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CHANGING CONCEPTIONS OF THE AIM OF NEGRO EDUCATION, AS SEEN IN THE HISTORY OF COLORED SCHOOLS IN NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE.

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INTRODUCTION.

In presenting some educational history of the Negro race in one of our Southern cities, the writer disclaims any intention of offering a discussion of the so-called race problem, - whatever that may mean. He is perfectly willing to leave the solution of this perplexing perennial problem to the experts of both races. Neither was this investigation begun with any preconceived educational theory to be substantiated nor any racial doctrine to be combated. And despite the popularity in academic circles just now of all kinds of "surveys", no attempt has been made to give a survey of the Negro schools of Nashville. The work is nothing more than an effort to trace the development of the Negro schools of this city from their incipiency to the present time, to show some of the changes which have occurred in the aims and conceptions of education for the colored race of the city, and to relate these facts to certain present-day theories and tendencies in Negro education in the Southern States.

Since the importance of the preservation of historical data was not recognized by the makers of educational history in the South until within recent years, much of the information in the following chapters has never been published. The books on Negro education in general, mentioned

in the bibliography, were read as preparation for a special study of the Negro schools of this particular city. The material for the statistical tables was taken principally from official reports of the United States Commissioner of Education, United States Census, Superintendent of Public Instruction of Tennessee, City Board of Education (many of the reports to this Board being in manuscript form), and from college catalogs and other such publications.

The following colored schools of the city have been visited, their work inspected, interviews held with some of their officers and teachers, and the files of their catalogs examined so far as they were accessible: Fisk University; Roger Williams University; Walden College; Meharry Medical, Dental and Pharmaceutical College; The Tennessee Agricultural and Industrial State Normal School; Academy and Industrial School of the Immaculate Mother; Pearl High School; and four of the twelve Negro grade schools. Much time was given to efforts to secure through private conversation with the leading colored people of the city the important facts concerning the schools of the different periods of time. It is not possible to mention in this introduction all those to whom the writer is indebted for information given in private conversation and in answer to letters, but so far as practicable credit will be given to the proper authorities in the chapters which follow. Special mention should be made here, however, of the following individuals without whose aid many of the facts here presented could not have been given: Dr. G.W. Hubbard, President of Meharry College, who has been vitally and continuously connected with Negro education in Nashville since 1865; Dr. C. V. Roman, a prominent colored physician,

who has been for many years been an intelligent and sane leader in all movements for the intellectual, moral, economic, and social advancement of his race in this city; Dr. S. L. Smith, Principal of the Negro high school, who is a graduate of both Fisk University and Meharry Medical College, and who has taught in the public schools of Nashville since 1886; J. C. Napier, a prominent Negro banker and business man of the city, who is the only living person who attended any of the antebellum Negro schools of Nashville, and who is a graduate of Oberlin College; and F. L. Crawford, the present supervisor of the Negro public schools, who has taught in the public schools of the city for twenty-five years.

It is scarcely necessary to add that this study and investigation have been made largely from the Negro's standpoint. It will be observed that many of the books read are by Negro authors and that most of the men consulted are colored. White people as a rule take so little interest in any phase of Negro education, that first-hand information necessarily had to be secured largely from the Negroes themselves.

CHAPTER I. PERIOD OF SLAVERY.

NEGRO SCHOOLS PRIOR TO 1861.-- Just as the exact date of the founding of the mediaeval universities cannot be fixed -- historians not even agreeing as to the century of their origin-- and just as the origin of monasticism is lost in antiquity, so the time of the establishment of the first schools for Negroes in America is lost in the traditions of the years prior to 1861. That there were such schools, both North and South, before the Civil War is certain; how many there were, and how long they had existed, no one knows. It is equally certain that Negro education before the War was very meager. In the South it was not thought wise to educate the slaves lest they become restive; while in the North there was also, as late as 1830, a very pronounced sentiment against it, as is seen by the statutory suppression of the famous "School for Colored Misses", which Miss Prudence Crandall had opened at Canterbury, Connecticut.* Although a few free Negroes had received even a college education, the schools for Negroes in the Southern States in those days were all of very elementary grade. Of the education of his race before Emancipation, Booker Washington says: "The colored people who got sufficient education during the days of slavery to read their Bible may be divided into four classes: those who were taught by their owners in spite of law; those who had white fathers; those who in some way or other obtained their freedom; and those who literally stole their education".** "It is estimated that 4000 free colored children were in school in the slave States at the opening of the War."***

*"Education of the Negro Prior to 1861".--Woodson, pp.172-5.
**"The Story of the Negro", Vol.I, p.124.
***"Negro Life in the South".--Weatherford, p.94.

NASHVILLE NOT A TYPICAL SOUTHERN CITY.-- Nashville can hardly be called a typical Southern city, nor can its Negro schools be taken as representative of the schools in the South for the colored race. It should be kept in mind, not only with reference to the antebellum schools, but throughout this entire discussion, that the past, present and future problems of Negro education in Nashville are necessarily not identical with those of cities in the "Black Belt". Prior to 1830 much more freedom in providing for the instruction of slaves and free Negroes was allowed than during the twenty-five years immediately preceding the War. Up to that time, as we have already said, there was but little difference between the North and South in their attitude towards Negro schools. But the intense feeling engendered by the agitation of the Abolition question for a quarter of a century before the War caused most Southern States to enact stringent laws against the establishment of any sort of school for colored children. Such states as South Carolina, Georgia, and Mississippi naturally were more concerned in securing such legislation than was the border State of Tennessee. The following law passed by the legislature of Georgia in 1829 is typical of the prohibitive legislation of that time: "If any slave, Negro, or free person of color, or any white person, shall teach any other slave, Negro, or free person of color to read or write, either written or printed characters, the said free person of color or slave shall be punished by fine and whipping, or fine or whipping, at the discretion of the court; and if a white person so offend, he, she, or they shall be punished with a fine not exceeding $500 and imprisonment in the common jail, at the discretion of the court".*

* "Race Adjustment".--Miller, p. 248.

But Tennessee, along with Kentucky, Florida, and Texas, never did abolish by law schools for free colored people.*

FIRST NEGRO SCHOOLS IN NASHVILLE.-- Although not prohibited by law from establishing schools for free Negroes, there were evidently but few such schools in Nashville prior to 1861. It is stated that not more than ten per cent of the ten thousand Negroes of the city in 1861 could read or write.** Booker Washington, who is perhaps our best authority on the subject, says that from five to ten per cent of the race could read and write when the Negro was made free.*** It appears, therefore, that in spite of the fact that Nashville was what might be called a border city, and that no legal restrictions were placed upon the number or kind of schools for free Negroes, the illiteracy among the colored people in this city in 1861 was almost the same as the average for the entire South.

Leaving out of account the informal instruction given to slaves by their mistresses and others, and those Negroes who were taught in secret during the midnight hours - those "who literally stole their education" - the first regularly organized Negro school in Nashville of which there is any available information was one opened on Church Street in 1833 for free colored children, and which a few men permitted their slaves to attend.† The fact that this school was taught by a colored barber who kept up his trade in connection with his pedagogical duties reminds one of the European schools of the 18th century taught by cobblers and other artisans. This school had twenty pupils and lasted only six weeks.

*Story of the Negro".--Washington, p.124.
**History of Nashville.--Weeldridge, p.422.
***The Story of the Negro, Vol.I. p.114.
† Information about this and other antebellum schools was secured from Dr. G.W.Hubbard of Meharry College, who has preserved some notes which he compiled in 1874 on the early colored schools in Nashville.

Although there were at that time about two hundred free Negroes in Nashville, no further attempt was made by them to have a school for their children until 1838, when they got up a petition, which was also signed by a number of white citizens, asking permission to have a school for free colored children only, and to be taught by a white man. Such a school was established and attended by about thirty pupils who "learned to read and write, and something of arithmetic and geography."

During the next fifteen years there were a few small schools in different parts of the city, attended by forty or fifty children for a few months each year. A very interesting character who was vitally connected with several of the colored schools of this period was Dan Watkins. From 1833, when he was the "assistant" to the barber-teacher referred to above, to 1865, when all the private schools taught by colored teachers were closed because of the opening of the Fisk School, Dan Watkins was the pioneer in Negro education in Nashville. From 1841 to 1847 he conducted a school in a private house on Front Street near the jail. This school had an average attendance of thirty-five, and "only the rudiments of an English education were taught." There were evening sessions for older children and adults. Between 1847 and 1855 he taught in different parts of the city schools of two or three months' sessions with fifty or sixty pupils in attendance. In 1855 he was visited by a dozen or more citizens and ordered to close his school. Although he told them that lawyers had advised him that his school was being conducted in violation of no law, he was informed that the neighborhood objected, and that the school must close. After being closed for a year, the school was re-

opened by Wadkins at another location, but after seven months' duration it was closed by the police on order of the City Council.

The only living person who attended any of these antebellum schools in Nashville for Negro children is probably J. C. Napier, cashier of the Negro Savings Bank of this city. In an interview with him it was learned that his parents were free Negroes and that they were exceedingly anxious to have their children attend school whenever possible. For that reason, whenever a school was opened anywhere in the city, the Napier children attended. In addition to the schools taught at different places by Daniel Wadkins, they attended for a few months a school on College Street near its intersection with Kirkman, taught by Mrs. W. O. Tate, a free woman of color, and another on Vine Street, taught by a Mrs. Sallie Player. The last school which the Napier children attended was one on what is now Jo Johnson near Seventh Avenue, North. This school was under the auspices of the Christian Church and was taught in a little frame building adjoining the church. There were about thirty pupils who were all under fifteen years of age. They studied reading, spelling, writing, and a little arithmetic through the multiplication table. This was a one-room school and the furnishings consisted of plain benches without backs, placed three feet apart. There was no semblence of a classification of the children into grades - the classes were simply known as "spelling classes" and "reading classes". This school was taught by Peter Conrad, a free Negro from Cincinnati, and it was evidently the last school for Negroes in Nashville before the War. After this school had been in session two or three months, it was visited one day by the

"watchman", as the officer of the law was then called, and Conrad was informed that his school must close immediately, and that he must leave town within twenty-four hours. The children - the Napiers among others - were dismissed on the spot, and Conrad returned to Cincinnati. This was in 1859 and this incident, which was told the writer by the only living witness thereof, marked the closing of attempts to keep open Negro schools in Nashville prior to the Civil War. The description given in the next paragraph of Wadkins' school corresponds in every way to Napier's description of Conrad's school.

The only additional facts concerning these schools attended by Napier which might be in any way illuminating are: 1. Much difficulty was experienced by the children in getting to the school each day because of gibes and rockings by the white children along the way. 2, All the teachers of these schools were free Negroes, with the exception of a white man and woman from St. Louis who opened a subscription school for Negroes, but they were allowed to keep the school open only a few weeks. 3. In connection with this school taught by Peter Conrad was a night music school attended by the parents.

DESCRIPTION OF ONE OF THESE EARLY SCHOOLS.-- Although no record can anywhere be found of the subjects studied, the methods of instruction , the daily program, or the discipline of the Negro schools of this period, what has already been said about them shows that they must have been taught by incompetent if not illiterate teachers, and that only the barest rudiments of learning could have been required in them. Furthermore, a picture of these schools, with much of their crudeness, [illegible], can easily be imagined from the following excellent description of one of them by the late

Mrs. Ella Shepperd Moore, one of the original Jubilee Singers of Fisk University: "My first visit as a little child to such a school was that taught by an old colored man named Dan Wadkins. He was a typical 'John Bull' in appearance, and an 'Uncle Sam' in vivacity. He used the old Webster blue-back spelling book. Each class stood up against the wall, head erect, hands down, toes straight. I recall only three classes -- the Eb, Ib, Ob class; the Baker, Maker, Taker class; and the Republication, Replication class. They spelled in unison with a musical intonation, swaying their bodies from side to side, with perfect rhythmical precision on each syllable, which we thought grand. Mr. Wadkins gave out each word with such an explosive jerk of the head and spring around of the body, that it commanded our profound respect. His eyes seemed to see everyone in the room, and woe be to the one who giggled or was inattentive, whether pupil or visitor, for such a one instantly felt a whack from his long rattan. We little visitors soon learned to spell many of the words of each class and sang them at our homes. In another school the alphabet was taught in a singing style, to wit:

'Hush, hush, everybody hush,
And-a A, b, c, d, e, f, etc.'

The colored Sunday Schools in those days were practically spelling classes in which the blue-back speller figured as the text book".

While this picture of Dan Wadkins' school may seem ludicrous to our twentieth century teachers, it should not be forgotten that a complete history of education in general in the United States would reveal to us many a white school of the middle of the nineteenth century to which the description given here would apply with remarkable aptitude.

AIM OF THESE SCHOOLS.-- To ascertain the motives which prompted the Negroes to maintain spasmodically these ante-bellum schools even in the face of strong opposition and great difficulties, was one of the purposes of this study. The reasons are not so apparent, tho the following incentives seem to have inspired the Negroes of Nashville, both free and slave, to aspire to master the mysteries of the white man's "book learning":

1. To be able to read the Bible. Just as the longing to be able to read the Bible has inspired the illiterate mountaineers of Rowan County, Kentucky, to attend moonlight schools, so it inspired the illiterate Negroes of Nashville to maintain schools where their children could learn to read.

2. Prohibition of Negro schools. The very fact that the privilege of a school was denied him, made the Negro the more eager to acquire the forbidden fruit of learning. While the laws of Tennessee did not make necessary the maintenance of "clandestine schools", such as were at Charleston, Savannah, and New Orleans, still public sentiment in Nashville was so strong against their schools that the Negroes were exceedingly anxious to find out what there was in "book learning" which was good for the white children but withheld from theirs.

3. The prediction that Negro children did not have the capacity to master the intricate mysteries of the printed page. Without any conception of how it could be of any possible service to them, the Negroes were desirous of demonstrating their ability to learn from the book as well as from the skilled laborer.

Believing that the perpetuity of slavery depended upon the continued illiteracy of the Negro, the majority of the citizens of Nashville were opposed to any sort of instruction to Negroes.

However, there were many who were prompted by a kind of missionary spirit to give instruction to their slaves. That the blue-back speller and the first reader were very much in evidence in the Sunday schools carried on among the slaves in Nashville as well as throughout the South is further evidence of the religious sentiment of those white people who made possible the existence of a few Negro schools in Nashville prior to 1861.

SUMMARY.-- Unlike nearly all of the Southern cities, Nashville had a few schools for Negro children before 1861 which were not "clandestine". These schools existed spasmodically from 1833 to 1859, but they were all of very elementary grade, taught by ignorant teachers, frequently broken up by hostile citizens, and the last one finally closed in 1859 by the City Council. Not more than ten per cent of the colored inhabitants in 1861 could read or write, and no serious attempt had yet been made by anyone to educate them. Beyond a certain indefinite craving of the Negro mind for the learning of the printed page, and a somewhat more tangible desire on the part of certain white people to evangelize the colored race, Negro education during the period covered by this chapter may well be said to have been aimless.

CHAPTER II. PERIOD OF EXPERIMENTATION, 1861-75.

SECOND PERIOD OF NEGRO EDUCATION.-- In this discussion none of the various classifications of the different periods of Negro education in America will be followed arbitrarily. The periods given will be the ones which seem the most applicable to the origin and development of Negro schools in Nashville, without any regard to the entire country. It will be seen, however, that these periods are very well adapted to the entire South. Of the time embraced in this second period of Negro education, Doctor Weatherford says: "This is the period of the army schools, the Freedman's Bureau, and of Northern domination. The 'army schools', as they were called, were made up of those Negroes who fled to the Federal armies and were organized into schools. When the Freedman's Bureau opened work in 1866, these schools had in attendance nearly one hundred thousand. When General O. O. Howard was put in charge of the Freedman's Bureau he took over these schools, gave them a better organization, doubled their attendance, and brought in a large number of the best young women of the North as teachers. That these schools did not do all that could be expected was surely not due to the lack of unselfishness on the part of these teachers."* In this chapter we shall see that Nashville figured quite prominently in this stage of the evolution of Negro schools in the South, and that not only the philanthropic and benevolent efforts to furnish education to the colored people of this city, but also the first few years of the work of the city schools for Negroes may well be

*"Negro Life in the South", pp. 94-95.

regarded as an experiment. In his notes on the early history of colored schools in Nashville, Doctor Hubbard says: "As this city was occupied by the Federal Army at an early period of the war, and could be easily reached from the North, it was one of the first places where the experiment was attempted of educating those who had formerly been slaves. We say experiment because it was so regarded not only by the great majority of the Southern people, but many at the North had grave doubts concerning its success. It was regarded by philanthropic and Christian people as a missionary enterprise, and liberal contributions of money, books, and clothes were forwarded for carrying on the work."

NASHVILLE A CITY OF REFUGE.-- In order to better understand how the great interest and enthusiasm in Negro schools to be described in this chapter were possible, the geographical and military situation of Nashville should be remembered. Thousands of Negroes flocked to this city shortly before and after the close of the War. "During the latter years of the Civil War, Nashville was thronged with colored people who were endeavpring to escape from places where their newly-acquired rights of freedom were hardly recognized."* In speaking of these Negroes who had swarmed here from all sections of the country, Dr. G. W. Hubbard says: "These people were poor beyond description. They had nothing. They were homeless, moneyless, and almost naked, and ignorant of all manner of provident living".** The kind of education which the Federal government and Northern philanthropy attempted to provide for these people and the eagerness with which the Negroes availed themselves of

*History of Davidson County.--Clayton, p.263.

**Notes compiled in 1874 on "Negro Education in Nashville".

the opportunities offered them will be given in considerable detail in the following sections of this chapter.

NEGRO SCHOOLS DURING THE WAR.-- Even a superficial knowledge of conditions in the South during the Civil War will convince one that such educational work as was described in the preceding chapter was necessarily almost entirely suspended during this period. The following quotations, tho written about the general conditions throughout the South, are quite applicable to the situation in Nashville: "During the Civil War, the education of the Negro as well as of the white children was sadly interrupted. Nevertheless, his experience in caring for the master's family and property confirmed some habits the Negro had already acquired".* "When the Bureau (Freedman's) was established, there were already in existence some schools attended by freedmen and refugees. Some of them were day schools for the younger Negro children; others were night schools in which older boys and girls, as well as adults, were instructed. There were also some industrial schools, in which women were instructed as seamstresses, and Sunday schools in which the elements of secular and religious education were taught. The Bureau sought to cooperate with the individuals and the benevolent associations by whom these schools had been founded."** The city public school at Nashville was closed the larger part of the War, and we have seen that the last Negro school of slavery times was closed in 1859, and that the nine Negro schools established by Dan Wadkins and his co-laborers in 1864 were really taken over by the benevolent associations which began their operations in Nashville in 1865.***

* "Problems in Modern Education".-- Sutton, p.232.

