B. DuBois and Booker T. Washington, will ensue.

In *Schooling in Capitalist America* Bowles and Gintis posited that the American educational system thrives on a premise which justifies economic inequality.⁶³ This

⁶³Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis, *Schooling in Capitalist America: Educational Reform and the Contradictions of Economic Life* (New York: Basic Books, 1976), 33.

uneven playing field not only significantly decreases the likelihood of a fair game, but actually provides a real advantage for one team and almost certain loss for another. Even among teams of very young children, one will often hear the grumblings of real or perceived advantage or disadvantage. With the educational stakes so much higher, it is more imperative that the educational system in America ensure equal advantages to all players.

Classical Curriculum

Classical training with its focus on liberal education, inclusive of foreign languages and logic, which fosters higher order thinking, is believed to discourage Blacks from succumbing to social and economic control by others, but rather to gain true autonomy.⁶⁴ W. E. B. Du Bois was one of the premier Negro scholars and sociologists of his day and he endorsed this type of curriculum for Blacks. He was the first African American to graduate from Harvard University. He received his PhD in history from the University in 1895, which provided him with a platform for educational leadership among Blacks. In 1896, *Suppression of the African Slave Trade to the United States of America, 1638-1870* was published as No. 1 in the Harvard Historical Series. In 1896-1897, he served as Assistant Instructor of sociology at the University of Pennsylvania. From 1897-1910, he served as a professor of economics and history at Atlanta University.⁶⁵ According to Eugene Provenzo Jr., Du Bois was the founder of the Niagara Movement and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. In

⁶⁴Anderson, *The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935*, 239.

⁶⁵National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, "NAACP History: W. E. B. Dubois," accessed July 6, 2014, <http://www.naACP.org/pages/naACP-history-w.e.b.-dubois>

1910, he became the founding editor for *The Crisis*, the first mass-circulated magazine of social research and social uplift for African American people. He was a leader in the Pan African Movement and one of the founders of African Nationalism. His research laid the foundation of the modern field of African American Studies.⁶⁶

It was in 1896, while serving at the University of Pennsylvania that Du Bois decided to utilize the best available sociological research methods to study Negro problems.⁶⁷ He was later invited to Atlanta University. Under his leadership the University embarked upon a comprehensive study of the Negro. Dubois asserted that between 1896 and 1920, there was no study of Negro race problems that did not in some way depend on the studies of Atlanta University.⁶⁸ As a trained historian at one of the finest institutions at that time and a professor at the oldest school for graduate education for Negroes, Dubois was competent to offer an expert assessment on Negro education.

Dubois was extremely outspoken on his views of education. He made little attempt to hide his disdain for those who accepted a view different from his own. The following section contains several of his statements and work regarding Negro education. They provide a brief glimpse into some of his perspectives and positions on the subject.

In a 1912 article in the *Indianapolis Star*, Du Bois made this rather poignant statement:

If now a group of people like American Negro are advised to turn all their attention or their chief attention to the training of laborers and servants, they are advised to commit social suicide. They will soon find that in the rapidly changing technique of

⁶⁶William Edward Burghardt Du Bois, *The Illustrated Souls of Black Folk*, ed. Eugene F. Provenzo (Boulder, CO: Paradigm Publishers, 2005), xiv.

⁶⁷Du Bois, *Writings*, 596.

⁶⁸*Ibid.*, 601.

industry their laborers will be displaced while they will have developed no intelligent leadership in industry or thought to guide the mass.⁶⁹

In a 1917 edition of *The Crisis*, he articulated some of his views on the Tuskegee-Hampton vocational curriculum. He stated that it is a crime to ask a Negro boy to adopt the industrial curriculum that does not equip him to continue his education. The push for the industrial curriculum is “a deliberate despicable attempt to throttle the Negro child before he knows enough to protest.”⁷⁰ DuBois made strong proclamations regarding his views on the best type of education, especially for people of color. In the July 1918 article in the *Crisis* entitled “Education: A Brief Confession of Faith,” James Dillard articulated his difficulty in defining education and proclaimed that the characteristics of education include knowing how to use one’s mind, having high and broad vision, loving art and literature.⁷¹

Du Bois did not embrace the type of educational philosophy as one that puts earning a living at the center of human training. He did not think that technical schools provided the best of all education.⁷² Boldly refuting educational approaches not in line with his views for Black education, Du Bois decried the Hampton form of education

⁶⁹William Edward Burghardt Du Bois, “Dr. Du Bois Explains,” *Indianapolis Star*, April 8, 1912, accessed May 15, 2014, <http://www.library.umass.edu/spcoll/digital/dubois/EdExplains.pdf>.

⁷⁰William Edward Burghardt Du Bois, “Editorial,” *The Crisis* 10, no. 3 (July 1915): 136, accessed November 19, 2013, <http://books.google.com/books?id=UFoEAAAAMBAJ&printsec=frontcover&lr=&rview=1#v=onepage&q&f=false>.

⁷¹James H. Dillard, “Education: A Brief Confession of Faith,” *The Crisis* 16, no. 3 (July 1918): 116, accessed May 11, 2014, <http://books.google.com/books?id=-VkEAAAAMBAJ&printsec=frontcover&dq=crisis+naacp+1918+negro+education&hl=en&sa=X&ei=4UkcUfv8IueTyQGtj4HYAg&ved=0CF0Q6wEwCA#v=onepage&q=crisis%20naacp%201918%20negro%20education&f=false>.

⁷²William Edward Burghardt Du Bois, *The Education of Black People: Ten Critiques 1906-1960*, ed. Herbert Aptheker (1973; repr., New York: Monthly Review Press, 2001), 26-27.

which the Tuskegee curriculum was modeled after as educational heresy. He stated that “the aim of the higher training of the college is the development of power, the training of a self whose balanced assertion will mean as much as possible for the great end of civilization but the aim of technical training on the other hand is to enable the student to master the present methods of earning a living.”⁷³ Though he was likely the strongest advocate for the classical curriculum for Blacks during this time, his proclamations were not always balanced. In a July 1918 edition of the *Crisis*, the official publication of the National Association of the Advancement for Colored People (NAACP) for which he served as editor, Du Bois reported on classically trained African Americans scholars who achieved graduate-level degrees from institutions such as Ohio State University and Dartmouth as well as other historically Black institutions. He does not acknowledge Black graduates from industrial schools, at least not in the editions viewed for this study.⁷⁴

Diane Ravitch stated that the curricular differentiation between the curricula endorsed for Negroes dealt a deadly blow to the aspirations of African Americans. A half-century removed from slavery, 90 percent still lived in the South, and rampant racial prejudice had left Southern Blacks disenfranchised, ill-educated, and powerless to fight for their rights at the ballot box or in the courts. What they did not need was an education that would fit them to their preordained roles in society and their likely destinations as

⁷³Du Bois, *The Education of Black People*, 28-29.

⁷⁴William Edward Burghardt Du Bois, “The Year in Negro Education,” *The Crisis* 16, no. 3 (July 1918): 116-122, accessed November 19, 2013, <http://books.google.com/books?id=-VkEAAAAMBAJ&printsec=frontcover&dq=crisis+naacp+1918+negro+education&hl=en&sa=X&ei=4UkcUfv8IueTyQGtj4HYAg&ved=0CF0Q6wEwCA#v=onepage&q=crisis%20naacp%201918%20negro%20education&f=false>.

domestic servants, farmhands, and blacksmiths.⁷⁵ These pre-established roles that were intentionally set out to perpetuate the subordinate servant-like roles of Blacks in the South were embedded in the industrial curriculum for the Negro. These roles sought to restrict not only socially, but economically, as well.

One of Du Bois's more notable reports on the state and quality of Negro education inspired my study. In 1910, Du Bois, in conjunction with Atlanta University, conducted an assessment of the caliber and quality of Negro schools.⁷⁶ The schools were classified according to their grade based on the number of college graduates. The publication of *The College-Bred Negro* revealed his awareness of ranking and accreditation. It also demonstrated Blacks' awareness of the importance for their schools to be ranked. Dubois sought to develop a system to classify Negro schools. It also demonstrated that African American educational leaders sought to determine their own levels of quality.

In his estimation, the best African American schools were classical, although some industrial schools were included. The highly ranked schools had a heavy emphasis on ancient and modern languages, natural sciences, mathematics, and philosophy. This is in line with the tenets of the traditional classical curriculum. Dubois was ahead of his time since the first list of ranked or accredited schools was not published until 1917. This study sparked the question of when and how Black schools became a part of the

⁷⁵Diane Ravitch, "A Different Kind of Education for Black Children," *The Journal of Blacks in Higher Education* 30 (Winter 2000-2001): 98-99, accessed November 17, 2013, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2679111>.

⁷⁶William Edward Burghardt Du Bois and Augustus Granville Dill, eds., *The College-Bred Negro American* (Atlanta, GA: Atlanta University Press, 1910), 12, accessed May 15, 2014, <http://www.library.umass.edu/spcoll/digital/dubois/dubois15.pdf>.

accreditation process and how that process affected their schools.

Industrial Curriculum

Booker T. Washington was the strongest Negro promoter of industrial education for the Negro. He would work until his death in 1915 to make this form of education the way out of poverty for Southern Blacks. By his own account, Washington overcame tremendous odds to become the most famous Negro in his era. He was born a slave and would work his way through the Hampton Institute where he became a normal school teacher for Negro children until he was called to found Tuskegee Institute.⁷⁷ Washington started the National Negro Business League for the most successful Negro business owners to come together for consultation, inspiration, and encouragement. These men and women came together to do something permanent and positive for themselves and their people.⁷⁸

According to Washington, the secret to civilization was comprised of cardinal principles of work, thrift, property ownership, mutual help, and patience. These were the building blocks from which a race must begin its upward course.⁷⁹ Louis Harlan inquired about the following: was the Tuskegee a progressive school in the order of John Dewey or was it a trade school preparing Blacks for occupations in the industrial age? Was it an instrument of achieving the Black man's dreams of self-sufficiency through a marketable

⁷⁷Booker T. Washington, *The Story of My Life and Work: An Autobiography* (Toronto, ON: J. L. Nichols, 1901), 57.

⁷⁸Ibid., 309, 312.

⁷⁹Louis R. Harlan, *Booker T. Washington: The Wizard of Tuskegee, 1901-1915* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983), 135.

skill or, rather, a tool to fulfill White supremacist desires to prepare Black people to fill subordinate stations in society? His answer was that Tuskegee was none of the above, but it was an amalgam of parts driven by an intense desire for racial progress through self-help. “The Tuskegee curriculum, however, was clearly centered on self-help and on a greater flexibility than the term industrial educational suggests.”⁸⁰

Washington articulated the three main advantages of industrial training from his philosophy at the Alabama State Teacher’s Convention in 1881: It (1) aids students in mental training, (2) teaches one how to earn a living, and (3) teaches the dignity of labor. He further argued that industrial education was the only way most Black children could afford an education.⁸¹ This curriculum was developed with different tracks. One for the lower performing students was geared almost inclusively toward the industrial curricula and focused on basic literacy acquisition. The higher performing students were trained more in the academic arena and many, upon graduation, went on to professions and became members of what W.E.B. Dubois referred to as the Talented Tenth. Juan Battle and Earl Wright II provided an excellent explanation of the Talented Tenth in the following statement,

The Talented Tenth is the moniker that W. E. B. Du Bois bestowed on the cadre of college-educated African Americans whom he charged with providing leadership for the African American community during the post-Reconstruction era. According to Du Bois’s original theoretical formulation, the Talented Tenth were to sacrifice their personal interests and endeavors to provide leadership for the African American community.⁸²

⁸⁰Harlan, *Booker T. Washington*, 144.

⁸¹Smock, *Booker T. Washington*, 76.

⁸²Juan Battle and Earl Wright II, “W. E. B. Du Bois’s Talented Tenth: A Quantitative Assessment,” *Journal of Black Studies* 32, no. 6 (July 2002): 654, accessed July 6, 2014, <http://jbs.sagepub.com/content/32/6/654.full.pdf+html>

Washington did not oppose Du Bois's Talented Tenth, but he admonished that such an educational model was not suitable for most Blacks. He felt Du Bois was out of touch with the masses. In 1903, Du Bois taught classes at Tuskegee and dined in Washington's home, but their relationship diminished significantly with his open criticism of Washington.⁸³ Though Washington employed classically trained faculty who were graduates from Harvard, Oberlin, Fisk, and Atlanta, he attempted to mold them into the industrial character of Tuskegee.⁸⁴ The debate between these two men and their curriculum models mapped out two very separate paths to arrive at the same destination: self-determination and racial uplift for African Americans. Each felt strongly that their chosen curriculum model would help other people of color as it had helped them. These curriculum choices also had deep implications for how African Americans would interact with Whites. The inability for these two brilliant leaders to overcome their personal bias impaired educational progress for Blacks.

African American curriculum scholar William H. Watkins stated, "Education could unleash the intellect for some, and train others. Education could serve the purpose of both enlightenment and control."⁸⁵ It has been posited that Reproduction Theory prompted Northern capitalists and the racist power structure to support a curriculum which promoted and perpetuated the inequitable racial norms of the antebellum South. Henry Giroux defined reproduction theory as the attempt by dominant groups to

⁸³Smock, *Booker T. Washington*, 169.

⁸⁴Harlan, *Booker T. Washington: The Wizard of Tuskegee*, 145.

⁸⁵William H. Watkins, *The White Architects of Black Education: Ideology and Power in America, 1865-1954* (New York: Teachers College Press, 2001), 77.

reproduce class, gender, and racial inequalities that work in the interest of the accumulation and the expansion of capital among the upper echelon segments of society.⁸⁶

William Jeynes observed that while Du Bois's approach to education for African Americans was beneficial to the training of future leaders who could achieve major advancement within the race, it was fraught with one major setback in that it failed to address the needs of the majority of the Blacks. In other words, it relied almost exclusively on the narrow and talented elite. He further asserted that Washington's approach to the race problem, though much more inclusive of literacy and skills acquisition for the masses, omitted the preparation of future leaders equipped to change society.⁸⁷

According to Anderson, the industrial curriculum model advocated the maintenance of inferior social, economic, and political racial roles and stood in stark contrast to the classical curriculum model that endorsed racial equality, political enfranchisement, and higher education for Negro leaders. Tuskegee was the strongest model for the industrial curriculum. It was tailored after the Hampton Institute that pioneered industrial education for the Negro popular. The tension between this view of curriculum and the classical view led to significant power struggles in the post-reconstruction period.⁸⁸ Some argued that the Tuskegee curriculum model perpetuated

⁸⁶Giroux, "Theories of Reproduction and Resistance in the New Sociology of Education," 262.

⁸⁷Jeynes, *American Educational History*, 194-195.

⁸⁸Anderson, *The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935*, 78-79.

the promotion of the racial roles and Black subordination. Others argued that this method was the most conducive method to provide work skills for agrarian Southern Blacks.

Accreditation

Since accreditation impacts, or at the very least, influences higher education, including curriculum, one could affirm that the influence of accreditation on collegiate curricula is not a recent occurrence. The following section provides a brief historical overview of the accreditation movement. It will also describe the macro and micro effects on accreditation nationally and on specific groups within education. T. L. Rhodes stated, “Increased attention to and questioning of the role of accreditation in raising standards for student learning became another dimension of the federal calls for more accountability in higher education.”⁸⁹ Accreditation flourished during a time of immense change for the country and higher education. Curriculum trends revealed the tension between different curriculum models for African Americans. Contemporary debates in education still raged regarding the best curriculum model for African American secondary and post-secondary success. This debate prompted a personal question about the extent to which accreditation influenced curriculum, particularly the teacher education curriculum in the African American community.

A review of the literature involving the following realities crystalized the need for this study. Rodgers asserted that assessment is sweeping the globe at a rate that collegiate

⁸⁹Terrel L. Rhodes, “Show Me the Learning: Value, Accreditation, and the Quality of the Degree,” *Planning for Higher Education* 40, no. 3 (April-June 2012): 37.

faculty and administrators can no longer ignore, though many of them wish they could.⁹⁰ Crystal Keels stated that many historically Black colleges have tethered on the brink, suffered, or closed entirely as a repercussion of the loss of SACS accreditation.⁹¹ Ulric Chung estimated that, currently, approximately 95 percent of the dietetics and nutrition minority-serving institutions of higher education were failing to meet accreditation that program standards.⁹² The focus of this study involved ascertaining the influence standards for accreditation from 1920-1940 had on two teacher education programs.

When accrediting agencies were developing in the late 1880s and 1890s, there were already 900 American colleges and universities, although the percentage of 18-24-year-olds was only 2 percent of the population. America was now in the throes of the Gilded Age era and the link between economic success and higher education had been firmly established. The proliferation of the different types of schools during this time increased not only the scope, but also the need and purpose of accreditation with its desire to ensure quality services to students and the states dependent on their human resources. The quality in land grant schools, conservatories, historically Black colleges, women's colleges, church-affiliated colleges, Bible colleges, professional and military

⁹⁰Megan Rodgers, "A Call for Student Involvement in the Push for Assessment," *Assessment Update* 23, no. 1 (January/February 2011): 4-5, accessed September 17, 2013, <http://www.assessmentupdate.com/sample-articles/call-for-student-involvement-push-for-assessment.aspx>.

⁹¹Crystal L. Keels, "Investing in Historic Black College and University (HBCU) Leadership: Southern Education Foundation Creates Three-Year Initiative to Facilitate HBCU Accreditation," *Black Issues in Higher Education* 21, no. 15 (September 2004): 30, accessed July 7, 2014, <http://web.b.ebscohost.com/ehost/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?vid=3&sid=ea0911e6-8f96-4b5b-85c6-d63a1c2cd96e%40sessionmgr112&hid=121>.

⁹²Libby A. Nelson, "Pushing Back on 'Granularity,'" *Inside Higher Ed*, accessed August 6, 2013, <http://www.insidehighered.com/news/2012/12/12/wasc-raises-concerns-about-education-departments-evaluation-accreditors>.

schools, and industrial training facilities required some form of regulation to ensure reliable standards of quality.⁹³

William White also reported that the US Bureau of Education, the National Association of Education (NEA), the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, the National Association of State Universities (NASU), and the Association of American Universities (AAU) could have assumed the responsibility for rating or accrediting colleges.⁹⁴

In his research on accreditation, Rudolph Jackson summarized that regional accreditation means an authorized group has found evidence that an “institution is licensed in a state covered by the regional association and that it meets eligibility standards.”⁹⁵ Those accrediting agencies remain in place today and are a testament to the individuals who had the foresight and courage to establish them during this tumultuous time in American educational history. Barbara Brittingham chronicled the development of regional accreditations. According to her, the New England Association of Colleges and Schools was established in 1885 by a group of headmasters in concert with college presidents. The Middle States Association of Colleges and Schools swiftly followed suit in 1887. Both the North Central Association (NCA) of Colleges and Schools and the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools (SACS) were founded in 1895. The

⁹³Barbara Brittingham, “Accreditation in the United States: How Did We Get to Where We Are?,” *New Directions for Higher Education* 2009, no. 145 (Spring 2009): 13.

⁹⁴White, “Accreditation of Seventh-day Adventist Liberal Arts Colleges,” 5.

⁹⁵Rudolph S. Jackson, Jimmy H. Davis, and Francesina R. Jackson, “Redesigning Regional Accreditation: The Impact on Institutional Planning,” *Planning for Higher Education* 38, no. 4 (July-September 2010): 10.

Northwest Association of Colleges and Universities started in 1917. The final regional accreditation organization was the Western Association of Schools and Colleges which began operations in 1924.⁹⁶

In his extensive study on the history of accreditation in North America, William White summarized the influence of the Midwestern region and the NCA on the standards movement. This region experienced many of the same problems in secondary and higher education that were explained earlier. The University of Michigan was the first state university to accredit secondary schools. This was an attempt to ensure that graduates from that state were qualified for university admission. Several other Midwestern universities and schools followed suit. The admission by certificate program therefore became the precursor for voluntary accreditation. In 1895, several regional schools met to discuss relations among secondary colleges and schools in the region. NCA pioneered the regional accreditation and became the first organization of its nature to establish standards to evaluate secondary and higher education institutions.⁹⁷

The North Central Association of Colleges and Schools (NCA) started to list its accredited institutions publicly in 1917. After this point, it became extremely difficult for schools to exist without approval from one of these accrediting bodies.⁹⁸ This reality may have affected the curricular direction of some historically Black colleges and universities

⁹⁶Brittingham, "Accreditation in the United States," 14.

⁹⁷White, "Accreditation of Seventh-day Adventist Liberal Arts Colleges," 11, 12.

⁹⁸Anderson, *The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935*, 251.

during the pivotal turn of the twentieth century. HBCUs received stark criticism from accreditation from their inception.

Another important movement was simultaneously emerging as the accreditation process took root. According to George Whipple in discussing Abraham Flexner's book *The American College: A Criticism* published in 1908 on the state and quality of medical schools, the book was not widely received, but it got the attention of Henry S. Pritchett, President of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching.⁹⁹ Whipple further described the impact of Flexner and reports that Pritchett invited Flexner to survey medical education in the US and Canada. In 1908, he visited 155 medical schools and made a report on the state of the schools he visited. As a result of his report, many schools were immediately closed and many were reconstituted and improved. In 1913, he joined the General Education Board, along with other like-minded educators and philanthropists whose focus was the betterment of all education and championed the highest possible academic standards.¹⁰⁰ Kenneth M. Ludmerer proclaimed that Flexner counseled caution in how we go about reforming medical education. He considered "any change justifiable, as long as it fostered excellence and served the public interest."¹⁰¹ Movements such as this provided not only tremendous impetus for the accreditation movement, but also served as a catalyst for professional standards.

⁹⁹George H. Whipple, "Mr. Abraham Flexner," *Journal of Medical Education* 35, no. 5 (May 1960): 452.

¹⁰⁰Ibid.

¹⁰¹Kenneth M. Ludmerer, "Commentary: Understanding the Flexner Report," *Academic Medicine* 85, no. 2 (February 2010): 196, accessed September 25, 2013, http://journals.lww.com/academicmedicine/Fulltext/2010/02000/Commentary__Understanding_the_Flexner_Report.13.aspx.

According to Ann Steinecke and Charles Terrell, the Flexner Report published in 1910 had a monumental damaging effect on African American medical schools. Flexner addressed “the medical education of the Negro in a separate, two-page chapter of his report” (just as he separated his observations about women in medicine). He promoted the limited education of the African American doctor as a service to “his own race,” but also for the larger purpose of protecting Whites from the African American population’s potential to spread disease: The Negro must be educated not only for his sake, but for ours.¹⁰² Steinecke and Terrell researched documents on how the combined requirements of the AMA’s Council on Medical Education (CME) and the Flexner Report forced the closure of all but two predominantly African American medical schools (Howard and Meharry) and severely limited the opportunities for African Americans seeking medical education.¹⁰³

In his analysis on Abraham Flexner’s book, Joseph Duffey reported that Flexner was “troubled by teaching and the decline of research in the academic world.” He shared Flexner’s disdain for the appropriation of resources for the goals of research to the neglect of teaching in both public and private colleges. Flexner expressed that as a result of these practices, students and the institutions suffered.¹⁰⁴ Abraham Flexner’s

¹⁰²Ann Steinecke and Charles Terrell, “Progress for Whose Future? The Impact of the Flexner Report on Medical Education for Racial and Ethnic Minority Physicians in the United States,” *Academic Medicine* 85, no. 2 (February 2010): 238, accessed October 3, 2013, http://journals.lww.com/academicmedicine/Fulltext/2010/02000/Progress_for_Whose_Future__The_Impact_of_the.20.aspx. “The basis of Flexner’s model for reform, that every medical school should be integrated into a university with a sufficient endowment and a university hospital, was a severe challenge for many schools.” Ibid.

¹⁰³Ibid., 238-239.

¹⁰⁴Joseph Duffey, “Do We Still Believe We Can Shape Society?” (paper presented at the Annual Convention of the American Association of Community and Junior Colleges, Washington, D.C., April 20-22, 1981), 7, accessed July 7, 2014, <http://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED203951.pdf>.

observation and consequent reports gave a needed push to the accreditation movement. Rhodes stated, “Increased attention to and questioning of the role of accreditation in raising standards for student learning became another dimension of the federal calls for more accountability in higher education.”¹⁰⁵ Though this trend is growing, it is not a new one; therefore, an in-depth exploration of its historical roots should prove valuable. A more in-depth investigation of these issues will be addressed later in the study.

A preliminary review of the literature suggests that Black institutions of higher education in the South that adopted the Tuskegee industrial curriculum model received adequate funding. The use of the classical curriculum model was widely discouraged by powerful Southern Whites and Northern capitalists. It was purported that the classical curriculum was more effective in training intellectual leaders in the African American community, rather than low-wage manual laborers. This brings to question whether the funding received by these schools provided them with an advantage to getting accreditation.

Wade M. Cole purported that in the early stages, HBCUs’ publicly funded institutions were devoid of curricula with cultural content such as the state-funded agricultural and industrial schools.¹⁰⁶ In other words, little attempt was made to teach Negroes about their history and other culturally enriching lessons. Anderson further elucidated problems with Negro education by explaining that the rise of national and

¹⁰⁵Rhodes, “Show Me the Learning,” 37.

¹⁰⁶Wade M. Cole, “Accrediting Culture: An Analysis of Tribal and Historically Black College Curricula,” *Sociology of Education* 79, no. 4 (October 2006): 363.

regional accrediting agencies presented additional challenges to these institutions.¹⁰⁷

Jackson, Davis, and Jackson stated that SACS currently requires institutions to present a well-constructed plan that identifies strategies to produce measurable improvement(s) in student learning in one (or more) of three areas:

1. What do students know in terms of increased knowledge?
2. What skill(s) can students demonstrate?
3. What behavioral changes have students made relative to how they think?¹⁰⁸

Though no evidence for the requirement of such a plan existed during the 1920s, the demonstration of educational quality was in the formulation stage from regional organizations. Historically, Black and other minority-serving institutions struggled to meet these new requirements. SACS requirements for schools from 1920-1940 will be discussed in greater detail in chapter 4.

Conceptual Framework

Reproduction Theory

I have reviewed the demographic context of the New South, including some of the educational changes taking place as it relates to curriculum. Brief overviews of the standards and accreditation movement have also been presented. I now turn my attention towards some of the theoretical ideas that guided my research. These theories help explain some of the impetus for school curricular changes and ways in which accreditation might be influencing the teacher education programs I studied. This review

¹⁰⁷Anderson, *The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935*, 249.

¹⁰⁸Jackson, Davis, and Jackson, "Redesigning Regional Accreditation," 13.

is succinct so that I may return to my findings chapter.

Karl Marx was the originator of the concept of reproduction which later formed the foundation for reproduction theories of schooling.¹⁰⁹ Reproduction Theory explains some of the ways in which the dominant class reproduces their values and power in society. Giroux discussed the role of power in the economic-reproductive reproduction model which he described as the “property of the dominant groups and operates to reproduce class, gender, and racial inequalities that function in the interest of accumulation and expansion of capital.”¹¹⁰

Pierre Bourdieu, a French educator and philosopher, made a significant contribution to this theory in his expansion of the Reproduction Theory beyond the economic-based educational superstructure in order to analyze the internal logic of an educational structure which covertly reproduces and legitimizes the capitalist structure in France.¹¹¹ Specific groups contextualized this theory to make it relevant for America. The Frankfurt school’s analysis of culture established the view of education as a site of reproduction in America.¹¹² The Reproduction or Correspondence Theory was largely at play in the struggle for curricula power and control in African American institutions of higher education. Fallace stated, “Racism was built right into the underlying structure of

¹⁰⁹Giroux, “Theories of Reproduction and Resistance in the New Sociology of Education,” 257.

¹¹⁰Ibid., 262.

¹¹¹Dennis Shirley, “A Critical Review and Appropriation of Pierre Bourdieu’s Analysis of Social and Cultural Reproduction,” *Journal of Education* 168, no. 2 (1986): 96.

¹¹²William F. Pinar and C. A. Bowers, “Politics of Curriculum: Origins, Controversies, and Significance of Critical Perspectives,” *Review of Research in Education* 18 (1992): 163, accessed March 16, 2014, <http://rre.sagepub.com/content/18/1/163.full.pdf+html>.

almost all of the proposed reforms of the new education.”¹¹³ Education, therefore, became a major vehicle by which reproduction was transported and transferred. Their examples are of reproduction in the American educational system. Kozol described the disadvantages experienced by some groups regarding education exemplified in the inequitable property tax funding system in which the federal government gives back substantial portions of tax money to education in affluent neighborhoods.¹¹⁴ This system illuminates long-standing practices of inequity in American education with regard to race, gender, and class.

Giroux’s criticism on reproduction theorists is “their over emphasis on domination and their under emphasis on the power of the human agent.”¹¹⁵ He argued for an educational system that empowered everyone, regardless of gender, class, or race. Domination by any one group to the detriment of another groups had prerogative effects on all involved and society at large.

Resistance Theory

The Resistance Theory fostered a more liberating view of the role of the individual to the dominant groups, especially the individual student, teacher, and schools in opposing forces that marginalized them. Acclaimed educational theorist Michael Apple is credited for the Resistance Theory. In a speech entitled “Education, Politics, and

¹¹³Thomas D. Fallace, “Recapitulation Theory and the New Education: Race, Culture, Imperialism, and Pedagogy, 1894-1916,” *Curriculum Inquiry* 42, no. 4 (September 2012): 510, accessed May 12, 2014, <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1467-873X.2012.00603.x/pdf>.

¹¹⁴Jonathan Kozol, *Savage Inequalities: Children in America’s Schools* (New York: Crown Publishing, 1991), 55.

¹¹⁵Giroux, “Theories of Reproduction and Resistance in the New Sociology of Education,” 259.

Social Transformations,” he stated, “That is, understanding education requires that we situate it back into both the unequal relations of power in the larger society and into the relations of dominance and subordination—and the conflicts--that are generated by these relations.”¹¹⁶ The Resistance Theory examines the relationship between school and the wider society. Resistance theories involve issues and meanings of opposition by marginalized individuals or groups that advocate for better treatment, status, or relative position in an institution of society.¹¹⁷ Giroux does not limit his criticisms to reproduction theorists, but offers some insight into the myopic, if not distorted, views of the Resistance Theory.

Giroux, although critical of the Reproduction Theory, was also critical of Resistance Theory. He believed resistance went to the other extreme of the idealized notion of relative autonomy. He argued that if this is the case, resistance theorists must acknowledge the fact that some forms of resistance are undertaken by students who are oblivious to dominant ideology and are motivated to manifest resistant behavior for factors that stem from outside the school system. Giroux, in his discourse on resistance, listed several characteristics to differentiate resistance from opposition. Resistance focuses on the underlining motivators and logic of the behaviors. Resistance theorists reject a positivist perspective of behavior as an immediacy of action. Finally, true resistance spawns or is the result of critical thinking, reflective action, and a collective political struggle centered on issues of power and self-determination.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁶Apple, “Education, Politics, and Social Transformation,” 3.

¹¹⁷Knight-Abowitz, “A Pragmatist Revisioning of Resistance Theory,” 878.

¹¹⁸Giroux, “Theories of Reproduction and Resistance in the New Sociology of Education,” 291.

The Resistance Theory identifies ways in which the marginalized respond to oppressive forces. Historically, marginalized groups referred to minority groups such as African Americans, Native Americans, and women. This theory also attempts to explain some of the major impetuous for control by dominant groups. Social, economic, and political self-interest are usually at the core of these forces.

The Resistance Theory is the primary conceptual framework for this study. I acknowledge the strong influence of the Reproduction Theory as it relates to the transmission of the social, economic, and political roles and the maintenance of the status quo agenda of the dominant group. The Resistance Theory, however, helps to explain how minority groups refused to accept these norms. Resistance, whether overt or covert, is important to understand and the findings revealed in chapter 4 provide evidence that African Americans, including some HBCUs, resisted the attempt to restrict their economic advancements and maintain the inferior pre-Civil War social status through the adoption of a particular type of vocational education designed for them.

Recapitulation Theory

In his historical studies on curriculum theories, Robert Fallace posited that the Recapitulation Theory inspired an educational reform movement after the 1890s. This new type of educational system was ethnocentrically and racially designed. Its core was built on the premise that non-White cultures and individuals were backward and disadvantaged as compared to Western Whites and, thereby, reinforced White superiority and non-White inferiority. Recapitulation may be considered a more palatable form of

White supremacy based on the principle of non-Whites as “deficient” or as a “problem.”¹¹⁹

Anderson supported this line of reasoning when he expounded on the commonly used terminology for the plight of African American education as the Negro problem. This Negro problem among many other issues involved the appropriate education for the newly freed slaves.¹²⁰ Fallace, in his discourse on Recapitulation Theory, stated that linear historicism upheld the fact that all societies and cultures could be placed in one continuum of social progress from savages and barbarians to civilized and that non-Whites were on the lower end of the continuum.¹²¹ This helped to support the commonly held assumption that non-Whites were child-like with fewer social skills and even mental ability. Reproduction, Resistance, and Recapitulation theories were likely all at play and intermingled in the educational system during that time. Given the fact that the Resistance Theory focuses on the ways in which marginalized groups respond and resist hegemonic forces that seek to subjugate and subdue them, the Resistance Theory was chosen as the conceptual framework for this study.

¹¹⁹Fallace, “Recapitulation Theory and the New Education,” 513.

¹²⁰Anderson, *The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935*, 88.

¹²¹Thomas D. Fallace, “Was John Dewey Ethnocentric? Reevaluating the Philosopher’s Early Views on Culture and Race,” *Educational Researcher* 39, no. 6 (August/September 2010): 472.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

Historical Research

Noted historical methods author John Tosh stated that historical methodology is differentiated from other positivist pursuits in that they work from a belief that there is an interconnectedness of variables. History is a collective memory of experience through which people develop social identity; then historical knowledge has to be produced.¹ Social history provides an inclusive framework for interpreting the past experiences of ordinary people, movements, and events through thematic prisms of class, gender and race.²

Sandra B. Lewenson and Khron Herman stated that historians generally assume all variables are intrinsically interconnected.³ There are two main approaches to the original historical research endorsed by John Tosh who outlined two main approaches of historians as the source-oriented approach and problem-oriented approach.⁴ The source-

¹John Tosh, *The Pursuit of History: Aims, Methods, and New Directions in the Study of Modern History* (London: Longman, 1984), 2.

²Sandra B. Lewenson and Eleanor Krohn Herrmann, *Capturing Nursing History: A Guide to Historical Methods in Research* (New York: Springer, 2007), 12, accessed August 25, 2013, <http://site.ebrary.com/lib/andrews/Doc?id=10265408&ppg=30>.

³*Ibid.*, 13.

⁴*Ibid.*; Tosh, *The Pursuit of History*, 49.

oriented approach determines an area of interest and takes a source or group of sources within that area and extracts information of value from the sources. They allow the content itself to direct the inquiry. Those using a problem-oriented approach initially formulated a question generally prompted by reading secondary sources and then evaluating primary sources in order to draw conclusions.⁵ The study uses the problem-oriented approach to historical research because an extensive review of the literature was used to guide in constructing research questions.

Statement of Purpose

The following statement of purpose and objectives came from the review of secondary sources.

What was the impact of accreditation on the teacher education curriculum at Tuskegee Institute and Atlanta University from 1920-1940? This question was informed by the literature on Black education in the South, general curricula and accreditation issues, and eventually philosophical outlooks. This led me to look at the primary sources on:

1. Curriculum trends from 1920-1940
2. Curriculum process and choices during that time frame
3. The accreditation process during that time, especially as it relates to

historically Black colleges and universities.

According to Tosh, challenges such as difficulty deciding which sources are relevant arise and the researcher must be willing to modify his original objectives if

⁵Tosh, *The Pursuit of History*, 49.

adequate evidence cannot be found.⁶ Richard Beringer expounded upon this approach to research and stated that “literary analysis is the basic historical method and the common denominator of all historical inquiry.” It involves reading source material and deriving evidence from that material that will be used in literary analysis.⁷ After the completion of an extensive historiography of the inquiry, including the historical context, key players, curriculum trends, and the process of accreditation particularly in the South, I embarked upon the process of data collection.

It was the intent of this study to conduct an examination of accreditation’s impact on the curriculum decisions of two major HBCUs to provide some indication of the initial impact and struggle that these types of schools faced. Further elucidation of the difficulties and challenges that it placed on these schools and the positive or negative influence it had on their teacher education curriculum is needed to ascertain the major motives behind those changes. This is important, given the potential impact that teachers had on the African American community. Debates in education regarding the best curriculum model for African American secondary and post-secondary success were deeply imbedded in the development and purpose of education for African Americans. The curriculum model from which Negro teachers emerged potentially had a significant social, political, and economic impact on the African American community.

Instruments

Data collection instruments vary, based on the type of research. The core work of

⁶Tosh, *The Pursuit of History*, 49.

⁷Richard E. Beringer, *Historical Analysis: Contemporary Approaches to Clio’s Craft* (New York: Wiley, 1978), 17.

the historian is the interpretation of textual data. Although modern approaches to the collection of historical sources such as the life history interview are becoming increasingly important, most historians still spend much of their time “searching the archives.”⁸ Documents studied included course outlines from the teacher education program, president’s notes, faculty committee meetings, school correspondence, and correspondence from the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools (SACS) for Tuskegee Institute and Atlanta University (now Clark University).

I used the following data collection tools: a high-quality digital camera was used to capture pictures of some of the documents I viewed. I developed my own note-taking system which included archive name, file name, the file folder number, and the item number, when possible. I needed to keep accurate notes regarding where particular data were obtained including an archival document’s file number or box number, an antiquarian book’s call number, and other details.⁹ My laptop computer was imperative, not only for note taking, but also for filing and communication. It also helped me to capture and record epiphanies and ideas.

Data Collection

Lewensen and Herman explained that permission to examine materials is not an authorization to publish them and that separate written application for permission to publish must be made to the place where the archives are housed.¹⁰

⁸Beringer, *Historical Analysis*, 149.

⁹Ibid.

¹⁰Ibid., 139.

Archival permission for research is necessary whether or not it will be used for publication. These institutions were contacted and permission was obtained to search archival records for this information via email or phone calls. Once I received permission, I visited three archives. The first archive was the Archives Research Center at the Robert W. Woodruff Library at Clark Atlanta University in Atlanta, Georgia. Next, I visited the Tuskegee University libraries, archives, and Legacy Museum in Tuskegee, Alabama. My final archive was the Manuscript, Archives, and Rare Book Library (MARBL) at Emory University in Atlanta, Georgia. I viewed and evaluated hundreds of documents. Once I decided which documents would be used, I took pictures of them, had the staff make copies of them, or took notes about them. Time constraints prevented me from viewing all the documents from this time period, but the most pertinent ones related to the study were selected.

Data Validity

According to Tosh, the critical approach to primary source document evaluation is to estimate the authenticity of the materials used. This is called external criticism by Leopold van Ranke.¹¹ This tedious process involves finding answers to questions such as whether the authors, places, and dates are what they purport to be. Next, it is incumbent upon the researcher to attempt to trace the sources back to an original office for authenticity substantiation; then, consistency should be established through the examination of other documents from that time period. Finally, visual cues should be

¹¹Tosh, *The Pursuit of History*, 51.

used to help confirm authenticity.¹² In this study, I established authenticity by mainly reviewing primary source materials located in archives, which helps to ensure a high level of quality. I also looked for consistency and corroboration of the archival materials in the other archives I visited. For example, correspondence from Atlanta University mentions the rural education program at Tuskegee. Tuskegee catalogues mention launching this program in their catalogue around the same time. Another way in which validity and authenticity of the materials was established was through the use of secondary sources. For example, an article mentioned the growth of graduate schools and doctorate degrees in education for individuals interested in school administration. Shortly after the time mentioned in the article one of the Atlanta University catalogues declared that the University would exclusively confer graduate degrees. These are some of the ways in which validity and authenticity were established in the study.

Internal criticism occurs in historical research during the interpretation process of a document's content. It is the process by which the researcher tries to decipher the true meaning of the words. This requires extensive readings on the subject.¹³ In this study I examined other sources to interpret these documents to try to determine internal consistency in the meaning they conveyed. The example mentioned above regarding the reason Atlanta University decided to become a graduate school exclusively was clarified so that I understood that this was becoming a regular practice among educational administrators. As an HBCU, the school administrators recognized the limitations for

¹²Tosh, *The Pursuit of History*, 51.

¹³*Ibid.*, 53.

Black administrators to receive a graduate degree in the South and strategized to fill the need. At times, internal consistency and meaning were quite obvious, but at others, greater interpretation was beneficial or necessary.

Tosh made a poignant statement on historical evidence when he said, “No source can be used for historical reconstruction until some estimate of its standing as historical evidence has been made.”¹⁴ Reliability in historical research is established through further Socratic examination of the sources to inquire as to whether the individual who authored the document was in a position to make specific assertions or how long after the event the document was drafted. This will prompt further research to see what contemporaries said about the same or related topic. He further asserted that reliability can also be affected by the motives and intentions of the author.¹⁵ David Henige proclaimed that one must take epistemology into account in the study of the past.¹⁶ “A knowledge of administrative or archival procedures is essential to ascertain if records have been deliberately removed.”¹⁷

David Henige made this observation about historical research:

A goal of scholarship is to present interpretations that are least vulnerable to overthrow because they combine the use of evidence and argument to present a case vulnerable only to the onset of new data or techniques. This is achieved by aggregating all the available evidence, including whatever may seem peripheral, or generating arguments that explicitly take account of any resulting weakness and alternative hypotheses, whether or not already in the marketplace.¹⁸

¹⁴Tosh, *The Pursuit of History*, 54.

¹⁵Ibid.

¹⁶David P. Henige, *Historical Evidence and Argument* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 2005), 7.

¹⁷Tosh, *The Pursuit of History*, 57.

¹⁸Henige, *Historical Evidence and Argument*, 7.

In response to the above quote, an extensive research was undertaken to ascertain related studies. No extensive research on SACS with regard to teacher education programs had been done. This gap in the literature provided me with a strong rationale for this study with the acknowledgment that others may build or even refute the findings presented. Despite the risk, the study was conducted to contribute to the educational literature.

There are two sources of raw material for research: primary and secondary. Primary research is derived from original source materials that were a part of or the result of the event or individuals being studied. The next step involves a decision-making process on the types of data to be utilized.

In his book *Why History Matters*, historian John Tosh made this statement: “The least contentious application of historical reasoning lies in the recognition of the past as an almost limitless experiential resource.”¹⁹ Though this statement seems to be true, time constraints precluded me from exploring the limitless data available on this subject.

Anthony Brundage explicated history as a process in this statement:

A concept central to an appreciation of history as a process is revisionism. This means an unending search by historians for fresh sources, approaches, methodological concepts, and interpretations. On the basis of these changing material and methods, historians are able to offer an ever-new past to the present. Or rather, they offer a multitude of new pasts, since each historian’s view of the past is at least slightly different from another’s, sometimes, dramatically different.²⁰

Revisionist history is particularly important when studying minorities or marginalized groups. Revisionist history attempts to recover and develop the history of

¹⁹John Tosh, *Why History Matters* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 7.

²⁰Anthony Brundage, *Going to the Sources: A Guide to Historical Research and Writing* (Arlington Heights, IL: Harlan Davidson, 1989), 3.

minorities which have necessarily often worked closely with political movements such as the struggle for civil rights and the attainment of economic and social equality.²¹ This study represents revisionist history as it recovers history that has been thus far largely overlooked. It seeks to explain the macro and micro social, economic, and political movements and events that impacted curricula changes at two historically Black schools and details not only the impact of accreditation on these programs and schools, but also the determination or identification of hegemonic and oppressive forces that intersected with the accreditation movement from 1920-1940 as it involved people of African descent in America. I hope not to seek new histories, but to highlight one that may provide historical insights which may be useful to address unresolved current issues. If the current issues with accreditation and historically Black colleges are long standing, then maybe some of the solutions are as well.

Analysis of the Data

Empirical historical research involves a process of searching for the facts. Discourse analysis seeks to understand and determine evidence of the ideological power structures that influence the authors.²² These are the two approaches to historical analysis of the data that I used. Evidence of facts such as the curriculum course list displays the empirical research; however, the more in-depth investigation is delving into the

²¹Brundage, *Going to the Sources*, 7.

²²Lewenson and Herrmann, *Capturing Nursing History*, 155.

ideological social, political, and economic structures that underlie the debates and decisions at those institutions.

Historical explanation has to do with causation and consequences, which tend to be derived from a historical analysis, focusing on the significance and the relationships of the event(s) examined.²³ A history is built on a careful examination of a range of sources. The more extensive and varied the sources and the more angles that can be obtained on the topic under study, the better. Once the sources have been collated and read with careful reflection, most historians will find that an interpretation begins to emerge, an argument becomes clear.²⁴ As I expound upon the various forces at play, I tell the story of accreditation and its impact on these two institutions, whether significant or negligible, by presenting the information found in the primary and secondary sources.

Historical writing is characterized by various literary forms with three basic techniques: description, narrative, and analysis. In description, historians attempt to create the illusion of direct experience for the reader.²⁵ The qualities of historical writing include, but are not limited to, mastery of primary sources and the critical evaluation of them, the perception of the relatedness of events, and imagination.²⁶ The description portion of the writing involved a detailed explanation of curriculum trends in America, especially as they relate to the higher education of African Americans. Explanations of the “New South” and the realities of life during that time for the Negro in Alabama and

²³Tosh, *The Pursuit of History*, 196.

²⁴Lewenson and Herrmann, *Capturing Nursing History*, 154.

²⁵Tosh, *The Pursuit of History*, 94-95.

²⁶*Ibid.*, 104.

Atlanta were gained primarily through secondary sources. Available primary sources were utilized to explain the curricula changes of these schools in greater detail. Finally the description portion of the writing elucidates the development of accreditation as it related to historically Black colleges and universities and the teacher education programs during that period.

Narrative writing data came from a variety of sources. The history and philosophies of key players in Black education such as W. E. B. Du Bois and Booker T. Washington were discussed. Their autobiographies, biographies, professional writings, and speeches formed the basis of their narratives. I allowed these individuals to tell their own stories with this writing approach. Further interpretation for the causes of their ideological views was expounded upon through my analysis and interpretation of the data, as well as that of educational and historical experts. The problem-oriented approach to historical research provided a structured plan for conducting archival research. Primary and secondary sources assisted me in formulating a problem that needed further research. Internal and external validity were accomplished through the general guidelines for historical research. Narrative writing permitted me to present the findings through a narrative. Historical writing was useful in identifying fundamental historical issues to a long-standing issue.

CHAPTER 4

FINDINGS

Introduction

Historically Black colleges and universities (HBCUs) encountered many challenges right from their inception, one of which was the desire to obtain and maintain regional accreditation. As part of the curriculum debate that ensued in America at the turn of the twentieth century, curriculum model selections for African American institutions often demonstrated their philosophy of racial roles and progress. Curriculum changes were not the only movements impacting education during that time. As education responded to the needs of society, new innovations for different groups were presented resulting in fueling the accreditation movement. This study examines the impact of accreditation of the teacher education program on two prominent HBCUs which endorsed two distinct curriculum models. The Southern Association of Colleges and Schools (SACS) was organized in 1895 as a regional accrediting agency for Southern colleges and secondary schools, a role it still fulfills today.¹ SACS was the only agency authorized to accredit secondary and higher educational institutions regionally. Was accreditation

¹Proceedings of the Twenty-fifth Annual Meeting, Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools: 1916-1920, Box 24, 3, MSS 917, Boxes 20-24, Manuscript, Archives, and Rare Book Library (MARBL), Emory University, Atlanta, GA. The Tuskegee-Hampton curriculum model largely endorsed had elementary-level academics and manual labor training.

free from the economic, social, political, and racial inequities prevalent in the country, particularly in the South? Can curriculum bias or preference for African Americans be identified through the accreditation process? These are a few of the questions addressed in this chapter.

Atlanta University and Tuskegee Institute were imperative in the preparation for African American teachers. According to Anderson, Northern philanthropists sought to utilize education as a vehicle to cushion the Negro from the racist realities of the South.² This social infusion of economic interest in the education of Blacks made the Black educational institutions of utmost importance. As the influence of accreditation grew, one can surmise that the influence of accredited schools that held membership in the association also grew. Voluntary organizations established standards for its membership. It is reasonable to assume that such standards would guide the formulation of important programs within the membership. Tuskegee Institute was accredited by SACS in 1931 with a Class B rating and reaccredited in 1933 with a Class A rating. Atlanta University received its accreditation in 1932 with a Class A rating. Deep pontification on the proximity of their accreditation dates and the racist social, economic, and political milieu of the New South calls to question the intentional or non-intentional effects of accreditation on these schools. The following examination seeks to explain the accreditation process for these schools and determine if or how accreditation affected their teacher education programs from 1920-1940.

Teachers played a very important role in Black communities. They were essential

²Anderson, *The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935*, 79.

to the education of Blacks. Teacher education programs were also important due to the potential impact they had on the African American community at large. Anderson affirmed that all forces understood that influencing the ideas and behaviors of Black teachers was the best way to transmit beliefs to millions of Black children.³ Teacher education programs became paramount not only to the transmission of beliefs, but also to the possibility of assisting or impeding the economic, social, and political progress of the Black community. The following research hypotheses convey the focus of the study:

1. The accreditation process was a catalyst for curricula changes in the teacher education programs at Atlanta University and Tuskegee Institute.
2. Teacher education programs were urged toward a particular curriculum model.
3. Social, economic, and political underpinnings prompted curricula changes at these institutions.

Over the years, SACS expanded its scope to include various types of schools. Teacher education programs and Negro schools eventually came under the SACS umbrella, but not without controversy. A review of early-twentieth-century educational literature provided considerable data in support of the hypothesis that the accreditation process was a catalyst for curricula changes in teacher education programs. In addition, the literature also confirmed that historically Black teacher education programs were cajoled to adopt the vocational education curriculum model. Findings further revealed that resistance was used by some HBCUs in response to the pejorative system put in

³Anderson, *The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935*, 111.

place by the federal, state, and local government to perpetuate the subservient and racist social roles established for African Americans.

The Accreditation and Standardization Movement

American colleges and universities faced many challenges at the turn of the twentieth century due to issues such as certification or entrance examinations. It was at this time that the more reputable institutions of higher education realized that standards had to be raised to ensure better education and to protect themselves and the public from institutions of low repute.⁴ According to William Selden, accreditation is basically “a struggle over standards in higher education.”⁵ Roy A. Edelfelt and James D. Rath provided the following definitions for the word *standard* from their research in teacher education:⁶

1. Something that is established by authority, custom, or general consent as a model or example to be followed.
2. A definite level of degree of quality that is proper or adequate for a specific purpose.

According to Selden, “historically education in the United States has been a local responsibility.”⁷ He also reported that the early shapers of the American Republic placed the responsibility for education with each state; however, this “states’ rights” approach to

⁴William K. Selden, *Accreditation: A Struggle over Standards in Higher Education* (New York: Harper, 1960), 35-36.

⁵Ibid., 6.

⁶Edelfelt and Rath, *A Brief History of Standards in Teacher Education*, 9.

⁷Selden, *Accreditation*, 6.

educational governance left an imbalanced system in the country. For example, he stated that throughout the nineteenth century, education in the South remained a private enterprise.⁸ It appears that this uneven balance between the development of the states continued to create marked differences between the development and administration of education in the North and the South. Despite regional differences in educational administration, it is clear that very little oversight existed for teacher education during the early part of the twentieth century.

In their discussion on the development of educational standards, Edelfelt and Rath reported that efforts in the nineteenth century to advance standards, particularly in teacher education, were largely ineffective until the accreditation movement of the early twentieth century, thus relegating teacher education to a cottage industry.⁹ Several accreditation organizations played pivotal roles in the development of standards in teacher education. Though slightly different in their focus, these early standards and accrediting organizations were important in the push toward standardization in the field. According to Ludeman, the Normal School Department of the National Education Association, The North Central Association of Colleges and Schools, and the American Association of Teachers College were key to the establishment of standards in teacher education.¹⁰ In 1869, the American Normal School Association held its fifth annual

⁸Richard L. Roames, "Accreditation in Teacher Education: A History of the Development of Standards Utilized by the National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education" (EdD thesis, University of Akron, College of Education, 1987), 5.

⁹Edelfelt and Rath, *A Brief History of Standards in Teacher Education*, 43.

¹⁰Walter W. Ludeman, "Certain Influences in Teachers College Standardization," *Peabody Journal of Education* 8, no. 6 (May 1931): 369.

meeting where assumptions were made regarding the need and capability of teacher educators in establishing their code for “best practices” in the field.¹¹

The Civil War and the Southern assertion of “states’ rights” led to interest of the federal government to be involved in education. The Office of Education was created in 1867 and concerned itself primarily with studies and the dissemination of knowledge.¹² The first United States Commissioner of Education, Henry Bernard, endorsed the belief that education should be monitored by the local government. During his administration, the federal government was not initially involved in the push for educational standards. Without the oversight from the government, local communities were free to establish an educational system according to their social practices. This became more evident during and after the reconstruction era as one reviews the oversight and funding of historically Black colleges (HBCUs) in the South.¹³

Richard Roames contended that the expansion of the American frontier increased the mobility of the younger population, which encouraged higher education to consider regional or national accreditation as a way to ensure educational quality.¹⁴ Richard Healey, William Thomas, and Katie Lahman reported that a complex interplay between

¹¹Edelfelt and Raths, *A Brief History of Standards in Teacher Education*, 3.