** Ibid, p.235.

*** Chap. 1, p. 7,9.

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* "Problems in Modern Education".-- Sutton, p.232.

** Ibid, p.235.

*** Chap. 1, p. 7,9.

Another school established during the War was the somewhat famous McKee School which was a part of the Mission maintained in Nashville from 1863 to 1871 by Rev. J. G. McKee, a young missionary sent out by the United Presbyterian Church. On October 13, 1863, Mr. McKee opened the first free school for the freedmenin Nashville and prebably the first one in the South. This school was opened in a church building in Northwest Nashville, and hundreds of people, young and old, flocked to him for instruction. Hearing of the need, the Presbyterian Mission Board sent other teachers and another school was opened in November. These schools continued to furnish instruction to hundreds of colored people until 1871, when the Board decided to move them to Knoxville, where they formed the beginning of Knoxville College which opened in 1876. Mr. McKee's work was purely a missionary enterprise and the work of the schools was incidental to what he considered the larger work of administering to the physical and spiritual needs of the nine or ten thousand Negroes then congregated at Nashville in heathenish ignorance, deep degradation, and abject wretchedness. During the eight years of their existence, these McKee Schools were attended each year by hundreds of pupils, the number of students some years reaching seven or eight hundred.

The following quetations from a pamphlet* written in 1875 by Rev. J. W. Wait on "The United Presbyterian Mission among the Freedmen in Nashville" are given here as illuminating commentaries upon the quality, aim, and achievements of not only those schools but others of like kind which were opened in Nashville during the sixties:

*This pamphlet was loaned the writer by Dr. G. W. Hubbard, President of Meharry College.

"During the latter part of December and the month of January, the suffering was so great that the teachers' time was employed in giving relief, distributing food, clothing, fuel, obtaining houses for houseless, etc. This work every way was exceedingly hard upon the teachers and made such a demand upon the sympathies and strength of Mr. McKee that he was unable to engage afterward in the duties of the school room."

"Rev. A. S. Montgomery and some of the teachers arrived September 16, 1864. An attempt was made to reopen the schools in Capers' Chapel, but the pastor, Rev. Mr. Burch, refused the use of the house. After frequent attempts, failures, and delays, permission was granted to open the schools in a small Baptist church, Southwest Nashville, within the bounds of the contraband camp. Here they opened September 21, but as it interfered with the interests of a colored teacher in the camp, the schools were dismissed the following day".

"An industrial and a night school were opened during the year. A congregation also of twenty-nine members was organized. After ten months of faithful, steady work the schools closed the 28th of June with satisfactory examinations, and the teachers returned to their homes".

Upon the opening of the city schools to the colored children in 1867 one of the buildings used by this Mission was transferred to the city, and the relation which the Mission schools were to sustain to the other Negro schools is shown by the following quotation: "The privilege of the schools had been, from their organization, extended to all classes, but as several schools in different parts of the city were now in successful operation, and as the city was about to make provision for the colored children, the Mission concluded to confine its labors, first, to those who could not obtain an education elsewhere; second, to those whose families

were identified with the Mission church; and third, to those who desired to prepare themselves for teaching or for the ministry. In carrying out this plan, the opening of the schools was delayed till after the opening of the other schools in the city".

Of this school, Dr. G.W. Moore, to whom reference was made in the preceding chapter, and who now resides on Seventeenth Avenue near Fisk University, in a personal letter to the writer says: "I was ten years of age in the summer of 1865 when I attended the school under the United Presbyterian Board of Missions known as the McKee School. This school was on a site near the Southwest corner of 13th Ave. No. and Church St., and there was another such school taught on what is now known as Hamilton St. near 12th Ave.No." It is interesting to note that in one of the publications of Knoxville College is found the following explanation of the removal of these schools from Nashville: "If Rev. Jos. G. McKee had lived it is probable that the Freedman's College of the United Presbyterian Church would have been located at Nashville. There were many causes that combined to make it clear to those in charge of the work that it was best that the work should be concentrated at some other point than Nashville, but the final and determining one was the fact that in the early seventies Nashville was already wellsupplied with schools for colored youth, and the need and opportunity were both much greater in other places".*

AGENCIES OPERATING AT NASHVILLE.-- It is both impracticable and unnecessary to discuss at length the various agencies which were directly interested in maintaining Negro schools in Nashville during the period of Reconstruction. These were or-

*"Early History of Knoxville College, p.22

ganizations of nation-wide activities and their work in Nashville was only a small part of their more or less organized and systematic labor throughout the South. However, the magnitude of the work undertaken by philanthropy can be better understood if merely a list of these denominational and benevolent societies be included in this paper.

1. The Freedman's Bureau, the great military order created by Congress in March 1865. One of the numerous functions of this Bureau was the providing of school facilities to colored children. Of the $6,513,955.55 which the Bureau expended in the South for Negro education during the five years of its existence, $50,000 was for Negro schools in Nashville.*

2. The Freedmen's Mission Board of the United Presbyterian Church whose eight years of work in Nashville has already been referred to under discussion of the McKee schools.

3. The American Missionary Association of New York City, the founder of Fisk University which has had an uninterrupted history since 1865.

4. The Western Freedman's Aid Commission of Cincinnati, whose representative in Tennessee was the first chaplain of Fisk.**

5. The Freedman's Aid Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church of Cincinnati, Ohio, which in 1865 founded Central Tennessee College, which still exists as Walden College and Meharry College.

6. The American Baptist Home Mission Society of New York, which established in 1865 The Nashville Baptist Institute which later became Roger Williams University, and which is still in operation.

*Dr. G.W.Hubbard is authority for the amount spent in Nashville, and Booker T.Washington in "Education of the Negro",p.23, for the total amount expended.
**Brief History of Fisk University.

7. The Edgefield Mission of the American Millennial Association of Boston, Mass., which opened a mission school in Nashville in 1865. This Association maintained a school for two years until the opening of the public schools to Negroes in 1867 "dried up the stream of Northern beneficence which had sustained these schools during two and a half years, employing three teachers most of the time."*

8. Pennsylvania Freedman's Relief Association, which began its work among the colored people of Nashville in 1864, and continued to conduct two schools until 1867. Since the object of this Association was to introduce the public school system of the North, no tuition was charged, and with the opening of the public schools, its schools were closed.**

9. The Pittsburg Freedmen's Aid Commission operated a school in Nashville from 1866 to 1869, which employed four teachers and had about two hundred pupils. This school, as well as two or three others which the Commission had established, was taken over by the City Board of Education, and all combined into one public school.

10. The Indiana Society of Friends had one or two schools in Nashville in 1864 and '65.

We have seen that four of the Negro schools of Nashville today -- Fisk University, Roger Williams University, Walden College, and Meharry College-- had their origin in this period of benevolent experimentation. In order to be able to show the changing conceptions of the aim of Negro education during the

*From a report of this school by Mrs. E.M.Robinson, wife of the founder. This report is now in possession of Dr. Hubbard, and was loaned the writer.

**From a report of the school by its Superintendent, W.F.Mitchell, This account of the school was written in 1875, and was loaned the writer by Dr. Hubbard.

subsequent history of these institutions, it is necessary to give a more complete account of their origin and of their early work.

ESTABLISHMENT OF FISK SCHOOL.-- Much has been written about the beginning of Fisk University which had its origin in the establishment of Fisk School in 1865;and a considerable part of these records have been preserved. The various accounts of the founding of this now celebrated college read like romance. When we read that "the number of pupils in daily attendance the first year averaged over a thousand"*; and that "in the night school were gray-haired men and women intensely eager to learn to read the Bible for themselves"**; we can well understand that great excitement and enthusiasm must have attended the opening of this school, which was the real beginning of the educational history of the colored people of Tennessee. The following account of the opening ceremony is also indicative of the importance of the occasion: "The Fisk School was opened January 9, 1866, with public exercises which, in thrilling interest and prophetic significance, have probably never been equalled by any other educational gathering in the history of Nashville. The newly emancipated people gathered by thousands about the grounds and upon the streets. A United States military band furnished the music. Addresses were made by Governor Brownlow, General Fisk, Chancellor J. Berrien Lindsley, and others. Chaplain Cravath made the proclamation that the founding of the Fisk School was the beginning of a great educational institution that should give to the emancipated race the opportunities and advantages of education which had so long been furnished to the white race in

*"History of Nashville".-- Wooldridge, p.442.
**"Brief History of Fisk University", p.11.

their colleges and universities."*

The fact that the American Missionary Association was the agency by which Fisk was founded has already been stated, but the men who are responsible for its location in Nashville and for its successful operation during this experimental stage are: General Clinton B. Fisk, Commissioner of the Freedman's Bureau for Tennessee and Kentucky, for whom the school was named; Rev. E. P. Smith, Secretary of the American Missionary Association for Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, and Georgia; and Chaplain E. M. Cravath, field agent of the Association with headquarters at Nashville. That Nashville was then considered an educational center and that this fact influenced these men in selecting this city for the location of their projected great school are evident from the following quotation: "Both men (Smith and Cravath) had been made familiar with the general features of their department by their experiences and observations during the War, and when they met in Nashville October 3, 1865, they found themselves clear and united in the conviction that Nashville was the right place for the establishment of a great central educational institution in the interests of the newly-emancipated race. The reasons that had made the city the base of extensive military operations were greatly intensified when considered in their bearing upon Nashville as a great educational center. The decision to permanently establish a great educational work in Nashville, was, accordingly, the first official act of the newly appointed officers of the American Missionary Association."**

*"Brief History of Fisk University", p.11.

Ibid, p. 9.

The school was opened in a group of one story frame buildings which had been used as barracks by the Union army, and which General Fisk had transferred from the War Department to the Freedman's Bureau. The daily and nightly gathering of the thousand and more people of all ages in these barracks to get instruction from Northern teachers reminds one of the somewhat similar crowding of students into inadequate buildings and even into every available open space to receive instruction from Abelard and others in the first years of the University of Paris, except that in the twelfth century they crowded around Abelard to learn philosophy, and in the nineteenth century around Cravath and Ogden to learn the alphabet and the primer.

Of subjects taught the first years of this school but little is told. In a personal letter, Dr. G. W. Moore, who has been connected with Fisk in official capacity from its beginning, says: "The pupils that attended Fisk School in early days were from five years of age to seventy-five years. They came from various parts of the city and studied the alphabet and primary studies". Two short sentences in "A Brief History of Fisk University" states about all that needs to be said of the organization, faculty, enrollment, and curriculum of the first year's work: "Professor Ogden became principal with a corps of fifteen teachers, and soon the number of pupils exceeded one thousand. The fifth reader, arithmetic, and grammar were the most advanced studies".

In August, 1867, Fisk University was chartered. Concerning the chartering as a university of a school doing only elementary work, it was said by one of its teachers in 1875: "Fisk University is a large name for a small institution; but let it be remembered that the infant has taken the name that it intends to wear when it comes into possession of mature powers. It has from the beginning cherished a determination that its operations

should be co-extensive with the name, and towards which its officers have steadily worked."*

The first catalog was for 1869-70, and it shows that there were that year the following departments:

1. College Preparatory

First Year: Latin; Greek; History of the World; Arithmetic.

Second Year: Latin; Greek; History of Greece; Algebra; English Analysis.

Number of pupils, 17.

2. Normal Department

A three years' course beginning with the Fourth Grade and containing the following subjects:

Reading; spelling; arithmetic, intellectual and written; geography and map drawing; penmanship; English grammar, and practice in Model School; algebra, observation in Model School; natural history; geometry; intellectual philosophy; science of education. Number of pupils, 30.

3. Model School.

Three years' work covering the First, Second, and Third Grades. Number of pupils, 477.

4. Night School.

Number of pupils, 37.

By 1875 a four years' college course and a two years theological course had been added, another year had been added to the college preparatory course, and two years to the normal department; but the large part of the students were still in the primary department - the first three grades. There were enrolled that year 10 college students, 6 theological, 43 college preparatory, 110 normal, and 266 primary. There were that year four graduates who had completed the college course consisting of four years in Latin,

*H.S. Bennett, in "Notes on History of Early Colored Schools of Nashville."

four in Greek, four in mathematics, two in science, one in French, and one in mental philosophy. Let it be remembered also that this course came after a three years' college preparatory course consisting largely of Latin, Greek, algebra, amd ancient history. A remarkable curriculum for people only ten years removed from slavery!

THE BEGINNING OF ROGER WILLIAMS UNIVERSITY.-- In 1864 Rev. D. W. Phillips who was sent to Nashville by the American Baptist Home Mission Society to establish a Negro school, opened a school in his own residence. Out of this little company of students grew the Nashville Baptist Institute which began in a church building in 1866, and which was chartered as Roger Williams University in 1883. Although opening with fewer students and with less sounding of trumpets than attended the beginning of Fisk School, the origin of this school really antedates that of Fisk. From the Baptist Church on "Lick Branch", the Institute was transfewred in 1867 to a building in which one of the city schools for Negroes is now taught andbecame the Nashville Normal and Theological Institute. In 1876 the Institute opened in its new building on the present site of the George Peabody College for Teachers.

There seems to have been no catalog issued until 1873-74, but a report of the school made by its president in 1874 is among the Notes on the History of Colored Schools in Nashville, compiled and preserved by Dr. Hubbard, and from that report was gleaned the following facts: The original purpose of the founder of this school was to establish a school for colored young men preparing for the ministry. It was soon found, however, that therewere but few young colored people prepared for theological training, or who could even read the New Testament intelligently, and that all were unacquainted with the other branches of an English edu-

cation. For that reason the school was reorganized as a Normal and Theological Institute.

The school was not designed to compete with the public schools, but was for those for whom, on account of age or attainments, the public schools made no provision. The subjects taught were: Primary English branches, algebra, geometry, physical geography, natural philosophy, anatomy, physiology, rhetoric, Latin, Greek, vocal and instrumental music.

That a school for training colored preachers was not popular with the race is shown by the following quotation from this report: "When we commenced our work here, our object was not understood nor appreciated. That a man called of God to preach His gospel needed any other qualifications than strong lungs and throat was a new idea among the people. There is now no demand in the Churches for educated ministers, but the better class of the young people are beginning to realize more and more clearly that the only hope for the elevation of their people rests on literary and religious culture. They are gathered here from a very wide extent of country, from the Lakes to the Gulf; from the Western border of Missouri and the Indian Territory. Most of our scholars are adults, and I strongly urge upon them to eschew politics and fit themselves to lead their people up from the depths of ignorance and degradation."

The catalogs upto 1875 do not give any additional information as to subjects in the course. They show, however, that there were five teachers, from 100 to 150 students, and that "candidates for admission to the Institute must give assurance of good morals and must be able to read readily in the Fourth Reader". That teachers of the barest rudiments of a common

school education were sent out from this school to all sections of the South is shown by the catalog statement of the Normal Course: "The Normal Course is designed to impart such a knowledge of the common English branches as shall enable the students to teach successfully in the common schools. It includes reading, spelling, writing, arithmetic, geography, grammar, English composition. Students of good ability, by diligence, can complete this course in two years".

ORIGIN OF WALDEN UNIVERSITY AND MEHARRY COLLEGE.-- Two other Negro schools of Nashville which had their origin in this period of experimentation are Walden University and Meharry College, the latter having been a department of the former until 1915 when it was chartered as a separate institution. Established first in 1864 as a primary school in a chapel with four teachers, the school soon outgrew this building and in 1866 removed to a large brick building on South College Street known as the "Gun Factory", which was in possession of the Federal government as"abandoned property". During 1866-67 there was in this "Gun Factory" in South Nashville a school very much like the Fisk School in the barracks in North Nashville. The attendance was nearly eight hundred* and the work seems to have been quite similar to that of the Fisk School already described. The school was incorporated in 1866 as Central Tennessee College, and in 1890 the name was changed to Walden University. Much difficulty was experienced in securing a desirable site where the citizens did not object to the location of a Negro school. The first site selected and purchased was near the Medical College, but because of the objections of citizens of the neighborhood, the sale was annulled by the courts. The advisability of removing to some smaller town, as Franklin or Murfreesboro,was seriously considered, but the protests of

*"History of Nashville," Wooldridge,--p.450.

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*"History of Nashville," Wooldridge,--p.450.

these towns led to the abandonment of the idea of leaving Nashville. Property was purchased on what is now First Avenue, South, (the present location of the school) and with funds contributed by the Freedmen's Aid Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and the Freedman's Bureau two large brick buildings were erected. The school has always been under the control of the Freedmen's Aid Society of the Methodist Church. From "Notes on the Early History of Central Tennessee College" written in 1875 by Rev. John Braden, who was its president until his death in 1900, the following quotatations are given, not so much for their historical significance as for the side-light which they throw upon certain phases of the school's work during this periodof its history: "The first catalog was published this year (1869) and showed an enrollment of one hundred ninety two students in all departments. The primary class was thrown out of the course of study and none admitted who could not read in the Second Reader".

"The catalog (1870-71) showed an enrollment this year of 226. The departments organized were the Intermediate, Academic, Normal, Preparatory, and Theological. Many of the students in the Academic and Normal Departments were engaged in teaching, and although but partially prepared, yet such was the ignorance of the colored people in the country places that students who had not advanced beyond the Third Reader and simple addition found employment as teachers, and did a good work in imparting a knowledge of letters and reading to their people."

"A course of lectures was delivered to the theological students on Church polity and pastoral work by ministers, resident and others, also on ancient history, physiology, and hygiene. The students were more punctual in attendance and were at school for a longerperiod than before and seemed to have clearer ideas

of acquiring knowledge of the higher branches. Classes in algebra, geometry, Latin, Greek, natural sciences, and Biblical studies were taught and the scholars passed such examinations as gave great satisfaction to the numerous visitors and examiners who were present at the close of the year".

BEGINNING OF PUBLIC COLORED SCHOOLS.-- Nashville was one of the first cities in the South to provide free public schools for colored children. According to the Negro Year Book, General Banks issued in 1864 an order for the establishment in Louisiana of a system of public schools for freedmen. This was the first complete system of public schools in the South supported by taxation. The next Southern State to establish a system of public schools to include Negroes was Tennessee.* In June 1867 the City Council passed the following ordinance providing for the establishment of colored schools: **

"Schools for Colored Children

Section 1. That a system of free public schools for the education of the bona fide resident colored scholastic population of the city is hereby established. * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

Section 3. That the same rules, laws, and regulations passed by the City Council for the control of the existing public schools shall, so far as they are applicable, apply to the schools herein established."

Two schools for Negro children were opened in September 1867, one in a two-story brick building which the city purchased for $10,000, and which is still used by one of the Negro

*"Negro Year Book (1917), pp. 224,225.