¹²Bernard C. Steiner and David N. Camp, *Life of Henry Barnard: The First United States Commissioner of Education, 1867-1870* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1919), 105, accessed April 11, 2014, <http://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=umn.31951000937864b;view=1up;seq=3>. President Andrew Johnson signed the bill on March 2 for the creation of the Office of Education. *Ibid.*, 107. The first Commissioner of Education Henry Barnard stated the purpose of the Office was to collect and disseminate information, not to establish a national system of education. *Ibid.*, 109.

¹³Joan Malczewski, “‘The Schools Lost Their Isolation’: Interest Groups and Institutions in Educational Policy Development in the Jim Crow South,” *Journal of Policy History* 23, no. 3 (July 2011): 324. Joan Malczewski declares that Black schools were underfunded and largely unaccredited.

¹⁴Roames, “Accreditation in Teacher Education,” 1.

occupational and geographical mobility affected the Westward movement between 1880 and 1900. Opportunities to acquire work skills and financial advancement were some of the personal occupational motivations for geographical relocation.¹⁵ Seldon asserted that increased mobility of the youth drove the need to establish standards of educational quality. As students became mobile, some assurance that the transfer of credits represented the acquisition of comparable knowledge became more important. Given the significant increase in mobility, it is no wonder that educational institutions and accrediting bodies sought to establish standards for educational norms.

Seldon stated that despite their hands-off approach to the establishment of educational standards for higher education, the Office of Education began in 1917 to have a strong indirect effect on accreditation standards and accredited schools through the publication of *Accredited Higher Education Institutions*. This publication was released every four years and included the list of institutions accredited by the states and regional institutions.¹⁶ On the federal level the Commissioner of Education had to approve regional accreditors. Most states had accreditation recognized by some state governmental agency. Ineffective oversight of educational institutions by these state agencies is evidenced by the resolutions as early as 1897 and 1898 by organizations such as the North Central Association of Colleges and Schools (NCA) calling for greater

¹⁵Richard G. Healey, William G. Thomas, and Katie Lahman, "Railroads and Regional Labor Markets in the Mid-Nineteenth-Century United States: A Case Study of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad," *Journal of Historical Geography* 41 (July 2013): 15, accessed May 11, 2014, http://ac.els-cdn.com/S0305748813000030/1-s2.0-S0305748813000030-main.pdf?_tid=4d625990-e591-11e3-90ee-00000aacb35f&acdnat=1401189978_40dffbf6f2a3ee22d05a30d976a194c1.

¹⁶Seldon, *Accreditation*, 47.

supervision of degree-granting institutions.¹⁷ This call for greater local supervision of schools prompted the improvement of state educational standards.

As previously stated, the NCA was the first regional accrediting agency to establish criterion of quality secondary schools and colleges. Despite the power of regional accreditors, some states deferred to the standards established by teacher college accrediting agencies rather than trying to conform to regional and professional standards.¹⁸ Roames provided further insight into additional reasons for the power behind the accreditation movement. He proclaimed that the geographical limitation of states' approval of educational programs and schools differentiated and empowered regional accreditors that were regionally or nationally oriented.¹⁹ Population shifts, due to social phenomena, resulted in a national need for educational standards, which accreditation helped to provide. Two of the most important significant domestic phenomena were the Westward movement and the Great Migration of African Americans out of the South during and after World War I.²⁰ Selden contended that "throughout an almost continuous barrage of criticisms, accrediting has helped to bring about an elevation in the quality of education and a broad acceptance of what constitutes a good college or university."²¹

¹⁷Selden, *Accreditation*, 46-49.

¹⁸Ludeman, "Certain Influences in Teachers College Standardization," 369.

¹⁹Roames, "Accreditation in Teacher Education," 46.

²⁰Carole Marks, *Farewell--We're Good and Gone: The Great Black Migration* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1989), 1-3. In her extensive work on the Great Migration Carole Marks states the Black Migration was first mass movement of Blacks out of the South. She estimates that approximately 1,000,000 Blacks migrated North between 1916-1930. Four major factors induced this movement: The boll weevil invasion in the South that destroyed crops; oppressive Jim Crow laws; the deficit in industrial workers from Europe due to the World War; an underdeveloped Southern industrial system dependent on Northern capitalists. *Ibid.*, 2-3.

²¹Selden, *Accreditation*, 38.

Adequate evidence exists to support the stance that accrediting agencies affected higher education and the process of accreditation influenced the improvement of state educational requirements.

SACS was originally organized in the autumn of 1895 at Atlanta, Georgia, at a meeting of delegates from a number of Southern colleges and universities. Roames stated that though the six regional accrediting agencies established themselves as the foremost authorities of institutional accreditation, they were never completely successful in accrediting specific programs of study and that though SACS and other regional and national accrediting agencies were powerful, accreditation of specific programs was left to specific professional accreditation organizations such as the American Association of Colleges Teachers Education (AACTE).²² Since regional accreditors like SACS focus more on educational quality than on the larger scope of accrediting colleges and schools, it would not be within their purview to make program-specific recommendations. Accrediting organizations make general principles regarding the overall quality of curricula.

The SACS' purpose was to organize Southern schools and colleges for co-operation and mutual assistance, elevate the standard of scholarship and effect uniformity of entrance requirements, and develop preparatory schools and separate their work from colleges.²³ SACS established criteria for membership that were stringent enough to

²²Roames, "Accreditation in Teacher Education," 56.

²³The Admission of Normal Schools in the Membership in the Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools of Southern States, Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools: 1921, Box 24, 3, MSS 917, Boxes 20-24, Manuscript, Archives, and Rare Book Library (MARBL), Emory University, Atlanta, GA.

eliminate some types of higher educational institutions from gaining admission. Teacher training colleges and normal schools were not initially allowed to join this regional organization. SACS outlined eight standards for membership including a minimum number of semester hours or its equivalent with institution-designed qualitative conditions required for graduation, the maintenance of a minimum of \$50,000 annual operating income with \$25,000 derived from stable sources, and the character of the curriculum and the preparation of students in doing satisfactory work.²⁴ The establishment of standards such as these facilitated SACS becoming paramount to norms for educational quality in the South.

Normal Schools

Normal schools offered a practical preparation for teaching which could range from high school to two years of post-secondary training.²⁵ James Fraser asserted that normal schools were interested in giving students a broad academic education, including skills on how to teach. Roames stated that prior to accreditation and standardization, normal schools required little education beyond elementary school and, thus, normal schools were deemed inferior to traditional liberal arts colleges and universities. In fact, the teaching profession was generally held in low esteem compared to other professions.²⁶ Holding the teaching profession in low esteem was not true of the African

²⁴The Admission of Normal Schools and Colleges in the Membership in the Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools of the Southern States, 1921, Box 24, 3.

²⁵James W. Fraser, *Preparing America's Teachers: A History* (New York: Teachers College Press, 2007), 116.

²⁶Roames, "Accreditation in Teacher Education," 7.

American community. Anderson stated that by 1900, private normal colleges produced approximately 90 percent of Black teachers.²⁷ Normal schools likely appealed to Black students because of their reduced educational standards. This was due to the discriminatory practices established by the oppressive system of Jim Crow laws established by *Plessy vs. Ferguson* in 1896.²⁸ The legalization of racial separation in public facilities justified the establishment of racially segregated schools. Schools are generally supported by the local community. Poorer communities are left with poorer schools. The inequitable distribution of state funds for education will be covered later in this section.

The racially oppressive realities of the New South after reconstruction have been well documented. The 1896 *Plessy vs. Ferguson* decision codifying the separation of race at public accommodations, including educational institutions, significantly impeded Blacks from access to education. The important role that normal schools played in training Black teachers influenced the perception of inferiority of these schools. James Fraser reported that in 1921, thirty states had no minimum requirements for teachers and only four mandated training beyond high school. By 1937, forty-one states required at least a high-school diploma and thirty-five states expected at least some college

²⁷Anderson, *The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935*, 110.

²⁸Stetson Kennedy, *Jim Crow Guide to the U.S.A.: The Laws, Customs and Etiquette Governing the Conduct of Nonwhites and Other Minorities as Second-Class Citizens* (Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 2011), 58, accessed May 11, 2014, <http://public.eblib.com/EBLPublic/PublicView.do?ptiID=835634>. Jim Crow laws affected every Black life. As late as 1957 interracial marriages were illegal and would be considered void. Children born of interracial marriage were deemed as illegitimate. Both spouses could be charged with lewd conduct which was considered a misdemeanor or felony depending on the state. *Ibid.*, 63. During this time the Alabama legislature proclaimed that no law sanctioning the marriage between a White or Negro would ever be sanctioned. *Ibid.*, 139. Jim Crow laws enforced debt labor camps. In Georgia, one of these slave labor camps was so brutal that a man and his wife could be beat for not being ready to work as early as 4:30 a.m.

training.²⁹ Tuskegee remained current with the growing trend for increased education and training for normal training institutes.

Accreditation marginalized normal schools and historically Black institutions. Fraser pointed out that in response to the accreditation movement, W. E. B. Du Bois compiled a list of the “First-Grade Colored Colleges” to consolidate their resources and focus on those schools which had the greatest potential for excellence in 1900 and 1910. Selden further informed that in 1917, Thomas Jesse Jones of the Phelps Fund, a philanthropic organization that funded Negro schools, conducted another study on Black schools and insisted that part of the criteria for excellence in educational institutions should include separate departments and an endowment fund of at least \$200,000. According to him Tuskegee and Hampton were the only HBCUs that had endowments that large. Economic endowment stipulations would have impeded HBCUs which did not adopt the Tuskegee/Hampton vocational curriculum model from receiving philanthropic funding.³⁰

Accrediting agencies also specified large endowment criteria as a membership requirement. SACS standards for Colleges of Arts and Sciences and Teacher Training Colleges outlined minimum practices for Teacher Training College members such as admission requirements. One admission specification was the completion of a four-year course with no less than fifteen units taken from an accredited secondary school or its equivalent and average salary for teachers. Another standard established an annual

²⁹Fraser, *Preparing America's Teachers*, 93.

³⁰Smock, *Booker T. Washington*, 79. In 1901 the Southern Education Board consolidated many philanthropists into a national board.

income of not less than \$50,000 and, if not tax supported, an endowment of not less than \$500,000. SACs endowment requirement was over two times the amount recommended by the Phelps Fund. In 1917, only Hampton and Tuskegee had endowments that large due, in part, to the contributions from the Slater Fund and the Southern Education Board that promoted their industrial curriculum model. The Phelps Fund established that the criterion for educational quality in Black colleges should be judged in relation to its financial well-being. SACS recommended that teachers receive at least \$3,000 for a nine-month period.³¹ Raising the bar for the maintenance of educational standards is beneficial once the bar is raised equitably. As stated earlier, Tuskegee and Hampton were the only HBCUs which possessed an endowment that high.

This new admission requirement for diplomas from accredited secondary schools was another insidious ploy to restrict Black access to colleges. Secondary schools and institutions of higher learning were not yet accredited by SACS. Black students experienced a significant barrier into college entrance since the majority of Black schools were unaccredited.³² SACS standards were both an impediment to admission of Black students into college as well as a barrier to admission of HBCUs as member schools within the organization. This reality was particularly evident in Alabama, since it had no accredited Black high schools by 1910.³³

³¹Standards for Teacher Colleges and Normal Schools, Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools: 1925, Box 24, 145, MSS917, Boxes 20-24, Manuscript, Archives, and Rare Book Library (MARBL), Emory University, Atlanta, GA.

³²Malczewski, “The Schools Lost Their Isolation,” 342.

³³Carol F. Karpinski, “We Have a Long Way to Go”: H. Councill Trenholm, Educational Associations, and Equity,” *Paedagogica Historica: International Journal of the History of Education* 46, no. 1-2 (February 2010): 55.

In an article entitled “The Admission of Normal Schools and Colleges in the Membership in the Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools of the Southern States” in the 1921 Commission report by V. L. Roy, the President of Louisiana State Normal School discussed the debate surrounding the entrance of normal schools and teacher training colleges into SACS. Roy extolled the important role which the Association played in the South. He reminded them that until recently, they were the only standardizing educational agency in the region but Roy acknowledged that some types of institutions did not yet possess sufficient standardization for membership into this agency, then purported that this is the very reason why these schools should be allowed entrance into SACS.³⁴

According to Roy, membership into the Association would be extremely beneficial to these institutions and help to maintain educational uniformity in the South.³⁵ He further asserted that if normal schools and teacher training colleges were not allowed to join this Association they would likely form their own organization. He referred to the Association of Teacher-Training Institutes formed five years earlier at Peabody.³⁶ Roy succinctly described the problem when he stated, “In fact, because of the several types of normal schools, normal colleges, teachers’ colleges, and other schools of the South Teacher training schools have been less uniform in admission and curricula

³⁴The Admission of Normal Schools and Colleges in the Membership in the Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools of the Southern States, 1921, Box 24, 86-87.

³⁵*Ibid.*, Box 24, 86.

³⁶Smock, *Booker T. Washington*, 78. George Peabody started the Peabody in 1867 and gave almost \$2 million to Black education primarily at the elementary level.

standards than the Colleges of Arts and Sciences.”³⁷ This would be one of many such discussions before entry into the organization would be granted. Discussions such as this further corroborate the stabilizing impact of the organization in higher education.

SACS offered a preliminary definition and distinction between standard teachers college and normal schools. The proceedings from the 1925 Thirtieth Annual Conference on Standards for Teachers College and Normal Schools indicate that formulating definitions appeared to be a major agenda item. The definitions were recorded as “A standard teachers college is a college in which all courses are collegiate grades and offer a four-year curriculum to prepare students to teach elementary and secondary schools. A normal school is a teacher training program that offers two- or three-year curriculums.”³⁸ Standardizing the definition of teacher training colleges and normal schools provides further evidence of the agency’s scope and magnitude of influence. It also confirms Presidents Roy’s assertion that permitting these institutions into the organization would help to standardize norms and practices within those types of schools. Standards development for teacher training colleges did not cease with establishing the difference between teacher training colleges and normal schools. The Association also established other standards associated with teacher training institutions.

The teaching profession being held in low esteem and requiring limited educational training was sufficient evidence of the lot of that profession. Roames highlighted the plight of this noble calling by stating that teachers had poor salaries and

³⁷The Admission of Normal Schools and Colleges in the Membership in the Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools of the Southern States, 1921, Box 24, 87.

³⁸Standards for Teacher Colleges and Normal Schools, Box 24, 340.

working conditions and, thus, often attracted individuals with little training and competence compared to other professions.³⁹ As pointed out earlier, teaching was greatly valued in the African American community. In 1896, the Plessy vs. Ferguson ruling codified “separate but equal” in America. Teaching provided an additional professional and economic track.

Compared to the menial back-breaking options for Blacks, teaching provided an acceptable alternative. Teaching also had additional appeal. Jones explains that Black women had limited access to employment available to female White workers. She stated, “Like teachers, nurses benefited from specialized training that allowed them to earn steadier wages above those of a domestic, and at the same time gain the satisfaction of serving the community, characterized as it was by rigid patterns of segregation.”⁴⁰ According to Anderson, self-help and self-determination underlie ex-slaves’ desire for education.⁴¹ This worked out well in making an education a very valued and attractive occupation for a people only a few decades removed from chattel slavery. In addition, Blacks cherished the altruistic opportunity to help their community. Despite low pay, less than favorable working conditions, and the general low regard of the teaching profession held by mainstream society, it provided greater illumination of why teaching was one of the professional employment tracks of choice for many. Women were also provided with an opportunity to avoid the danger of working in homes as domestic workers.

³⁹Roames, “Accreditation in Teacher Education,” 49.

⁴⁰Jacqueline Jones, *Labor of Love, Labor of Sorrow: Black Women, Work, and the Family from Slavery to the Present* (New York: Basic Books, 2009), 180, accessed May 12, 2014, <http://site.ebrary.com/lib/andrews/Doc?id=10359223&ppg=209>.

⁴¹Anderson, *The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935*, 5.

Discriminatory practices discouraged the practice of coeducation among Blacks and Whites in the South, thus significantly increasing the need for Black teachers. The Black community upheld its importance.

Vocational Education

Social and economic forces were evident through monetary contributions of HBCUs that adopted the Tuskegee-Hampton curriculum model, as already noted. Inequitable distribution of funds along racial lines is a clear indication of racism. This section will look at ways that the state and federal government were involved in repressive practices in education. An overview of some of the more common legislative and political systems is presented.

The federal and state governments endorsed the vocational curriculum model. Charles Alpheus Bennet states that interest in practical education had been increasing since the late 1800s with the acceptance of the manual-training movement. Manual-training education provided high school and upper elementary school students with a foundation of industrial knowledge and some proficiency with tools. He asserted, however, that The Vocational Education Movement began in 1906 with the Douglas Commission report to the Massachusetts Legislature and the National Society for the Promotion of Industrial Education.⁴² Massachusetts would be one of many states to accept and adopt the vocational educational movement to augment or replace their curricula choices. Vocational education would become popular throughout the early to

⁴²Charles Alpheus Bennett, *History of Manual and Industrial Education 1870-1917* (Peoria, IL: Manual Arts Press, 1937), 507.

mid-1900s and be widespread options in both secondary schools and post-secondary schools. As previously stated, vocational education in PWIs included occupations that provided more options for economic success, such as engineering. The Tuskegee-Hampton model of vocational education for African Americans created a superstructure of marginalization through the farce of equal higher education. Anderson states that the Tuskegee-Hampton model of vocational education represented a compromise between Northern Whites and hostile Southern Whites to reconcile the idea of universal common schooling for Black children.⁴³ This model primarily prepared one for agrarian work or domestic service, significantly reducing individual and collective economic, social, and political progress. In the capitalistic structure in which the American economy is based, it is commonly accepted that economic well-being is positively associated with power.

Public schools were not the only type of schools affected by the vocational educational movement trend. Many faith-based institutions wholeheartedly adopted this curriculum model. According to George Knight, religious educators promoted the need for practical work being united with mental effort as well as the need to teach young people to work.⁴⁴ The real push for acceptance of vocational education came on the tailcoat of federal funding. According to Sol Cohen, “The industrial education movement began in a desultory way in the late 1870s as a demand for manual training in the elementary grades and trade training on the high school level.”⁴⁵ The 1926-1928 biennial

⁴³Anderson, *The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935*, 80.

⁴⁴George R. Knight, ed., *Early Adventist Educators* (Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Press, 1983), 40.

⁴⁵Sol Cohen, “The Industrial Education Movement, 1906-17,” *American Quarterly* 20, no. 1 (Spring 1968): 95, accessed February 9, 2014, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2710993>.

survey report by the Department of Interior Bureau of Education in 1929 lists the ten reasons for the increase in vocational education.⁴⁶ This trend in vocational education likely encouraged schools that used the vocational model to expand their programs. Other factors provided additional motivation for the adoption and even enlargement of vocational programs. Those reasons will be discussed later in this study. These recommendations were likely influenced by the 1914 Report from the Commission on National Aid to Vocational Education. This report synthesized compelling arguments for federal aid to vocational education.

The report concludes with the assertion that “vocational education is needed to democratize the education of the country.”⁴⁷ The Commission purports that vocational education has social and educational benefits which included the recognition of differing aptitudes and interest by providing equal employment opportunities providing education for those who worked on a farm or a shop through evening classes, providing alternative education for those who do not respond to book knowledge and the infusion of utility and dignity into the educational system by education that was directly useful and meaningful.⁴⁸ Similar wording is found in many of the Tuskegee bulletins. Providing

⁴⁶Maris M. Proffitt, *Industrial Education 1926-1928* (Washington, DC: Department of the Interior, Bureau of Education and Government Printing Office, 1929), 2-7. The Department of Education Bureau of Education in 1929 lists the following reasons for the growth of vocational education: (1) An increased effort to make public-education more democratic; (2) A fuller recognition of individual differences; (3) Growth of junior high school movement; (4) Recognition of need for intelligent use of industrial products and services; (5) Recognition of economic returns to the State; (6) Growth of industries; (7) Cooperation with industries; (8) Improvement of mechanical devices; (9) Research studies and job analysis; (10) Universal need for highly skilled mechanics.

⁴⁷Marvin Lazerson and W. Norton Grubb, comps., *American Education and Vocationalism: A Documentary History, 1870-1970* (New York: Teachers College Press, Columbia University, 1974), 121.

⁴⁸*Ibid.*, 116–117.

alternative education for those who do not respond to book knowledge is good, but preventing some from acquiring academic knowledge beyond industrial training is quite another. Further analysis on this subject will be included in future sections.

Tuskegee Institute

According to Raymond Smock, Tuskegee was founded on July 4, 1881, by an act of the Alabama State Legislature. The institution gained world-wide recognition through the able leadership of Booker T. Washington, who whole-heartedly endorsed the Tuskegee-Hampton model of vocational education.⁴⁹ Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute was established in 1881. Though it was established for teacher training, the school had a strong emphasis on vocational teacher training.⁵⁰ The vocational training established at Tuskegee would become one which would be pushed on Black schools. Smock stated that Washington committed his energies into making it the model of Negro vocational education.⁵¹ Although it had a strong emphasis on vocational training, teacher education was still essential to the institution. In 1931, Tuskegee received Class B accreditation from SACS. Their class standing was upgraded to Class A in 1933. In 1920, Tuskegee offered a vocational teacher training course. Though it was designed to

⁴⁹Smock, *Booker T. Washington*, 101. The address at the Atlanta Exposition in 1895 commonly known as the “Great Compromise” thrust Washington into the forefront of Black leadership in education and world recognition. His speech acknowledged the acceptance of racial inequality and gradual economic improvement rather than the confrontational approach for Civil Rights.

⁵⁰Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute, *Fortieth Annual Catalog: 1920-21* (Tuskegee, AL: Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute, 1920), 49, Legacy Museum, Tuskegee, AL.

⁵¹*Ibid.*, 75. Washington articulated the three main advantages of industrial training from his philosophy at the Alabama State Teacher’s Convention in 1881: (1) Aids students in mental training; (2) Teaches one how to earn a living; (3) Teaches the dignity of labor. He further argued that industrial education was the only way most Black children could afford an education. *Ibid.*, 76.

prepare teachers, it focused heavily on vocational and industrial skills. By the time it was accredited, Tuskegee operated a Teacher Education Bachelor of Science and a two-year Normal School program.⁵²

James Anderson noted that at the core of its mission, Tuskegee was a normal school with training teachers for the South's Black educational system at the core of its mission.⁵³ According to the 1933 National Survey of the Education of Teachers in 1850, 95 percent of the Negroes were illiterate; by 1930, illiteracy had been reduced to 16 percent. In 1865 the percentage of the Negro population of school age enrolled in school was approximately 2 percent; by 1930, the corresponding percentage was 78 percent.⁵⁴ The massive increase in literacy among Blacks was due to the work of Black teachers. Since Jim Crow laws prevented race mixing, Black teachers were primarily responsible for the education of the community and Tuskegee played a vital role in education.

Tuskegee was located in Macon County, Alabama, in what was known as the "Black Belt" first, because of its Black soil, and later, because of its high percentage of Blacks. This area was the home of many former slaves.⁵⁵ The South was economically depressed, particularly in rural farm areas such as Tuskegee. Millions of Blacks struggled to survive through sharecropping in a region, which by 1895, was economically depressed, left ravaged by the Panic of 1893 which was brought on by a failure of

⁵²Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute, *Fortieth Annual Catalog: 1920-21*, 17.

⁵³Fraser, *Preparing America's Teachers*, 2.

⁵⁴Ambrose Caliver and William John Cooper, *Education of Negro Teachers* (Washington, DC: United States Government Printing Office, 1933), 78.

⁵⁵Smock, *Booker T. Washington*, 63.

thousands of businesses in railroads and banking.⁵⁶ Poverty made the plight of Blacks even more challenging, both economically and politically. African Americans comprised almost half of the Alabama population. This made Black agrarian workers even more crucial for the agrarian economic structure of the South. In the wake of the economic panic, Blacks were left with fewer employment options and opportunities. This state had a large rural population of Blacks and Whites.⁵⁷ This largely rural population of Blacks had been ravaged by economic difficulty and the remnants of slavery. They were very much susceptible to prejudice and abuse. Tuskegee Institute served this area, also bearing the economic and cultural challenges along with those it served.

A letter on February 10, 1921, from the state of Alabama confirmed participation of the state and the receipt of federal funds in the amount of \$17,500, which the state would match dollar for dollar, equaling \$35,000 for vocational education. The letter also said that distribution of federal funds would be based on population. In her study on federal vocational acts and policies in vocational education, Regina Werum purported that the Smith-Hughes Act was passed by Congress in 1917 to provide funding for vocational education, but placed particular interest in agricultural training. She further argued that federal distribution of funds was based on population which decreased the likelihood of funds reaching areas where the need may have been greater. Rural Blacks

⁵⁶Smock, *Booker T. Washington*, 91.

⁵⁷The rural population was 1,901,975 compared to the urban population of 744,273. "Alabama History Timeline: 1930," Alabama Department, Archives & History, accessed May 12, 2014, <http://www.archives.alabama.gov/timeline/al1901.html>. According to the 1930 US Census bureau in Alabama, the White population was 1,700,844 and the Black population was 944,834. U.S. Census Bureau, *Alabama—Race and Hispanic Origin: 1800 to 1990* (Washington, DC: U.S. Census Bureau, 1991), accessed May 12, 2014, <http://www.census.gov/population/www/documentation/twps0056/tabs15-65.pdf>.

who resided in less populated areas would receive less funding than schools located in more populous areas. Many economically challenged areas would not equitably benefit from these funds regardless of race.⁵⁸ This unequal distribution of funds manifested itself in many ways on both the state and federal level. Werum declared that vocational laws were prompted by the agrarian Southern elite that not only provided educational benefits for that class, but also sought to reinforce racial roles. She continued that the curricula of vocational schools remained behind economic and technological advances, which greatly disadvantaged African Americans.⁵⁹ The history of the Smith-Hughes Act gives credence to the fact that the federal government endorsed vocational education and distributed funds inequitably among regions and races. Racially biased political practices on the federal level sanctioned and reinforced them on the state and local level.

In her conclusions regarding educational laws and policies of the segregated South, Werum asserted that all federal vocational acts before 1963 shared three common elements. First, federal funds covered only teacher salaries; second, funds were distributed based on population; and finally, state or local funds had to match federal funds dollar for dollar. She further asserted that the distribution of the funds was inequitable with regard to race.⁶⁰ Her research unearthed several issues which potentially affected institutions that offered teacher education. Federal policies may have

⁵⁸Regina Werum, "Sectionalism and Racial Politics: Federal Vocational Policies and Programs in the Pre-Desegregation South," *Social Science History* 21, no. 3 (Fall 1997): 409, accessed May 13, 2014, <http://web.b.ebscohost.com.ezproxy.cc.andrews.edu/ehost/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?vid=3&sid=788c6deb-9d5a-499b-af29-32801d69dd69%40sessionmgr114&hid=114>.

⁵⁹Ibid., 411-412.

⁶⁰Ibid., 408-409.

inadvertently made paying teacher salaries more attainable for vocational institutions that received government subsidies for teacher salaries.