**"Acts of City Council of Nashville for 1867", pp.170,171.

schools, and the other in a rented frame building. With the opening of these public schools a large number of children were transferred to them from the private schools, the enrollment of the two schools being about five hundred children. Dr. G. W. Hubbard was principal of one of these schools, and from him it was learned that 2500 pupils were enrolled in the two schools between 1867 and 1874; that in 1868 the second school was removed to the "Gun Factory" in which Central Tennessee College was first domiciled; thatthe number of teachers in each school was from seven to nine, nearly all of whom were white; that the course of study was exactly the same as that in the white schools, though none finished the entire course of seven grades until 1874; that several of the private schools which had been conducted by the various benevolent agencies were transferred to the public schools; that the total amount expended by the city for colored schools up to 1874 was $100,000; and that the amounts expended by other agencies up to that date were: by benevolent associations, $150,000; by Freedman's Bureau, $50,000.

The files of the annual reports to the City Board of Education were examined, but no report for 1867-68 was published. The report for 1869 showed an attendance of 550 in both schools while the report for 1871 showed that it had increased to 810, with an average monthly attendance of 487, and that theaverage age of Negro pupils was 10 years and 6 months. These figures show that the two schools were crowded to their utmost capacity and that the average age was about the same as it was in the white schools. Three-fourths of the pupils were in the first and second grades.

That the public schools were not well attended by either race at the close of the period embraced in this chapter is ap-

parent from the following figures for 1874-75:

	Population	Of school age	Enrolled in public schools
Whites	17,103	5,759	3,066
Colored	9,911	3,092	932

Some of the difficulties encountered, the racial prejudices met with, and the lack of cooperation of all agencies in the inauguration of the public colored schools are indicated in the following quotations taken from official reports:

"In putting it (the new public school system) in operation we had difficulties without and within to contend against, all of which are now in a measure overcome -- the poverty, prejudice, and want of buildings occasioned by the late war.******* This time we had to meet and overcome both difficulty and insult in almost every place we went. We collected our energies and went to work on a second ascent which we found more difficult than the first on account of new obstacles in the way, which our inglorious descent threw up. * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * Among the great difficulties to overcome, one of the greatest was getting colored schools started. There were no houses for that purpose and there was a general prejudice against Negro education, so there were only a few white people who would and dared assist the colored people in building school houses. * * * * * * * * * The Freedmen's Bureau assisted in some cases to build school houses, but it did not do half that it could or might have done. The agent, we think, lost sight of the greatest good to the greatest number, or in other words the public good, by keeping his eyes too closely fixed upon what might be called private enterprises, as they are more denominational than national. * * * * * * * * * * * * * During the progress of the schools the first year, five school houses were burned --

four colored and one white - by some malignant parties who prefer ignorance to knowledge, and vice to virtue.* * * * * The school law may require improvement and does, as nothing human is perfect, but in spite of its imperfections and the almost insurmountable difficulties with which the school officers had to contend, much has been done to establish a permanent free school system in Tennessee."*

"There has been a continuous falling off in the number enrolled since the first made provision for their education in 1867. This is partly attributed to the migration of that class of population to the rural districts, and in part to the reaction which naturally succeeded the false enthusiasm excited by over-sanguine philanthropists during the first years of their emancipation. It is gratifying to know, however, that while the novelty of getting learning has lost its charms with the numbers who once thronged our schools, those who remain are gradually becoming more punctual and regular in attendance, and are making slow but sure progress in their studies."**

That there was considerable opposition to the opening of the public schools to colored children, and that these Negro schools were for several years subjected to something like the same treatment which characterized the antebellum schools attended by J.C.Napier, can easily be inferred from the fact that the City Council found it necessary to enact the following ordinance:

"Police Regulations.

Section 1, That it shall be unlawful for boys to congregate on any of the yards belonging to the public schools of the city, it being hereby declared to be the duty of parents and guardians to prevent their boys violating this ordinance,and also

*From annual report of J.P.McKee,Supt. Davidson County Public Schools in 1869,in Clayton's History of Davidson County,pp.247-8.
**Annual report (1871) of Pear,Supt. of Nashville Public Schools.

made the duty of the police to disperse all collections hereby prohibited, and if necessary to arrest the offenders. * * * Any damages done to windows or glass in the school buildings by bad boys throwing rocks or other substances against them shall be paid for by the parents or guardians of the boys doing the depredation."*

The further development of this reaction referred to by Supt. Pear in 1871, will be shown in Chapter III.

AIMS OF NEGRO EDUCATION DURING THIS PERIOD.-- The years from 1861 to 1875 were years of great educational activity among the ten thousand people of Nashville who had just obtained their freedom. But this activity was unlike any other upheaval of all history. The establishment of the various schools discussed in this chapter was attended by all the religious enthusiasm of the Crusades, by all the zealous searching for new learning of the Renaissance, by all the evangelistic spirit of the Wesleyan movement, by all the opposition of the Reformation, and by all the self-denial of Monasticism. Despite all of these things, however, the most of this unprecedented activity was without any definite educational aim on the part of either the teachers from the North or the emancipated slaves who thronged the streets of Nashville for civil and military protection. Up to this time there had not been a definite policy in the management of the work of providing educational facilities to the freedmen. Except in the case of such men as Brademp Phillips, Cravath, and Hubbard, whose constructive and abiding work will be carried over into the period of our next chapter,

*"Laws of Nashville", 1872, p.172. This section in the chapter on "Schools for Colored Children".

there was in the minds of the most of the teachers merely an undefined idea of the importance of establishing and maintaining missions among the ex-slaves; but what these missions were to accomplish - beyond a sort of itinerant preaching of the Gospel and teaching the simplest rudiments of the common school studies - as well as what permanent shape the work would take, seem to have been given but scant attention. Hence it is that there was but little of permanent result to much of the work of these years. The history of the colored schools of this period shows conclusively that their aim was to train teachers and preachers rather than to give the masses of these people the kind of education which would help them to become useful, intelligent, productive citizens. The catalog of the Nashville Institute for 1873-74 thus expresses this aim: "The primary object of the school is to prepare pious young men for the ministry; and both men and women for teachers. The most assiduous attention is paid to the cultivation of pure morality and earnest piety." The real educational needs of the Negro were not being wisely considered when the prospective teachers were put to studying Latin and Greek in the fourth year of their school life. This attempt to teach pupils a foreign language before they have been taught to secure some harmony among the parts of their own vernacular is one of the most grotesque and irrational acts of the history of education. But severe criticism of the work of these pioneers of Negro education in Nashville would be very unjust. They were simply applying to these colored people the educational regimen of cultured New England and of the aristocratic South; and since the Negro's greatest ambition was to be exactly like his former master, this kind of education was, of course, quite popular for a while. The inevitable reaction was to come later.

SUMMARY.-- In this chapter it has been shown that Negro as well as white schools in Nashville were sadly interrupted during

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SUMMARY.-- In this chapter it has been shown that Negro as well as white schools in Nashville were sadly interrupted during

the Civil War; that during the closing years of the War the city was thronged with ignorant, helpless Negroes who came here for the protection of the Federal troops; that no less than ten benevolent societies were engaged in missionary and educational work during the sixties; that the four higher educational institutions for Negroes of Nashville today had their origin during this period of experimentation; that these schools were attended by hundreds and even thousands of students of all ages; that the city first provided free schools for colored children in 1867; and that all the educational endeavor of this period was either aimless or without the real needs of the Negro race in mind.

CHAPTER III. PERIOD OF ACADEMIC SUPREMACY; 1875-1900/

By 1875 Negro education had passed the experimental stage in Nashville, as well as throughout the entire South. The operation of the law of the survival of the fittest, or some other eliminating process, had reduced the number of private Negro schools in Nashville to three -- Fisk University, Central Tennessee College (called Walden University after 1900), and Nashville Normal and Theological Institute (chartered as Roger Williams University in 1883). The permanency of these three institutions which were owned, controlled, and supported by three great religious and philanthropic organizations,* was no longer problematic. Furthermore, the foundations for a universal public free school system throughout the entire nation had been laid by this time, and Nashville and Tennessee were definitely committed to the policy of maintaining a dual system of public schools for both the white and colored children.

In this chapter it will be shown that during the last quarter of the nineteenth century there was but little if any indication of a desire to initiate a system or plan of education which would be adapted to the greatest needs of a backward and illiterate race which had just emerged from two hundred and fifty years of servitude; that instead of practical or vocational training being provided for the Negroes of Nashville there was developed for them a scheme of education as nearly as possible like that which a century before had been projected for the choicest New England youth. Up to this time the sole function of the colleges, academies, and seminaries had been

*Chap.II, p.19.

to give a "liberal" education to the few children who had the time, the money, the capacity, and the inclination to complete the one uniform course of study. For that reason the third period of Negro education in Nashville is called the period of the supremacy of the academic as contrasted with the practical. The meaning here given to "academic" is that given by Henderson who, in his discussion of the evolution of the academic, defines it as follows: "The academic is a form of culture pursued for its own sake, and without reference to practical application".* Since there was almost no point of contact between the private and the public schools of this period, they will be treated separately.

PRIVATE INSTITUTIONS.

MATERIAL GROWTH.-- During this period the three private schools had a marked growth in buildings and equipment. While their growth in resources was by no means commensurate with their ambition to assume all the functions and prerogatives of real universities, still through the benevolences of Northern philanthropists they secured buildings and equipment sufficient to compare favorably with the small colleges of the country which were doing a similar grade of work for white students. Because of the remarkable financial success of the five campaigns of the Jubilee Singers of Fisk University, this school early gained a considerable ascendency over the other two schools which it has continued to hold to the present. The account of the achievements of these Jubilee Singers reads like a romance and a resume of their entire work is given in the Jubilee Singers Number of the Fisk University News, October 1911. These campaigns which extended over a period of seven

*"Principles of Education," p. 502.

years, and two of which carried them into the countries of Europe netted them $150,000, which was no small sum for college buildings forty years ago. It is not strangem therefore, that the Jubilee Singers and the folk songs of their race still play such a prominent role at Fisk.

Since the material resources of the institutions have considerable bearing upon the changing conceptions of the aim of these schools, as seen in their forty years history, the following table will show that in value of grounds and buildings and in annual income these schools compare quite favorably with the average denominational college of the country of those days -- and they were then nearly all denominational:*

RESOURCES OF SOME SOUTHERN COLLEGES OF GOOD STANDING IN 1888.

stitution	Location	Value of plant	Endowment	Annual income
Southern University	Greensboro, Ala.	$80,000	$26,000	$4,810
Emory College	Oxford, Ga.	100,000	95,000	12,800
Berea College	Berea, Ky.	110,000	100,000	7,181
Trinity College	Durham, N.C.	40,000	36,000	9,000
Wofford College	Spartanburg, S.C.	80,000	60,000	------
University of the South	Sewanee, Tenn.	165,000	3,460	21,500
Baylor University	Waco, Texas.	115,000	0	9,500
Emory & Henry College	Emory, Va.	150,000	60,000	6,000
Randolph-Macon College	Ashland, Va.	80,000	100,000	19,000
.Fisk University	Nashville, Tenn.	275,000	10,850	9,432
.Central Tennessee College	Nashville, Tenn.	70,000	10,000	5,883
.Roger Williams University	Nashville, Tenn.	100,000	0	6,233.

*This table was compiled from United States Commissioner od Education's Report for 1889 and from the catalogs of the three Negro schools for that year.

BEGINNING AT THE TOP.-- The ambition of the three private Negro schools of Nashville to appropriate to themselves the high-sounding title of "university" and to project a scheme of higher education on the level of European culture for a race which had hitherto been denied the alphabet, was not peculiar to this city. Of the sixty-one so-called colleges and universities for Negroes now in the United States, thirty were established before 1875, or within ten years after the close of the Civil War.* The two opposing views of the Negroes themselves as to the wisdom or unwisdom of this procedure are well stated by two great educational leaders of their race, Booker T. Washington, the apostle of industrial education, and Kelly Miller, the scholarly writer and professor at Howard University. In speaking of this policy, Dr. Washington says: "In too large a measure the Negro race began its development at the wrong end, simply because neither white nor black understood the case; and no wonder, for there had never been such a case in the history of the world."** In defense of the policy Mr. Miller says: "Of late we have heard much criticism to the effect that education of the race began on top instead of at the bottom. Naturally enough, these schools were patterned after the traditional academic type then prevailing in New England. Indeed, the education of people should begin at the top, if we are to look to historical development of the human race for the proper method. In education as in religion, the good things proceed from above, and trickle downward, carrying their beneficences to the masses below. Just as Yale and Harvard are the foster mothers of New England educational progress, so these Negro universities and colleges produced the teachers, ministers,

**"Negro Year Book for 1912", p.262-63.
***"The Future of the Negro", p.48.

physicians, lawyers, editors, and enlightened leaders who are guiding and directing the race life today along better ways."*

Unquestionably this contention that the establishment of colleges and universities before the development of a system of elementary and industrial education was consistent with all past educational history is well founded, and the establishment of three Negro "universities" in Nashville before one-fourth of the race could read or write, was simply in accord with the time-honored custom of their former masters.

That it was the aim of the promoters of these institutions to make them distinctively for higher education is shown by extracts from their catalogs or other publications. In a pamphlet issued by Fisk University in 1897 it is stated:

"At the beginning of the enterprise, the purpose of establishing for the colored people of the South a university that should adequately provide for them the advantages of a Christian education, to whatever extent the capacity and energy of the race should in the future demand, was distinctly announced." * * * * "To found a college and to thoroughly establish among the colored youth the conviction of the absolute necessity of patient, long-continued, exact, and comprehensive work in preparation for high positions and large responsibilities, seemed fundamental to the accomplishment of the true mission of the University. Solid, radical, and permanent results have been sought in all methods of work." * * * * * * "Fisk University aims to be a great center of the best Christian educational forces for the training of the colored youth of the South, that they may be rightly disciplined and inspired for leaders in the vitally important work that needs to be done for their race in this country and on the continent of Africa."**

* "Fisk University: Its History and Organization", p.3.

All the catalogs of the Nashville Normal and Theological Institute from 1878 to 1883 contained the following introduction to the outline of course of study: "The following enlarged courses of study are laid down with the understanding that the Nashville Normal and Theological Institute is not a preparatory school; it undertakes to fit young men and women, not for another institution, but for their life work." This was even before it was "expanded" into a university in 1883.

In the catalog of Walden University for 1911-12 a brief history of the institution is given, and in reference to the change of name in 1890 from Central Tennessee College to Walden University, it is stated: "The name of the institution was changed to conform to her real character, with her various departments, to a university, and was named 'Walden University.'"

COURSES OF STUDY.-- There is no better way of determining the aim of an institution at a given time than to know what subjects were at that time included in its curriculum. An examination of the catalogs of all three of the institutions under discussion showed that they were all offering practically the same work during the greater part of the period covered in this chapter. For that reason only a few courses are given, but they may very well be regarded as typical of the courses of all three institutions of those dates. These courses are given just as they appeared in the catalogs:

Courses of Study Fisk University, 1880.

-College Preparatory-

Junior Class		Middle Class		Senior Class	
1st term	2nd term	1st term	2nd term	1st term	2nd term
Latin	Latin	Latin	Latin	Latin	Latin
Arithmetic	Bookkeeping	Algebra	Algebra	Algebra	Geometry
English Composition	U. S. History	Greek	Greek	Greek	Greek

Rhetorical exercises weekly during the course.

(Courses of study, Fisk University, continued)

-College-

Freshman	
1st term	2nd term
Latin	Latin; Roman History
Greek	Greek
University Algebra	Geometry; Trigonometry

Sophomore	
1st term	2nd term
Greek	Latin; Roman History
Trigonometry & Surveying	Conic sections.
French	French; Botany

Junior	
1st term	2nd term
Latin	Greek
German	German
Physics	Physiology; Astronomy

Senior	
1st term	2nd term
Mental Science	Mental Science
English Literature; Rhetoric	Latin
Logic	Greek
Chemistry	Zoology, Geology, Constitutional Law; Political Economy.

Weekly exercises and declamations, essays, and original addresses during the entire course.

The above course required for degree of Bachelor of Arts.

Students omitting either Latin or Greek, and pursuing instead such other studies as the faculty may direct are graduated with degree of Bachelor of Science.

-Normal Department-

The course of study in this department begins with White's Complete Arithmetic, and requires a knowledge of Primary Geography, White's Intermediate Arithmetic, and the Fourth Reader, or an equivalent in these studies. It aims to prepare the student to teach those branches usually taught in common schools.

Grade E:

Arithmetic through fractions; Geography; Oral Grammar; object Lessons.

Grade D:

Arithmetic to percentage; Geography with map drawing; Reed & Kellog's Graded Lessons; Oral Science.

Grade C:

Arithmetic to partnership; Geography with map drawing; Reed & Kellog's Higher Lessons in English; Science of common things.

Grade B:

Arithmetic completed; Analysis, and Swinton's School Composition; Physical Geography; Science.

Grade A:

Bookkeeping; United States History; Latin; Geology of Tennessee; Theory and Practice of Teaching; General Review; Observation and Practice Teaching in Model School.

Exercises in writing, spelling, and drawing, vocal music, gymnastics, declamation, and composition during the course. Intellectual Arithmetic is pursued with written Arithmetic.

-Higher Normal-

For admission to this department the candidate must have completed the normal course or its equivalent. Students who complete the studies of this department receive a diploma certifying their fitness to teach in schools of advanced grade.

First Year		Second Year		Third Year	
1st term	2nd term	1st term	2nd term	1st term	2nd term
in	Latin	Latin	English Literature	French or German	French or German
ebra	Algebra	Algebra	Geometry	Geometry; Trigonometry	Land Surveying.
lish story	Physiology, Botany	Natural Philosophy; Astronomy.		Chemistry	Zoology; Geology.
				Theory and Practice of Teaching	Theory and Practice of Teaching.

-Theological Department-

First Year

Biblical Exegesis; Skeletonizing; Sermonizing; Homiletics; Mental and Moral Philosophy; Rhetorical exercises.

Second Year

Biblical Exegesis; Sermonizing; Systematic Theology; Biblical Geography; Rules of Interpretation; Rhetorical exercises.

Third Year

Topical Exegesis; Ecclesiastical History; Biblical Archaeology; Pastoral Theology; Sermonizing.

COURSES OF STUDY IN FISK UNIVERSITY, 1893-'94.

-College Preparatory-

JUNIOR CLASS			MIDDLE CLASS		
t term	2nd term	3rd term	1st term	2nd term	3rd term
tin	Latin	Latin	Latin	Latin	Latin
lgebra	Algebra	Algebra	Greek	Greek	Greek
ysical Ge- ography	English Hist.	Eng.History	Roman History	Modern Hist. Bookkeeping	Arithmetic Bookkeeping

SENIOR YEAR		
t term	2nd term	3rd term
tin	Latin	Latin
reek	Greek	Greek
iversity Al- gebra	University Algebra	Geometry

xercises in declamation and essay writing throughout the course.

-College Department-

FRESHMAN			SOPHOMORE		
t term	2nd term	3rd term	1st term	2nd term	3rd term
tin	Latin	Latin	Greek	Latin	Latin
reek	Greek	Greek	Conic Sections; Calculus	Calculus	Botany
iversity Algebra	Spherical Geometry	Surveying	Rhetoric, optional with Calculus. French	Civil Government French	French

JUNIOR YEAR			SENIOR YEAR		
t term	2nd term	3rd term	1st term	2nd term	3rd term
tin	Greek	Greek	Psychology	Logic	Ethics
erman	German	German	English Literature	Political Economy	Political Econ
ysics	Physiology	Astronomy	Chemistry	Zoology	Geology Mineralogy

Rhetorical and literary work required throughout the whole course.

-Normal Department-

FIRST YEAR			SECOND YEAR		
st term	2nd term	3rd term	1st term	2nd term	3rd te
atin Algebra	Latin Algebra	Latin Algebra	Latin Arithmetic	Latin Bookkeeping	Latin Arithmeti
hysical Geography	English History	English History	Hygiene & Nursing Pedagogics.	Physiology	Botany

COURSES OF STUDY IN FISK UNIVERSITY, 1893-'94.

-College Preparatory-

JUNIOR CLASS

1st term	2nd term	3rd term
Latin	Latin	Latin
Algebra	Algebra	Algebra
Physical Geography	English Hist.	Eng. History

MIDDLE CLASS

1st term	2nd term	3rd term
Latin	Latin	Latin
Greek	Greek	Greek
Roman History	Modern Hist.	Arithmetic
	Bookkeeping	Bookkeeping

SENIOR YEAR

1st term	2nd term	3rd term
Latin	Latin	Latin
Greek	Greek	Greek
University Algebra	University Algebra	Geometry

Exercises in declamation and essay writing throughout the course.

-College Department-

FRESHMAN

1st term	2nd term	3rd term
Latin	Latin	Latin
Greek	Greek	Greek
University Algebra	Spherical Geometry	Surveying

SOPHOMORE

1st term	2nd term	3rd term
Greek	Latin	Latin
Conic Sections; Calculus	Calculus	Botany
Rhetoric, optional with Calculus. French	Civil Government French	French

JUNIOR YEAR

1st term	2nd term	3rd term
Latin	Greek	Greek
German	German	German
Physics	Physiology	Astronomy

SENIOR YEAR

1st term	2nd term	3rd term
Psychology	Logic	Ethics
English Literature	Political Economy	Political Economy
Chemistry	Zoology	Geology
		Mineralogy

Rhetorical and literary work required throughout the whole course.

-Normal Department-

FIRST YEAR

1st term	2nd term	3rd term
Latin	Latin	Latin
Algebra	Algebra	Algebra
Physical Geography	English History	English History

SECOND YEAR

1st term	2nd term	3rd term
Latin	Latin	Latin
Arithmetic	Bookkeeping	Arithmetic
Hygiene & Nursing Pedagogics.	Physiology	Botany

ormal Department, continued)

	THIRD YEAR		FOURTH YEAR		
t term	2nd term	3rd term	1st term	2nd term	3rd term
gebra	Algebra	Geometry	Reviews	Reviews	Reviews
cient His-			Mental Science	Mental Sci.	Ethics
ory	Mediaeval His-		Physics	Geology	Astronomy
	tory	Modern History			Practice
etoric	English Lit-	English Literature			teaching.
	erature	Practice Teaching.			

Students whocomplete two years of this course are given certificates of eir qualifications to teach in public schools.

-Theological Department-

FIRST YEAR

d Testament; New Testament; Natural Theology; Evidences of Christianity; mparative Study of Religions; Homiletics.

SECOND YEAR

d Testament; New Testament; Systematic Theology; Church Polity.

THIRD YEAR

d Testament; Church History; History of Doctrines; Homiletics; Pastoral ology.

Upon the completion of this course the degree of Bachelor of Divinity l be conferred.

COURSES OF STUDY NASHVILLE NORMAL and THEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE, 1878-79.

I. The Normal Course.

This course is designed to impart such a knowledge of the common English nches as shall enable the student to teach successfully in the common ools. It includes Reading, Spelling, Writing, Geography, Grammar and Eng- h Composition. While it is possible that some students should complete s course in two years, it has been found that for most students, three years requisite.

II. The Scientific Course.

his course is arranged for those who have the ability to grasp Mathematical

Scientific studies and wish a thorough education in the English branches
ne. This course for many students is the most desirable. It extends through
years.

FIRST YEAR.

rst Term	Second Term
ithmetic (Complete)	Algebra
lish Analysis	English Analysis
ted States History	United States History

SECOND YEAR.

st Term	Second Term
ebra	Algebra
ural Philosophy	Natural Philosophy
ient History (Grecian)	Ancient History (Roman)

THIRD YEAR.

t Term	Second term
sical Geography	Physical Geography
ural Philosophy	Physiology
nistry	Chemistry

FOURTH YEAR.

t Term	Second Term
etry, or Botany	Geometry and Trigonometry or Zoology.
onomy	Arithmetic (reviewed)
lish Grammar (Reviewed)	

FIFTH YEAR.

t Term	Second Term
bra (higher) or English History.	Algebra (higher), or English History
eric	Rhetoric
e	Political Economy

SIXTH YEAR.

t Term	Second Term
l Philosophy	Mental Philosophy
l Philosophy	Moral Philosophy
titution of the United States.	Christian Evidences.

III. The Academic Course.

This course is designed for those who desire something of the extra train-
in language which the careful study of a foreign tongue secures. This also
rs a period of six years. This course is identical with the Scientific
e, except that for four years, Latin displaces some of the English studies.

FIRST YEAR

Term	Second Term
metic (complete)	Algebra
analysis	English analysis
	Latin

entific studies and wish a thorough education in the English branches This course for many students is the most desirable. It extends through rs.

FIRST YEAR.

Term	Second Term
etic (Complete)	Algebra
Analysis	English Analysis
States History	United States History

SECOND YEAR.

Term	Second Term
a	Algebra
l Philosophy	Natural Philosophy
t History (Grecian)	Ancient History (Romam)

THIRD YEAR.

Term	Second term
al Geography	Physical Geography
l Philosophy	Physiology
try	Chemistry

FOURTH YEAR.

Term	Second Term
try, or Botany	Geometry and Trigonometry or Zoology.
nomy	
sh Grammar (Reviewed)	Arithmetic (reviewed)

FIFTH YEAR.

Term	Second Term
bra (higher) or English History.	Algebra (higher), or English History
eric	Rhetoric
e	Political Economy

SIXTH YEAR.

t Term	Second Term
al Philosophy	Mental Philosophy
al Philosophy	Moral Philosophy
tution of the United States.	Christian Evidences.

III. The Academic Course.

This course is designed for those who desire something of the extra train- in language which t he careful study of a foreign tongue secures. This also rs a period of six years. This course is identical with the Scientific rse, except that for four years, Latin displaces some of the English studies.

FIRST YEAR

t Term	Second Term
hmetic (complete)	Algebra
ish analysis	English analysis
in	Latin

l Scientific studies and wish a thorough education in the English branches one. This course for many students is the most desirable. It extends through x years.

FIRST YEAR.

rst Term	Second Term
ithmetic (Complete)	Algebra
glish Analysis	English Analysis
lted States History	United States History

SECOND YEAR.

rst Term	Second Term
gebra	Algebra
tural Philosophy	Natural Philosophy
cient History (Grecian)	Ancient History (Romam)

THIRD YEAR.

rst Term	Second term
ysical Geography	Physical Geography
tural Philosophy	Physiology
emistry	Chemistry

FOURTH YEAR.

rst Term	Second Term
metry, or Botany	Geometry and Trigonometry or Zoology.
tronomy	Arithmetic (reviewed)
glish Grammar (Reviewed)	

FIFTH YEAR.

rst Term	Second Term
gebra (higher) or English History.	Algebra (higher), or English History
toric	Rhetoric
ic	Political Economy

SIXTH YEAR.

rst Term	Second Term
tal Philosophy	Mental Philosophy
ral Philosophy	Moral Philosophy
stitution of the United States.	Christian Evidences.

III. The Academic Course.

This course is designed for those who desire something of the extra train- in language which the careful study of a foreign tongue secures. This also rs a period of six years. This course is identical with the Scientific rse, except that for four years, Latin displaces some of the English studies.

FIRST YEAR

st Term	Second Term
thmetic (complete)	Algebra
glish analysis	English analysis
tin	Latin

SECOND YEAR

st Term	Second Term
ebra	Algebra
ural Philosophy	Natural Philosophy
in	Latin

THIRD YEAR

st Term	Second Term
sical Geography	Physiology
mistry	Chemistry
in	Latin

FOURTH YEAR.

st Term	Second Term
metry or botany	Geometry or Trigonometry or Zoology;
ronomy	Geology
in	Latin

FIFTH YEAR.

st Term	Second Term
ebra (higher)or English History	Algebra (higher) or English History
toric	Rhetoric
ic	Political Economy.

SIXTH YEAR.

st Term	Second Term
tal Philosophy	Mental Philosophy
al Philosophy	Moral Philosophy
ek	Greek.

IV. The Classical Course.

. This Course is recommended to those onlywho have special aptitude for guistic studies. For the purpose of mental discipline, the comparison of own with a foreign tongue, or the understanding of English Etymology, the in language may suffice. The Greek in addition, is commended, for the pres-, to those only who can make it practically useful for the better under-nding of the New Testament.

FIRST YEAR.

rst Term	Second Term
ithmetic (complete)	Algebra
glish Analysis	English Analysis
tin	Latin

SECOND YEAR.

rst Term	Second Term
gebra	Algebra
tural Philosophy	Natural Philosophy
tin	Latin.

THIRD YEAR.

t Term	Second Term
ical Geography	Physiology
istry	Chemistry
n	Latin

FOURTH YEAR.

t Term	Second Term
etry	Geometry & Trigonometry
n	Latin
k	Greek

FIFTH YEAR.

t Term	Second Term
oric	Rhetoric
e	Political Economy
k	Greek

SIXTH YEAR.

t Term	Second Term
al Philosophy	Mental Philosophy
l Philosophy	Moral Philosophy
k	Greek

V. The Theological Course.

The studies and instruction of this Course presuppose the knowledge and al discipline acquired by passing through the previous courses. It aims over, so far as possible, the English studies commonly included in the iculum of the theological seminaries.

FIRST YEAR.

First Term

I. Christian Doctrine:
   1. The existence of God.
   2. The authenticity, inspiration and authority of the sacred Scriptures.
   3. The methods, progress and course of revelation.
   4. The principles of interpretation.

II. Ecclesiastic History.
   1. The founding, development and spread of the Church.

III. Construction of Sermons.
   1. The method of sermonizing.
   2. The analysis of texts, paragraphs and themes.
   3. Analytical reports of sermons heard.

Second Term

I. Christian Doctrine.
   1. The attributes of God.
   2. The Trinity.
   3. The divine decrees.
   4. The works of creation and providence.

(Second term, continued)

II. Ecclesiastical History.
    1. The ages of persecution.
    2. The rise and progress of corruption and heresies and the development of the papacy.
III. Construction of Sermons.
    1. Practice in writing sermons.
    2. Analytical reports of sermons heard.

SECOND YEAR
First Term

I. Christian Doctrine.
    1. Man, - his original state, fall and present state by nature.
    2. The person and work of Christ.
    3. The person and work of the Holy Spirit.
    4. The condition of salvation.
    5. The evidence of regeneration.
    6. The principles and methods of growth in grace, - law-work, faith and the use of means.
II. Ecclesiastical History.
    1. The rise of modern denominations.
III. Baptist Apologetics.
    1. The distinguishing doctrines of the Baptist churches.
    2. The evidence and methods of defense.

COURSE OF STUDY ROGER WILLIAMS UNIVERSITY, 1886-'87.

-Classical Course-

Preparatory -FIRST YEAR.

First Term	Second Term
Latin Grammar	Latin, Roman History
Latin Reader	Greek Reader
Algebra	Greek Grammar
Ancient History	Geometry

SECOND YEAR.

First term	Second term
Caesar, Lib. I.	Caesar, Lib. II., III.
Greek Reader	Greek, Anabasis
Geometry	Geometry and Trigonometry.

FRESHMAN CLASS.

First Term	Second Term
Latin, Cicero	Latin, Virgil
Greek, Anabasis	Greek, Memorabilia
Natural Philosophy	Natural Philosophy

SOPHOMORE CLASS.

First Term	Second Term
Latin, Tacitus	Latin, Odes of Horace
Greek, Homer	Greek, Demosthenes
Rhetoric and Literature	English Literature

(Roger Williams, Preparatory, continued)

JUNIOR CLASS

First Term	Second Term
French	Geology
Chemistry	Logic
Latin, Odes of Horace	French

SENIOR CLASS.

First Term	Second Term
Mental Science	Moral Science
Astronomy	Political Economy
German	Christian Evidences.

-Scientific Course-

FRESHMAN CLASS

First Term	Second Term
Algebra	Geometry
Latin	Latin
History, Ancient	History, - Mediaeval & Modern.

SOPHOMORE CLASS

First Term	Second Term
Geometry	Geometry and Trigonometry
Latin	Botany and Zoology
Physical Geography	Latin

JUNIOR CLASS

First term	Second Term
Natural Philosophy	Natural Philosophy
French	French
Rhetoric and Literature	English Literature

SENIOR CLASS.

First Term	Second Term
Mental Science	Moral Science
Astronomy	Political Economy
Chemistry	Christian Evidences, or Geology.

There will be regular exercises in Latin and Greek and Prose Composition in connection with the study of these languages. In the Scientific Course facilities for further study and investigation will be afforded those students who show aptitude for independent research.

-Theological Course-

This Course is designed for those students who have made good progress in the subordinate course, and who are prepared by previous mental discipline to pursue theological studies to advantage. Pastors who can spend only three or six months in study may enter.

(Theological Course, continued)

FIRST YEAR.

First Term	Second Term
Biblical Introduction and History	Evidences of Christianity
Systematic Theology	Systematic Theology
Homilitics	Homiletics

SECOND YEAR.

First Term	Second Term
Biblical Geography and Archaelogy	Baptist Apologetics
Systematic Theology	Pastoral Theology
Church History	Church History
Preparation of Sermon Plans	Preparation of Sermons

Special instruction in New Testament Greek will also be given to University graduates who take the Theological course.

Practice in Exegesis or interpretation of the Scriptures is specially provided for in the daily Bible classes, which form a part of every course.

TRADITIONAL SUBJECTS.-- No careful analysis of these outlines of curricula is needed to show that the traditional subjects -- Latin, Greek, and mathematics -- were in high favor in these institutions. With the exception of a little work in rhetoric and English literature in the Sophomore year, no English courses were offered in any of these schools in either the college or college preparatory department, except "weekly exercises in declamations and essays". While a number of courses in the sciences are given in the catalogs, still it should be remembered that, with possibly one or two exceptions, these were given without laboratory apparatus. In other words, the student who had finished six, or at most seven, grades of work spent the remaining six or seven years of his residence at these schools in the study of Latin, Greek, history, text-book science, and a little of the modern languages!

But the future historians of the educational history which we are now making in America cannot justly deride or ridicule these Negro schools of Nashville. They were simply following in the wake of the

leading colleges and universities of the country. The following comments on the course of study of this period, which were not with reerence to a few Negro colleges in the South, but were written of the whole country, show that Negro colleges were not the only sinners in this regard: "The improvement which in the first two-thirds of the nineteenth century was made in the course of study was slight. The ancient languages were taught in the first years of Cornell University, in the seventh decade, in much the same way, and with a similar degree of advancement, in which they were taught in the first years of the University of Virginia in the third decade. The learning of their grammars and the translation of their literatures into English represented the chief material and method of instruction. The other primary discipline - Mathematics- had progressed. Arithmetic had been thrust back into the fitting school, and some new subjects, such as Analytic Mechanics, had become included in the course. The modern languages had also advanced, having gained a regular, though slight place. English, after a long period of obscure neglect from the beginning, except in Rhetoric, had near the close of the period begun to assert its rights both as Philology, History, and Literature. The sciences were in most colleges still objects of either indifference or contempt. Chemistry was presented largely, though by no means entirely, in lectures and in a few simple experiments performed by the teacher in the presence of the class. In Physics only elementary courses were offered. Botany, Astronomy, and Zoology were taught in their elements, and largely in adescriptive way. * * * * * * * History too was still largely a matter of general outlines and of a universal character. Most colleges had not established chairs. The duty of its teaching was usually assigned to the Chair of Languages or of Philosophy. Political Economy and Political Science were also in most institutions still unknown."*

*"History ofHigher Education in America"-- Thwing, pp.430-31.

NORMAL COURSES:-- The catalogs of this period show that the normal departments - so-called - were emphasized in these schools. The courses of study show, however, that these were normal departments in name only and that no professional courses for teachers were offered with the exception of one or two courses in "Pedagogics", and a little observation and practice teaching at Fisk. Not only was there no professional training given these prospective teachers, but the academic work required of them before sending them out as teachers was very meager. As late as 1886 students who completed two years of the normal course at Fisk were given a certificate of fitness to teach in the public schools, while the entire normal course at Roger Williams in 1879 was only three years. Since only the completion of the third grade was required for admission into the normal department, it is very evident that the hundreds of teachers who went out from these departments of the three Negro schools of this period had not had such training, either professional or academic, as would now be expected from such departments. However, it should be remembered that this was before professional training of teachers had become popular, and that thousands of white teachers were teaching in the rural schools of the South, who had no high school or professional training whatever.