It has already been noted that Black educational institutions did not receive equitable funding. Other authors have researched the subject extensively and added additional insight into this dilemma. Carol Kaprinski asserted that the preparation of Black teachers was under-financed and subject to ideological struggles over its nature.⁶¹ Kaprinski found that inequitable distribution of funds in Alabama with regard to Black education was commonplace in Alabama.⁶² Evidence presented in this discussion reveals an inequitable and unfair distribution of funds and resources to historically Black colleges. Furthermore, providing funding specifically to vocational schools indicates a preference for the adoption of that curriculum model.

Standards for colleges of Arts and Sciences and for teacher training colleges outline minimum practices for Teacher Training College members such as admission requirements, which specify the completion of a four-year course with no less than fifteen units taken from an accredited secondary school or its equivalent and outlined graduation requirements with a minimum of 120 hours of college credit. It seems the establishment of these standards helped to draw a line of demarcation between four- and two-year teacher training institutions. It also raised the bar for other institutions seeking entrance into SACS.

Income inequities manifested themselves in various ways. Limitations with access

⁶¹Karpinski, "We Have a Long Way to Go," 1-2.

⁶²Ibid., 62.

to higher-paying professional occupations is just one of them. Even within the same profession, Blacks and Whites did not receive the same compensation. Racial disparity in pay scale for teachers is well documented.⁶³ Despite racially motivated salary discrepancies between Black and White teachers, paying Black teachers the wages required by SACS may have been a barrier for some HBCUs. Schools that received state and governmental subsidies for teacher salaries could more readily meet SACS teacher salary requirements. Standards regarding teacher pay and annual income presented challenges for institutions which serviced disadvantaged groups such as Native Americans, African Americans and women. These groups had already been marginalized by many employment professions and these standards also challenged the standing of institutions supporting those groups, especially HBCUs and Black high schools.

Since Tuskegee adopted the vocational model, Tuskegee continued to adapt its curriculum accordingly. Cohen reports that some proponents of the industrial education movement felt that this sort of education was fitting for those who were academically inept and misfits in school.⁶⁴ Though vocational education was established to meet the needs of different types of children, it appears that it was not established for students to matriculate into the higher echelons of society. The focus of vocational education on factory, trade, and agricultural work assumes a predisposition toward preparing students

⁶³Caliver and Cooper, *Education of Negro Teachers*, 78. In the 1933 National Survey of Education, it was reported that during the 1930s the median salary for White women teachers employed in Alabama for 1 to 6 months was \$425, with a quartile range from \$353 to \$489. The median of the corresponding Negro group, both men and women, was \$253.69. Likewise in Georgia the median salary of the White women teachers employed 9 months was \$670. Their lowest quartile which was \$575 was greater than the median of \$453 for Negroes.

⁶⁴Cohen, "The Industrial Education Movement, 1906-17," 100.

for manual jobs, some even economically menial. Despite the various debates on the topic of industrial education, Tuskegee was committed to that model and developed the teacher education program within the cultural context of its vocational, racial, economic, and political paradigm.

In Tuskegee's *Forty-Second Annual Catalog: 1922-1923*, one finds a more balanced teacher education program inclusive of pedagogy courses, science, English, and art with the addition of manual arts and gardening and domestic arts and gardening courses in the junior and senior years.⁶⁵ The replication of the vocational courses for their junior and senior year demonstrates the intent of this program, which was to prepare teachers to teach vocational and manual trades. In 1923, a special teacher training course covering two years beyond the present course for graduation would begin on September 13, 1923.⁶⁶ James Fraser reported that minimum teacher requirements were standard in most states until the late 1930s.⁶⁷ Tuskegee was remaining current with the trends for greater education and training for Normal Training institutes.

Like other schools during this era, Tuskegee maintained an academic department and a vocational program. The *Forty-Second Annual Catalog: 1922-1923* included this statement: "Every pupil in the institute is enrolled in the academic department." The section of the bulletin also informs the reader that day-school students (except seniors)

⁶⁵Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute, *Forty-Second Annual Catalog: 1922-1923* (Tuskegee, AL: Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute, 1922), 44, Legacy Museum, Tuskegee, AL.

⁶⁶*Ibid.*, 44.

⁶⁷Fraser, *Preparing America's Teachers*, 93. In 1921, 30 states had no minimum requirements for teachers and only 4 mandated training beyond high school. By 1937, 41 states required at least a high-school diploma and 35 states expected at least some college training.

attended class three days a week so that they could spend the other days in their trade. Seniors attended class daily with only one day allotted for their trade. Night students, however, attended class daily from 6:45 to 8:30 p.m. The academic course was a seven-year course, including three years of preparatory work and four years of Normal Course proper. The following statement is found in various Institute bulletins: “There is a close correlation between the Academic and Industrial Divisions.” It also informs the reader that teachers from the academic section of the institution visited the vocational instructors regularly.⁶⁸ The strong link between academic and industrial programs is indicative of the import placed on vocational training even within the academic track curriculum.

In that same bulletin is a statement informing readers that the special teacher training course was included (see Table 1). This course was available to individuals who completed the regular course at Tuskegee or its equivalent and was designed to meet the Alabama State Department of Education requirements and those of other Southern states. This professional track program incorporated the general courses found in traditional teacher education programs, including psychology, general methods, and school management. This curriculum also included courses such as nature study, manual arts, gardening, and domestic arts interwoven into the curriculum.⁶⁹ Both subjects had to be taken in the students’ junior and senior years. Courses such as these were designed with the intent that teachers who matriculated through this program could teach vocational skills.

⁶⁸Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute, *Forty-Second Annual Catalog: 1922-1923*, 28.

⁶⁹*Ibid.*, 44.

Table 1. Teacher-training professional course curriculum

Junior Year	Senior Year
Psychology (Educational)	History of Education
General Methods	The American Rural School and Alabama School Laws
School Management	Psychology (Child)
Review of Academic Subjects	Methods
Nature Study	School Administration and Supervision
English	Practice Teaching
Drawing—Writing	English Composition and Literature
Music	Practical Arts
Physical Education	Physical Education
Manual Arts and Gardening (Boys) One Day	Manual Arts and Gardening (Boys) One Day
Domestic Arts and Gardening (Girls) One Day	Arts and Gardening (Girls) One Day

Source: Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute, *Forty-Second Annual Catalog: 1922-1923* (Tuskegee, AL: Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute, 1922), 44, Legacy Museum, Tuskegee, AL.

Vocational Curriculum Resistance

African American schools demonstrated covert and overt resistance to the push for the adoption of the Hampton-Tuskegee vocational curriculum model. James Fraser reported that the emergence of county training schools represented a shift in teacher training. County training schools were racially segregated and encouraged to adopt the Tuskegee-Hampton model of the industrial training model for all students, including future teachers, at the public expense.⁷⁰ Powerful White philanthropists had been

⁷⁰Fraser, *Preparing America's Teachers*, 109.

instrumental in funding Black education. Though their assistance was needed, economic agendas played a role in their generosity. James Hardy was the originator of the Slater Fund in 1910 that was open to all Negro elementary school children with the expectation of training better teachers. The Slater Fund had long been used for funding the education of Blacks and now sought to develop public Black secondary schools rather than providing assistance to private Black schools.⁷¹ Philanthropic organizations, in conjunction with state and federal assistance, directed their financial support to the development of public schools geared to train African American teachers. Public teacher training schools provided greater access to the potential pool of future African American teachers since this form of education was free and located in their local community through county schools. The shift to the development of county schools presents a strong argument in favor of state and governmental preference toward the adoption of a curriculum model for African American schools and teacher education. In addition, it demonstrates social pressure for the adoption of these schools through the availability of funding for Black schools that adopted this model. Fraser stated, “One of the great hallmarks of Southern African American education, especially in the era of segregation, was the way in which covert resistance dramatically changed the actual practice of schooling in America.”⁷² Despite the pressure to accept this type of education for Negro students, Black educators found ways to capitalize on economic incentives while resisting the exclusive adoption of the vocational curriculum model.

⁷¹Smock, *Booker T. Washington*, 78. The John F. Slater Fund started in 1882 and donated millions to Black industrial education.

⁷²Fraser, *Preparing America's Teachers*, 111.

In her research on Black education, Joan Malczewski found evidence of resistance to the imposed Hampton-Tuskegee model in at least two Southern teacher training schools in North Carolina. Her research indicated that these schools misrepresented the curriculum being offered in their official reports to the Slater Fund. For example, teaching time spent on industrial training was reported, when in fact, those hours were dedicated to training Black students in traditional academic subjects such as reading, writing, and math. Malczewski further summarized similar practices in other HBCUs. In 1914, James Dillard from the Slater Fund found a training school in Tennessee neglecting industrial courses while trying to teach four years of Latin. The following year, Dillard discovered a Georgia training school teaching Greek, German, psychology, ethics, moral philosophy, and economics.⁷³ This verifies the resistance of some Black teachers in the South to the imposition of the vocational curriculum model on Black schools. Though Tuskegee embraced this form of curriculum, the school found ways to resist racial oppression.

Anderson purported that supporters of the Tuskegee-Hampton model of education acquiesced to losing a long battle to make this curriculum the primary curriculum for Black public schools by the 1920s.⁷⁴ This form of vocational education was unique to Blacks. Though it provided a realistic cultural and geographically appropriate vocational preparation, it limited economic opportunities to Blacks. As previously noted, this form of training emphasized agrarian and domestic occupations, but little to no opportunity

⁷³Malczewski, ““The Schools Lost Their Isolation,”” 111.

⁷⁴Anderson, *The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935*, 114. The Tuskegee-Hampton curriculum model largely endorsed had elementary-level academics and manual labor training.

existed for individuals aspiring to professional work other than education. Farming was an economic reality for Blacks and Whites in the rural South in the 1920s; however, limiting education to those fields through the curriculum demonstrates a motive of social confinement and restrictions to economic upward mobility.

In the *Forty-Second Annual Catalog: 1922-1923* and subsequent bulletins, information on the Training Center for Normal school teachers, also known as The Children's House, can be found. This school had a dual purpose in the Tuskegee Institute and the community. It not only served as a training school for teachers, but was also a primary elementary school for Black children. An announcement in that bulletin announced that a kindergarten with about thirty students assisted in preparation for the Children's House.⁷⁵ Introduction of kindergarten in a poor rural farming community providing early access to education produces a more literate group and paves the way for academic success. Introduction of these programs may well have been an overt form of resistance. Access to early education has the potential to increase interest in school. As noted earlier, rural Blacks of any age had limited access and opportunity to attend school.

This demonstrated the Institute's commitment to the Tuskegee community as well as to its own students. No doubt segregation in the South impeded Black teachers from continuing teaching practicum. Only a limited number of elementary and high schools for Black children existed in the 1920s and 1930s and were even less available in rural areas. Tuskegee functioned within this reality and established a school for the students in the teacher education program to implement pedagogical theories that were mutually

⁷⁵Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute, *Forty-Second Annual Catalog: 1922-1923*, 45.

beneficial to the public. It is probable that Tuskegee utilized the Children's House as an alternative type of education to the county schools. Though still very much committed to vocational education, this form of education still provided a wider implicit, explicit, and hidden curriculum. The Children's House, however, had benefits beyond that of a normal public school. Tuskegee gave the children access to the library, social entertainment, and industrial equipment. These helped children of that community get access to information and experiences well beyond that of the average Black child residing in the rural South during that time. This hidden curriculum, which included social entertainment and exposure to industrial equipment, potentially positively impacted the children who attended this school. Attending school on a college campus also provided them with examples of academic and professional success by Blacks through teachers, professors, and university personnel and allowed them to consider options beyond poor agrarian and domestic labor.

An action by the Alabama Department of Education in 1923 reinforced economic and social norms of inferior status held by Africans and the racially biased power structure of the times. In a letter dated February 1, 1923, this department informed Tuskegee that a White itinerate teacher-trainer would be appointed to supervise both Negro and White schools; however, one-fourth of his salary would come from the portion of the federal funding allotted to Black institutions. The letter asserted that the Board was hopeful that within five years, the vocational work among Black schools could justify hiring a Black itinerate teacher-trainer. Based on the previously stated literacy rates among Blacks during this time, it is difficult to conclude that there were enough Black schools to justify a Black itinerate teacher-trainer.

The letter further stated that, due to this new position, the State Board decided to discontinue the teacher training course at Tuskegee in July of 1923. The letter did not state how long this discontinuation would last. The letter appears to validate Werum's earlier assertion of a less-than-balanced approach to appropriation of funds in matters involving race.⁷⁶ This decision seemed arbitrary and partial. Alabama was assigning economic responsibility for services to this school and closing programs at the state's discretion. This decision contained an imperious tone. Other Southern states participated in this sort of activity.⁷⁷

The *Forty-Third Annual Catalog: 1923-1924* indicated that students could elect an education major after completion of their sophomore year. Once this course of study was elected, the student then embarked upon a teacher-training curriculum that included practice teaching. Upon fulfillment of these requirements, the state issued a Pre-Normal certificate valid for three years. At Junior or Normal colleges, the state issued a Class A Elementary Professional certificate for students who successfully completed the two-year teacher training course.⁷⁸ Individuals who achieved this could begin working as teachers with a twofold benefit. More teachers were available to help educate the masses and that person could begin his or her professional career. Teaching provided an escape from onerous farm work. Tuskegee not only sought to prepare teachers, but also sought to equip them to work in various settings.

⁷⁶Werum, "Sectionalism and Racial Politics," 409-410.

⁷⁷Malczewski, "The Schools Lost Their Isolation," 342. Joan Malczewski reports on the resentment of similar practices by Black administrators in North Carolina.

⁷⁸Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute, *Forty-Third Annual Catalog: 1923-1924* (Tuskegee, AL: Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute, 1923), 46, Legacy Museum, Tuskegee, AL.

The *Forty-Third Annual Catalog: 1923-1924* further declared that the Department of Rural Education was organized in 1910 to systematize and monitor the school's various extension activities. The primary goals of the extension sites were to instruct rural people how to improve themselves and their lives. Extension sites served as continuation school for teachers in the field.⁷⁹ Tuskegee was well situated to perform these services. The Institute was located in a rural agrarian community in poverty-stricken Macon, Alabama.⁸⁰ Extension sites provided an opportunity for Tuskegee to assist in the education of their community through non-conventional methods in a way that had practical application to the everyday lives of people in their community. These non-traditional educational sites sought to empower adults as well as children. Robert Zabawa and Sarah Warren shared the fact that the Institute spearheaded other efforts to inform and empower various segments of the community through the Black agrarian press.⁸¹ This was a form of resistance because it moved beyond manual labor to literacy improvement and economic building. According to Smock, Booker T. Washington's public persona masked his hidden agenda for Blacks to fight racism when they were economically stronger.⁸²

The *Forty-Fourth Annual Catalog: 1924-1925* included this statement, "Tuskegee Institute aims to provide an opportunity for young colored men and women to acquire a sound vocational training so that upon graduation they may be thoroughly equipped for

⁷⁹Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute, *Forty-Third Annual Catalog: 1923-1924*, 130.

⁸⁰Smock, *Booker T. Washington*, 64.

⁸¹Zabawa and Warren, "From Company to Community," 459.

⁸²Smock, *Booker T. Washington*, 135.

active leadership in improving moral, educational, industrial, and civic conditions in the communities in which they may thereafter live.”⁸³ The Children’s House and an extension site substantiated this proclamation by furnishing students with vocational training and active leadership opportunities. Tuskegee consisted of students who often worked to pay their way through school or helped to support their families; therefore, the school offered night school. Night school options gave greater access to education for non-traditional students. Progressive plans such as this shed some light on the educational needs of African Americans at every level. Whether attending during the day or night, the two-year teacher training course included weekend classes.⁸⁴ Night classes were essential for Blacks to gain educational access during this time since most former slaves had little money and had to work and pay their way through school.

A collegiate division with a Teacher’s College appeared in the *Forty-Fifth Annual Catalog: 1925-1926*.⁸⁵ This division was likely a response to pressure from accrediting organizations. According to Ludeman, the Normal School Department of the National Education Association created a subcommittee of Statement of Policy in 1907. The committee made the following recommendations:

Candidates for normal school should have a high school education; normal schools should prepare secondary teachers by giving three of four years of school but they had to have academic departments as strong as a university or college; and universities and colleges should give full credit to work done at normal schools.⁸⁶

⁸³Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute, *Forty-Fourth Annual Catalog: 1924-1925* (Tuskegee, AL: Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute, 1924), 2, Legacy Museum, Tuskegee, AL.

⁸⁴*Ibid.*, 29.

⁸⁵Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute, *Forty-Fifth Annual Catalog: 1925-1926* (Tuskegee, AL: Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute, 1925), 22, Legacy Museum, Tuskegee, AL.

⁸⁶Ludeman, “Certain Influences in Teachers College Standardization,” 363.

Since Normal schools had to have transferable credits for colleges and universities their course offerings needed to be at a collegiate level caliber. HBCUs needed to increase their teacher education curriculum offerings to meet these recommendations.

The inclusion of a course in tests and measurements was also announced during that time.⁸⁷ This inclusion demonstrated progress toward a more collegiate-level teacher education curriculum. Curriculum changes in the teacher education program accelerated quickly after 1925. The announcement that the School of Education would offer a two-year course (see Table 2) leading to a diploma and a four-year course leading to a Bachelor of Science degree is found in the 1926-1927 catalog.⁸⁸ Both the diploma and the B.S. displayed the development of a more well-rounded curriculum with less of a focus on agricultural and industrial training. This curriculum leaned more towards a liberal arts curriculum model. Art and music were already a part of the curriculum, but the study of foreign languages, French and Spanish, had been expanded. These changes initially imply a reduced concentration on manual training and industrial arts, yet upon further analysis, it becomes clear that industrial arts had the second largest number of required credits in the program. It is only slightly less than the education course requirements for the junior and senior years.⁸⁹

This expanded curriculum was inclusive of more courses normally found in the classical curriculum such as foreign languages, but despite this, Tuskegee's curriculum

⁸⁷Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute, *Forty-Fifth Annual Catalog: 1925-1926*, 109.

⁸⁸Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute, *Forty-Sixth Annual Catalog: 1926-1927* (Tuskegee, AL: Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute, 1926), 14, Legacy Museum, Tuskegee, AL.

⁸⁹*Ibid.*, 32.

retained a vocational focus. Progress in the curriculum is obvious in other ways. After 1925, the significance of the summer school programs became more prominent. Summer school for teacher preparation helped teachers to complete certification or the B.S. in education with no disruption to the academic school year. The summer school certificate helped to meet the needs of teachers who may not have completed their degree or certification.

Table 2. First and second year course of four years, leading to a degree of B.Sc.

First Year	Second Year
English 101, 102, 103 (Composition and Literature)	English 201, 202, 203 (Composition, Literature, Public Speaking)
Biology 101, 102, 103	Chemistry 201; 202, 203 (General)
Education 101, 102, 103 (Introduction to Education)	Education 201, 202, 203
Educational Psychology	Physical Education 201, 202
Physical Education 101, 102, 103	Drawing
Drawing	Industrial Arts
Industrial Arts	Electives (choose two)
Electives—choose two	French or Spanish 201, 202, 203
French, or Spanish 101, 102, 103	Mathematics 201, 202, 203 (Analytical Geometry)
History 101, 102, 103 (Medieval and Modern)	Physics 201, 202, 203 (General)
Mathematics 101, 102, 103 (College Algebra, Trigonometry)	

In the *Forty-Sixth Annual Catalog: 1926-1927*, one finds this statement:

The Tuskegee Summer School is conducted under the joint auspices of the Alabama State Board of Education and Tuskegee Institute. The school is organized with special reference to the needs of teachers, in-service principals, supervisors, high school teachers, elementary teachers, and teachers of home economics, teachers of industrial

arts, teachers of physical education, teachers of business practices and teachers of vocational agriculture.⁹⁰

The announcement further informed that the Alabama First Class Pre-Normal Certificate, the Tuskegee Normal Diploma, and the Alabama Class Elementary Professional Certificate and other special certificates could be earned wholly during summer school. Further changes in the language portion of the curriculum took place in 1927-1928 as found in this bulletin. The Teacher Education program added German as a language option for study.⁹¹ Language is an important component to the classical curriculum, which may indicate a change toward greater adoption of that model.

A Decade of Change

Tuskegee underwent important changes during the 1930s. In 1931, it received a Class B accreditation from the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools. During the previous decade, the teacher education program experienced significant shifts in the curriculum, including the offering of a B.S. in education. In the *Fiftieth Annual Tuskegee Institute Bulletin: 1930-1931*, the School of Education introduced a four-year course leading to the B.S. degree for high-school teachers with a major or minor area of concentration. "A major for students in the School of Education is the principal subject which the student desires to teach. It consists of a minimum of from 27 to 36 quarter-hours in the subject selected."⁹² Industrial Arts was not one of the thirteen major and

⁹⁰Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute, *Forty-Sixth Annual Catalog: 1926-1927*, 33.

⁹¹*Ibid.*, 28.

⁹²Tuskegee Institute, *Fiftieth Annual Tuskegee Institute Bulletin: 1930-1931* (Tuskegee, AL: Tuskegee Institute, 1930), 42, Legacy Museum, Tuskegee, AL.

minor options. Curriculum Studies and Observation and Practice Teaching courses were also introduced in this bulletin.⁹³ Courses such as this suggest moving away from a vocational curriculum focus. The timing of the omission of Industrial Arts during the year that the school received SACS accreditation may be more than a coincidence.

As previously stated, Black institutions were another group excluded from membership in the association at its inception. Racial and social norms as well as state laws did not allow for race mixing in the South when the organization began in the late 1800s. It is commonly established that these institutions, including education, were separate, but far from equal. Eventually social practices within the regional organization began to change. SACS established the Committee on Negro Schools in 1930 to oversee the accreditation of Black institutions. Myriad issues surfaced revolving around the inclusion of Negro schools. Nonetheless, these institutions were later allowed to join, and a Negro section of SACs was in effect by the 1930s. Proceedings from the 1935 Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools for Negroes unveiled some of the intricacies involved, which will be elaborated upon below.

In an article entitled “What Adjustment or Adaption, if Any, Should Be Made in the Application of Standards to Negro Schools?” J. T. Carter, Dean of Talladega College in Alabama, shed light on one such challenge. Carter wrote a discourse on the question regarding the need for equal SACS standards for Negro schools. He reported that the basis for the article emanated from a conversation he had overheard among high-school principals and state education officials. The question was posited, “Should the same standards of accreditation be applied to Negro schools as are in force with respect to

⁹³Tuskegee Institute, *Fiftieth Annual Tuskegee Institute Bulletin: 1930-1931*, 65.

White schools?”⁹⁴ According to him, an almost unanimous vote was taken in favor of lower standards for African American high schools since these schools were unaccustomed to being measured. Carter articulated that the reason stated for the proposed differentiation was either that the standards had nothing or little to do with measuring excellence or the principals and state officials were in denial, through ignorance or negligence, of the numerous reasons that it had not been possible for Negro institutions to attain the state’s definition of excellence. He said that in this instance, the principals were Negro and the state officials were White. Black high schools were unaccustomed to being measured due to racial prejudice, which precluded them from entrance into SACS. An anachronistic perspective brings clarity to the trepidation expressed by Black principals regarding equal accreditation standards for Negro high schools. Black high schools were, in large part, barred from participation in the accreditation process. Late entry into an accreditation organization as a result of racist practices common to the South likely produced legitimate fears that Black schools would experience barriers in meeting SACS’ accreditation criteria.

High schools were often a part of the accreditation debate because SACS accredited both colleges and secondary schools. As previously stated, there was a lack of available Black high schools, particularly accredited ones.⁹⁵ Due to the lack of available high schools for Blacks, many historically Black colleges conducted preparatory and high

⁹⁴Proceedings: Part 3. Addresses and Panel Jury Discussions, Curriculum Offerings in Negro College Contributing to Functional Citizenship, Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools: 1935, Box 24, 64, MSS 917, Manuscript, Archives, and Rare Book Library (MARBL), Emory University, Atlanta, GA.

⁹⁵Malczewski, ““The Schools Lost Their Isolation,”” 342.

schools as a service to their communities and to provide practice teaching for education students. Carter's recollection provides further insight into the issues with regard to the accreditation of Black schools. He recounted an incident that took place several years prior at a SACS meeting. Jack, a former Dean of Emory University, stated that SACS "had no responsibility in the matter of examining and accrediting Negro schools and colleges." The Dean, however, finally stated that if SACS decided in favor of the inclusion of Negro schools, the same standards would apply. Carter articulated the issue when he posed this question, "What adjustments or adaptations, if any, should be made in the application of standards to the various phases of Negro Life?"⁹⁶

Carter desired to ascertain the best course for education in African American schools concerning standards and accreditation while considering the history of Black people in America. He presented two schools of thought involving this matter. First, there is what he described as the paternalistic attitude. He argued that White proponents who adhered to this line of reasoning did not expect much for the Negro, due in part, to history and current circumstances and because he was Negro. The appropriate thing to do, therefore, was to establish lower standards for them (Negro standards). Carter stated that Blacks who subscribed to the argument whined and made excuses for their shortcomings and gladly accepted a stamp for something they were not.

The second school of thought was that White individuals expressed sympathy and understanding as well as cooperative assistance toward Black people. Carter claimed that this group hoped to assist Blacks through their deficiencies, while maintaining rigid

⁹⁶Proceedings: Part 3. Addresses and Panel Jury Discussions, Curriculum Offerings in Negro College Contributing to Functional Citizenship [1935], Box 24, 65.

standards. According to him, African Americans who agreed with this school of thought purported that this was the only way to maintain self-respect and real advancement.⁹⁷

Further reflection on the history of the Negro in America reveals that both sides presented valid arguments regarding accreditation standards for HBCUs.

Considering their past, it would have been unrealistic to expect the same level of performance between Black and White institutions, yet there is much to be said about the maintenance of high and equal standards for any institution that wanted to become a member of SACS. Since membership was voluntary, schools could decide to apply when they felt adequately prepared to meet those standards. As long as the standards were reasonable and administered fairly, this could potentially have leveled the playing field for academic excellence. The question pertinent to this is whether the SACS standards were reasonable and for whom were they reasonable?

Carter told about another incident that had occurred at Talladega College over this same issue. He attested that, at one point, the college was beginning to feel keenly that its lack of rating was handicapping students who wished to continue their studies. The school trustees wanted to know why the school did not possess an “A” rating. He concluded the discourse with this stirring statement: “In our program of standardization may the evil be many times overbalanced by the good, and may a lasting service be rendered the Negro through your honest, sincere, and intelligent application of standards to the schools of the country.”⁹⁸ SACS established two standards of accreditation:

⁹⁷Proceedings: Part 3. Addresses and Panel Jury Discussions, Curriculum Offerings in Negro College Contributing to Functional Citizenship [1935], Box 24, 65.

⁹⁸Ibid., 66.

standard “A” and “B.” Out of approximately 109 historically Black institutions in existence during that time, 14 4-year colleges achieved Class A accreditation.⁹⁹ Those low numbers of HBCUs that were able to obtain Class A ratings may be indicative of bias. If only 14 historically Black colleges and universities were able to attain Class A accreditation, these types of schools were likely not considered when the standards were created. Either many HBCUs did not attempt to get accredited or so few of them that applied for accreditation were able to achieve this rating.

The teacher education programs experienced important changes during the 1930s. Incidentally, many of these changes occurred immediately prior to or immediately after the school was accredited. Advanced Psychology made its debut in the *Fiftieth Annual Tuskegee Institute Bulletin: 1930-1931*.¹⁰⁰ By the 1933-1934 bulletin, a statement regarding the development of two collegiate-level vocational courses was added to the curriculum. The statement also asserted that this process was unprecedented and was in direct response to the growing need by teachers and supervisors of vocational education. This announcement included an intriguing statement that advancing standards require that individuals obtain the qualifications represented by an academic degree.¹⁰¹ Although the statement was explicit about meeting the educational requirements first established by the State Department of Education, the inclusion of the term “increasing standards” may have had additional implications. As previously established, accreditation was the

⁹⁹Proceedings: Part 3. Addresses and Panel Jury Discussions, Curriculum Offerings in Negro College Contributing to Functional Citizenship [1935], Box 24, 39.

¹⁰⁰Tuskegee Institute, *Fiftieth Annual Tuskegee Institute Bulletin: 1930-1931*, 88.

¹⁰¹Tuskegee Institute, “The Annual Report of the Principal,” in *Fifty-Third Annual Tuskegee Institute Bulletin: 1933-1934* (Tuskegee, AL: Tuskegee Institute, 1933), 4, Legacy Museum. Tuskegee, AL.

catalyst for greater state oversight of educational quality.¹⁰² The increase in standards by the State Department of Education can be correlated to the SACS and the accreditation movement. In 1933, Tuskegee was reaccredited by SACS as a Class A college. Standards rather than requirements were the language of accrediting organizations since membership was voluntary. State and federal rules were requirements since they had legal jurisdiction over schools.

Class B accreditation was designated for schools that did not meet one or more of the standards yet the quality of their work allowed their students to continue on to graduate-level work or professional fields.¹⁰³ The use of the word standard and the time of their change in accreditation status from Class A to B suggests that Tuskegee's vocational development and curriculum changes were prompted, at least in part, by meeting SACS Class A standards. The first SACS standard for teachers colleges and Normal schools defines a standard teachers college as "a school of strictly collegiate grade with four-year curriculums designed to prepare teachers for the elementary and secondary schools."¹⁰⁴ It appears that in addition to meeting the requirements of the Department of Education, Tuskegee also sought to meet SACS standards for teachers colleges.

The Tuskegee Institute Bulletin Published Quarterly Fifty-Sixth Annual Catalog:

¹⁰²Selden, *Accreditation*, 46-49.

¹⁰³Minutes from the Fortieth Annual Meeting, Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools: 1935, Box 24, 39, MSS 917, Boxes 20-24, Manuscript, Archives, and Rare Book Library (MARBL), Emory University, Atlanta, GA.

¹⁰⁴Standards for Teacher Colleges and Normal Schools, Box 24, 340.

1936-1937 outlined a basic curriculum for training teachers for rural schools.¹⁰⁵ The rural curriculum (see table 3) included courses in major content areas during the first two years. Actually, the curriculum was identical to the other educational programs for the first two years. This is an indication of the process of standardization in the teacher education curriculum. The *Tuskegee Institute Bulletin, Fifty-Seventh Annual Catalog: 1937-1938* incorporated teaching combinations of curricula choices for secondary education (see table 4). These choices are for the students' major and minor areas. A major was the primary content area that the teacher will teach and requires 36 quarter hours of study in a selected area. Correspondingly, a minor required 27 hours in a subject area. Fourteen major and minor selections were provided.¹⁰⁶

The *Tuskegee Institute Bulletin, Fifty-Eighth Catalog Edition: 1938-1939* demonstrated that the Education Department Curriculum was inclusive of more complex topic courses such as Curriculum Development programs and Scientific Study of Educational Problems.¹⁰⁷ "The Annual Report of the President: 1919-1938" reported that the six-day curriculum allowed their students to gain classical and industrial training to prepare them for the world. The summer school at Tuskegee filled the need in the South for vocationally trained teachers.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁵Tuskegee Institute, *Tuskegee Institute Bulletin Published Quarterly Fifty-Sixth Annual Catalog: 1936-1937* (Tuskegee, AL: Tuskegee Institute, 1936), 67, Legacy Museum, Tuskegee, AL.

¹⁰⁶Tuskegee Institute, *Tuskegee Institute Bulletin, Fifty-Seventh Annual Catalog: 1937-1938* (Tuskegee, AL: Tuskegee Institute, 1937), 65-66, Legacy Museum, Tuskegee, AL.

¹⁰⁷Tuskegee Institute, *Tuskegee Institute Bulletin, Fifty-Eighth Catalog Edition: 1938-1939* (Tuskegee, AL: Tuskegee Institute, 1938), 69-70, Legacy Museum, Tuskegee, AL.

¹⁰⁸Tuskegee Institute, "The Annual Report of the President: 1919-1938," in *Tuskegee Institute Bulletin, Fifty-Eighth Catalog Edition: 1938-1939* (Tuskegee, AL: Tuskegee Institute, 1938), 7, Legacy Museum, Tuskegee, AL.

Table 3. Basic curriculum for training teachers for rural schools (1936)

Freshman Year	Sophomore Year
Art 104, 105, 106	Chemistry 201, 202, 203
Biology 101, 102, 103	Education 204, 205, 206
English 101, 102, 103	English 201, 202, 203
History 101, 102, 103	History 301, 302, 303
Physical Education 104, 105, 106	Physical Education 207, 208, 209
Practical Arts 101A, 101B, 101C	Practical Arts 201, 202, 203
Sociology 201, 202, 203	Electives (minimum) 24
	French 101, 102, 103
	Sociology 207, 208, 209
	Mathematics 101, 102, 103

Source: Tuskegee Institute, *Tuskegee Institute Bulletin Published Quarterly Fifty-Sixth Annual Catalog: 1936-1937* (Tuskegee, AL: Tuskegee Institute, 1936), 67, Legacy Museum, Tuskegee, AL.

In the “1935 Annual Report of the Principal,” President Moton reported that a County Superintendent of Education from an adjoining state visited Dr. W. T. B. William, the Dean of the School of Education, and commented that he wished that he could find men with some teacher experience plus Tuskegee’s trade experience. A decision was made to open special courses of study for principals of schools who desired to do a year’s work at Tuskegee Institute to acquire a general knowledge of trade teaching.¹⁰⁹ A further statement from the president reveals the motives for the changes in the teacher education curriculum. In his conclusions to this report he stated, “Courses of study at Tuskegee have been advanced, enriched and enlarged, to meet new standards and new requirements of an advancing South.”¹¹⁰ Once again, statements regarding standards

¹⁰⁹Tuskegee Institute, “The Annual Report of the Principal,” in *Fifty-Fifth Annual Tuskegee Institute Bulletin: 1935-1936* (Tuskegee, AL: Tuskegee Institute, 1935), 15, Legacy Museum, Tuskegee, AL.

¹¹⁰*Ibid.*, 25.

Table 4. Teaching combinations curricula choices for secondary education (1930-1931)

Suggestions for Majors and Minors	
Major	Supporting Minor
Art	English, History, French, Psychology, Spanish
Biology	Chemistry, Mathematics, Physics, Psychology, Philosophy
Chemistry	Mathematics, Physics, Biology, Foods in Home Economics, Agricultural Chemistry
Economics	Biology, Education, English, History, Philosophy, Sociology, Political Science, Psychology
English	History, French, German, Philosophy, Psychology
French	Classical Literature, History, Spanish, Philosophy
German	Classical Literature, French, History, Philosophy, Spanish
History	Economics, Political Science, Foreign Languages, English, Philosophy, Sociology
Political Science	Economics, History, Sociology, Foreign Languages
Mathematics	Physics, Chemistry, Biology, Economics, Philosophy
Music	Philosophy, History, English, Psychology, Modern Languages
Physics	Chemistry, Mathematics, Biology, Philosophy, Applied Electricity
Physical Education	Biology, Chemistry, Home Economics, History, Economics, Foreign Language
Spanish	English, Classical Literature, French, German, Philosophy, History

are mentioned, rather than the usual jargon related to the requirements of the Department of Education.

Tuskegee University experienced significant changes in the teacher education program from 1920-1940. More significant changes occurred during the 1930s involving the curriculum. The Institute acquired SACS accreditation in 1931 with a Class B status. Two years later, their status was upgraded to Class A. Though many of the curriculum changes were undoubtedly made to meet the state Department of Education requirements, meeting accreditation standards appeared to have also been an important impetus for those changes.

Evidence was presented to link the increase of standards from various entities like State Departments of Education to the accreditation movement. Tuskegee made significant changes to their teacher education curriculum from 1920 to 1940. Many of those changes corresponded with accreditation standards at large and specifically for teacher education programs. The most important indicator that accreditation impacted Tuskegee Institute was the change in its accreditation class standing between 1931 and 1933. As previously noted, the difference between these two classes is that an institution was lacking in one or more standards, but still maintained collegiate-level quality overall. Though it is difficult to ascertain exactly which standard they initially lacked, it is clear that changes were made to meet them.

Classical Curriculum Resistance

Bruce Leslie stated that the classical curriculum had traditionally been viewed as preparation for the professions, based on disciplining the mind for further study, rather than providing professionally applicable content. Originally, the classical curriculum was

based heavily on the classics and mathematics. He also noted that it eventually blossomed as new knowledge and fields proliferated until the knowledge explosion destroyed the idea of a common curriculum for all students.¹¹¹ After the 1900s, educational institutions of higher learning gravitated towards a revised liberal arts curriculum. According to Leslie, classical education regained momentum at the turn of the twentieth century as it was still viewed as ideal for professional preparation. The revised curriculum combined intellectual knowledge in the first two years with limited specialization and structured electives in the last two years.¹¹² Anderson stated, “The black public high schools which trained many of the teachers for the South’s black elementary schools, also resisted by holding on to the classical-liberal curriculum.”¹¹³ Public high schools would not be the only schools to resist through the maintenance of the classical curriculum.

In 1900 and 1910, Du Bois compiled a list of HBCUs with the highest academic performance.¹¹⁴ In light of the unique challenges that faced HBCUs during this time, the maintenance of a strong classical curriculum was in many instances a form of resistance. Of the fourteen HBCUs listed as excellent, ten of them were considered liberal arts or classical schools. It was not uncommon for HBCUs to offer vocational training even at liberal arts colleges; however, their general curriculum maintained a strong focus on classical academic courses. Du Bois created the legend below (see figure 1) to

¹¹¹W. Bruce Leslie, “The Curious Tale of Liberal Education, Professional Training and the American College, 1880-1910,” *History of Education* 40, no. 1 (January 2011): 87.

¹¹²Ibid.

¹¹³Anderson, *The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935*, 114.

¹¹⁴Du Bois and Dill, *The College-Bred Negro American*, 12.

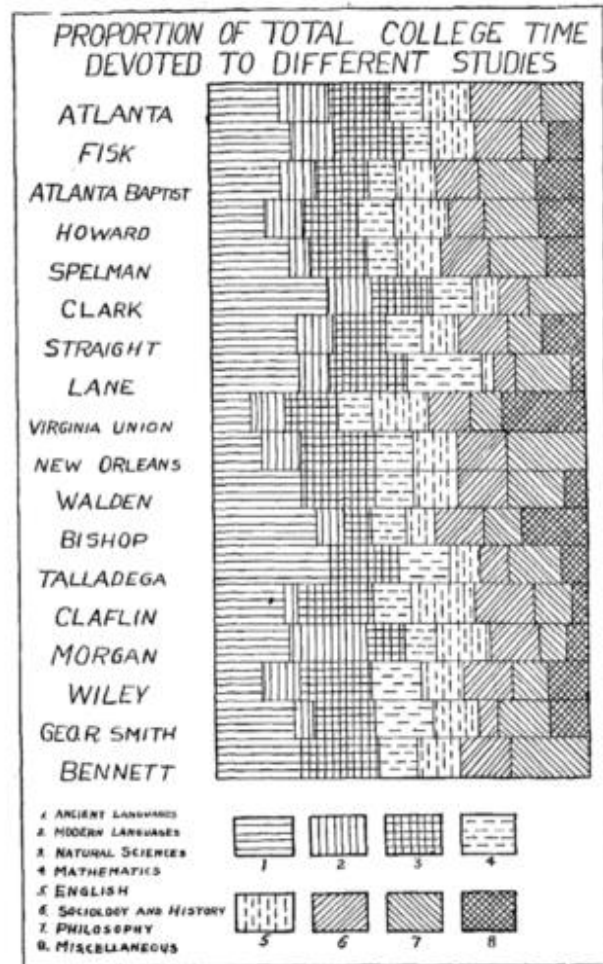


Figure 1. Proportion of total college time devoted to different studies. From William Edward Burghardt Du Bois and Augustus Granville Dill, eds., *The College-Bred Negro American* (Atlanta, GA: Atlanta University Press, 1910), 16, accessed May 15, 2014, <http://www.library.umass.edu/spcoll/digital/dubois/dubois15.pdf>

demonstrate HBCUs that had curriculum that included different studies. A closer examination of the courses suggests a heavy classical tone.

Atlanta University

Atlanta University was founded in 1865 by the American Missionary Association. It later received assistance from the Freedman's Bureau.¹¹⁵ The University served as an elementary and secondary school as well as a college for Black youth. In 1915, the school still had a large enrollment of elementary school children.¹¹⁶ Atlanta University made important contributions to African Americans. One of the most notable contributions was the publication of the *Journal of Negro History*. By the turn of the twentieth century, it was credited as the only institution engaged in Negro studies in the world.¹¹⁷ Atlanta University received SACS' Class A accreditation in 1932. Atlanta University was listed in the W. E. B. Du Bois's list of "First-Grade Colored Colleges" in 1900 and 1910. Atlanta University exemplified a commitment to the classical curriculum.

The Black population in Atlanta exploded during the first third of the twentieth century. According to Ronald Baylor, the Black population grew from 28,098 at the turn of the century to 90,075 in 1930. He further stated that Black neighborhoods primarily formed along the railroad tracks, in industrial sections, and near Black colleges.¹¹⁸ The

¹¹⁵"CAU History," Clark Atlanta University, last modified 2008, accessed April 6, 2014, http://www.cau.edu/About_CAU_History.aspx.

¹¹⁶Glenn Sisk, "The Negro Colleges in Atlanta," *The Journal of Negro Education* 33, no. 2 (Spring 1964): 132, accessed November 14, 2013, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2294579>.

¹¹⁷Du Bois, *Writings*, 601.

¹¹⁸Ronald H. Baylor, "Roads to Racial Segregation: Atlanta in the Twentieth Century," *Journal of Urban History* 15, no. 1 (November 1988): 4, accessed May 13, 2014, <http://juh.sagepub.com/content/15/1/3.full.pdf>.

1930 U.S. Census reported that Blacks made up 37 percent of that population.¹¹⁹

Atlanta was unique in that it was the home to several HBCUs. The Atlanta University Consortium (AUC) was formed in 1929 and was comprised of five historically Black colleges in Atlanta: Clark Atlanta University (formerly Atlanta University and Clark College), The Interdenominational Theological Center, Morehouse College, Morehouse School of Medicine, and Spelman College.¹²⁰ The presence of these schools made education on every level more accessible to Blacks. These schools were essential to a highly educated Black population.

Atlanta University took the need for trained African American teachers very seriously. In a letter to the Trustees of the Atlanta University dated March 14, 1923, a statement regarding the University's philosophy of education and teacher preparation was shared:

The most important single task of Atlanta University is the training of teachers. This work is to be accomplished in part by special professional training in both the colleges and normal courses, and in part by the giving to our students both knowledge and power through the study of subjects they are likely to teach, such study to be reasonably in advance of the grade of teaching upon which they are likely to enter.¹²¹

This statement signifies the schools' understanding of its importance in meeting the educational needs of African Americans. It also attests to the mission of the school.

¹¹⁹U.S. Census Bureau, *Georgia—Race and Hispanic Origin: 1790 to 1990* (Washington, DC: U.S. Census Bureau, 1991), accessed May 13, 2014, <http://www.census.gov/population/www/documentation/twps0056/tabs15-65.pdf>. Total population 2,908,506; White 1,837,021; Black 1,071,125. Total White by percentage 63.2% and total Negro 36.8%. Illiteracy rates: 4.1% of the total population was illiterate, 0.9% were native-born White and 10.4% were Black. *Ibid.*, 287.

¹²⁰Marilyn T. Jackson, "The Atlanta University Center: A Consortium-Based Dual Degree Engineering Program," *New Directions for Higher Education* 2007, no. 138 (Summer 2007): 19, accessed May 27, 2014, <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com.ezproxy.cc.andrews.edu/doi/10.1002/he.251/pdf>.

¹²¹Myron Adams Records (Atlanta, GA: Georgia Atlanta University, 1925-26), Box folder 59:2, item #41, Robert W. Woodruff Library, Archives Research Center, Atlanta, GA.

In a letter dated September 21, 1920, the Department of Education notified Atlanta University that they were qualified to confer baccalaureate degrees and offer appropriate certificates for normal, high school, and college.¹²² This letter validated the school's four-year degree-granting power. Teacher education was an important focus for the school. This is affirmed through a poignant statement found in the 1922-1923 and other school bulletins: "More of our graduates, by far, both college and normal, have engaged in teaching than in any other occupation. For that reason it has seemed wise, in our normal school from the beginning, and more recently in our college also, to give definite professional training in education."¹²³ This statement provides evidence of the transition taking place in the Normal school teacher training program at Atlanta University.

According to this bulletin, the University was established for the liberal and Christian education of youth. Atlanta University adopted and maintained a liberal or classical curriculum model. Although that was the primary model, it also offered vocational training. According to Du Bois, education is a whole system of human training; thus, he thought vocational courses should be included in that training. This training had to include training for those who taught others who had to be men and women of knowledge and culture and technical skill who understood modern culture.¹²⁴

¹²²Myron Adams," in *Presidential Records* (Atlanta, GA: Georgia Atlanta University, n.d.), Box folder 59:3, item #18, Robert W. Woodruff Library, Archives Research Center, Atlanta, GA.

¹²³"The Atlanta University Bulletin," Series II Catalog, "Institutional File 1901-1922," in Edward Twichell Ware Records (Atlanta, GA: Atlanta University, 1922-23), 11, No. 51 APR1923, Robert W. Woodruff Library, Archives Research Center, Atlanta, GA.

¹²⁴Du Bois, *The Illustrated Souls of Black Folk*, 107.

An Atlanta University 1923 bulletin revealed that mechanical arts was a part of their high school and Normal school curriculum (see Table 7 which is grouped with the University curriculum tables later in this chapter).¹²⁵ Although this institution identified itself as a liberal arts institution, it offered vocational training courses. It also offered Latin, philosophy, and recent and ancient languages to prepare students to be able to engage in holistic and comprehensive discussion on ancient and modern culture. It was imperative that some African Americans be trained beyond work on the land and domestic service, especially those who lived in urban centers. Due to Jim Crow, hospitals were also segregated. Black doctors, nurses, and lawyers were desperately needed and vocational education would limit their ability to train for these types of professions.

Atlanta University also offered preparatory and secondary schools. Issues involving high-school education access to Blacks in Atlanta, Georgia, were conveyed in a 1922 report conducted and presented by Dr. George Strayer and Dr. Nickolaus Louis Engelhardt from Columbia University. Educational opportunities for Blacks in Atlanta were summed up in this poignant statement: “The state of Georgia does not maintain training schools for training colored teachers and the city of Atlanta has not as yet had any high school for colored children so that a record of training that is presented by the present colored teaching corps must be considered unusual in certain respects.”¹²⁶ The report further states that the education of Negro teachers generally occurred in private

¹²⁵“The Atlanta University Bulletin,” 8-9 [1922-23].

¹²⁶George Strayer and Nickolaus Louis Engelhardt, *Report of the Survey of the Public School System of Atlanta, Georgia (1921-1922)* (New York, NY: Division of Field Studies, Institute of Educational Research, Teachers College of Columbia University, 1922), 194, accessed September 22, 2014, <http://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=uc1.b4523904;view=1up;seq=3>.

institutions. Reports of this nature further explained why many Negro colleges operated elementary and secondary schools as well as institutions of higher education. Limited access to education on every level motivated these schools to serve in this capacity. It was likely challenging for an institution to maintain three different levels of education including faculty, facility, and operations. This was likely more difficult for historically Black schools, given the limited resources of the demographic population which they served. Inequitable state and local funding practices inevitably impacted access to education for Blacks. The University successfully maintained separate levels of education, including high school, Normal school, and college. Further discussion and evidence of this is provided in the following sections.

Atlanta University experienced several changes in its teacher education program in the 1920s. In a report from President M. W. Adams to the Executive Committee, a rationale was given for the changes that would take place in the teacher training program. It stated that Educational Psychology and Methods in Teaching High School Subjects courses would be added to the teacher education curriculum because of student request.¹²⁷ This provided impetus into curriculum change at Atlanta University. The institution took student concerns and requests into consideration when planning and revising their curriculum, at least in the education department. In another report to this committee, this important statement was made: “Despite the challenges facing educational institutions Atlanta University is debt-free. In addition, it has the support of the General Education Board, Carnegie Corporation of New York, the Slater Board and

¹²⁷“Myron W. Adams,” in *Presidential Records* (Atlanta, GA: Georgia Atlanta University, n.d.), Box folder 33:10, item #18, Robert W. Woodruff Library, Archives Research Center, Atlanta, GA.

‘a goodly list of donors.’¹²⁸ This was an important accomplishment for any school, but even more important for a Black school. Being debt-free liberated an organization to operate more independently. Evidence regarding the criteria for the reception of grants from these organizations was discovered during this research process.

Any institution that was debt-free must have had generous and prosperous donors and would likely have had the resources to meet and maintain state and regional accreditation standards. This letter may help to explain one of the reasons that the institution was able to get Class A accreditation during its initial accreditation. As mentioned earlier, financial stability and sustainability was one of the SACS standards. The maintenance of facilities in good repair was another accredited college standard. Standards such as this may help to explain the limited number of historically Black institutions of higher education eligible for Class A accreditation during this time.

The Atlanta University 1923 bulletin strongly mirrors a current education teacher preparation curriculum. Courses such as psychology, methods of elementary training, secondary training, pedagogy, school administration, supervision of instruction, teaching and special methods were included in their program. On pages 8-9 of this bulletin, there was a clear description of the course of study (curriculum) for the high school (see Table 5), the Normal school (see Table 6), and the college (see Tables 7 and 8). Entrance requirements for the various levels were included in the bulletin.¹²⁹ This may provide further evidence of why this institution was able to receive Class A accreditation during

¹²⁸“Myron W. Adams.”

¹²⁹“Atlanta University Bulletin,” 8-9 [1922-23].

its initial accreditation. One of the SACS standard requirements specified the need to articulate and maintain differences in the various levels of education operated by the institution. Standard six in the 1921 report to the Commission for SACS states, “A college should not maintain a preparatory school as a part of its college organization. If such a school is maintained under the college charter it should be kept rigidly distinct and separate from the college in student, faculty, buildings and discipline.”¹³⁰ In addition, the names of the students for each school were listed at the back of the catalogues, establishing a further distinction between the schools. Attaining financial solvency would have allowed the institution to maintain separate facilities for every level of education it offered.

A statement such as this is telling of the institution’s understanding of its mission. Atlanta University sought not only to teach and prepare, but also to empower its students in the process of preparing them to become teachers.

In the *1925-26 Bulletin*, a course on classroom management was added to the curriculum.¹³¹ Classroom management is essential to effective teaching. This is also an act of empowering teachers to be effective. In the *1928-29 Bulletin*, an Educational Test and Measurements course was added to the teacher education program curriculum.¹³² The addition of this course becomes more obvious if you compare the differences between

¹³⁰“The Report of the Commission,” Proceedings of the Twenty-Fifth Annual Meeting, Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools: 1916-1920, Box 24, 79-80, 3, MSS 917, Boxes 20-24, Manuscript, Archives, and Rare Book Library (MARBL), Emory University, Atlanta, GA.

¹³¹“The Atlanta University Bulletin,” Series II Catalog 1925-1926 (Atlanta, GA: Atlanta University, 1929-30), 11, No. 63, April 26, 1926, Robert W. Woodruff Library, Archives Research Center, Atlanta, GA.

¹³²“Atlanta University Catalogues and Bulletin,” Series II Catalog 1928-1929 (Atlanta, GA: Atlanta University, 1928-29), 11, Robert W. Woodruff Library, Archives Research Center, Atlanta, GA.

Table 5. Atlanta University high school (1923)

First Year	Second Year	Third Year	Fourth Year
*English A-5: Includes Bible A	*English B-5: Includes Expression A	*English C-3	*English D-4
*Social Science A- 5: General History	*Mathematics A-5: Algebra	*Science 8-4: Biology *Mathematics B-5: Plane Geometry: Essential for college preparation the whole year. Otherwise students can take this one semester and then:	*Science D-7 (=5): Physics *Social Science C-6: History of England, one semester
*Latin A-5: Introductory	Latin B-5: Caesar: Essential for college or medical preparation	Mathematics C-5: Commercial Arithmetic, one semester	Mathematics D-5: Advanced Algebra, one Semester: Essential for college preparation Bible B-5: Old Testament, one semester
*Industrial (Manual Training, or Sewing) and Art (=3)	Social Science B-5: Civics, one semester	*Social Science B-5: Civics, omit if taken in Second Year	*Latin D-4: Virgil
*Music	Science A-5: Physical Geography, one semester *Industrial (Manual Training, or Sewing) and Art (=8) *Music	Latin C-4: Cicero Science C-6 (=4): Chemistry Mechanic Art A (=4.): Advanced drawing and wood working Sewing and Cooking each 4 (=2) *Music: Chorus	Greek-4: Elementary Mechanic Arts B (=4): Advanced drawing and metal working Sewing, Cooking Art and Basketry, each 8 (=4): Essential for normal school preparation Social Science D-4: Elementary Economics, and History of Africa *Music: Chorus

Source: “The Atlanta University Bulletin,” Series II Catalog, “Institutional File 1901-1922,” in Edward Twichell Ware Records (Atlanta, GA: Atlanta University, 1922-23), 11, No. 51 APR1923, Robert W. Woodruff Library, Archives Research Center, Atlanta, GA. The courses marked with an asterisk (*) were required of all students.