ORGANIZATION OF PROFESSIONAL DEPARTMENTS.-- Although all three of these institutions are chartered as universities, and although each has maintained a theological and a normal department, only one can really be said to have regularly organized professional departments. The normal departments offered only academic instruction. The catalogs of Fisk have from the beginning contained this statement: "Professional schools

are to be established on the foundations laid by college instruction and discipline." Nevertheless, such departments have not yet been organized, and although a theological degree was offered for a few years, it was soon discontinued. Of the three schools, Roger Williams placed the greatest emphasis upon courses in Theology during this period of time. It was contended for these courses that "they presuppose the knowledge and mental discipline acquired by passing through the college course,"* but since they led to no professional degree in Theology, Roger Williams may likewise be said to have never had regularly organized professional departments. But at Central Tennessee College (later Walden University), professional departments have always been prominent features. Meharry Medical College (a department of Walden) organized in 1876 through the munificence of the five Meharry brothers of Ohio, has for forty years occupied a unique position not only in the educational history of Nashville, but of the whole country. From its organization it has been under the deanship of Dr. G. W. Hubbard, who has labored fifty-two consecutive years in the colored schools of this city. This was the first medical school for Negroes opened in the South, and with the exception of two small schools in Raleigh, N.C. and Memphis, Tenn., it is the only one now in the South.** From a small school of nine students in 1876, it has grown to be one of the recognized standard medical colleges of the country,***with an enrollment of 250 students, and it is training at least one-half the Negro doctors of the world. That it has kept its standards up to those of the leading medical colleges of the country is shown

*Page 48.
** "Negro Year Book"(1917), p.267.
***Journal of the American Medical Association, Aug. 22, 1914, p.692.

by the fact that it raised its course of study from two to three years as early as 1884, and from three to four years in 1893, being among the first to require a four years' course.

In 1886 the Dental Department of Meharry was opened and in 1889 the Department of Pharmacy. Like the Medical Department, these have had a steady growth. A Law Department was also maintained for about twenty-five years, but there were never more than six or eight enrolled in this department in any one year. This department was later discontinued. The reason given by Dean Hubbard for its discontinuance was lack of opportunity for Negroes to succeed in this profession. As the courts are now conducted, a Negro does not have the same chance to succeed in the practice of law as he does in the practice of medicine, or dentistry, or pharmacy. Since the Meharry College, with its three professional departments, has entered into its greatest work since the beginning of the present century, more will be said about the institution in the next chapter.

ATTENDANCE.-- The attendance of these institutions during the twenty-five years under discussion has no particular significance with reference to this study, but the number in each department shows conclusively that but few students were doing real college work and that the rather large enrollment is explained by the fact that a large number of primary pupils were in attendance. The catalogs of the three schools for this period of twenty-five years were examined, but the enrollment for only a few years is given as typical of the entire period:

Fisk University

	1878	1882	1889	1896
College	26	36	49	54
College Preparatory	54	46	59	70
Normal	164	206	67	72
Intermediate	---	182	221	201
Model School	95	131	106	68
Theology	25	9	14	7

Roger Williams University

	1878	1885	1890	1899
Normal	164	178	64	99
Scientific	36	15	10	10
Classical	3	10	7	5
Theology	----	11	21	16
Intermediate	----	----	124	74

Central Tennessee College

	1875	1880	1898
College	1	18	15
College Preparatory	29	18	28
Academic and Normal	56	185	51
English Courses	152	91	168
Theology	25	50	32
Medicine	---	22	218
Law	---	2	3
Dental	---	----	27
Pharmaceutical	---	----	26

The average age of these students varied from twenty to twenty-five years at each institution, and each had students representing from ten to twenty-two States.

- Public Schools-

INADEQUATE ACCOMMODATIONS.-- In the last chapter it was seen that two public schools were opened to Negro children in 1867 and that for several years at least three-fourths of the children attending these schools were in the first two grades. A third school was added in 1879, and the number was gradually increased until in 1891 there were seven. The files of the city superintendent's reports show that he referred almost annually to the inadequacy of these buildings to accommodate the colored children applying for admission. "You are again reminded that the accommodations for colored children are wholly inadequate" appears so frequently in these annual reports that it might have been stereotyped. In 1878 two hundred colored children applying for admission could not be seated; in 1879

there were five hundred such applications; in 1884 applicants were refused admission at all of the four colored schools; and in 1894 the superintendent's report to the Board of Education contained the above quoted sentence with a recommendation that other buildings be provided. Not only was there a constant appeal for more buildings, but the Board's attention was frequently called to the unsuitableness of the buildings being used for Negro schools, several of them not having been built for school purposes.

That nearly all the Negro children remained in the lower grades during the first twenty years of public schools for them in Nashville is shown by the fact that as late as 1877 there were only thirty-three pupils beyond the fifth grade, and only ninety-eight in 1882.

In order that a comparison of the relative growth of the white and colored schools of Nashville in average attendance, number of buildings and teachers, cost per pupil, and high school enrollment, may be made, a table giving this information for a considerable period of years has been compiled from data in Superintendent Keyes' office and is given in Appendix A. It is to be regretted that the school population for the various years cannot be secured for the whites and colored separately, and can therefore not be included in this table.

COURSE OF STUDY SAME FOR BOTH RACES.--During the twenty-five years covered in this chapter the colored schools gave precisely the same courses as did the white schools. Whatever may be the present views of educators about the advisability of differentiating these courses, it was then considered quite the proper thing to give them all alike the very same work. To show how well the Negro children were being treated, the City Superintendent, in his 1894 report , says: "The colored

children are being educated just as the whites, though not in the same room." The courses of study for two years are given here to show what was studied in all public schools in Nashville at different times during this period:

GRAMMAR SCHOOL COURSE OF STUDY FOR NASHVILLE PUBLIC SCHOOLS IN 1886.*

First Year: Reading; spelling; arithmetic.

Second Year: Reading; spelling; arithmetic.

Third Year: Reading; spelling; arithmetic.

Fourth Year: Reading; spelling; arithmetic; geography.

Fifth Year: Reading; spelling; arithmetic; geography.

Sixth Year: Reading; spelling; arithmetic; geography; grammar.

Seventh Year: Spelling; arithmetic; history; grammar; physiology.

Specials: Vocal music; drawing; writing.

FOR 1895.**

First Year: Reading and spelling; number work; nature study and stories; writing and drawing; music.

Second Year: Reading and spelling; number work; nature study and stories; writing and drawing; music.

Third Year: Reading; spelling; arithmetic; language; nature study and stories; writing; drawing; music.

Fourth Year: Reading; spelling; arithmetic; language; drawing; music.

Fifth Year: Reading; spelling; arithmetic; language; geography and history.

Sixth Year: Reading; spelling; arithmetic; grammar; geography and history; writing; drawing; music; dictionary.

Seventh Year: History; geography; spelling; arithmetic; grammar; writing; drawing; music; dictionary.

Eighth Year: History; spelling; arithmetic; algebra; grammar; writing; drawing; music; dictionary.

*Taken from annual report of city superintendent for year 1886-87.

**From a pamphlet giving course of study of Nashville public schools, pages 3 to 10.

NEGRO HIGH SCHOOL ESTABLISHED.-- In 1886 the Negro high school was organized with one teacher and fifteen pupils. While under separate organization from that date, the high school has always had to occupy the same building as one of the graded schools. The Belleview School was used until 1897, when it was moved to the Pearl School building. The table in Appendix A gives enrollment and number of graduates by years.

An interesting incident concerning the opening of the Negro high school was toldthe writer by Doctor C. V. Roman of this city, and was told him by one of the students concerned in the matter. Although several students had by 1886 completed the seven years elementary course then given below the high school, no provision had been made for their continuing their studies in any of the public schools of the city. So at the opening of the session of the white high school in September, 1886, about a dozen Negro pupils presented themselves and demanded, by the act of the city council of 1867* the same educational advantages as the whites. This act on their part forced the City Board of Education to organize a separate high school for these Negro pupils.

Like the elementary schools, the high schools offered practically the same courses for both races until the erection of the new high school building (for whites) in 1910 and the decided enlargement and improvement of its curriculum at that time. The following is the course of study for the Negro high school in 1886, and is typical of this entire period:

First Year: Latin, Algebra, physical geography, music, drawing, writing.

Second Year: Latin, alagebra, general history, music, drawing, writing.

Third Year: Latin, geometry, general history, music, drawing, writing.

*Chap. II. p. 29.

Weekly exercises in composition and declamation throughout the three years.

In 1895 chemistry and physics were added to the course. The entire course was prescribed for all pupils. It should be remembered that public high schools, even for white children, had not yet become popular in the South. Even men who were considered to be progressive far in advance of their age, looked with disfavor upon the movement, then just beginning, for public high schools in the Southern States. It should also be recalled that the few public high schools then in existence were largely patterned after the private academies of the country which were solely for the purpose of preparing students for college and which confined their work almost exclusively to the ancient languages and mathemtics. In view of these facts it is rather a source of amazement that Negro children in Nashville were privileged to attend a public high school at all than that they were taught no English, no manual arts, and no sciences but were forced to read Caesar and Cicero and to study algebra and geometry. It is certainly not to be wondered at that the attendance at the high school was no larger than it was.*

LACK OF RACIAL PRIDE.-- There was not much in the Negro schools of Nashville prior to 1900 to develop in them racial self-respect. The schools were founded, managed, supported, and largely taught by white people. The whole system tended to encourage the Negro to accept the average Southern white man's estimate of his capacity and his character. Not until later do we discover even the dawning of that racial pride which, as will be seen in the next chapter, characterizes the present educational work among the Negroes in this city. An illustration of this lack of confidence in his own race by the Negro of a quarter of a century ago is an incident which took

*Appendix A.

place at the Negro high school nearly twenty years ago. When it was decided -and wisely so- to withdraw all white teachers from the Negro high school and use only colored teachers, it was with extreme difficulty that an insurrection among the Negro pupils was prevented. These students had no confidence in the ability of the teachers of their own race.

AIMS OF THE EDUCATION OF THIS PERIOD.-- Passing from the period of experimentation, when the aim of Negro education was very hazy and indefinite, into the period of academic supremacy discussed in this chapter, it is seen that there developed a well defined aim in the Negro education of Nashville. Since a few of the race had demonstrated their ability to acquire the classical learning of the schools of that day, the purpose of their schools -both private and public- became nothing more nor less than to develop schools exactly like those for white people. Despite the fact that the word "imitation" is coming into disrepute in the circles of present-day psychologists, this particular period in the evolution of the Negro schools of Nashville might very appropriately be called the period of imitation. The one chief desire of the Negro was to imitate the white man, and especially in those things which had been denied him during his years of slavery. To appropriate to his own use that which was regarded the very best and most aristocratic of the white man's education was the chief aim of the Negro education of this period, though a more pleasing way to state it might be to say that the aim was to train and equip a few teachers and preachers who were to become the intelligent leaders of the race.

SUMMARY.-- During the last quarter of the nineteenth century Negro education in Nashville passed out of the period of experiment into a stage of assured permanency. Through the usual processes of elimination all private schools except three either passed out of existence or were taken over by the city schools. The three which remained developed along traditional lines into the typical classical institutions of that day and their chief function was the training of teachers and preachers. The first medical college for Negroes in the South was opened at Nashville and made commendable progress in connection with departments of dentistry and pharmacy which were soon added. The public schools for Negroes were overcrowded throughout the period, but in course of study and length of term, they were identical with the city schools for whites. But little, if any, racial pride was manifest in the educational affairs of this period, the schools being managed almost entirely by white people.

CHAPTER IV. PERIOD OF READJUSTMENT, 1900-'16.

READJUSTMENT INEVITABLE.-- The situation of the Negro schools in Nashville at the beginning of the present century was given in the last chapter. That this situation could not long remain in statu quo becomes evident when one considers how great have been the changes in policies and conceptions of education in general and of Negro education in particular in the South within the past fifteen years. In this chapter will be mentioned some of those changes, in so far as they have affected Negro education in Nashville, and also something of the present status of the colored schools of this city. Let it be remembered, however, that only a general review of the present condition of these schools will be attempted, and that this is in no sense to be considered a "survey" of the five private, the twelve city, and the one State, colored schools now in Nashville.

STANDARDIZATION.-- The present period of the evolution of a uniform system of education in the United States might very well be called the standardizing era. Less than fifteen years ago there was no national or general measure by which all educational institutions could be compared or classified, and no serious attempt at standardizing them had been made. When the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching was organized in 1906, it found about one thousand chartered colleges and universities inthe United States and Canada, but the term "college" and "university" had no fixed national meaning. In order to be able to make an accepted list of institutions, the Foundation adopted an arbitrary definition or

standard for an American college*, and from that date to the present, the subject of standardization of education has received much attention in the United States. In 1911 there were in this country at least twenty-two standardizing organizations;** and the number has grown considerably since then. This movement affected primarily the higher educational institutions of the country amd the Negro colleges could not long remain outside the pale of its influence. As early as 1910 the Negro colleges were standardized and classified in certain Negro publications, and the Nashville colleges were ranked in accordance with certain generally accepted standards.*** How has this twentieth century movement to standardize all institutions -- academic, professional, vocational -- affected the Negro schools of Nashville? In the ranking of colleges just referred to, DuBois classifies Fisk and Waldem. He places Fisk in the list of eleven "first-grade colored colleges", and ranks it next to Howard University which is considered the best in the country. In an address delivered at the annual meeting of the American Missionary Association October 18, 1916, President McKenzie of Fisk University said: "At the present time we have 197 students registered in our college classes. That is not a large number, but it makes Fisk the second largest Arts college for Negroes in the world. Howard is the largest."**** With its eleven buildings on a campus of thirty-two acres and valued at $370,000, its productive endowment of $213,825, its well equipped scientific laboratories, its 26 teachers giving all their time to college classes, its requirement of fifteen entrance units and of four

*First Report of Foundation, p.38.
**United States Commissioner of Education's Report, Vol.I,pp 42-43.
***"The Collegebred Negro American".-- DuBois, pp.12-13.
****Fisk University News, Nov.1916, pp.12-13.

years of college work for graduation, and its annual income of $53,008, there is every reason to believe that Fisk University will measure up to the most rigid standards for a first-class American college of liberal arts.

In the classification of Negro colleges by DuBois in 1910, Walden University - or Walden College, as it is now called - was not rated as either a first-grade or a second-grade college, but was placed in a miscellaneous list under the head of "other colored colleges". The fact is, this institution has never had but few bona fide college students, and while it still outlines a four years college course, it is not adequately equipped in buildings, library, scientific apparatus, or teaching force, to do college work. The Freedmen's Aid Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, to which this institution belongs, has fallen in line with the general movement to limit the number of schools doing college work, and it has entered upon the task of standardizing and classifying the twenty-two Negro schools under its control. By a recent decision of the Society, there is to be one university - Clark University at Atlanta - and two colleges - Wiley College, Marshall, Texas, and Morgan College, Baltimore, Maryland. Of six other institutions, one of which is Walden College of this city, it was decided that "in order to continue college courses they must by 1917 meet certain requirements as to endowment, and each institution must have not less than forty undergraduate students who have passed college entrance requirements as described by the Carnegie Foundation.* In 1916 there were 16 college students at Walden, in 1912, there were 13, and the number enrolled this year is not more than ten or twelve. Unable to measure up to the standards of a college, and giving no industrial courses worthy of the name, the sphere of this

*"Negro Year Book"(1917), p.226.

school's usefulness is becoming more and more circumscribed and its work is practically limited to primary and secondary work to children in Nashville whodo not care to attend the public schools, and to pupils from the rural districts where there are not yet good public schools for colored children.

Roger Williams University was not included in the list of thirty colleges arranged according to rank in the College Bred Negro American in 1910. This is doubtless due to the fact that Roger Williams was burned out in 1903, and did not reopen until 1908. The plant on Hillsboro Road - the present site of the George Peabody College for Teachers - was owned by the American Baptist Missionary Society, but the school was rebuilt and reorganized a few miles east of the city by the Colored Baptist Church. Just what effect the standardization movement has had on this institution is not so apparent, but the difficulty of maintaining a four years college course with his present resources and number of college students is clearly seen by the president of the school. Like Walden, it continues to offer only the traditional classical course with no electives, has less than a score of students pursuing real college courses, and its work is very largely restricted to elementary and secondary school instruction.

The twentieth century movement towards standardizing educational institutions has affected professional schools no less than colleges of liberal arts. The American Medical Association and the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching have both been very active during the past decade in their crusades for better medical colleges and for the elimination of the unfit. The college which either of these organizations places under the ban must either improve or close up;

Meharry College - the only distinctively professional school for Negroes in Nashville - has had to run the gauntlet of thorough inspection and standardization by both of them. The American Medical Association recognizes it as a standard medical college and places it in Class B.* In its comprehensive and exhaustive study of medical education in the United States in 1910, the Carnegie Foundation gave an analysis of each of the 155 medical schools of this country.** The standing given Meharry cannot better be stated than by quoting several sentences from the chapter on the Medical Education of the Negro: "Make-believe in the matter of Negro medical schools is, therefore, intolerable. Even good intention helps but little to change their aspect. The Negro needs good schools rather than many schools -- schools to which the more promising of the race can be sent to receive a substantial education, in which hygiene rather than surgery, for example, is strongly accentuated. If at the same time these men can be imbued with the missionary spirit so that they will look upon the diploma as a commission to serve their people humbly and devotedly, they may play an important part in the sanitation and civilization of the whole nation. Their duty calls them away from large cities to the village and the plantation, upon which light has hardly as yet begun to break.

"Of the seven medical schools for Negroes in the United States, five are at this moment in no position to make any contribution of value to the solution of the problem above pointed out; Flint at New Orleans, Leonard at Raleigh, the

*Journal of the American Medical Association, Aug. 1914, p. 685.
**Bulletin Number Four.

Knoxville, Memphis, and Louisville schools are ineffectual. They are wasting small sums annually and sending out undisciplined men whose lack of real training is covered up by the imposing M. D. degree.

"Meharry at Nashville and Howard at Washington are worth developing, and until considerably increased benefactions are available, effort will wisely concentrate upon them. Meharry is the creation of one man, Dr. George W. Hubbard, who, sent to the South at the close of the War on an errand of mercy, has for a half century devoted himself singly to the elevation of the Negro. The slender resources at his command have been carefully husbanded; his pupils have in their turn remembered their obligations to him and to their school. The income of the institution has been utilized to build it up. The school laboratories are highly creditable to the energy and intelligence of Dr. Hubbard and his assistants."*

This statement is a fair and just representation of the work at Meharry, and the fact that in 1915 it began to require one year of college work for admission to Freshman class, and that twenty-one of the thirty-seven Freshmen in 1916 are college graduates is indicative that it is the policy of the administration to maintain standards which measure up to those of the best medical schools of the country. Like other medical colleges, Meharry has had her attendance cut down by the raising of entrance requirements, but there has been no greater reduction than in other standard medical colleges of the South.