Table 6. Atlanta University Normal school (1923)

	Required of All		Normal Course		Normal Kindergarten Course	
Junior	U. S. History and Civil Gov't	4	Advanced Arithmetic	(1/2) 5	Constructive Materials	3
	English Grammar	(1/2) 4	Bible	(1/2) 5	Observation	(1/2) 1
	Educational Psychology	(1/2) 4			Elementary Science	1
	Household Arts, and Drawing	2			Child Welfare	(1/2) 1
	Illustrative Handwork and Games	2				
	Observation	1				
Senior	Rhetoric	2	General Methods	2	Kindergarten-Primary Education	4
	Pedagogy	3	Geography and Physiography	4	Kindergarten Curriculum	2
	Practice Teaching	3				
	Child Psychology	(1/2) 2				
	Children's Literature	(1/2) 2				
	Music and Expression	1				
	Home and School Sanitation	1				

Source: "The Atlanta University Bulletin," Series II Catalog, "Institutional File 1901-1922," in Edward Twichell Ware Records (Atlanta, GA: Atlanta University, 1922-23), 11, No. 51 APR1923, Robert W. Woodruff Library, Archives Research Center, Atlanta, GA.

Table 7. Atlanta University requirements for entrance into the education program (1923)

	Fresh	Soph	Jun. (Sr.)	Sen. (Jr.)	Total open	Required at least
Education	1	(2) (3)	(4) (5)	(6) (7)	4	1
Science	1	2	(3) 4 5	6 (7) (8)	6½	1
Mechanic Arts	1	2	3	4	4	
Social Science	1	2	3	4	4	3
Foreign Language:					7	2
French		1	2			
German	1	2				
Greek	1					
Latin	1	2				
English	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	2	2
Mathematics	(1) (2)	3	(4)		2½	1
Philosophy	(1)			(2)	1	1
Total	9	8½	7½	6	31	11

Source: “The Atlanta University Bulletin,” Series II Catalog, “Institutional File 1901-1922,” in Edward Twichell Ware Records (Atlanta, GA: Atlanta University, 1922-23), 11, No. 51 APR1923, Robert W. Woodruff Library, Archives Research Center, Atlanta, GA.¹³³

this and previous bulletins before the 1929-1930 school year.¹³⁴ Tests and measurements looks at the skills set of the students. Courses such as these are indicative of progression to more advanced pedagogical skills.

A Decade of Change

In the Atlanta University bulletin announcements for May 1930, the University announced its plan to transition all graduate work to Atlanta University and undergraduate work to Morehouse and Spelman College for an affiliated university plan.

¹³³(Duplicated from original).

¹³⁴“Atlanta University Catalog,” Series III Catalog 1929-1930 (Atlanta, GA: Atlanta University, 1929-30), 11-12, Robert W. Woodruff Library, Archives Research Center, Atlanta, GA.

Table 8. Atlanta University college courses (1923)

College Courses	Description
Psychology	First semester, General. Text: Angell. Second semester, Educational. Text: Waddell's <i>Introduction to Child Psychology</i> . Readings: Thorndike's <i>Educational Psychology</i> ; Robinson's <i>Mind in the Making</i> ; James' <i>Talks to Teachers</i> .
History of Education	Texts: Cubberley; Cubberley's <i>Readings in the History of Education</i> .
Secondary Education	Text: <i>Principles of Secondary Education</i> by Inglis.
Methods of Elementary Teaching	Text: <i>How to Teach the Fundamental Subjects</i> by Kendall and Mirick; Required readings: <i>The Recitation</i> , by Betts; <i>The Psychology and Pedagogy of Reading</i> , by Huey; <i>How to Teach</i> , by Strayer and Norsworthy. Observation and also practice teaching required.
High School Methods	Text: Parker's <i>Methods of Teaching High School Subjects</i> . Visits and solutions of local problems required. Observation and practice required.
School Administration	Texts: Bliss' <i>Standards and Methods for Local Surveys</i> ; Perry's <i>Management of a City School</i> . Required Readings: Cubbetley's <i>Public School Administration</i> ; Rugg's <i>Statistical Methods Applied to Education</i> .
Supervision of Instruction	Texts: Mutt's <i>Supervision of Instruction</i> . Visits and criticisms required. Discussion of local problems.
Practice Teaching	Stress is laid upon observation, actual practice in teaching, and frequent conferences with the critic teacher.
Mechanic Arts Courses	For these, which are really a part of our work in Education, see <i>Mechanic Arts</i> .

Source: "The Atlanta University Bulletin," Series II Catalog, "Institutional File 1901-1922," in Edward Twichell Ware Records (Atlanta, GA: Atlanta University, 1922-23), 11, No. 51 APR1923, Robert W. Woodruff Library, Archives Research Center, Atlanta, GA.

This page also described the new curriculum requirements for graduate students across various departments.¹³⁵ The institution provided a detailed explanation for this drastic change in the university structure. Three rationales for the determination of which courses of instruction would be included in the education curriculum were provided and included:

1. The expectation expressed in their charter that said that the school would be a school for the “liberal and Christian education of youth”
2. The historical development of the school in filling the need for the professional training of teachers
3. To equip students for further professional education at leading institutions.

This University sought to prepare students for terminal degrees and leadership positions in the field, thereby providing African Americans in the South with the opportunity to attend graduate school. In addition to the rationales provided by the school, larger educational trends likely affected this decision.

In *The Heritage of American Teacher Education*, Lawrence Cremin stated that in the realm of educational practice, graduate schools assumed leadership during the 1930s. He further asserted that training school administrators and supervisors became an important component of doctoral programs.¹³⁶ African Americans would have to receive graduate degrees for professional and economic upward mobility in the field of education. This was extremely important since the racially separate educational systems

¹³⁵“Atlanta University Catalog,” Series III Catalog 1929-1930, 11.

¹³⁶Lawrence A. Cremin, “The Heritage of American Teacher Education: Part II,” *Journal of Teacher Education* 4, no. 3 (September 1953): 247.

in the South needed competent and trained administrators. Ironically, an unexpected positive outcome of Jim Crow laws was that they provided some professional opportunity for progress in education. Jim Crow laws were not only a social movement that affected education in America, they also affected most areas of life for African Americans.

Cremin said that after World War One, the scientific movement of education dominated the educational scene. It involved the educational science movement which included a focus on the art of teaching. Under certification, course requirements differed among states, but the core courses included history, principles and problems of education, child development, educational psychology, educational methods, and observation and practice teaching.¹³⁷ Although Atlanta University refrained from articulating that attempt to meet standards, it is clear that they were responding to educational trends.

In September 1930, it was announced that a laboratory school would become part of the Atlanta University program in conjunction with the University's department of education. The expressed purpose was to give students practical observation and training in teaching methods.¹³⁸ The following year, another important curriculum change appeared and was more emblematic of graduate-level work. A philosophy of education course was added to the curriculum.¹³⁹ A PhD degree is a doctorate of philosophy for a particular course of study; therefore philosophy courses are essential for graduate-level

¹³⁷Cremin, "The Heritage of American Teacher Education," 247.

¹³⁸"The Atlanta University Bulletin, Catalogue of 1931-1932 Series III" (Atlanta, GA: Atlanta University, 1931-32), 17, Robert W. Woodruff Library, Archives Research Center, Atlanta, GA.

¹³⁹Ibid., 27-28.

work. Curriculum changes at this institution were fueled by the needs of the institution and their students.

Another important addition to the teacher education curriculum was the incorporation of courses in Administration and Interpretation of Mental and Educational Tests as well as statistics. Unlike the philosophy course, Administration and Interpretation of Mental and Educational Tests provided an explicit course description: “A study of the detailed problems of administration, and the use and interpretation of the group mental and educational tests.”¹⁴⁰ These descriptions informed potential students as well as stakeholders of the intent to prepare students to serve in higher-level positions than school teachers.

According to the *Encyclopedia of Educational Research*, the major purpose for classroom tests is to assess current levels of achievement.¹⁴¹ Higher education norms may also have served as a catalyst for the inclusion of courses of this nature. According to William Coffman, the progressive education movement of the 1930s was characterized by concern with personality development.¹⁴² Petocz and Soweby shared that statistical methods for testing hypotheses were established in the 1920s and 1930s.¹⁴³ Further insight into curriculum modifications for this program may be found in the fact that the

¹⁴⁰“The Atlanta University Bulletin, Catalogue of 1931-1932 Series III,” 27-28.

¹⁴¹Marvin C. Alkin, ed., “Achievement Testing,” *Encyclopedia of Educational Research*, 6th ed. (New York: Macmillian Publishing Company, 1992), 1:1.

¹⁴²William Eugene Coffman, *Testing in the Schools: A Historical Perspective* ([Los Angeles, CA]: Center for the Study of Evaluation, Graduate School of Education, University of California, Los Angeles, 1985), 17.

¹⁴³Peter Petocz and Eric Soweby, “Statistical Diversions,” *Teaching Statistics* 30, no. 1 (January 2008): 29, accessed May 12, 2014, <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com.ezproxy.cc.andrews.edu/doi/10.1111/j.1467-9639.2007.00304.x/pdf>.

Iowa Test Programs that tested all high-school students in the state began in 1929 and soon expanded into national testing programs.¹⁴⁴ Atlanta University seems to have adjusted their teacher education curriculum according to higher educational norms as well as community and student needs, rather than simply complying to state or accreditation standards.

A 1934 bulletin announced that a Methods and Materials of Progressive Classroom course was added to the curriculum.¹⁴⁵ Courses on issues with rural education are included in this bulletin (see Table 9). These courses were designed to help Negro farmers include issues on farm relief, equipment, tariffs, and governmental relief measures. By 1935, 14 historically Black colleges appeared on the SACS Approved List of Colleges and Universities for Negro Youth with Class A accreditation for four-year colleges and 21 schools attained Class B status. Fisk University in 1930 and Atlanta University in 1932 were among the 14 that achieved this status and received this classification at their initial accreditation.¹⁴⁶

The State Department of Education wrote a letter dated February 19, 1936, to President John Hope discussing the Rural courses that the University provided in order to prepare teachers to deal with the particular issues of teachers who work in a rural setting with Negro farmers. The Department of Education informed the president that a committee representing higher institutions for Negroes in the Southern states met and

¹⁴⁴Alkin, "Achievement Testing," 1:2.

¹⁴⁵"Atlanta University Catalogues and Bulletin," Series III Catalogue of 1932-1934 (Atlanta, GA: Atlanta University, 1932-34), 31, Robert W. Woodruff Library, Archives Research Center, Atlanta, GA.

¹⁴⁶Proceedings of the Twenty-Fifth Annual Meeting, Box 24, 39.

Table 9. Atlanta University education curriculum April 1934

No.	Course	Credits
<i>Education</i>		
501-502	Elementary Education	3
505-506	Technique of Teaching in Secondary Schools	3
507-508	Modern Theories of Education	3
510	Organization and Supervision of Instruction	3
512	Problems in High School Administration	3
513-514	Educational Sociology	3
515-516	Psychology of Elementary School Subjects	3
517-518	Advanced Educational Psychology	3
531	Rural Economics	3
532	Rural School Administration and Supervision	3
547-548	Seminar in Education	3
<i>English</i>		
453	Anglo-Saxon	3
454	Chaucer	3

decided to expand those programs offered at Atlanta University for their respective fields of health, home economics, and agriculture. According to J. C. Dixon, Supervisor of Negro Education, a committee representing higher institutions for Blacks in the Southern states met at Tuskegee Institute during the week of January 6, 1936, to discuss how certain topics could be adapted to meet the needs of rural teachers. Representatives from the health, home economics, agriculture, and natural science fields were all represented. The program, according to the letter, was “designed to train teachers for small rural schools to use to full advantage school and community facilities for improving home and farm life.” Institutions of higher education were encouraged to include the courses in their summer school offerings in 1936.¹⁴⁷ Bulletins prior to this time publicized the rural

¹⁴⁷President John Hope Educational Organization Files, Box No. 184, Folder 14, Robert W. Woodruff Library, Archives Research Center, Atlanta, GA.

education curriculum, but the rural program would be expanded.

By the *1936-1937 Bulletin*, introductory courses on the fundamentals, philosophy, aims, and objectives of the modern curriculum became a part of their curriculum. The *Planning of Curriculum Units for Elementary and Secondary Schools* made its maiden appearance during this time.¹⁴⁸ In 1938, plans were outlined for the rural education in summer schools to be expanded to meet the greater needs throughout the state and came to the institution in the form of a letter from the state. This education program would be conducted through either summer schools or seminars. The courses would be offered on a seminar or committee basis at Atlanta University at the graduate and undergraduate level. The Supervisory Certificate offered for principals, supervisors, and health and social workers would receive credit from the State Department of Education.¹⁴⁹ This program was designed to meet the needs of various Black professionals to achieve state credentials in rural education. Although the state requirements are mentioned, it seems to be mentioned only to ensure that students achieve the appropriate credentials. State or accreditation standards were not mentioned much and appear to have been a secondary goal. Assisting people in achieving their goals seemed to have been tantamount in the school's priorities.

Walter D. Cockling, a faculty member at Atlanta University, wrote a report on the plight of Higher Education for Negroes in Georgia in May 1938. He stated that only three

¹⁴⁸“The Atlanta University Bulletin, Catalogue of 1936-1937 Series III” (Atlanta, GA: Atlanta University, 1936-37), 31, Robert W. Woodruff Library, Archives Research Center, Atlanta, GA.

¹⁴⁹Rufus S. Clemons Administrative Folder, Presidential Records (Atlanta, GA: Atlanta University, n.d.), Box folder 203:5; item #30, Robert W. Woodruff Library, Archives Research Center, Atlanta, GA.

four-year Negro colleges were accredited and classified as Class A. Cockling further asserted, “Georgia Negro colleges have been handicapped by the tenacity with which they have clung to the classical curriculum.”¹⁵⁰ Though the scope of this study precludes me from checking the accuracy of all the assertions in this document, his facts on the number of Class A Negro schools during the time the document was produced is inaccurate. He may have conducted the research several years prior to the release of this document, but there were more than that number of Negro schools meeting that accreditation standard at that time. Despite the flaws in his argument, the report indicates an awareness of accreditation challenges for Negro colleges during that time. The report is also revealing of the debate between the vocational and classical curriculum in Black schools during this time.

A letter from the NAACP dated April 19, 1938, was sent to President Rufus S. Clemens imploring him to attend the National Association (Education) meeting in New York where the issue of equalization of teachers’ salaries in the South would be discussed and requesting information regarding the democratic rights of Negro teachers. The correspondence expressed that the NAACP was anxious to see what support those in the Negro state associations would receive for their fight for equal salaries in the South. The fight for equity in teacher salaries with regard to race and gender was a long-fought battle. In *A Brief History of Teacher Compensation*, it clearly states that in the late 1800s and early 1900s, pay differentials were made on the basis of race which contributed to the

¹⁵⁰Rufus S. Clemons, National Box Folder (Atlanta, GA: Atlanta University, n.d.), Box folder 204:4; item #18, Robert W. Woodruff Library, Archives Research Center, Atlanta, GA.

establishment of a pay schedule.¹⁵¹ Receipt of the letter may have implied NAACP awareness of support that they could receive from this institution. W. E. B. Du Bois started the NAACP and he also started the *Journal of Negro History* at Atlanta University while he served as a faculty member at that institution. It should, therefore, come as no surprise that the University may have been supportive of the organization. In 1934, the NAACP embarked upon their “equalization strategy” to confront the Plessy vs. Ferguson ruling that established separate but equal public accommodations for Black and Whites in 1896. Teacher salary was one of the ways in which they intended to fight against inequality.¹⁵²

The excellent caliber of the school was noted. A letter dated December 7, 1939, by Karl W. Bigelow, Director of the Commission on Teacher Education, was sent to the President of the school. The correspondence stated how impressed Bigelow was at his visit to the schools a few years prior.¹⁵³ In 1939-1940, the teacher education program added a course on reading problems.¹⁵⁴ Reading problems plagued children from all walks of life, particularly communities like Blacks, with high illiteracy rates. Educational access was still limited for many Blacks, particularly in the rural South. The inclusion of this class was likely designed to equip teachers to meet the challenges of their

¹⁵¹Frederick Hess and Jess Castle, “Teacher Pay and 21st-Century School Reform,” in *21st Century Education: A Reference Handbook*, ed. Thomas L. Good (Los Angeles, CA: SAGE Publications, 2008), 2:69.

¹⁵²Ware, “Setting the Stage for *Brown*,” 642-643.

¹⁵³Rufus S. Clemons Administrative Folder, Presidential Records, Box folder 221:8.

¹⁵⁴“Atlanta University Catalogues and Bulletin,” Series II (Atlanta, GA: Atlanta University, 1939-40), Robert W. Woodruff Library, Archives Research Center, Atlanta, GA.

community. Detection of literacy issues and intervention strategies would have proven highly beneficial.

Economic Effects on Blacks and Education

The Negro section of SACS published research articles on a variety of educational topics. In “Curriculum Offerings in Negro Colleges Contributing to Functional Citizenship,” D. O. W. Holmes reported on his research findings regarding the effectiveness of the curriculum offerings in Negro colleges that contributed to “functional citizenship.” In order to determine this, a survey was sent to the presidents of 109 Negro colleges. There were two provocative questions in one of the survey sections. One question inquired, “In your community what general fields of activity are closed to Negroes by general practice and custom?” The following question added an additional challenge. It interrogated, “Do you believe that the Negro colleges should refrain from offering preparations in those fields that are, at present, closed to Negroes?”¹⁵⁵ It seems as if these questions were posed to cause the participants of the study to cogitate on the role of schools in the fight for racial justice.

Research results were produced by Dwight O. W. Holmes of Howard University.¹⁵⁶ Despite the different experiences of Southern and Northern Blacks,

¹⁵⁵Proceedings: Part 3. Addresses and Panel Jury Discussions, Curriculum Offerings in Negro College Contributing to Functional Citizenship [1935], Box 24, 64.

¹⁵⁶Rayford Whittingham Logan, *Howard University: The First Hundred Years, 1867-1967* (New York: New York University Press, 1969), 198, accessed May 12, 2014, http://books.google.com/books?id=Fkje44kbjaAC&pg=PA140&lpg=PA140&dq=dow+holmes+howard+university&source=bl&ots=yu5jNbMRO_&sig=SAfixIrwneca1sK0UNcEWP8zVQA&hl=en&sa=X&ei=3WuFU9iAM8eYyASvo4HQBA&ved=0CE0Q6AEwCA#v=onepage&q=dow%20holmes%20howard%20university&f=false. In 1920 Dwight O. W. Holmes was appointed as the Dean of the School of Education at Howard University in Washington, D.C. Howard University is a northern historically Black college.

discrimination and prejudice were part of their reality. The inclusion of this report and other articles on race that advocated for equality in education and society at large highlighted SAC's insight and awareness of some of the issues Black institutions faced. The establishment of a safe venue to deliberate these challenges may be an indication of a level of understanding of the racial challenges these schools faced. Inquiries were made in another section of the questionnaire about the work being done for the colleges regarding preparation for certain vocations. Out of the fourteen vocations most commonly noted, teaching was reported with the highest amount of student averages.¹⁵⁷ Research studies from the time period affirm the importance of teaching as a vocation and education as a vehicle for civic changes. It also highlights the realities of HBCUs to take a leadership position in advocating for social change.

In another study in the SACS for Negro compilation, Robert C. Weaver, from the Department of the Interior, wrote an article entitled "Occupational Opportunities for Negroes." Weaver addressed members of the Association of Colleges with some pertinent economic realities surrounding Negroes due to the Great Depression. According to him, "Out of the depression there came two things: first, the familiar movement of the displacement of Negro workers, skilled, unskilled, domestic service workers, etc. And second, we had a reduction in the number of workers throughout industry."¹⁵⁸ Weaver

¹⁵⁷Proceedings: Part 3. Addresses and Panel Jury Discussions, Curriculum Offerings in Negro College Contributing to Functional Citizenship [1935], Box 24, 35-39; Proceedings of the Twenty-Fifth Annual Meeting, Box 20, 35-40.

¹⁵⁸Proceedings of the Twenty-Fifth Annual Meeting, Box 20, 53. "Robert C. Weaver served as the nation's first Black cabinet member: Johnson's Secretary of Housing and Urban Development." "Robert C. Weaver, 'The Negro as an American': June 13, 1963," AMDOCS: Documents for the Study of American History, accessed May 11, 2014, <http://www.vlib.us/amdocs/texts/weaver.html>.

stated that the government intended to embark upon a large survey of White-collar Negro employees for employment and training purposes.¹⁵⁹ Employment shifts due to the Great Depression were not uncommon and it often hit African Americans the hardest.

The Great Depression was a cataclysmic economic event that permeated every aspect of American life during the 1930s. Fraser reported on Edward Redcay's findings that by the 1930s, county training schools were no longer of great importance due to two significant factors. The Great Depression effectively segregated Southern schools for Blacks by using the teacher surplus that developed during this time due to a decrease in employment opportunities, to insist that teachers have at least two years of college-level programs. In addition, county training schools were being changed into local Black high schools. He further asserted that although Black high schools were funded with public monies, they were so poorly funded that it severely disadvantaged the Negro.¹⁶⁰

Jacqueline Jones made these observations with regard to the impact of the Great Depression on Black women. Specifically, most of these women could find only seasonal or part-time employment; persistent forms of discrimination deprived them of a living wage no matter how hard they labored and they endured a degree and type of workplace exploitation for which the mere fact of having a job could not compensate. During the decade, nine out of ten Black women workers toiled as agricultural laborers or domestic servants. Various pieces of federal legislation designed to protect and raise the purchasing power of workers (most notably the National Industrial Recovery Act [1933],

¹⁵⁹Proceedings of the Twenty-Fifth Annual Meeting, Box 20, 54-55.

¹⁶⁰Fraser, *Preparing America's Teachers*, 112.

the Social Security Act [1935], and the Fair Labor Standards Act [1938]) exempted these two groups of workers from their provisions. In essence, Jones posited that no more than 10 percent of gainfully employed Black women derived any direct benefit from the new federal policies designed primarily to cushion industrial wage earners against the regular upturns and downswings characteristic of a national market economy.¹⁶¹

Although women are the focus of her study, she included a commentary on the impact of the Great Depression on urban workers and Black men. Unlike their country cousins, urban domestics contended directly with White competitors pushed out of their factory and waitressing jobs. The agricultural labor system served as a giant sieve; for the most part, displaced farm families went to the city rather than vying for the remaining tenant positions. The urban economy had no comparable avenues of escape; it was a giant pressure cooker, forcing the unemployed to look for positions in occupations less prestigious than the ones they held formerly or, in the event of ultimate failure, to seek some form of charity or public assistance. According to Jacqueline Jones, the hardships faced by Black men, now displaced by White men seeking jobs as waiters, bellhops, and street cleaners, were mirrored in the experiences of their wives, daughters, and sisters who had long worked as domestic servants.¹⁶² It was even more imperative for Blacks to have had a good education during those difficult times.

Blacks who received only a certain type of vocational training would likely have experienced increased economic challenges and opportunities during that time.

¹⁶¹J. Jones, *Labor of Love, Labor of Sorrow*, 167.

¹⁶²*Ibid.*, 172.

Professional tracks such as teacher education and administration were provided with more opportunities during the Great Depression. The growth of the American high school introduced a new paradigm to education in the 1920s. James Fraser asserted that the growth of the American high school had the greatest impact on teacher preparation in the twentieth century. America experienced an explosive growth of high schools between 1890 and 1930 when the population doubled. This growth fueled an escalation of the need for more highly trained teachers who were educated beyond high school. According to Fraser, Normal colleges capitalized on phenomena to make high-school diplomas an entrance requirement.¹⁶³

The previously aforementioned statistics on the increase in literacy rates among Blacks from Emancipation to the 1930s suggest that demand for Black teachers of every level increased in conjunction with the national trend. The increase in professionalization tended to marginalize groups with less access to education such as African Americans. Though professionalization of the field was an improvement overall, it would set up barriers to groups that were unable to attain a higher level of employment through other means. Though vocational schools often had Normal schools for teacher preparation, students who received liberal arts and classical training would likely matriculate into the more lucrative professions available only to Blacks. For example, separate medical facilities existed to meet the needs of Negroes in the South. This necessitated the preparation of African American medical professionals. Though teacher education overall was considered less prestigious than other professional fields such as the legal and medical fields, it was highly regarded in the Black community and, therefore, provided

¹⁶³Fraser, *Preparing America's Teachers*, 147.

them with the opportunity for professional success that would be acquired through graduate-level education and higher professions within the field of education. The discriminatory employment restrictions for professional employment potentially increased the impact of organizations that affected the direction of the curriculum from which Black teachers matriculated. The attempt by federal and state governments and accreditors to influence the curriculum of HBCUs would have an enormous impact on the African American community considering the influence of teachers.

Conclusion

The accreditation process appeared to have been a catalyst for curricula changes in the teacher education programs at Tuskegee Institute. Bulletins and official correspondence appear to have been influenced strongly by external entities. Archival documents from Tuskegee University convey a tone of compliance to rules and regulations established by state and governmental agencies. The accreditation change of status from Class B to Class A in a two-year period helps to substantiate the fact that many curricula changes during that period were driven by the accreditation process. The difference between Class A and B is the failure to comply with one or more of the standards. Identification of which standard or standards were lacking was not addressed in this study, but adequate curriculum changes took place during that time to establish accreditation as a motivator for many of those revisions. Although governmental, state, and private organizations urged HBCUs toward the vocational curriculum, the increase in teacher education requirements because of accreditation including courses such as psychology, child development, and history ironically seemed to me to have been an unexpected outcome of a bent toward a more classical curriculum.

Atlanta University's archival documents including correspondence and school catalogues made little reference to meeting the standards and requirements of external bodies. The explicit and implicit rationale for curriculum changes ranged from student needs to meeting the needs of the African American community. Standards and state requirements were rarely referenced in documents from this institution, leading me to conclude that the accreditation process and external entities were not an impetus for curricula changes at this institution. Furthermore, this institution received Class A accreditation from the onset, implying that they had maintained SACS standards and would have little incentive to modify their teacher education curriculum for the purpose of meeting SACS standards.

Inadequate evidence surfaced to confirm that teacher education programs were urged toward a particular curriculum model from accreditation agencies. No mention of curriculum models was located in the SACS files. Regional accrediting bodies did not dictate changes in teacher education programs; however, the accreditation movement influenced state education departments toward improved and prescribed standards for teacher education. Although more insidious than other agencies, bias, which can be assumed to be racially inspired, surfaced with reference to accreditation standards. Endowment and teacher education salary requirements were set extremely high, which probably precluded entrance by some minority-serving institutions. Palpable prejudice comes in the form of the outright exclusion of HBCUs and Normal schools. Even when HBCUs were allowed entrance, they created a separate entity for them. The small percentage of Black schools that were accredited and received Class A accreditation further helps to inform us about the racial and social milieu.

Socially, economically, and politically motivated hegemonic forces influenced curricula changes. It is clear that HBCUs received large monetary incentives from the federal and state government as well as private organizations in order to adopt the Tuskegee-Hampton curriculum model. The state and federal governments gave significant amounts of money for vocational education training which demonstrates a strong bias toward that curriculum model for these types of schools. Historically, Black colleges that received less governmental and state funding were more susceptible to succumbing to the adoption or modification of their teacher education programs in order to receive federal and state funding.

Documents confirming receipt of federal funding for vocational education were discovered at Tuskegee. In a letter dated May 9, 1921, from the State Department of Education, details were found regarding the amount of state-appropriated funds for teacher-training in agriculture, trade and industries, and home economics.¹⁶⁴ In a previously stated announcement that the school was debt-free, no mention of state or federal funding was listed as the reason for this accomplishment. The General Education Board, Carnegie Corporation, and the Slater Board were some of the donors credited for their debt-free status.¹⁶⁵ Resistance toward the vocational or Tuskegee-Hampton curriculum model is evident in this institution's lack of participation in these state and privately funded programs for this type of curriculum. Atlanta University became a

¹⁶⁴State Department of Education to R. R. Moton, May 9, 1921, 72 GC, 002.074, Folder 482, Presidential Records, Legacy Museum, Tuskegee, AL.

¹⁶⁵"Institutional File 1901-1922," in Edward Twichell Ware Records, Box folder 33:10 (Atlanta, GA: Atlanta University, 1922-23), Robert W. Woodruff Library. Archives Research Center, Atlanta, GA.

graduate school to empower teachers and African Americans to assume further positions of power in their community and the world.

CHAPTER 5

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of this chapter is to present a summary and conclusions based on the findings. The chapter is divided into two sections: summary and conclusions.

According to James Anderson, economic and political oppression provided the backdrop for the development of Black education.¹ William Selden contended that accreditation is a debate over standards which were initially under local administration.² The process of accreditation likely affected the curricular choices of historically Black colleges and universities during the process of their initial accreditation. According to James Anderson, HBCUs received stark criticism and limited support from their inception.³ Accreditation had the potential to provide either a bridge or a barrier to social and academic acceptance for minority-serving institutions. With the growing power of accreditation as it related to higher education (including HBCUs) during that time, it is important to understand how the accreditation movement affected these types of institutions. Teacher education programs were one of the most viable and important

¹Anderson, *The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935*, 2.

²Selden, *Accreditation*, 6.

³Anderson, *The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935*, 238.

programs in HBCU institutions such as Tuskegee and Hampton.⁴ The classical curriculum and the Hampton-Tuskegee vocational curriculum models were commonly utilized in African American education during the early part of the twentieth century. The type of curriculum through which these teachers matriculated influenced their social and political perspective. The lens through which these teachers viewed the world and the roles of African Americans in the world would help to inform their social and political pedagogical practices, thereby influencing the communities in which they served. The accreditation movement was simultaneously gaining momentum and credibility.

The socio-political perspective of the educator was extremely important, given the influence teachers had in the lives of their students and community. It is critical to discern the forces and motivations for curriculum adoption and adaptation during the time that these schools received their initial accreditation due to the potential impact it had on the African American community. Given these realities, it is critical to ascertain if and how the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools impacted teacher education curriculum choices. Furthermore, it is imperative to determine the social, economic, and political motives of SACS as it related to HBCUs that impacted the teacher education curriculum at these two schools. HBCUs were prodded to adopt the vocational track. An analysis of available literature revealed a dearth of historical research regarding accreditation and historically Black colleges and universities from this historical period. This gap in the literature justified the need for this study.

It is improbable that accreditation standards were free from social, racial, and political bias. This study intended to detect whether accreditation was imbued with social,

⁴Anderson, *The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935*, 114.

economic, or political motivations which influenced the teacher education curriculums of these two schools. Since both schools offered teacher education programs, it is crucial to determine the catalyst for changes in these programs. Further investigation sought to determine whether these changes encouraged schools to adopt a more classical or industrial curriculum model. Questions then emerged regarding SACS' involvement in any drive toward a particular curriculum model for Black schools.

The following hypotheses are the focus of this historical examination.

1. The accreditation process was a catalyst for curricula changes in the teacher education programs at Atlanta University and Tuskegee Institute.
2. Teacher education programs were urged toward a particular curriculum model.
3. Social, economic, and political underpinnings prompted curricula changes at these institutions.

Summary

It is difficult to summarize the findings which were reviewed in chapter 4. The focus of the inquiry is conveyed in the following research hypothesis:

The accreditation process was a catalyst for curricula changes in the teacher education programs at Atlanta University and Tuskegee Institute.

The accreditation process was a greater catalyst for curricula changes in the teacher education programs at Tuskegee Institute than at Atlanta. Findings from analysis of data from primary source materials such as accreditation and teacher education curriculum trends led to that conclusion. A preponderance of evidence found in bulletins and official correspondence from this institution conform to the requirements of external

organizations. Primary source documents from this HBCU were replete with phrases such as “meeting state requirements.” Though these may be state-mandated requirements rather than accreditation standards, the word “standards” were often located in the documents. It was also previously asserted that regional accreditation agencies agitated for an increase in educational standards from the states. State Board of Education standards began to increase. The accreditation status of this institution changed from Class B to A in a two-year period. During that time, several teacher education curriculum modifications took place, and because teacher education was a major program in the school, it suggests that some of the modifications may have been implemented to fulfill the Class A accreditation requirements.

The difference between Class A and B is the failure to comply with one or more of the standards. Inadequate data were discovered in order to determine which standard or standards impeded the school from obtaining Class A accreditation during its initial accreditation. However, adequate evidence of significant curricula changes which took place during that two-year period help to corroborate accreditation as a catalyst for at least some of those changes. Despite being unclear about which standards Tuskegee was lacking, it is clear that important curriculum changes were made during that time. The Bachelor of Science degree in Education with majors and minors provides evidence of the strengthening of the teacher education curriculum. Advanced Psychology made its debut in the *Fiftieth Annual Tuskegee Institute Bulletin: 1930-1931*.⁵ By 1933 a bulletin made a statement regarding the development of their vocational courses to collegiate-

⁵Tuskegee Institute, *Fiftieth Annual Tuskegee Institute Bulletin: 1930-1931*, 88.

level work. The statement asserted that increase of vocational courses to collegiate-level work was unprecedented and was in direct response to the growing need for teachers and supervisors of vocational education; yet advancing standards required that these individuals have the qualifications represented by an academic degree.⁶ Keywords and phrases in statements such as “advancing standards require.” Once again words such as “standards” and “required” were emphasized in the rationale for change at Tuskegee. Considering the timing of this statement in 1933, it is highly probable that the standards were a reflection of accreditation standards since that is the year that they received an upgrade from Class B to Class A in their accreditation standing.

Atlanta University correspondence and school catalogues made few references to meeting standards and requirements of external bodies. The rationale for curriculum changes ranged from student needs to meeting the needs of the African American community. Standards and state requirements were rarely referenced in documents from this institution, thus leading me to conclude that this was not an underlying motivation for curriculum change in this institution. Furthermore, this institution received Class A status in its initial accreditation, confirming that the school had already met SACS standards and did not need to change for the purpose of meeting accreditation criteria.

Teacher education programs were urged toward a particular curriculum model.

No mention of curriculum models was located in the SACS files. The seventh principle of college accreditation in 1920 states, “The determination of college standing should consider things such as the character of the curriculum and the preparation of students in doing satisfactory work.” This principle which eventually became a standard

⁶Tuskegee Institute, “The Annual Report of the Principal” [1933-1934], 4.

was uniform and applied to all SACS member schools and programs. This connotes a more objective motive of quality in the curriculum that should be maintained by each school, rather than preference towards any particular curriculum or educational model.

Social, economic, and political underpinnings prompted curricula changes at these institutions.

It is imperative to understand and reveal the social, political, and economic impetus which prompted curricula changes at these institutions. Although accrediting agencies established standards for quality rather than make recommendations for curriculum changes, governmental agencies were not quite as objective and balanced. In 1919, Congress passed the Smith-Hughes Vocational Bill to encourage vocational training in certain states, with certain provisions. Aid was extended to these states to train agricultural and industrial workers and funded the programs to train teachers for these subjects. Distributing funds to schools that had a vocational teacher education program would likely influence some schools toward a curriculum or educational model. The state and federal government gave significant amounts of money for vocational education training, which suggests a bias toward that curriculum-model type of education. Historically Black colleges generally received less than equitable government and state funding. This deficit in financial support made them susceptible to adopting or modifying their teacher education programs in order to receive the additional private, federal, and state funding for vocational education.

Since evidence of comparable Congressional aid being extended exclusively toward schools with a classical curriculum was not discovered, one can surmise a state and/or governmental vocational curriculum preference. Werum (1997) posited that

affluent Southern congressmen pushed the Smith-Hughes Act through to serve the interest of the rich agrarian elite. In addition, she suggested that this and similar congressional acts provided little to no benefit to African Americans, but rather enforced pejorative racial roles.

Social, economic, and political underpinnings of the private philanthropists, politicians, and accrediting agencies encouraged, if not prompted, curricula changes in these institutions. Documents confirming receipt of federal funding for vocational education were discovered at Tuskegee. Tuskegee received a letter dated February 10, 1921, from the state of Alabama which confirmed the state's participation and the receipt of federal funds in the amount of \$17,500, which the state would match dollar for dollar, equaling \$35,000 for vocational education.⁷ In addition, the state actually informed the school in the aforementioned letter that their teacher education program would be affected due to this new position. The Alabama State Board decided to discontinue the teacher training course at Tuskegee in July of 1923.⁸ The length of the discontinuation becomes irrelevant when one considers the power that the Board wielded in regard to the teacher education program at this school.

Documents that included a disposition towards standards or requirement compliance were not discovered at Atlanta University. No mention was made of state or federal funding as a listed reason for the school's debt-free announcement to the Board. A report to the Executive Committee at Atlanta during this time period proclaimed that

⁷State Department of Education to R. R. Moton, February 10, 1921.

⁸Ibid.

the school was debt-free. The General Education Board, Carnegie Corporation, and the Slater Board were some of the donors credited for this accomplishment.⁹ If the institution was financially beholden to the state or the federal government for funding, then the pressure for compliance to a vocational educational curriculum may have been significantly reduced, compared to other institutions that received large sums of state and federal assistance.

Resistance to the Hampton-Tuskegee curriculum model was evident at Atlanta University through the maintenance of a strong classical curriculum. Atlanta University's commitment to this curriculum is even more impressive in light of the monetary incentives from the state and federal government as well as private philanthropic organizations. Social pressure to succumb to the Hampton-Tuskegee curriculum model would have been expected considering the prevailing norms of the Jim Crow laws in the South that assumed that Blacks should remain subservient to Whites socially, politically, and economically. Since the classical curriculum generally sought to prepare Blacks for all types of professional tracks, including more affluent careers, the school's endorsement of this curriculum was a social, political, and economic stance.

Considering the seeming preference of vocational education with regard to historically Black colleges, it was surprising to find little external pressure for Atlanta University to adopt or adapt their teacher education curriculum to vocational training. It also came as a surprise that SACS had a Negro section. This can probably be explained by the "separate but equal" practices of racial separation in the South. The Negro section of SACS may have been the organization's response to allow Blacks in the organization

⁹"Institutional File 1901-1922."

while keeping them separate. The tenor of honesty regarding the struggles for equality in Black schools, which were openly expressed in the SACS documents, however, was unexpected and refreshing. Separation of the races is an indicator that on some level, SACS is an endorsement of the social norms of the region. Nonetheless, the organization allowed for meetings on race and racial progress to take place under the auspices of their organization. The publication of these meetings is further evidence that they were willing to listen to or at least remain aware of educational issues related to Black people.

Conclusions

SACS had an enormous influence on higher education in the South. Negro colleges, like their White counterparts, sought to obtain accreditation as an additional affirmation of school quality. Accreditation validates an institution's work. Teacher education programs were one of the most important programs in Black colleges. Due to Jim Crow practices, especially in the South, most Black teachers matriculated from historically Black colleges. As previously stated, Tuskegee Institute had an external-entity focus, that is, an emphasis on compliance and even a conciliatory tone toward external organizations such as the State Board of Education. Review of a significant amount of literature covering this time period leads to the conclusion that the teacher education curriculum modifications at Atlanta University mirrored the changes in higher education at large, and Tuskegee utilized accreditation to adopt a more rigorous and academic curriculum than the vocational curriculum prescribed by the designers and proponents of the Tuskegee-Hampton curriculum model.

By 1935, 14 historically Black colleges appeared on the Approved List of Colleges and Universities for Negro Youth with Class "A" SACS accreditation status for

four-year colleges and 21 historically Black schools achieved Class “B” status. Of the 14 schools that achieved Class “A” status, only Fisk University in 1930 and Atlanta University in 1932 received this classification at their initial accreditation.¹⁰ In a two-year period, from 1931 to 1933, Tuskegee successfully procured Class A accreditation status. Understanding this process better may shed greater light on why so few Black schools had attained this level of accreditation status by the mid-1930s. To speculate that inequity was present in any segment of education would be an exercise in futility, given the racial dynamics and social norms of the South during this historical period. Race was a factor in governmental and state decisions which affected social, economic, and political practices. This research sought to expose the specific ways in which this was accomplished, as well as how it related to the accreditation process.

This study sought to determine the extent to which accreditation affected the teacher education program curriculum at Tuskegee Institute and Atlanta University. It attempted to ascertain whether accreditation encouraged these schools to adopt a vocational or classical curriculum and to understand the social, economic, and political motivations related to any curriculum modifications. Based on an extensive review of the literature and the research findings from archival primary research sources, the following findings and conclusions were drawn. First, accreditation standards influenced Tuskegee Institute’s teacher education curriculum. Second, Tuskegee employed the accreditation movement to strengthen the academic curriculum of the teacher education program,

¹⁰Approved List of Colleges and Universities for Negro Youth, Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools: 1935, Box 24, 39, MSS 917, Boxes 20-24, Manuscript, Archives, and Rare Book Library (MARBL), Emory University, Atlanta, GA.

which allowed them to avoid pejorative repercussions from not strictly adhering to the Tuskegee-Hampton curriculum model. Third, accreditation did not influence schools to adopt any particular curriculum model. Fourth, economic, social, and political realities provided an impetus for the adoption and maintenance of the Tuskegee-Hampton curriculum model of the teacher education program at Tuskegee financed through federal, state, and private funding. Finally, social motivations such as the needs of the African-American community and norms of educational practices influenced teacher education curriculum changes at Atlanta University.

APPENDIX A
CORRESPONDENCE

From: Denise Shaver
Sent: Friday, November 22, 2013 10:41 AM
To: Denise Shaver
Subject: Dissertation research

Greetings,

I am a PhD candidate at Andrews University in Berrien Springs, Michigan. My dissertation topic is the Impact of accreditation on the teacher education programs at two historically black colleges when they were accredited in the 1930's. Atlanta (now Clarke) and Tuskegee are the two schools of focus. Please provide the answers to the following questions or direct me to the entities that may be able to address them:

1. What was the difference between a class A and B accreditation in the 1930's?
2. What was the accreditation process and requirements for schools from the 1920's to 1940's, particularly the 1930's?
3. Was the accreditation process the same for historically black colleges and universities as predominantly white serving institutions during the aforementioned period?

I just arrived in Atlanta on November 21st to conduct my research. I will stay for a week and would like the opportunity to access these documents during this time. I would greatly appreciate any assistance. Thank you.

From: Mike Johnson
Sent: Friday, November 22, 2013 4:49 PM
To: Denise Shaver
Cc: Robin Hoffman; Steven Sheeley; Carol Luthman; Sarena Riggs
Subject: RE: Dissertation research

Ms. Shaver,

Our historical records are maintained at Emory University library. Unfortunately, this is an extremely busy time of the year for us (our annual meeting starts in less than two weeks). We have had numerous “baby boom” retirements in the past decade, and there are only a couple of staff members who might have any knowledge of history back that far (and that is, of course, second hand). I went via the web to the Woodruff Library at Emory and simply entered “Southern Association of Colleges and Schools.” I think you will find a treasure trove of information there. Here is the URL:

<http://web.library.emory.edu/>

Here is the link I got back:

[http://discover.emory.edu/primo_library/libweb/action/search.do?dscnt=1&dstmp=1385155336090&vl\(freeText0\)=southern+association+of+colleges+and+schools&vid=discover&fn=search&fromLogin=true&fromLogin=true](http://discover.emory.edu/primo_library/libweb/action/search.do?dscnt=1&dstmp=1385155336090&vl(freeText0)=southern+association+of+colleges+and+schools&vid=discover&fn=search&fromLogin=true&fromLogin=true)

I would start with the history volumes, but the annual Proceedings are probably your best bet overall – especially if you want information on Clark and on Tuskegee or on the standards themselves. While we have some older volumes in the office, I suspect Emory’s collection is more complete than anything we have. And yes, I believe there may have been separate standards for the two categories, but I know no details.

Clark College was accredited in 1941 until 1988, then after the consolidation with Atlanta University, the new Clark Atlanta University has been accredited under that name. Atlanta University’s accreditation dates back to 1932. Tuskegee was first accredited in 1933.

Good luck. We would love to have a copy of your research.

Michael S. Johnson
Senior Vice President/Chief of Staff
Southern Association of Colleges and Schools
Commission on Colleges
1866 Southern Lane
Decatur, GA 30033
404-679-4501 x4514

From: Denise Shaver [<mailto:shaver@andrews.edu>]
Sent: Wednesday, November 13, 2013 12:40 PM
To: Andrea Jackson
Subject: Dissertation research

Hello Mrs. Jackson,

I am PhD candidate at Andrews University in Berrien Springs, MI and my dissertation topic is the Impact that accreditation had on the Teacher Education program at Atlanta University when it was first accredited in 1932. I need to look at documents from 1920-1940 from Atlanta University. I plan to come to Atlanta next week to conduct my research. I will be there on Thursday and Friday November 21st and 22nd. The following items will be of particular interest for my study:

1. The course plans/offerings (catalogues) for the Teacher Education programs from 1920-1940
2. Presidents notes for from 1920-1940
3. Faculty notes from 1920-1940
4. Board notes from 1920-1940
5. Any information or original documents regarding the accreditation process including original letters with the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools (SACS)
6. Any correspondence with the state Department of Education concerning accreditation or Teacher Education

Please contact me concerning the available times to conduct my research and anything else is required for this process. I look forward to your response. You can email me at shaver@andrews.edu or call me at [614-390-1094](tel:614-390-1094) if you have any questions. Thank you.

Blessings,

Denise J. Shaver

Seminary Assessment Coordinator
Office of the Seminary Dean
Andrews University
Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary
4145 East Campus Circle Drive; Suite S232
Berrien Springs, MI 49104-1502
[269-471-2527](tel:269-471-2527) office
[269-471-6202](tel:269-471-6202) fax
www.andrews.edu

You can email me at semassess@andrews.edu

"Seek knowledge. Affirm faith. Change the world."

From: Andrea Jackson
Sent: Wednesday, November 13, 2013 5:15 PM
To: Denise Shaver
Cc: Archives Staff Station
Subject: RE: Dissertation research

Hello Ms. Shaver,

Thank you for your inquiry. We have the Atlanta University catalogues available between 1920 and 1940. We have the Atlanta University Presidential Records for the following Presidents who served during the 1920-1940 period – their keyword-searchable finding aids are found in the links below:

Edward Ware (1907-1922):

http://findingaid.auctr.edu/arc/view?docId=ead/auctr.edu/edward_twichell_ware.xml

Myron Adams (1922-1929): http://findingaid.auctr.edu/arc/view?docId=ead/auctr.edu/myron_w_adams.xml

John Hope (1929-1936): http://findingaid.auctr.edu/arc/view?docId=ead/auctr.edu/john_hope.xml

Florence Read (1936-1937): http://findingaid.auctr.edu/arc/view?docId=ead/auctr.edu/florence_m_read.xml

Rufus Clement (1937-1967): http://findingaid.auctr.edu/arc/view?docId=ead/auctr.edu/rufus_e_clement.xml

These collections are largely arranged chronologically first, and then alphabetically; this means that there may be a folder called “Department of Education” found within 1936-37, and then again under 1937-38. All of the Department of Education files may not be together from 1936-40. This will likely become even more clear once you start looking through the finding aids. I also suggest that you do a general search across the collections for terms like the following:

- Education
- Department Education
- Association of Colleges (and Secondary Schools)
- Accreditation (*though this seems to appear more often in later Presidencies*)

On Thursday, Nov. 21, the Archives will be open from 1-7pm; on Friday, Nov. 22, the Archives will be open from 1-5pm. I will note your appointment beginning at 1pm on both days. If this time should be changed, please email archives@auctr.edu as soon as possible to let us know. As we discussed on the phone, use of cameras to take photographs of materials is not permitted. Photocopies can be made for researchers at \$0.50 per page, or \$2.00 per page for a photocopy sent directly to email. Please note that photocopies are completed in the order submitted, and patrons should allow for 24 to 48 hours (or more for large orders) for completion. We can send via mail for an additional shipping fee.

We look forward to seeing you soon. Good luck with your research.

Best regards,

Andrea R. Jackson

Head, Archives Research Center
Atlanta University Center
Robert W. Woodruff Library

APPENDIX B

EXAMPLES OF CURRICULUM
FROM ATLANTA UNIVERSITY

The
Atlanta University Bulletin

Published by Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

SERIES III JUNE, 1930 No. 3

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Entered as second class matter, October 25, 1910, at the postoffice at Atlanta, Ga., under the Act of July 16, 1894. Acceptance for mailing at special rate of postage provided for in Section 1103, Act of October 3, 1918.

TERMS OF ADMISSION

For terms of admission, see announcement of graduate work for the school year 1930-31.

See announcements on page 3.

REQUIREMENTS FOR GRADUATION

I. Quantity. 128 semester hours, the class periods being 55 full minutes in length and the full year 36 weeks. No semester hour is accepted with a grade of less than 60 per cent.

II. Quality of Work. 288 "grade points," 7 points being given to a grade of 95, 1 to a grade of 65, and none to a grade below that figure.

III. Distribution of Work. A reasonable distribution of work over several departments of study is expected of all students. The smallest number of semester hours acceptable is as follows: Social science (and economics) 20; English, foreign language, science and mathematics together, 14 each; education and philosophy, 6 each. A student is also expected to show power of concentration by completing majors in at least two departments of work, a major ordinarily including at least 20 semester hours. A limited deviation from the usual requirements as to distribution of work can be permitted by the faculty in exceptional cases.

The requirements for normal graduation, while varying from the above in detail, are the same in principle.

Present undergraduate students of Atlanta University registered at Morehouse College or Spelman College during the school years 1930-31 and 1931-32 may upon satisfactorily meeting the above requirements be granted, if they so desire, the degree of Bachelor of Arts by the Trustees of the Atlanta University.

COURSES OF INSTRUCTION

Our courses of instruction are determined in the main by three considerations: (1) the expectation as expressed in our charter that this shall be "an institution for the liberal and Christian education of youth;" (2) our historical development, and the tremendous needs in that direction, have led us to place great emphasis upon the professional training of teachers; (3) it is also an important part of the work of institutions of this nature to equip students for further professional study in the leading institutions which prepare for the essential professions.

Note 1.—In this list of courses, those numbered from 111 to 199 are ordinarily taken by freshman and sophomore, or junior normal students. Those numbered from 211 to 299 are ordinarily taken by junior and senior college, or senior normal students. Normal (N) and special kindergarten training (K) courses are duly designated. The courses mentioned have all been given either this year or during 1928-29. The figures in parentheses following the title of the course indicate the number of semester hours actually given in that course during the year 1929-30.

Note 2.—Courses indicated by a capital S before the course number are senior-graduate courses.

I. EDUCATION

More of our graduates, by far, both college and normal, have engaged in teaching than in any other occupation. For that reason it has seemed wise, in our normal school from the beginning, and more recently in our college also, to give definite professional training in Education.

111. **PSYCHOLOGY.** (6). The first semester is a survey of the main problems and methods of psychology. The second semester is a general course covering the applications of psychology to teaching. Collateral reading, lectures and experiments. Texts: Gates' Elementary Psychology, and Psychology for Students of Education.
112. **HISTORY OF EDUCATION.** (3). The historical foundations of modern education. Development of educational practices since the Renaissance. Special reports on American conditions. Texts: Cubberly's History of Education and Cubberly's Readings in the History of Education.
113. **PRINCIPLES OF SECONDARY EDUCATION.** (3). A study of the aims, purposes, organization and content of secondary education in America. The course is organized around three topics: the system of public education, the secondary school pupil, and the curriculum. Text: Douglass' Secondary Education, with collateral reading.
211. **EDUCATIONAL TESTS AND MEASUREMENTS.** (2). The significance of measurement in learning and teaching; types of subjective and objective tests which may be employed; measurement of achievement; group intelligence tests, elementary statistical methods as applied to the handling of educational data, educational achievement or subject tests and scales. Texts: Symond's Measurement in Secondary Education; Rugg's A Primer of Graphs and Statistics for Teachers.

213. **HIGH SCHOOL METHODS.** (4). A study of the educational devices used in high school teaching and the technique of adjusting education to the needs of adolescents. Text: Douglass' *Modern Methods in High School Teaching*. Collateral readings.
214. **SCHOOL ADMINISTRATION.** (2). Fundamental principles of organization and administration as they apply to state, county, district, and city school systems. Texts: Cubberly's *Public School Administration* and Perry's *Management of a City School*.
215. **OBSERVATION AND PRACTICE.** (2). In connection with the above courses two semester hours, and occasionally more, are given to supervised observation and practice teaching.
216. **PSYCHOLOGY OF HIGH SCHOOL SUBJECTS.** (4). Traces the origin and development of each subject in the high school curriculum. The course deals with the mental processes of pupils and trains them in the methods of educational psychology. Text: Judd's *Psychology of Secondary Education*. Collateral readings.
- S217. **STATISTICAL METHOD IN EDUCATION.** (4). A study of the elements of statistical method, with special reference to educational problems. Text: Holzinger's *Statistical Methods for Students in Education*.
- Other courses given since 1923 have been: 212, *Methods of Elementary Teaching*; 212b, *Psychology of Elementary School Subjects*.
- N211. **LITERATURE FOR CHILDREN.** (2). The fundamental principles which underlie the choice of literature for kindergarten and grades. Assigned readings, reports and practice in telling stories. Text: Cather's *Educating by Story-Telling*.
- N212. **CHILD PSYCHOLOGY.** (2). Facts and principles of psychology applied to the study of the early periods of mental life. Lectures, class discussions, required readings. Text: Norsworthy's *Psychology of Childhood*.
- N213. **SCHOOL AND CLASS MANAGEMENT.** (3.) Text: Strayer and Engelhardt's *The Classroom Teacher*.
- N214. **HISTORY OF EDUCATION.** (3). Text: Graves' *Student's History of Education*.
- N215. **GENERAL METHODS.** (4). Discussion of all subjects of study taught in the Oglethorpe School, and their mutual relations. General critic work. Texts: Strayer's *Brief Course in the Teaching Process*; Kendall's *How to Teach the Fundamental Subjects*; Chubb's *Teaching of English*.
- K211. **KINDERGARTEN-PRIMARY EDUCATION.** (4). Study of the contributions of early and modern educators to the field of childhood education. Study of activities, environment and methods in the primary and kindergarten school in relation to the development of subject matter. Emphasis placed upon the beginnings of reading, writing and arithmetic in relation to children's experiences, and various methods of developing these skills. Demonstration, class discussion, assigned readings. Text: Parker-Temple's *Unified Kindergarten and First Grade Teaching*.