The other departments -.dental, pharmaceutical, and nurse training - are also doing standard work, and that Meharry will

*Bulletin Number Four, p.180-1.

continue to educate the great majority of the professional Negro men and women in the South is a safe prediction. Of the work already accomplished, Dr. Hubbard, at the writer's request, gave the following facts:

"About ninety-five per cent of the Medical graduates are now practicing their profession, and these constitute about one-half of the regularly licensed colored physicians now practicing in the Southern States. They have made a good record professionally, financially, and morally, and have professional incomes ranging from $500 to $5000 each year, the average proportion being not far from one thousand dollars. Most of them now possess comfortable homes ranging in value from one to ten thousand dollars, and they have the confidence of their own as well as of the white race, and have been kindly received by the white physicians who have consulted with them in dangerous cases, helping in surgical operations and loaning them books and instruments. * * * * * *The large Southern cities are fairly well supplied with colored physicians, but the country districts are almost destitute of physicians of their own race to minister to their wants. When we consider that the death rate from tuberculosis in the Southern cities and towns is from two to four times as great as that among the white people, and that other contagious diseases are making terrible ravages among them, this indicates that a much larger number of competent physicians ought to be trained to assist in reducing this excessive death rate.

"There are at present in the Southern cities only about 2,000 competent physicians to look after the health of about 9,000,000, or one to every 4,500, while the proportion of physicians for the whole country is about one to every 500.

"The dental graduates have been filling a much needed want in looking after the teeth of their own people and have been welcomed by the white dentists, and are well patronized by their own race. The demand for trained pharmacists at the present time far exceeds the supply.

"The colored graduate nurses have done good work in caring for the sick. A large proportion of them have nursed white patients, and have given excellent satisfaction both to the attending physicians and to the patients themselves. Miss Minnie Woodard for some years has been in the employ of the Health Office of Nashville, and her special work has been looking after the patients afflicted with tuberculosis, and the health officer speaks highly of the valuable service which she has rendered.

"Meharry Medical College is a member of the Association of American Medical Colleges. It also is a member of the National Association of Dental Faculties, and of the National Pharmaceutical Conference, and the certificates in the Nurse Training School are recognized by the Nurse Training Examining Board of the State of Tennessee. Five of the graduates of Meharry have gone to Africa as medical missionaries, three of whom were native Africans. Two have since died, and three are now in active service in the dark country, one of whom is superintendent of public instruction for the Republic of Liberia."

In 1915 Meharry College was chartered as a separate and distinct college and is, therefore, no longer a department of Walden University. A new building is now in process of erection, and Doctor Hubbard has excellent reasons for believing that $300,000 for endowment will be secured from certain philanthropic organizations within the next twelve months.

Coming to the Negro high school of the city, there is found no indication of any effort having been made to have it conform to twentieth century standards for public high schools. It is not within the province of this study to discuss the marvelous growth and changes in the public high schools since 1900, nor is it possible at this period of conflicting views concerning the relative merits of the "Six-Six", the "Six-Three-Three" and the "Six-Four-Two" plans to satisfactorily define a standard high school. The "working definition of a well planned high school course" by the "Committee of Nine" on College and High School Articulation is perhaps as nearly universally satisfactory as any that could now be devised.* Some of the salient features of that definition are: 1. The high school should reflect the major industries of the community which supports it. 2. There should be ample opportunity for election and readjustment of course. 3. English, and English only should be absolutely prescribed. 4. The course should be four years in length. 5. Vocational subjects should not be discriminated against.

In the last chapter we saw that for something like twenty years the work of the Negro high school paralleled that of the white high school, and that they both were fairly typical of the public high schools of the South. But the Negro high school has made absolutely no advancement during the past twenty years. The course of study for 1886 is given on page 59, and the only change since then has been the addition of "text-book" physics and chemistry and the elimination of the little which was then done in music and drawing. The deplorable condition of the Negro high school will be referred to again under the discussion of the next topic, but it is mentioned here to show how far short a three-year high school course, with no electives and with no courses in English,

*Proceedings of National Education Association for 1911, p. 560-67.

and with no industrial or mechanical work, is of any present day standards for such a school.

ENRICHMENT OF CURRICULUM.--After the breakdown of the prescribed regime in all higher and secondary institutions and the accompanying evolution of the elective system, there necessarily followed wide discussion of the need for broadening and enriching the curricula of high schools and colleges. These contemporary movements did not influence schools in the South to any great degree until well into the present century. But the school or college which in this good year 1916 has only one uniform course of study which every matriculant must take regardless of his future needs, is completely out of harmony with the best educational thought of the day. The progressive institutions are, therefore, increasing manifold their number of courses in order that they may be of real service to their entire constituency and not simply to a small esoteric group of those aspiring for leadership. What have the Negro schools of Nashville done to meet this demand of this period of readjustment?

Instead of the one classical course as formerly offered, Fisk University now offers three groups of studies -- classical, scientific, and education -- each leading to the A. B, degree, with a number of free electives allowed in each group. The number of courses open to the college students at Fisk are as follows: agriculture, 2; astronomy, 1; Bible and religious education, 4; biology, 5; chemistry, 4; drawing, 1, (open to those only who have completed the Senior Preparatory Course in mechanical drawing); education, 11; English, 7; French, 2; geology, 1; German, 2; Greek, 4; history, 5; home economics, 6; Latin, 2; mathematics, 6; philosophy, 2; physics, 2; social science, 12; total, 79. In comparison with some of our large State universities

this number seems very small -- there being 455 courses open to liberal arts students at the University of Missouri -- but when it is remembered that Fisk claims to be nothing more than a small college of liberal arts, the curriculum is not so narrow. That the institution is rapidly getting away from its traditional emphasis upon the classics and is seriously striving to meet the real and immediate needs of the colored race, is shown by the fact that in the history and social science departments are such prescribed courses as History of the Negro in America, Problem of the Negro, Play Ground and Recreation, while in the department of education are such courses as Industrial Work for Public Schools, Methods of Public School Music, Kindergarten. Both the practical and theoretical work being done in connection with the work in sociology, economics, and social service were a revelation to the writer, and it is doubtful if better or more practical work is being done anywhere for the training and equipment of men and women who aspire to be of real service to their race.

In order to show how the elective system and the introduction of practical courses have entered into the administration of the curriculum of even the high school work at Fisk, the outline of the four years preparatory course is here given in full:

JUNIOR PREPARATORY

Semester I		Semester II	
Mathematics, a	5	Mathematics, a	5
Latin, a	5	Latin, a	5
English, a	4	English, a	4
Science, a	2	Science, a	2
Manual Training, a	2	Manual Training, a	2
Home Economics, a	2	Home Economics, a	2
Sight Singing		Sight Singing	

JUNIOR MIDDLE

Semester I		Semester II	
Mathematics, b	4	Mathematics, b	4
Latin, b	4	Latin, b	4
English, b	4	English, b	4
History, a	4	History, a	4
Manual Training, b	2	Manual Training, b	2
Sight Singing		Sight Singing	

SENIOR MIDDLE

All courses

Semester I		Semester II	
Mathematics, c	4	Mathematics, d	4
Latin, c	4	Latin, c	4
English, c	3	English, c	3
Home Economics, b	1	Home Economics, b	1

Classical

Semester I		Semester II	
Greek, a	5	Greek, a	5

Scientific and Education

Semester I		Semester II	
History, b	2	Science, b	5
History, c	3		

Home Economics

Semester I		Semester II	
History, b	2	Science, b	5
History, c	3	Drawing, a	2
Drawing, a	2	or	
or		Drawing, b	1-1/2
Drawing, b	1-1/2		

SENIOR PREPARATORY

All courses

Semester I		Semester II	
English, e	2	English, f	2
Science, c	5	Science, c	5

Classical

Semester I		Semester II	
Latin, d	4	Latin, d	4
Greek, b	5	Greek, b	5

Scientific

Semester I		Semester II	
Choose one:		Choose one:	
Latin, d	4	Latin, d	4
German, a	4	German, a	4
French, a	4	French, a	4
Drawing, a	2	Drawing, a	2
Science, e	3	Science, e	3
Home Economics, c	3	Home Economics, d	3

Education

Semester I		Semester II	
Choose one:		Choose one:	
Latin d	4	Latin, d	4
German, a	4	German, a	4
French, a	4	French, a	4
Science, d	2	Science, d	2
Drawing, b	1-1/2	Drawing, b	1-1/2
Home Economics, c	3	Home Economics, d	3

Home Economics

Semester I		Semester II	
Choose one:		Choose one:	
Latin, d	4	Latin, d	4
French, a	4	German, a	4
German, a	4	French, a	4
English, e	2	English, f	2
Science, c	5	Science, c	5
Education, 1	3	Education, 3	3
Home Economics, c	3	Home Economics, d	3.

A comparison of this course with the one for 1886 given on page 59 reveals the fact that decided progress has been made in liberalizing the course of study for the high school work as well as for the college work. Though the preparatory department of a liberal arts college, manualtraining and home economics are not only offered but required of all students for three years, and much latitude is given students in the selection of their work for the last two years of the course. In fact, the work now being done at Fisk shows that twentieth century methods and policies prevail with reference to the enrichment of the curriculum, as well as to the academic stand-

ards.

At both Roger Williams and Walden the courses are all prescribed, and Latin, Greek and mathematics still predominate. In neither of these schools are there any evidences of an effort being made to adapt the work to the peculiar needs of the Negro race such as is found at Fisk. On the contrary, the work is precisely like that given in white schools where the formal discipline idea still reigns supreme.

It seems almost incredible that a public high school which has had a continuous existence for thirty years would make no material changes in its course of study. And yet this is precisely what the Negro high school of this city has done. Every boy or girl who attends this school must study for the entire three years Latin, mathematics, history, and "text-book" science. English, which every one now seems to regard as the one essential subject for all, has no place whatever in this school; manual training and domestic science, which are taught the colored children in the grades, and for which many of them show remarkable aptitude, form no part of their high school course; commercial subjects, which are now given in all of the best city high schools, are not open to the colored high school pupils of Nashville; industrial or trades courses, which could be made of great practical value to the Negro boys of Nashville, are excluded; and despite the fact that many of the high school graduates go at once to teaching, teacher training courses have never found their way into this school. Whatever may be the student's intended vocation, and whatever may be his

bent of mind, Latin, algebra, geometry, history, and a little science are his sole meat and drink while he attends the high school.

Now it should be said, in justice to the principal of this school, that he has urged a modification and enrichment of the high school curriculum. In his annual report for 1908-'09, he speaks of the difficulty of the sciences for his pupils as they are taught, and says that these subjects are necessarily taught "by rote", since they have no laboratories. The files of the reports in the City Superintendent's office show that for the past few years the need of commercial courses, of English courses, and of laboratories has been referred to. In his report for 1913 Principal Smith reiterates his appeal for these improvements, and in urging the introduction of English courses, he says: "It is a calamity that there is no English department in the high school. Pearl High School is the only school of its kind in the country that contains no English course". It is no credit to the City Board of Education that the 260 or more pupils in the Negro high school have had no alternative but to study Latin, mathematics, and history.

One reason, perhaps, of Nashville's conservatism in this regard has been the condition of the building used for the Negro high school. There has never been a separate building for the high school, and for several years the need of a new building has been so imperative that reforms have been postponed until a new building could be secured. In 1913 Superintendent Keyes of the city schools said in his annual report: "The need of a new high school building for Negroes is a pressing one. The present building is totally inadequate, and a new building fully equipped for all lines of industrial

work should be provided in the near future". A new three-story brick building for the Negro high school is now in course of construction, and will be ready for occupancy in September 1917. All the high school teachers are enthusiastic over the better facilities which they expect to have when they get into this building. The teachers of manual training and domestic science which are now taught only to seventh grade pupils are now working out courses to extend through the four years of high school work which they hope to have after this year. These teachers are well trained, and can easily do more advanced work if the opportunity is afforded them. There is every indication that the policy suggested in the above quotation from Superintendent Keyes' report of 1913 will be adopted, and that the long delayed reorganization, enrichment, and industrialization of the Negro high school of Nashville is near at hand.

BETTER SUPERVISION.-- Another twentieth century reform in school administration in general and in Negro school administration in particular is increased emphasis on expert supervision. Within recent years the State Boards of Education, the General Education Board (New York), the Jeanes Fund, and other agencies have wrought great improvements in Negro schools of the South through the work of their employed expert supervisors. However, the interest of these State and benevolent orgamizations has been centered largely upon the rural schools since it is there that the need is greatest. A study of the work in the Negro grade schools of Nashville reveals the fact that this important feature of school administration has not been wholly neglected. In 1910 the position of supervisor of colored schools was created by the City Board of Education. The annual reports of this officer

and his recommendations to the Board show that he is a man of sane judgment and progressive views. In his first report (1911) he pointedly called the attention of the Board to the following live and opportune subjects: 1. The attendance was not what it should be because of the crowded conditions due to the great lack of room; 2. the great need of playgrounds for the children, this need for Negro schools being intensified by the fact that the most of these children have no place to play except on the streets and alleys; 3. the school should become a social center, thus extending its influence to the parents; 4. since many of the children in some of the colored schools are not wholesomely fed at home, free lunches should be provided for all such children; 5. too much teaching was demanded of all the principals, thus leaving them but little time for supervisory work. In these annual reports the supervisor of colored schools repeatedly refers to the great need of better school buildings, and points out how it is impossible to bring about such reforms as he has recommended so long as the colored schools must continue to use old buildings without modern means of sanitation and light, and with no available space for playgrounds. That the wretched condition of the Negro school buildings of the city was not exaggerated in these reports is shown by the following extract from a newspaper article written by the President of the City Board of Education, September 20, 1916: "The health and morals of the community are perhaps the most vital questions that confront us. Our school buildings were not being kept in repair. * * * * * We were allowing the buildings to go to rack and ruin. Instead of repairing and replacing roofs where necessary, we were resorting to the cheapest and most temporary methods of patching. Gutters

were allowed to rust, and as a result walls of the buildings were becoming damp and unhealthy. The buildings were not protected by paint properly, either outside or inside. * * * * The Ashcraft School, serving a Negro community in North Nashville, and the rented annex used in connection therewith, were subjects of severe criticism, and the building was condemned as unsafe and insanitary by the building inspector. * * * * * Many of the school buildings attended by the Negro children of the city are without sewerage connection, where hundreds of children daily use surface toilets. We want these school buildings well heated, well lighted -- on dark days under present conditions there is no arrangement in the schools for artificial light. * * * * * These things should be corrected. Bubbling fountains should replace the old water barrel and buckets and dippers. Every school room should be scraped of the old paper, and then painted ~~with~~ some light color that reflects the light, and these school buildings should be painted every two or three years."*

The writer, accompanied by Dr. J. P. Crawford, the supervisor of the colored public schools of Nashville, spent two days in four of the Negro schools. The schools visited were: Belleview, which still uses the same building in which the first public school for Negroes was opened in 1867; Knowles, which is taught in the building which was used for the Nashville Theological Institute from 1867 to 1874; Ashcraft, which was condemned so vigorously in the newspaper article just quoted; and Pearl, which is now using an old building in the central section of the city, the second floor of which is now given over to the high school. While the greatest defect of these grade schools

*Nashville Tennessean & American, September 20, 1916.

is the unsatisfactory condition of the buildings, still it must be confessed that some substantial improvements have been made recently, and that the physical equipment of the colored schools is not in so deplorable a condition as it was a few months ago. At Asheraft, which was their worst building, a new house has been built and the old dilapidated annex has been abandoned; while the whole interior of the Belleview building has been worked over and made much better. The Knowles School is still housed in a building which, in the language of one of the most intelligent colored citizens of Nashville "is a humiliation to the colored people and should be a reproach to the white people of the city". But since the new high school is to be on the same lot, this old historic building will be torn down after this session.

That there is an entirely too large a number of colored children who leave school upon the completion of the sixth grade is shown by the fact that only one of the schools has all the eight grades of the grammar school course. Two of the schools have only four grades; seven others have only six grades; two others have only seven grades; while only one, the Pearl School, has the eight grade pupils. In other words, while there are twelve grammar schools in the city, pupils above the fourth grade are in ten schools, all above the sixth grade are in three schools, and all above the seventh grade are in one school. One reason for this large percent of mortality in the colored schools is doubtless due to the fact that the compulsory attendance law in Tennessee is only for the ages eight to fourteen inclusive.*

In this connection it might be stated that, in the

*Public School Laws of Tennessee (1913) p.88.

writer's opinion, the standard of the work done in the eight grades of the twelve public colored schools of this city is remarkably good when the physical equipment with which this work must be done is considered. As a rule the teachers are efficient and the pupils completing the work of these schools are well equipped for high school work. The common school branches are taught as they are in the white schools, and the manual training and domestic science work will be discussed under the next topic. The table given in Appendix B will show that Nashville compares favorably with other Southern cities in the matter of elementary education of colored children, while the latest reports of the supervisor of colored schools show that even under most unfavorable physical and environmental conditions, parent-teacher associations have been organized in eleven of the twelve schools and that other modern and progressive policies are being inaugurated so far as the condition of the school buildings will permit.

VOCATIONAL EDUCATION.-- Prior to 1900 the amount of vocational work of any kind in the colored schools of Nashville might be said to have been a negligible quantity. In the city schools such work had not yet been introduced, and while the catalogs of some of the private schools included in their curricula a little industrial work, it seems that only a very few students ever took such work. In fact, it is only within the last four or five years that any serious attempt has been made to introduce courses in industrial or vocational subjects. Here again is seen the conservatism of Nashville. The wave of enthusiasm for industrial training for Negroes which swept over the country because of the labors of Booker T. Washington, was not able to break down the walls of tradition-

al conservatism which encircled the colored schools of this country. It is true that this movement affected primarily Negro rural schools, but that Negro vocational schools in cities could be made exceedingly popular and serviceable is proved by the remarkable success of such schools as School Number Twenty-Six of Indianapolis* and the Douglas School of Cincinnati.**

Although manual training was introduced in two white schools in 1902, it was not until 1907 or 1908 that it was put into the colored schools.*** The Superintendent's reportof 1907-08 speaks of manual training in the colored schools and states that parents visited the schools and seemed well pleased with the work with the hands which their children were doing. But in his report for the year 1909-10 the supervisor of manual training expresses surprise at the small number of colored children who were taking manual training. In 1913 he reports an increased interest on the part of both children and parents. One of his annual recommendations for several years has been a differentiation between the courses in manual training for the white and colored schools. Since so many colored children leave school at the completion of the sixth grade without having had any hand training, the supervisor insists that the colored children should begin this work earlier and that sixth grade colored children should be doing more advanced work in manual training than sixth grade white children. Although there seems to be excellent reasons why such a change should be made, the courses have remained unchanged.

There is a supervisor of manual training for the colored schools who works under the general direction of the supervisor for the white schools, and the work being done compares favor-

*"Schools of Tomorrow",- Dewey, Chap.VIII.
** Appendix C.
*** Files of Superintendent's reports.

ably with that of the white schools. The same thing is true of the department of domestic science. Of course, it is not intended that a boy or girl should be prepared for any trade or vocation in these elementary grades, but the hand-work done in manual training, domestic science, and domestic art is at least a beginning towards learning some industrial trade. As has already been shown, no opportunity of continuing this hand-work has been afforded the colored boys and girls in the high school. Since 1911 white boys and girls of Nashville have been able to secure vocational instruction - to a very limited extent, it must be confessed - in the city high school, while they have had such instruction open to them, free of charge, in the Watkins Night School since its establishment in 1890. The Negro boys, on the other hand, although of a race which necessarily must do much of the industrial labor of the South, has had absolutely no help from the schools along the line of industrial and vocational training. With the opening of the new Negro high school next year it is to be hoped that such discrimination against the Negroes will no longer exist.