K212. KINDERGARTEN-PRIMARY CURRICULA. (2). Principles underlying curricula making. Objectives in kindergarten-primary education. Study of recent curricula readings. Organization of suggestive curricula. Text: Hill's A Conduct Curriculum.

N216. MUSIC. (1). Taken with especial reference to teaching.

N217. TEACHING. (4). Practice teaching in the Training School, divided among the different grades and the kindergarten classes, and also among the different subjects of study. Plans are made in advance, and there are frequent conferences with the critic teacher. The Beacon system of reading is used in the primary grades. This course is K217 for students taking the special work in kindergarten training. An opportunity is given at the Oglethorpe School to engage in the actual work of teaching and to observe such work under thoroughly competent supervisors. This organization includes eight grades and a kindergarten.

Courses Offered at Morehouse College

5. PSYCHOLOGY OF ADOLESCENCE. (2). A comprehensive and clear-cut description of adolescence. Prerequisite: General Psychology.

13. TEACHING OF HIGH SCHOOL SUBJECTS. (3). This course is a general introduction to the entire field of high school subjects. Emphasis is placed upon principles, objectives, method and technique, so that a teacher may get a broad general outlook of the high school problem and such a command of the whole field as will enable one to comprehend and relate his own field.

31. SCHOOL ADMINISTRATION AND SUPERVISION. (3). A study of the duties of administrative and supervisory officers, including a survey of organization and management of educational systems, admissions, orientation, social programs, and behavior problems. Intended as a technical course for those preparing to be principals, or supervisors in elementary, junior and senior high schools. Text, lectures, papers. Prerequisite: Six hours in Education or consent of instructor.

II. A & B. PHYSICAL AND NATURAL SCIENCES

224. PHYSICS II. (6). A course in advanced physics, especially in electricity in its practical phases, and the new conceptions in modern physics. A triple laboratory period and three classroom hours. Text: Timbie, The Elements of Electricity.

225. ASTRONOMY. (4). A general course. Text: Moulton's Elements of Astronomy. Use of telescope and Nautical Almanac.

226. GEOLOGY. (4). An advanced course. Text: Chamberlin and Salisbury's College Geology. Illustrated by school cabinets, topographic maps, and trips to state museum.

The
Atlanta University Bulletin

Published by Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

SERIES III

JUNE, 1931

No. 5

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Entered as second class matter, October 25, 1910, at the postoffice at Atlanta, Ga., under the Act of July 16, 1894. Acceptance for mailing at special rate of postage provided for in Section 1103, Act of October 3rd, 1918.

468. *PRINCIPLES AND PRACTICES OF INSURANCE.* A course in the theory of insurance and current insurance practices. The subject matter covered includes: uses of insurance, types of insurance, organizations, types of policies, mortality, loading, reserves, the law governing insurance, etc. Prerequisite: Elementary Economics.
3 credits second semester.
471. *CORPORATIONS AND CORPORATION FINANCE.* The course after giving attention to small forms of business organizations will devote its entire time to corporate financial organizations, the administration of corporate income, reorganization, individual combinations, and the historical aspects of the trust problem. Prerequisites: Business Principles and Mathematics of Business.
3 credits first semester.
472. *PROBLEMS OF BUSINESS FINANCE.* The course is designed to give the student practical work in the problems of both small and large businesses. Students will be assigned to the solution of specific problems and will be expected to present a detailed written report supporting the solution of such problems. Prerequisite: Corporations and Corporation Finance.
3 credits second semester.
501. *PRINCIPLES OF MARKETING AND MERCHANDISING.* A study of the causes and effects of fundamental readjustments in the economic system which are responsible for changes in costs and methods of distributing goods. Attention will be given to marketing institutions in relation to trends of industrial development, economic prosperity and habits of consumption. The purpose of the course is to give the student a clear idea of our marketing methods. Prerequisites: Business Principles and Mathematics of Business. (Not given 1930-1931.)
3 credits first semester.
502. *PUBLIC FINANCE.* A study of the principles of public finance, taxation and public duties. Particular attention will be given to the financial problems of the federal, state, county and municipal governments. (Not given 1930-1931.)
3 credits second semester.
- 547-548. *SEMINAR IN ECONOMICS.* Economics teachers of Atlanta University, Morehouse College and Spelman College meet with advanced students. Each member to engage in original research and present findings to group. Prerequisite: Approval of instructor.
3 credits each semester.

EDUCATION

453. **ELEMENTARY STATISTICS.** A study of the elements of statistical method with special reference to educational problems.

3 credits first semester.

454. **ADMINISTRATION AND INTERPRETATION OF MENTAL AND EDUCATIONAL TESTS.** A study of the detailed problems of administration, and the use and interpretation of the group mental and educational tests. Prerequisite: Elementary Statistics.

3 credits second semester.

461-462. **SECONDARY EDUCATION.** This course is required of all students with major interest in secondary education. Among the more prominent topics covered are the following: development of secondary education in the United States; secondary education in Europe; relation to lower and higher school; aims of the high school; the physical plant; costs; organizing the school; records; the high school pupil; curriculum and materials of instruction; the high school teacher; the principal as an administrator; the principal as a supervisor; extra-curricular activities; the morale; surveys; the library; classification, promotion, attendance, and health of pupils.

3 credits each semester.

501-502. **ELEMENTARY EDUCATION.** This course is required of all students with major interest in elementary education. Among the more prominent topics covered are the following: modern theory and practice in elementary school instruction; the primary school; standards for judging instruction; diagnosis of instruction observed; methods of improvement; curriculum making; selection of textbooks; recent tendencies in the education of young children; the use of tests; functions of the principal; classification, promotion; attendance, discipline, and health of pupils; the assembly, clubs, and other social activities; the principal as an administrator; the principal as a supervisor; the school plant and equipment.

3 credits each semester.

503-504. **THE TECHNIQUE OF TEACHING IN ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS.** The aim of this course is to answer the question, "What is good teaching in the elementary school?" To this end, will be presented: (1) the more widely recognized procedures employed in teaching in the elementary school; (2) a critical evaluation of the theories upon which these procedures are based; (3) discussions of observations made in the University Laboratory Elementary School. Prerequisite: Methods of Teaching Elementary School Subjects.

3 credits each semester.

- 505-506. *TECHNIQUE OF TEACHING IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS.* The aim of this course is to answer the question, "What is good teaching in the high school?" To this end will be presented: (1) the more widely recognized procedures employed in teaching in the high school; (2) a critical evaluation of the theories upon which these procedures are based; (3) discussions of observations made in the University Laboratory High School. Prerequisite: Methods of Teaching High School Subjects. 3 credits each semester.
- 507-508. *PHILOSOPHY OF EDUCATION.* The course endeavors to construct an adequate working philosophy of education in modern society. 3 credits each semester.
510. *ORGANIZATION AND SUPERVISION OF INSTRUCTION.* A study of the technique of the supervision of instruction, with special reference to the improving of the teacher's efficiency. (Admission only on consultation with the instructor.) (Not given in 1930-1931.) 3 credits second semester.
- 547-548. *SEMINAR IN EDUCATION.* Required of all graduate students in education. The course includes a critical review of the methods employed in collecting and preparing for presentation the material submitted for the Master's dissertation.

ENGLISH

- 415-416. *BRITISH POETRY OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.* A critical study in appreciation of the literary art and materials of nineteenth century British poetry as the period of the Revival of Romance. From Wordsworth to Swinburne, the works of the major poets are studied, each in relation to his contemporaries and to the intellectual life of the period. Prerequisite: English Literature. Both semesters. Seminar for graduate students one hour a week. 3 credits each semester.
454. *CHAUCER.* An introduction to the language and poetry of Chaucer. The Mirror poems and the Canterbury Tales. Prerequisite: Survey of English Literature. 3 credits second semester.
- 461-462. *SHAKSPERE.* A critical and appreciative study of Shakspere with lectures upon his period and dramatic art. 3 credits each semester.
466. *ANGLO-SAXON.* A study of Old English Grammar with readings. Prerequisite: Approval of instructor. 3 credits second semester.

- 501-502. *ENGLISH LITERATURE OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.* A survey of the outstanding literary figures of the century studied in relation to the historical and social movements of the age. First semester, emphasis on Milton; second semester, on the drama of the century. 3 credits each semester.
- 503-504. *ENGLISH LITERATURE OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.* A study of the chief individual literary figures as well as of the growth and development of literary movements within the century. First semester, emphasis on Pope and his circle; second semester, emphasis on Johnson and his circle. 3 credits each semester.

FRENCH

- 311-312. *THE FRENCH NOVEL.* Interpretation of novels, classical and modern, by the use of synonyms or equivalent French expressions. A long term report in French, on one of the novels read, required of each student. Prerequisite: Survey of French Literature and Advanced Conversation and Composition. Both semesters. 3 credits each semester.

HISTORY

353. *AMERICAN CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY TO 1828.* Particular attention is given to the origin and development of the Federal and State Constitutions, the interpretation of the Federal Constitution by the several departments and the states, in connection with the chief constitutional issues of the time. Required readings, lectures, and reports. Prerequisite: American History. 3 credits first semester.
354. *AMERICAN CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY FROM 1828 TO THE CIVIL WAR.* The nullification movement, conflicts over "States' Rights" arising out of the slavery controversy and the secession movement are carefully studied. Prerequisite: American History. 3 credits second semester.
361. *THE UNITED STATES SINCE THE CIVIL WAR.* The Rise of Modern America. A survey of significant movements; after-war adjustment; the occupation of the continent; the rise of urban-industrial interest and agricultural changes. 3 credits first semester.
363. *THE AMERICAN COLONIES.* A survey of the transplanting of European culture and institutions to the New World and of the relation of the Colonies to the British government to 1783. 3 credits first semester.

501-502. *ELEMENTARY EDUCATION*. This course is required of all students with major interest in elementary education. Among the more prominent topics covered are the following: modern theory and practice in elementary school instruction; the primary school; standards for judging instruction; diagnosis of instruction observed; methods of improvement; curriculum making; selection of textbooks; recent tendencies in the education of young children; the use of tests; functions of the principal; classification, promotion, attendance, discipline, and health of pupils; the assembly, clubs, and other social activities; the principal as an administrator; the principal as a supervisor; the school plant and equipment. 3 credits each semester.

505-506. *TECHNIQUE OF TEACHING IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS*. The aim of this course is to answer the question, "What is good teaching in the high school?" To this end will be presented: (1) the more widely recognized procedures employed in teaching in the high school; (2) a critical evaluation of theories upon which these procedures are based; (3) discussions of observations made in the University Laboratory High School. Prerequisite: Methods of Teaching High School Subjects. 3 credits each semester.

507-508. *MODERN THEORIES OF EDUCATION*. The course endeavors to construct an adequate working philosophy of education in modern society. 3 credits each semester.

510. *ORGANIZATION AND SUPERVISION OF INSTRUCTION*. A study of the technique of the supervision of instruction, with special reference to the improving of the teacher's efficiency. Prerequisite: Approval of instructor. 3 credits second semester.

512. *PROBLEMS IN HIGH SCHOOL ADMINISTRATION*. An advanced course in secondary administration. Each student will make an intensive study of a problem of special interest. The class lectures and discussions will be based on questions precipitated by the reports on the intensive studies. Prerequisite: Approval of instructor. 3 credits second semester.

513-514. *EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY*. A study designed to describe for the teacher, principal and others concerned with education, a social background for the purpose of interpreting educational procedure and method. 3 credits each semester.

515-516. *PSYCHOLOGY OF ELEMENTARY SCHOOL SUBJECTS*. This course includes a study of the psychological principles underlying the teaching of the elementary school subjects. Consideration will be given to studies and experiments that have been made in the field of elementary school subjects. 3 credits each semester.

- 517-518. *ADVANCED EDUCATIONAL PSYCHOLOGY*. This study will deal with the following elements of educational psychology: physiological basis of learning, native equipment, habit formation, perception learning, feelings and emotions, associative learning, memory and imagination, the learning process and the application of the principles of learning to education. 3 credits each semester.
531. *RURAL ECONOMICS*. This course will be conducted through readings, lectures, field trips, original investigations, and discussions. The following topics will be studied: (1) The present condition of the American farmer, with special reference to the Negro farmer, trends in population, farm tenure, farm buildings and equipment, prices of farm products and the farmer's buying power, farm labor and wages, the farmer's income and the standards of living, land values and taxation, types of farming, the tariff and the farmer, surpluses, etc. (2) Reforms and relief measures, tariff revision, land utilization policies, credit systems, farm insurance, efficient marketing, price raising by government action, and other government relief measures. Special study will be given the question of the degree to which the Negro farmer has been and can be helped by these reform measures. 3 credits first semester.
532. *RURAL SCHOOL ADMINISTRATION AND SUPERVISION*. This course will consist of readings, lectures, field trips and discussions. It is an attempt to link up the general problems of administration and supervision with those special problems resulting from open country and village conditions and the dual system of education in the South. Topics selected for study are: (1) Organization and business problems, rural school objectives, management, taxation, assessments, bonds, handling school funds, special aids and grants for Negro education, selection of teachers, the teacher load, etc. (2) The physical plant, buildings and equipment, grounds, toilets, the water supply, school gardens and other practical projects, playgrounds, etc. (3) Teaching problems, adjusting the curriculum to community needs, time allotment. 3 credits second semester.
- 547-548. *SEMINAR IN EDUCATION*. Required of all graduate students in education. The course includes a critical review of the methods employed in collecting and preparing for presentation the material submitted for the Master's dissertation.

ENGLISH

COURSES IN ENGLISH ARE ARRANGED CHRONOLOGICALLY

453. *ANGLO-SAXON*. A study of Old English Grammar with readings. 3 credits first semester.
454. *CHAUCER*. An introduction to the language and poetry of Chaucer. The minor poems and the Canterbury Tales. 3 credits second semester.

APPENDIX C

EXAMPLES OF CURRICULUM
FROM TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE

SUGGESTIONS FOR MAJORS AND MINORS
SUPPORTING MINOR

MAJOR	
ART	English, History, French, Psychology, Spanish.
BIOLOGY	Chemistry, Mathematics, Physics, Psychology, Philosophy.
CHEMISTRY	Mathematics, Physics, Biology, Foods in Home Economics, Agricultural Chemistry, Physical Education.
ECONOMICS	Biology, Education, English, History, Philosophy, Sociology, Political Science, Psychology, Physical Education.
ENGLISH	History, French, German, Philosophy, Psychology, Physical Education.
FRENCH	Classical Literature, History, Spanish, Philosophy, Physical Education.
GERMAN	Classical Literature, French, History, Philosophy, Spanish, Physical Education.
HISTORY	Economics, Political Science, Foreign Languages, English, Philosophy, Sociology, Physical Education.
POLITICAL SCIENCE	Economics, History, Sociology, Foreign Languages, Physical Education.
MATHEMATICS	Physics, Chemistry, Biology, Economics, Philosophy, Physical Education.
MUSIC	Philosophy, History, English, Psychology, Modern Languages, Physical Education.
PHYSICS	Chemistry, Mathematics, Biology, Philosophy, Applied Electricity, Physical Education.
PHYSICAL EDUCATION	Biology, Chemistry, Home Economics, History, Economics, Foreign Language.
SPANISH	English, Classical Literature, French, German, Philosophy, History, Physical Education.

FRESHMAN

	Fall		Winter		Spring	
	Hr.	Cr.	Hr.	Cr.	Hr.	Cr.
English 101, 102, 103 (Composition).....	3	3	3	3	3	3
English 104, 105, 106, (Literature).....	3	3	3	3	3	3
Biology 101, 102, 103	5	3	5	3	5	3
Education 101 (How to Study)	3	3	--	--	--	--
Education 102 (Introd. to Education).....	--	--	3	3	--	--
Education 103 (Educational Psychology)	--	--	--	--	3	3
Physical Education 104, 105, 106	3	1	3	1	3	1
Industrial Arts	6	2	6	2	6	2
Electives (Choose one)	3	3	3	3	3	3
French 101, 102, 103	--	--	--	--	--	--
Spanish 101, 102, 103	--	--	--	--	--	--
German 101, 102, 103	--	--	--	--	--	--

APPROVED NEGRO COLLEGES

Standard Four-Year Colleges—Class "A"

Institutions in this class meet in full the standards set up by the Association for four-year colleges.

	Year Accredited	
	Class "A"	Class "B"
Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn.	1930	
Talladega College, Talladega, Ala.	1931	1930
Atlanta University, Atlanta, Ga.	1932	
Morehouse College, Atlanta, Ga.	1932	1930
Spelman College, Atlanta, Ga.	1932	1930
Hampton Institute, Hampton, Va.	1932	1931
Tuskegee N. & I. Institute, Tuskegee, Ala.	1933	1931
Johnson C. Smith University, Charlotte, N. C.	1933	1930
Virginia State College for Negroes, Petersburg, Va.	1933	1930
Wiley College, Marshall, Texas	1933	1931
Prairie View State N. & I. College, Prairie View, Texas	1934	1932
The Florida A. & M. College, Tallahassee, Fla.	1935	1931
Bennett College for Women, Greensboro, N. C.	1935	1931
Virginia Union University, Richmond, Va.	1935	1930

Standard Four-Year Colleges—Class "B"

Institutions in this class do not yet meet in full one or more of the standards set up by the Association for four-year colleges, but the general quality of their work is such as to warrant the admission of their graduates to any institution requiring the bachelor's degree for entrance.

Clark University, Atlanta, Ga.	1931
Paine College, Augusta, Ga.	1931
Kentucky State Industrial College, Frankfort, Ky.	1931
Louisville Municipal College for Negroes, Louisville, Ky.	1932
Xavier University, New Orleans, La.	1931
Southern University, Baton Rouge, La.	1932
Tougaloo College, Tougaloo, Miss.	1932
North Carolina College for Negroes, Durham, N. C.	1931
The A. & T. College of North Carolina, Greensboro, N. C.	1932
State A. & M. College, Orangeburg, S. C.	1932
Knoxville College, Knoxville, Tenn.	1931
LeMoyne College, Memphis, Tenn.	1932
Bishop College, Marshall, Texas	1931
Morris Brown College, Atlanta, Ga.	1933

APPENDIX D
SACS DOCUMENTS

STANDARDS OF THE ASSOCIATION

COLLEGES OF ARTS AND SCIENCES AND TEACHER TRAINING COLLEGES

Standard No. 1. Entrance Requirements. The requirements for admission shall be the satisfactory completion of a four-year course of not less than fifteen units in a secondary school approved by a recognized accrediting agency, or in a secondary school that is a member of this Association, or the equivalent of such a course as shown by examination. The major portion of the secondary school course accepted for admission should be definitely correlated with the curriculum to which the student is admitted. Any college of this Association may be called upon at any time for a record of all the students entering the freshman class, such record to contain the name of each student, his secondary school, method of admission, units offered in each subject, and total units accepted.

Standard No. 2. Requirements for Graduation. The college shall demand for graduation the completion of a minimum quantitative requirement of one hundred and twenty hours of credit (or the equivalent in term hours, quarter hours, points, majors, or courses), with such scholastic qualitative requirements as may be deemed desirable by each institution.

Standard No. 3. Number of Degrees. The conferring of a multiplicity of degrees is discouraged. Small institutions should confine themselves to one or two. When more than one baccalaureate degree is offered, all should be equal in requirements for admission and for graduation. Institutions of limited resources and inadequate facilities for graduate work should confine themselves to strictly undergraduate courses.

Standard No. 4. Number of College Departments. A college of arts and sciences of approximately one hundred students should maintain at least eight separate departments, with at least one professor devoting his whole time to each department. The size of the faculty should bear a definite relation to the type of institution, the number of students, and the number of courses offered. With the growth of the student body the number of full-time teachers should be correspondingly increased. The development of varied curricula should involve the addition of other heads of departments.

Standard No. 5. Training of Faculty. The training of the members of the faculty of professional rank should include at least two years of study in their respective fields of teaching in a fully organized and recognized graduate school. The training of the head of a department should be that represented by three full years of coordinated graduate work in an institution of recognized standing, in the field in which he is to teach; or should represent a corresponding professional or technical training.

Standard No. 6. Salaries. The average salary paid members of the faculties is an important consideration in determining the standing of an institution. It is recommended that the salary of full professors be not less than \$3,000 for nine months.

Standard No. 7. Number of Classroom Hours for Teachers. Teaching schedules exceeding sixteen hours per week per instructor shall be interpreted as endangering educational efficiency. In general, two laboratory hours will be counted as equivalent to one recitation hour.

Standard No. 8. Number of Students in Classes. Classes (exclusive of lectures) of more than thirty students shall be interpreted as endangering educational efficiency.

Standard No. 9. Support. The college should have an annual income of not less than \$50,000 and if not tax supported, an endowment of not less than \$500,000. The financial status of the college should be, however, judged in relation to its educational program.

Standard No. 10. Library. The college should have a live, well distributed library of at least 12,000 volumes, in addition to duplicates and public documents, bearing specifically upon the subjects taught and administered by a professionally trained librarian. For a college of approximately 300 students and a minimum number of departments, there should be spent annually for the library, exclusive of the care of the building, not less than \$5,000, with proportionate increase for larger student bodies and a larger number of departments. Leading periodicals in the different fields covered by the curriculum should be taken as well as those of more general cultural interest. There should be a catalogue of approved type. The library should be open not less than ten hours per school day. The buildings should be well lighted, protected as far as possible against fire, and equipped with adequate working quarters for the staff. Seating capacity for at least 15 per cent of the student body should be provided in the reading rooms. Arrangements should be made through freshman week, orientation courses, or otherwise, for students to receive instruction in the use of the library.

Standard No. 11. *Laboratories.* The laboratory equipment shall be adequate for all the experiments called for by the courses offered in the sciences, and these facilities shall be kept up by means of an annual appropriation in keeping with the curriculum.

Standard No. 12. *Separation of College and Preparatory School.* The college may not maintain a preparatory school as a part of its college organization. In case such a school is maintained under the college charter it must be kept rigidly distinct and separate from the college in students, faculty, buildings, and discipline.

Standard No. 13. *Proportion of Regular College Students to the Whole Student Body.* At least 75 per cent of the students in a college should be pursuing courses leading to baccalaureate degrees in arts and science.

Standard No. 14. *General Statement Concerning Material Equipment.* The location and construction of the buildings, the lighting, heating and ventilation of the rooms and the general sanitary equipment shall be such as to insure hygienic conditions for both students and teachers.

Standard No. 15. *General Statement Concerning Curriculum and Spirit of Administration.* The character of the curriculum, efficiency of instruction, the scientific spirit, the soundness of scholarship, the standard for regular degrees, the conservatism in granting honorary degrees, the character of its publicity, and the tone of the institution shall also be factors in determining its standing. The curriculum should provide both for breadth of study and for concentration. It should have justifiable relation to the resources of the institution.

Standard No. 16. *Extra Curricular Activities.* The proper administration of athletics, amusements, fraternities, and all other extra curricular activities is one of the fundamental tests of a standard college.

Athletics. All members of this Association which engage in intercollegiate athletics shall also hold membership in some athletic conference or association approved by this Association, which requires adherence to the widely recognized safeguards against abuse, such as forbidding the playing of "special" students, the non-migrant rule, and the one-year rule, together with the rules which experience has proved to be necessary.

Standard No. 17. *Standing in the Educational World.* The institution must be able to prepare its students to enter recognized graduate, professional or research institutions as candidates for advanced degrees. In evidence statistics of the records of the graduates of the college in graduate or professional schools shall be filed with the Commission on Institutions of Higher Education on demand.

Standard No. 18. *Professional and Technical Departments.* When the institution has in addition to the college of arts and science professional or technical departments, the college of arts and science shall not be accepted for the approved list of the Association unless the professional or technical departments are of approved grade, national standards being used when available.

Standard No. 19. *Inspection.* No college will be recommended for membership until it has been inspected and reported upon by an agent or agents regularly appointed by the Commission. Any college of the Association shall be open to inspection at any time.

Standard No. 20. *Filing of Blank.* No institution shall be placed or retained on the approved list unless a regular information blank has been filed with the Commission. The list shall be approved from year to year by the Commission. The blank shall be filed triennially, but the Commission may for due cause call upon any member to file a new report in the meantime. Failure to file the blank shall be cause for dropping an institution.

Teacher training colleges must conform to the following additional requirements:

Not more than one-fourth of the credits required for graduation should represent professional subjects.

All subjects offered for degrees in four-year courses for general or professional degrees shall be of collegiate grade.

The college shall provide adequate facilities for practice teaching and observation.

JUNIOR COLLEGES

Standard No. 1. *Entrance Requirements.* The requirement for admission shall be satisfactory completion of a four-year course of not less than fifteen units in a secondary school that is approved by this Association, or by another recognized accrediting agency, or equiva-

APPENDIX E

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF ATLANTA UNIVERSITY.

Considering the problems which face all educational institutions, we feel that Atlanta University can adjust herself to the present situation and can not only continue its best work of the past, but can increase the usefulness of the Institution in a marked degree if the proper changes in the plan and direction of the work of the institution are soon inaugurated and become better known.

Atlanta University is now out of debt and enjoys the good will and liberal support of the General Educational Board, Carnegie Corporation of New York and Slater Board, and of a goodly list of donors.

We understand that the great demand of the South is for teachers for the colored people -- all through the South -- especially in the small towns. It appears to your committee that the greatest usefulness of Atlanta University lies in preparing teachers and if it presents to the world a well defined plan for the preparation of teachers it is our opinion that larger financial support will be more readily forthcoming. If the above is true, it is perfectly clear that both for financial support and for doing its largest work we should more clearly define and emphasize the attitude of Atlanta University as a teacher training institution.

We do not believe that Atlanta University should make a campaign for funds, endowment or otherwise, until the University's program is more clearly defined and until we can show a better organized work for training a teachers and be better prepared to show actual results. The fact that Atlanta University has set itself to give more prominence to teacher training is to our mind largely responsible for the increased financial support of Atlanta on the part of the General Educational Board and similar institutions. All these institutions recognize the great need of more teachers for the colored South, and if Atlanta puts herself at the front rank of all Southern institutions in the matter of teacher training, it can rightly look for continued and still further increased support of Atlanta's program.

In this connection the committee desires to make a few definite suggestions as to (1) the name of the institution, (2) its organization, (3) its curriculum, (4) its size.

1. The name of Atlanta University.

The title seems to us now to require some qualifications, since the work of the institutions now covers a great deal of educational work which could not properly come under the title of "University". In fact, the word "University" does not appear to us to be a proper title, as it is or may be quite misleading. We therefore suggest that in the future our institution be called

ATLANTA UNIVERSITY
and Teacher Training College.

2. Organization of Atlanta University.

In recent years we have allowed Dr. Adams to be an overworked man.

PRESIDENTIAL ARCHIVES
Edward Twitchell Ware Records

Box 33
Folder 10

Archives Research Center
Atlanta University Center
Robert W. Woodruff Library

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