The new era of industrial and vocational education for Negroes in Nashville really began with the opening of the Tennessee Agricultural and Industrial State Normal School in 1912. This school, situated about a mile west of the city limits, is one of the best equipped Negro schools of the country. Established by the State Legislature in 1911 and controlled by the State Board of Education, this institution bids fair to revolutionize Negro education in Tennessee. Under the provisions of what is known as the "General Education Bill", this school was established "for the industrial education of Negroes and for preparing Negro teachers for common schools", and is supported by funds received from the General Education

Fund and from Tennessee's portion of the Morell Fund for Land Grant Colleges for Negroes. The plant consists of a campus of 35 acres on which are an administration building - a modern brick and stone structure three stories high - two large brick dormitories, a president's home, and a trade building, and a farm of 165 acres joining the campus.

A day spent in visiting all departments of the school, together with a study of its latest catalog and the information secured from officers and teachers, impressed upon the writer the following facts which he believes will characterize the school better than any elaborate description of courses offered or methods used:

1. The buildings are all kept scrupulously clean. No more useful object lesson can be given the students than this.

2. All the work in connection with the school - cooking, house-cleaning, plumbing, electric light work, dairying, etc.- is done by the students under the supervision of the teachers.

3. A modern dairy was built by student labor solely.

4. All students are required to take some industrial courses.

5. Boys can learn under efficient teachers the following trades: woodwork including carpentry, cabinet making, etc.; bricklaying; plastering; painting; blacksmithing; plumbing; mechanical drawing; wheelwrighting. They also have an opportunity of studying scientific farming, dairying, animal husbandry, horticulture.

6. Girls may take courses in domestic science and domestic art with special reference to their application in the home, in addition to the courses in dairying, agriculture, horticulture, etc. named above.

7. The courses for teachers are: (1) the Academic Course of four years which includes the high school subjects, and in

addition courses in school management, history of education, methods and practice of teaching; (2) the Normal Course of two years which includes certain academic subjects found in the Freshman and Sophomore years of college and such professional work as general and educational psychology, school administration, child study, methods, observation and practice teaching (in the Model School), rural supervision, canning corn and tomato club work, etc. According to the Tennessee law, students completing course (1) receive without examination, a certificate to teach in any elementary colored school of the State; while those who complete course (2) receive a diploma good for any public colored school of the State except high schools of the first class.

8. No instruction is given in any foreign language, nor in mathematics above plane geometry.

9. The work in the sciences is made intensely practical and is taken in connection with the trade being learned.

10. Although a State school, the pupils are required to attend Sunday School every Sunday morning and to attend a daily devotional chapel exercise.

11. The trades courses are quite popular, there being this year twenty-five boys learning bricklaying, eighteen painting, and others in proportion.

12. The school is crowded to its utmost capacity, and there are about a hundred applications on file, The present enrollment is about 430, though many of these are day pupils.

13. The school is in session every month of the year except August, and it is expected that there will be one thousand students at the summer session of 1917.

14. At the State Fair in September no exhibit of the entire number seemed to attract more favorable comment than that of the

hand-work of the students of this school. Much of the work there exhibited is now in use throughout the buildings as furniture and other equipment.

That the State will support liberally a school of this character is quite probable, because it will give back to the State each year hundreds of colored men and women trained for a more efficient and productive citizenship.

RECENT EXPERIMENTS.-- During this period of reorganization and readjustment, four enterprises have been undertaken in Nashville which might well be called experiments in certain phases of Negro education. Although not one of these enterprises has passed the experimental stage, their uniqueness in the realm of Negro education justifies a brief mention of them in this study.

1. Within the past few years there has been developed a special type of professional training in a class of schools which are usually grouped under the name "Training Schools for Religious and Social Workers". These schools have grown out of the demand for training for a new profession which has recently been created - the profession of social service. There are about forty-five such schools in the United States ranging in resources and efficiency of work done from such noted schools as the Hartford School of Religious Pedagogy and the Kennedy School of Missions of Hartford, Conn., to very small denominational schools for training special church workers. All the leading denominations are represented in this list of schools, and there are at least sixteen which are interdenominational.* One of these interdenominational schools was the Nashville Institute, a training school for Negro social and religious workers. This school, established

Religious Education, Vol.VII p.9544-64.

in 1912 by J. E. McCulloch, General Secretary of the Southern Sociological Congress, was purely a philanthropic enterprise. With the growth of racial pride and racial initiative on the part of the Negroes it is contended that much of the social work among the colored people can best be done by trained men and women of their own race. To train and equip such leaders was the mission of the Nashville Institute. Like all other such schools its curriculum consisted largely of courses in Bible study, sociology, economics , and kindred subjects, while it depended upon the actual work of its students in the worst Negro communities of Nashville to give them the necessary practical training in all phases of social work. But after an existence of three years during which time the school was able to do but little towards enlisting the support of philanthropists or the sympathetic cooperation of the Negroes themselves, the institution was closed and the property sold to Fisk University. About all that can be said of this school is that it enjoyed the distinction of being the only such institution for Negroes in the entire country.

2. During the years 1906-14 there was conducted in Nashville the Methodist Training School. This was such a school as is described above - except that it was for whites - and was for the training of religious and social workers. The school was located at the edge of one of the most populous as well as the most criminal and degraded Negro communities of Nashville. During the last two years of its existence some of the teachers and pupils carried on some kindergarten work with the Negro children of the vicinity. From some of the teachers who did this work, the following facts were secured: The Negro children were intensely interested in the work, they crowded into the school from the streets and alleys

and everywhere at every opportunity; they made commendable progress not only in the music, movements, and handwork of the kindergarten, but also in their general conduct and personal appearance; the parents of the community - especially the mothers - seemed to react favorably - to some extent at least - to the achievements wrought with the children.

This kindergarten experiment with the most unpromising Negro children of the city suggests the great possibilities which may lie in such work. There are excellent reasons why kindergarten work can secure more direct and more immediate results with colored children than it can with white children. The play instinct is as strong in the colored as in the white child, but the former often has no way to gratify that instinct except on filthy back alleys. The Negro children of kindergarten age are much more frequently left alone by their mothers than are white children, and their future is more likely to be determined by their early environment. The fact that so many colored children quit school at about the age of twelve or thirteen makes it the more important that they begin their school life as early as possible. The people of Nashville tax themselves to the amount of more than $60,000 for the maintenance of Negro public schools, but no child can enter one of these schools until he is seven years old. Better results might be secured if some of this money were spent for kindergarten and primary work for the many children under seven rather than for the benefit of the few who are studying Latin and algebra in the high school. This experiment further suggests that Northern philanthropy might secure better results by the maintenance of such private schools for Negro children, as is being done in many Northern cities for the children of foreigners and other less favored people.*

"Church Vacation School," -Chapel.

While educators are still disagreed as to the exact function and value of kindergarten training, they are all agreed that it is of the highest importance to children of the neglected classes.

3. At Hadley School, which is situated in the down-town Negro section of North Nashville, a night school has been in operation for the past few years. This school meets from seven to nine o'clock five evenings in the week for five months each year. It is taught by some of the day school teachers and is supported by the City Board of Education just as are all the other public Negro schools of Nashville, though it is not supervised by the supervisor of Negro schools. The work covers the first six grades of the grammar school. But instead of being a school which boys and girls who work during the day or who are retarded for other causes may attend, this night school is attended primarily by adults who were denied school privileges in their childhood. There are now about one hundred and twenty enrolled in this school and the average age of those in attendance is about forty. While such a school may be of some satisfaction and assistance to the few old people who are thereby enabled to learn to read and write, still no real constructive work is represented by the enterprise. There should be not only this one night school for Negroes in Nashville, but perhaps several others; however, a wiser policy would be to make them largely vocational rather than academic as this one now is, and primarily for youth rather than adults. Just as many of the reforms in education in this country have come about through private initiative and then been taken over by the State, so it seems that the best type of night schools for Negroes in this city is to be inaugurated as a private enterprise. A seventy thousand dollar building has recently been purchased by the directors of the Nashville Young Men's

Christian Association to be used as a branch organization for the colored young men and boys. In discussing the many problems which this building is supposed to help solve, a recent newspaper article said: "Evening educational classes in practical branches will be provided. The need for supplemental and industrial education among Negroes in Nashville is practically unlimited. Some Negro Young Men's Christian Associations in other cities have found the class in automobile school alone to tax the capacity of the building. What does your chaffeur know, and how did he learn it?"*

4. About ten years ago there was organized in Nashville the Academy and Industrial School of the Immaculate Mother. This is a day school for girls, uhder the direction of the Catholic Church. The plant consists of two substantial brick buildings. This school was founded by a wealthy Catholic lady of this city, and at first the chief object of the school was to afford to its pupils opportunities to acquire an industrial as well as an academic education. Although the catalog for 1906 showed that some advanced and technical courses were offered in home economics, the Mother Superior informed the writer that the school no longer specializes in these subjects. For the past two or three years this school has been nothing more than a regular Catholic parochial school for Negro girls in which a little work is done in sewing and cooking. The course of study covers ten years and there are now enrolled two hundred and ten pupils. Although it is listed in the Negro Year Book in the group of "Negro Normal and Industrial Schools",** such a classification is clearly misleading. Whatever may have

*Nashville Tennessean and American, Dec. 17,1916.
**Negro Year Book (1917) p. 280.

been its original purpose, the name "Industrial School" is now a misnomer, and the school is included in this study and under this section because of its being a Catholic parochial school for colored children and not because of its industrial feature.

RACIAL CONFIDENCE AND RACIAL PRIDE.--The lack of a racial pride and of any racial initiative on the part of the Negroes themselves in the early educational work for colored people of Nashville has already been mentioned.* With the growth and development of the colored schools of the city, there can easily be discerned the evolution of a racial self-esteem. Formerly the Negro schools of Nashville were all administered, supported, and taught by white people, and such an arrangement was accepted by the Negro as a matter of course and as a perfectly proper procedure. But one of the distinguishing features of this period of readjustment is the approximate culmination of the gradual reversal of this scheme. In substantiation of this statement, the following facts have been ascertained and are here cited:

1. All the teachers and supervisors, including those for special subjects, of the city schools for Negroes are colored, and the Negroes would protest vigorously against a return to the old policy of having some white teachers.

2. Walden College, which has been presided over by a white man and in whose faculty white teachers have predominated for more than fifty years, now has for the first time, a Negro president, and with the exception of the head of the music department, the teachers are all colored. The reason this one white lady remains is doubtless because of the fact that she is the daughter of the founder and long time president of the school, Dr. G. W. Braden, and has been connected with the school since

*Chapter II, page , and Chapter III, page 60-61.

its beginning.

3. For more than forty years Roger Williams was owned, supported, and administered by white men and women. During these years of most interesting and often pathetic history, the Negroes themselves took no particular interest in its successes or misfortunes. Although the school was three times destroyed by fire, the colored people merely awaited its rebuilding by its white president and his white philanthropic supporters. But when the American Missionary Society, after the third loss by fire in 1902, decided to close the school and sell the land, the Negroes themselves became interested in its rebuilding. As a result the school was rehabilitated and reopened in 1908 under the complete ownership and control of Negroes. The institution now belongs to the Colored Baptist Church, its board of trustees, officers, and faculty are all colored, and its president, Dr. A. M. Townsend, told the writer that under the new regime they take great pride in the fact that it is a Negro school, run by Negroes, for Negroes.

4. At the installation of Doctor G. W. Hubbard as President of the newly chartered Meharry College on October 20, 1916, the increasing racial self-esteem and self-confidence of the Negroes of Nashville in their own educational work was impressed upon the writer by the following very noticeable incident: Among the speakers of the day were a number of distinguished white men, including a bishop, a university chancellor, and a State superintendent of public instruction; but the one colored speaker, Dr. C. V. Roman, of Nashville, was the only one who received a demonstrative ovation upon his appearance, the audience thus showing its appreciation of the ability of a man of their own race. That the Negroes will more and more desire to control all their schools

in the future was further shown by the tremendous applause given Dr. Roman when he said, in the course of his address, that he hoped that upon Doctor Hubbard's translation, his mantle would fall upon some worthy alumnus of Meharry.

5. Although there is still a white man as president of Fisk University, the number of white teachers there is constantly decreasing, and it is predicted by some of the colored friends of Fisk who would not care to be quoted, that the time is not many years in the future when a Negro president will be demanded by the alumni and patrons of this institution.

6. When the Tennessee Agricultural and Industrial Normal School was established by the State, there was no other thought by the State Board of Education than to place a Negro president at its head, and to give him a faculty of colored teachers exclusively. The self-esteem of the race for whose betterment the school is maintained would make any other policy in the management of this new and modern school impracticable and unwise.

These are some of the evidences of the gradual evolution in Nashville of the idea "that for practical, economical, and psychological reasons, Negro teachers should be provided for Negro schools,"* and that Negroes prefer to run their own school affairs.

AIMS OF THE PERIOD OF READJUSTMENT.-- Since this period seems to be one of transition from the liberal or cultural type of school to the vocational or practical type, the aim is not so easily defined as it was during the period covered by Chapter III. During this transition period, there has been manifest in Nashville a more or less pronounced conflict

*"Negro Life in the South," -Weatherford, p.111.

between these two opposing types. In some of the Negro schools - notably Walden, Roger Williams, and the high school - the chief aim still seems to be the imparting of knowledge for knowledge' sake to every student regardless of his mental capacity, his intended vocation, or the natural bent of his mind. In other schools - notably the Meharry Medical, Dental, and Pharmaceutical College, Fisk University, and more particularly the new Agricultural and Industrial State Normal School - the aim is not so much to impart knowledge merely, but to provide opportunities to apply knowledge. Of all the schools, both public and private, it can truthfully be said that there has never before been such a definite purpose to vitalize their work through closer relations with local interests and occupations. Since about nine-tenths of the Negroes of this city must make their living by manual labor and as domestics, there is an increasing demand for industrial training in the schools which will enable them to put more skill, intelligence, and character into these lines of work. In the public schools, the colleges, and the professional schools as well as in the trades and industrial schools of the city, the making of many intelligent, productive citizens is now considered far more essential than the making of a few Greek scholars or Hebrew specialists.

SUMMARY.-- Negro education, like education in general, in Nashville is now in a transitional period. That the present condition is far from static is evident. The principal readjustments which have characterized the first fifteen years of the twentieth century are: The standardization and classification of the colored schools of the city in accord with certain generally accepted units of evaluation; the enrichening and broadening and making more practical the curricula of all the schools, with the exception of the city high school; the culmination of the growing self-respect

and racial con_fidence of the colored people in their insistence upon Negro administrators and Negro teachers for Negro schools; and the increased emphasis upon industrial and vocational education as the great need of the masses of the colored people of Nashville.

CHAPTER V. CONCLUSION.

In the preceding chapters it has beenshown that there were schools in Nashville for colored children as early as 1833. The origin, early history, and growth or decadence of all the Negro schools established since that date have been recited in more or less detail. The changes in curricula, in aims, in support, and in control of these schools have been traced through the past three quarters of a century. It now remains to make inthis chapter certain generalizations which the educational history given in the former chapters seems to warrant.

ULTRA-CONSERVATISM.-- The conservatism of schools in upholding the traditions of our ancestors has become a trite expression, but the colleges and schools for Negroes have ever been ultra-conservative. If white schools have been conservative in transferring the emphasis from higher to elementary schools, in looking for support to private philanthropy rather than to State taxation, and in holding on tenaciously to the traditional, cultural subjects to the exclusion of the vocational and practical, the Negro schools have been doubly so. Paradoxical though it may be, it is nevertheless true that the schools for Negroes - the very people who most need an education whose aim is to produce such a character as results from a sound body, a sound mind, a clean heart, and a skilled hand - have been the last ones to discontinue mulling over the things which were considered essential for an English gentleman of the sixteenth century, but which are far from essential to the colored American citizen of the twentieth century.

And yet the reasons for this ultra-conservatism in Negro education are not hard to find. That the education of an illiterate race of people, just emancipated from two hundred and fifty years of slavery, should have been enthusiastically undertaken by the establishment of schools in the order of first colleges, second academies, third elementary schools, and fourth industrial and trade schools, is not such a strange thing in the light of the entire educational history of both Europe and America. The colored people and their misguided philanthropic friends from the North were only allowing history to repeat itself by leaving the establishment of the most essential and most useful type of school for the last.

THE NEGRO'S VIEW OF INDUSTRIAL EDUCATION.-- Even after the incompleteness of a system of education without industrial and trades schools had been generally recognized in this country, the Negro remained indifferent if not opposed to such schools for his own people. The attitude of the Nashville Negroes towards this innovation is simply an example of the attitude of the entire race. His long years of slavery, as well as the social, economic, and industrial conditions in the South caused him to look upon all work with the hands as degrading, and to despise all manual labor.

Furthermore, there was not the great need of industrial training for the Negro immediately after the war as there is today. Slavery had taught the Negro the habit of systematic labor, and by the use of a kind of apprenticeship system the more intelligent boys and girls acquired considerable skill in certain trades by working under the tutelage of the Negro artisans and mechanics. It was only after a generation or

two that they became almost entirely a race of unskilled laborers. Even the great pioneer of industrial education for Negroes is not so sure that any great blunder was made in deferring for a generation the establishment of such schools, as the following quotation from one of his works will show: "It was a natural development of the educational effort in the Southern States that when the schools of secondary and higher education had become fixed facts that a desire should have grown up for other institutions whose principal object should be the industrial education of such of the Negroes as desire that sort of education. Of late years industrial schools have sprung up all over the Southern States, and they are growing constantly in favor with the masses, because of their economic condition and the growing demand for skilled workmen in all avenues of industry. In the early days of the educational work of the Southern States little stress was laid upon the industrial training of the people. Mental and moral and religious training was considered the all-important thing. Perhaps it was, -- to a people who had dwelt in mental, moral, and religious darkness from 1620 to 1865. They needed the great light of mental, moral, and religious truths as a firm and sure foundation upon which was to be built a structure of technical education, out of which should naturally grow the industrial and commercial rehabilitation of the people, without which there can be no character, no strength, no prosperity in an individual or a race."*

Another reason why they looked with suspicion upon the

*"Education of the Negro".-- Booker Washington, p.33.

movement inaugurated by Armstrong at Hampton and popularized by Washington at Tuskegee was the natural and reasonable reluctance of the Negro to concede that the Negro child requires or needs any discriminating type of education. "It might also be argued that it is inexpedient from the Negro's standpoint to acknowledge that the Negro child requires any treatment different from that of the white child. This feeling is already too prevalent, and if once the precedent be established, there is no telling where the innovation will end. Many believe that the whites are only waiting for a reasonable excuse to readjust the Negro's education to what they think it ought to be. This objection is not without much validity and goes to show that such modification should proceed along wise and conservative lines, effecting only a sensible adaptation of effort to condition."*

It is not strange, therefore, that Booker Washington's greatest opposition came from men of his own race and that it was not until the Negroes became quite convinced that industrial schools were to be for whites as well as blacks that they were willing to follow the leadership of Booker Washington, rather than of W. E. D. DuBois. Some of the educated Negroes of Nashville with whom the writer talked are recent converts to the idea of industrial education for the masses of their race, and some of them are still skeptical as to the supreme need of such training. Any movement which has the least appearance of pointing to the ultimate coercion of the race to adopt one form of education to the exclusion of all others is naturally looked upon with suspicion by a people who for two hundred and fifty years were denied the privileges of the schools to which they saw the white children go.

*"The Education of the Negro", in Commissioner of Education's report for 1901, p.786.

But recent events show a changing attitude towards industrial education on the part of both races in Nashville. The opening of the Tennessee Agricultural and Industrial State Normal School and its great popularity with both Negroes and whites, and the building of a new high school building which it is confidently believed by both races will be the beginning of a high school for Negroes in which emphasis will be placed upon the industrial occupations, -- these are two of the indications of a changing conception in Nashville of what Negro schools should teach. These changes in Nashville, however, are only a part of a nation-wide tendency towards a method of education which shall observe a just balance between the abstract and the concrete. Note the following statements from two prominent Negro educators whose work has been in Arts colleges: "The industrial life of the race has in no sense kept pace with its intellectual improvement. The Negro labors today under the same industrial disabilities as he did thirty years ago. His education has neither ennabled him to counteract the effect of hostile industrial influences nor to make himself independent of them. * * * * * Negro youth are everywhere suffering from intellectual indigestion, and there is danger of a race of mental dyspeptics. * * * *His practical prowess has by no means kept pace with his intellectual achievements. Slavery taught him to work by rule and rote, but not according to plan and method. The first effect of intelligence was, naturally enough, to disgust him with manual toil, which stood to him as a reminder of slavish drudgery. He has never learned the gospel of work or the joy of service, because he has never entered into it with intelligent plan and purpose. A thought is married to a thing and an enterprise is born, but when thought is divorced from things there

is nothing but sterile speculation and barren criticism."*

"In this country the Negroes are an unskilled people. They are not the preferred workers in any field of endeavor, -- not even in those into which they are freely admitted. What the Negro needs to be able to compete in the struggle for existence in this country, and in the rest of the world, is not knowledge, but the ability to do, the ability to achieve. A curriculum planned to furnish only knowledge spells disaster. The curriculum must go further -- it must provide opportunities to apply knowledge. Education must aim to produce the character which results from a sound body, a sound mind, a clean heart, and a skilled hand.

"Vocational training is valuable for all peoples -- for the Negro under present conditions it is imperative. It will make our young people better and more efficient men and women and adjust them best to their present state in the terrific struggle for existence. If our children are trained for power, power of mind, of heart, of body, rather than for mere knowledge, our race will rapidly rid itself of that most undesirable of all young men -- the graduate whose mind is not on speaking terms with his body."**

VARIETY OF TYPES IN NASHVILLE.-- The types of education needed for the Negro of the South are: 1. Elementary schools in which instruction in the elementary branches is made thorough, and which include specific instruction in hygiene and home sanitation; 2. industrial schools whose

*"The Education of the Negro", by Kelly Miller in U. S. Commissioner of Education's Report for 1901, pp. 784, 788, 789.

**From an address by Hugh M. Browne before the Teachers' Institute of the Colored Teachers of the District of Columbia.

function it is "(1) to teach the dignity of labor, (2) to teach the trades thoroughly and effectively, (3) to supply the demand for trained industrial leaders";* 3. higher educational institutions for the few who have the capacity, the time, the money, and the inclination to take the special training necessary for the equipment of the leaders and professional men of the race. In this third group should be included well equipped and well endowed medical and dental colleges to supply the growing demand for a well trained medical and dental fraternity of the Negro race, as well as institutions for the better academic and professional training of Negro teachers. To this list might be added a fourth type; namely, modern public secondary schools, wherever the public funds will permit. No better illustration of what such a school is able to accomplish, when properly supported, can be found than the Douglas School of Cincinnati, Ohio. Although there is no statutory prohibition against mixed schools in Cincinnati, the opening of this school in 1910 drew Negro children from all the schools of the city. It is said that the teachers in other schools, whose salaries depended upon the enrollment, complained of the withdrawal of so many of the Negro children. The Douglas school is for Negroes only, and in Appendix C is given a description of the school just as it was given the writer by Francis M. Russell, the principal.

It is interesting to note that all these, with the exception of the fourth, are represented in Nashville, though these schools have by no means reached the ideal stage of development. The first type is represented in the twelve

*"Working with the Hands".--Booker Washington, page 80.

public elementary schools which, as has been shown, are approximating the work which is expected of such schools, and which would much more nearly measure up to the standard set for them if more modern and hygienic buildings and grounds were provided. The second type is represented in the recently established Agricultural and Industrial State Normal School, which is now in its fourth year, and which will add other departments until it will offer facilities for learning all trades and vocations. The third type is represented in Fisk and Meharry Universities, as well as in the Normal Department of the Agricultural and Industrial State Normal School.

Of the permanency of the first two types there is scarcely any controversy, but against the third type, especially in the narrower field of collegiate training, there are evidences of considerable opposition and prejudice. That this type has been over-emphasized in Nashville cannot be gainsaid, but the Negroes have had no monopoly on the false policy of taking pupils from the ungraded rural schools and giving them the final touches of classic lore in from four to six years. But the question to be considered is: do any classes of colored people need advanced college training? It seems to be a rather generally accepted theory that the burden of responsibility of leadership should be placed on the Negroes themselves as rapidly as representative leaders can be trained for these tasks. Can the development of the religious and moral life of the race be safely turned over to the Negro preacher, or can the care of his physical well-being be turned over to physicians and dentists of his own race, or can the development of his intellectual life be committed to Negro teachers unless these leaders have had years of training along the broad lines usually considered a part of higher education?

The higher and industrial phases of education are by no means mutually exclusive, but are both as essential to the symmetfical development of the Negro race as of the white race, though their relative values will not be the same for the two races so long as their present relations persist. For these reasons there seem no valid causes why the opportunities of service to the race will not be just as great at Fisk or Meharry as at the schools of the other types.

Another tendency seen in the schools of Nashville which is worthy of note is the elimination of all trades courses in the only real Negro arts college of the city, Fisk University. It has been seen that for a number of years a few courses were offered in printing and other such vocational subjects in that institution. But all work which belongs properly to a trades school has been eliminated, and only in the preparatory department is there any hand work at all. This action is in line with the theory, which is borne out by experience, that trades schools and colleges should be maintained as separate and distinct institutions. It is exceedingly doubtful if industrial courses have been put in any of the Negro colleges so much in the interest of industrial education as for the sake of gaining the favor of Northern philanthropists. An explanation of why the arts colleges for Negroes in Nashville kept up so long the pretense of giving some industrial training when in reality they were giving only academic work of the most formal order, may be found in Kelly Miller's frank statement of the general situation: "It is easy to discern that their (the philanthropists) sentiment during the last few years is shading toward industrial training, to the disparagement of higher culture. This is easily intelligible. Charity should be ap-

plied where it is most needed and where it will reach the largest possible number of the helpless. Its aim is to help those who are lowest in the scale of want and distress. Benevolent people are easily and willingly persuaded that assistance rendered an industrial institution will be more widespread in its application than if given to a college. Colored universities have almost without exception added on industrial courses, largely for the sake of gaining the favor of Northern philanthropists. The literary education of colored youth is so far discredited in the public mind that institutions of higher learning have to attach industrial courses in order to gain financial favor and support. This is practical wisdom, if not pedagogical prudence."*

STAGES OF CIVILIZATION REPRESENTED.-- As a seeming fitting close, which may also be taken as a summary, of this discussion of the changing conceptions of Negro education as exemplified in the history of the colored schools of Nashville, attention is called to the different stages of civilization represented by the Negroes of this city during the years covered in this study (1833-1916). It is difficult to realize that during this brief period of time the education of representatives of nearly every stage of civilization, from that of the primitive, ignorant, superstitious African to the highest achievement of modern life and science, has been treated. Yet such is the case. Little wonder is it, therefore, that the aim of Negro education in Nashville, has, through a gradation of metamorphoses, been almost everything which the aim of education has ever been in the history of the human race from its primitive age to the present time.

*Report of the United States Commissioner of Education for 1901, Vol.I. page 818.

Of course this aim throughout all these stages has been modified by the fact that, in its evolution, the Negro race has been closely associated with another and a more enlightened race. For that reason, the changes in the aim of Negro education have succeeded one another more rapidly, but traces of nearly all the aims given by historians for the various stages of civilization are more or less distinctly discernible in the different periods described in this study. Negro education in Nashville has been a missionary or evangelistic propoganda; a training for leisure and away from the practical interests of life; the acquirement of knowledge for knowledge sake; the study of the mediaeval "liberal arts" as a preparation for leadership; the learning by rote and the memorization of much text-book "learning"; the acquirement of a smattering knowledge of many subjects, both liberal and practical, without being fitted for any trade or profession. But Negro education in Nashville has also been the means of reducing by means of the public school the illiteracy of her colored citizens from ninety to twenty-two per cent; it has also given through its colleges to the South thousands of Negro teachers, preachers, doctors, and dentists who are, almost without exception, making useful and productive citizens; and it now has every indication of entering upon a new era of progress when it will offer a good elementary education, in which manual training is emphasized, to all the colored children of the city; an industrial education, in which all the trades can be learned, to the large per cent who will enter into industrial labor; and college and professional training to the few who can and will prepare themselves for the more responsible positions of leadership and professional service to the race.

APPENDIX

A

STATISTICS OF NASHVILLE PUBLIC SCHOOLS, 1876-1914.

(c. for colored; w. white).

Year		No. of bldgs.	Enrollment.	Average attendance	Numberof teachers	Cost pr. pupil	Pupils in H. S.
1876,	c.	3	996	602		$13.80	
	w.	5	3163	2341		18.08	
1877,	c.	3	934	644		12.63	
	w.	5	3098	2420		16.31	
1878,	c.	3	970	721		11.09	
	w.	5	3265	2541		15.34	
1879,	c.	3	905	676	20	11.97	
	w.	5	3217	2515	58	15.94	
1880,	c.	5	1694	1087	23	8.09	
	w.	7	4404	3212	65	12.37	
1881,	c.	5	1682	1210	23	8.59	
	w.	7	4163	3155	66	13.40	
1882,	c.	5	1761	1328	23	8.70	
	w.	8	4284	3447	76	13.10	
1883,	c.	5	1817	1221	22	9.72	
	w.	8	4351	3422	75	14.14	
1884,	c.	4	2215	1837	32		
	w.	9	4858	3785	82		
1885,	c.	4	2491	1928	35		
	w.	9	5216	4113	97		
1888,	c.	4	2406	1915	35		15
	w.	9	5698	4224	106		
1889,	c.	4	2430	1972	36		13
	w.	9	5290	4433	111		
1890,	c.	5	2766	2302	40	9.09	33
	w.	9	5709	4602	117	15.22	
1891,	c.	7	3663	2981	52	7.84	36
	w.	11	6838	5399	131	14.07	
1892,	c.	7	3708	3103	45	7.43	49
	w.	11	7014	5653	148	15.08	
1893,	c.	7	3603	2948	57	9.16	55
	w.	11	7026	5575	142	16.14	

Year		No. of bldgs.	Enrollment	Average attendance	Number of teachers	Cost per pupil	Pupils in H. S.
1894,	c.	7	3827	3029	58	$9.20	80
	w.	11	6700	5352	142	17.32	95
1895,	c.	7	3768	3258	50	9.44	66
	w.	11	6644	5590	153	17.09	
1896,	c.	7	3590	2928	60	10.22	85
	w.	11	6678	5186	146	18.24	
1897,	c.	7	3630	2961	60	9.46	100
	w.	11	6942	5576	146	14.40	
1898,	c.	7	4650	3410	66	7.65	120
	w.	11	7299	5688	155	11.38	
1899,	c.	7	4824	3832	66	7.50	135
	w.	12	7012	5518	149	14.71	
1900,	c.	7	5001	3968	66	7.33	110
	w.	12	7012	5518	149	14.71	
1901,	c.	7	4635	3754	66	8.08	138
	w.	12	7588	5861	153	14.08	
1902,	c.	7	4384	3644	66	8.54	99
	w.	12	7927	6146	162	14.00	
1903,	c.	7	4394	3539	66	8.19	119
	w.	12	8169	6298	162	14.01	
1904,	c.	7	4500	3690	67	8.03	165
	w.	11	8247	6404	167	13.49	395
1905,	c.	7	4569	3615	68	7.99	129
	w.	12	8257	6392	168	13.69	443
1906,	c.	7	4797	3865	67	7.23	140
	w.	12	8527	6620	169	13.91	465
1907,	c.	11	5312	4255	78	7.70	161
	w.	20	10,756	8263	218	13.57	739
1908,	c.	11	5192	4111	83	8.61	174
	w.	20	10,752	8335	224	13.83	705
1909,	c.	12	5247	4282	84	8.68	211
	w.	21	10,860	8798	230	13.94	830
1910,	c.	12	5353	4477	86	8.48	203
	w.	21	11,086	9365	240	15.09	953
1911,	c.	12	5411	4263	88	8.90	235
	w.	21	11,179	8824	249	16.34	968
1912,	c.	12	5379	4296	89	10.80	276
	w.	21	11,475	9189	259	19.30	1108

Year		No. of bldgs.	Enrollment	Average attendance	Number of teachers	Cost pr. pupil	Pupils in H.S.
1913,	c.	12	5334	4484	89	$11.08	261
	w.	22	12,101	10,118	274	20.04	1308
1914,	c.	12	5852	4913	95	10.41	259
	w.	22	12,897	10,776	284	19.95	1450

B

I. School Attendance of Colored Population 6 to 20 Years of Age and 6 to 14 Years of Age, in Nine Cities:

	Population 6 to 20			Population 6 to 14		
	Total	In school	% in school	Total	In school	% in school
Atlanta	14,630	6,963	47.6	8,011	5,685	70.9
Birmingham	14,025	6,978	49.7	7,982	5,807	72.7
Kansas City	4,548	2,370	52.1	2,251	1,910	84.8
Louisville	9,374	5,296	56.2	4,902	4,240	86.4
Memphis	12,617	5,343	42.3	6,440	4,317	67
Nashville	10,531	5,491	52.1	5,538	4,098	73.9
New Orleans	24,685	11,129	45.4	13,990	9,446	67.4
Richmond	12,873	5,465	42.4	6,927	4,514	65.2
St. Louis	8,907	4,897	53.8	4,725	3,941	83.4

II. Per cent of Illiteracy of Population ten years old and older.

	Native White			Foreign-born White			Negro		
	1890	1900	1910	1890	1900	1910	1890	1900	1910
Atlanta	4.5	2.07	2	4.5	8.6	5.9	48.9	35.1	20.9
Birmingham	1.8	1.3	1.2	6.6	13.9	15.1	51.5	40.3	22.1
Kansas City	1.1	.7	.4	9.2	8.8	8.9	30.5	19.5	9.6
Louisville	2.2	1.7	1.2	9.5	10.8	9.5	41.8	31.1	18.7
Memphis	1.7	.8	.5	7.7	11.3	9.9	44.2	35.1	17.6
Nashville	4.6	2.9	1.6	11	9.9	7	45.4	32.4	22
New Orleans	2.5	2	1.1	15.6	18.3	12.9	43.1	36.1	18.3
Richmond	2.4	1.7	1.2	9.5	8.9	7.1	45.7	32.2	19.6
St. Louis	1.3	.9	.6	9.1	9.8	11.4	34.7	21.3	12.4

Douglas Public School, Cincinnati, Ohio.*

School Edifice: Alms Place and Chapel Street. Completed in 1910; cost $167,871. Lot, 200 by 200 feet; cost $63,300. Building has sixteen class rooms, two kindergarten rooms, auditorium, industrial arts and household arts rooms, laundry, model flat, sewing room, library, gymnasium, lunch room, open air room, neighborhood club room, boys' and girls' shower baths, nurse and doctor's office, principal's office, two indoor playrooms, and seats 800 pupils. Reached by Chapel St., South Norwood or Crosstown cars. Telephone Woodburn 565-Y.

The school is situated in the heart of one of the most densely populated colored districts.

Social Work.

1. Kindergarten Mothers' Club.
2. Parent-Teachers Club.
3. Household Science Department, for teadhing home-making and house-keeping.
4. Industrial Arts, where boys are taught elementary carpentry, furniture repair work, cement work.
5. Penny Lunch Room to furnish meals to children at cost; serves at 10:15 and 12:00 M., in charge of the Household Science Department and a committee of teachers.
6. Penny Savings Bank, which is a branch of one of the Local Savings Banks, and is in charge of two teachers.
7. Home and School Gardens in charge of a teacher. Over 400 gardens this year.
8. Men's Athletic Club, meets in the Gymnasium two nights a week.
9. Women's Athletic Club, meets in the gymnasium two nights a week.

*In response to the writer's request for information about this school, its principal, F.M. Russell, sent this description.

10. Boys' Club.

11. Girls' Club.

12. Night School Choral and Orchestra.

13. Milk Station in charge of visiting nurse, under the supervision of the Board of Health. Nurse visits homes and instructs them in the care of babies.

14. Open Air Rooms for consumptive and anaemic children under the joint supervision of the Board of Education and the Board of Health.

15. Extension Social work is also done at Washington Terrace. This is a community of model homes, built by a local philanthropist, interested in the social improvement of the Negro and the decrease of the death rate. Number of families at present 220. A teacher has taken up residence here, in order to be in touch with the problems of the community. Men organized into a Welfare Association which has general charge of the community activities, lectures, socials, religious services, etc. Also passes upon the desirability of tenants. Businesses here, grocery, tailor shop, dry cleaning, drug store, doctor's office, shoe repair shop. Women here have been organized into an Improvement Club which has charge of the work among the women.
A kindergarten is maintained by the Cincinnati Kindergarten Training Association.

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