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Berea College, the Day Law, and Black Education in Kentucky, 1890 to 1920

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Abstract

This study investigates the educational consequences for blacks after the Kentucky State Legislature passed the Day Law in 1904. In its literal form, the law mandated the end of mixed-race education at private schools in Kentucky. Education in public schools had already been segregated as a result of the ratification of the Kentucky Constitution. Prior to passage of the Day Law, Berea College offered the only mixed-race education available in the state, but when that option was taken away from blacks, their educational progress slowed dramatically compared to education for white students.

This study is qualitative in nature and analyzes numerous primary sources. Among these are course catalogs that state the educational goals and curricula of each school, as well as school publications, correspondence, and minutes from trustee meetings.

My analysis found that those seeking an education at white schools, particularly normal schools (teacher training) and industrial schools (vocational training), advanced into higher-level college programs quickly as compared to those same programs at black schools. I conclude that the Day Law helped to slow progress in black education and limit choice for black students.

During the time period from 1890 to 1920, many people argued that the system of black education in the U.S. South served the purposes of powerful whites rather than truly benefitting blacks. The passage of the Day Law in fact supported and helped maintain the existing social hierarchy that existed the South.

Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to my partner in life, Kimberly D. White. Through years of unceasing support, she has helped make my entire experience at the Harvard Extension School both possible and wonderfully fulfilling.

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My thesis director, Patricia Albjerg Graham, provided insightful guidance that enabled me to proudly finish my thesis. Her dedication to education is always apparent, and I feel privileged to have had the opportunity to work with her.

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Chapter I

Introduction

On March 12, 1904, the Kentucky State Legislature passed the Day Law, which mandated that mixed-race education at private institutions would henceforth be illegal in the State of Kentucky. Even before this law was passed, mixed-race education at publicly funded schools was already illegal under the Kentucky State Constitution ratified in 1891.[1]

When the Day Law passed in 1904, Berea College was the only private institution in Kentucky that offered education for both black and white students. The law was intended to stop Berea from offering mixed-race education and to prevent any other private entity from doing so in the future. The Day Law was the final step that created total segregation of education across Kentucky. While the Day Law sought to prevent mixed-race education at any private institution, the actual consequences of the law were far more extensive, as the Day Law forced black and white students into two different—and separate—systems of education.

The central question of this thesis is: what were the major consequences of the Day Law for blacks seeking an education in Kentucky? I found there were four consequences of significance to residents of Kentucky:

1. The first, and most significant for black students, was the statewide loss of opportunities to pursue a college-level liberal arts education.

[1] Constitution of the State of Kentucky, §194. Available from: <https://archive.org/details/constitutionofco00kent>. Accessed June 24, 2017.

2. With the end of mixed-race education at Berea College, black students no longer had access to their only opportunity to demonstrate that they could undertake and successfully complete the same educational challenges as white students.
3. After passage of the Day Law, black students were left with two choices for higher-level education: pursue a normal-school education (i.e., teacher training) or pursue an industrial/vocational education.[2]
4. During the time frame in this study (1890 to 1920), the U.S. economy was changing from a primarily agricultural economy to a mix of agriculture and industry. The industrial education offered to blacks focused on menial and manual-labor jobs of the old economy, such as sewing and bricklaying. Authors Marvin Lazerson and W. N. Grubb cited W. E. B. Du Bois who, in 1912, wrote that black students were still being taught skills that were more relevant to the hand skills needed during the rapidly disappearing economy.[3] As a result of the Day Law, education for black students in Kentucky neither prepared them for modern life nor did it evolve as quickly compared to education for white students.

This investigation focuses on a time period often referred to as the Progressive Era, which encompassed the years 1890 to 1920. However, my research will show that *progress* was a relative term; with limited college education options available for blacks, and curricula that were not keeping pace with the changing economy, blacks became mired in positions of low social, economic, and political status.

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[2] I have not included any education option that was specifically religious and geared toward training students to be dedicated to a life involving religion.

[3] Marvin Lazerson, and W. Norton Grubb, eds., *American Education and Vocationalism: A Documentary History, 1870-1970* (New York: Teachers College Press, 1974), 12.

Normal education and industrial education are the two educational programs investigated here. Both programs were available in black colleges and white colleges, including Berea College (prior to 1904). From 1890 to 1920, as education expanded into a system of primary and secondary schools, white colleges provided college-level teacher training (i.e., normal education) for white students emerging from primary and secondary schools. In contrast, at black colleges offering normal education, teacher training changed little and did not prepare students for college-level teaching. This coincided with equally slow changes in the development of primary and secondary schools for blacks.

Likewise, industrial education for blacks and whites took different paths. White schools changed their industrial programs from predominantly agricultural to professional, college-level programs such as engineering and science-based agricultural studies. Black schools—limited by legislation, financial constraints, and social pressure—offered industrial educations that did not advance to the college level while struggling to update their programs to meet changing demands in society.

The Day Law was an example of the broad movement across the South to ration education for blacks. This rationing resulted in a constant struggle between blacks (who sought greater opportunities through better education) and whites, particularly powerful whites, who did not want to cede their status to blacks. Many whites insisted that blacks were not capable of meeting the demands of a traditional liberal-arts education and that blacks did not need that kind of education because they would never be anything but laborers. Author James Anderson believed that the faculty at some black schools taught students that blacks had only evolved to a cultural level that was 2,000 years behind

whites, and therefore blacks could not achieve the same educational success.[4] The move toward industrial education removed several liberal arts aspects of traditional education in favor of training black workers to serve the needs of Southern whites.[5]

My study of normal education and industrial education in Kentucky will focus on four institutions:

- Berea College, a school that offered mixed-race education in 1890, was the target of the Day Law in 1904 and, as a result of that legislation, became a whites-only school from 1904 to 1920. In 1950, Berea College once again became integrated after the state opted to allow racial integration at colleges.
- University of Kentucky (UK), located in Lexington, is the original land-grant institution in the state. UK was an all-white school from 1890 to 1920. In the early 1950s, UK became integrated.
- Kentucky Normal and Industrial Institute (KNII), located in Frankfort, opened as a black normal school in Kentucky.[6] As a result of 1890 federal legislation known as the second Morrill Act, KNII became Kentucky's only black land-grant institution. It was one of the established schools available to black students after passage of the Day Law.
- Lincoln Institute, located in Shelbyville, Kentucky, was opened by the trustees of Berea College specifically to serve black students when Berea was closed to blacks as a result of the Day Law. Lincoln opened in 1912 and operated until the mid-1960s.

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[4] James D. Anderson, *The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988), 51.

[5] Anderson, *Education of Blacks in the South,* 31.

[6] During the period from 1890 to 1920, the school was known as Kentucky Normal and Industrial Institute, and that is the name I use in this thesis. It became known as Kentucky State University in 1972.

The student-body composition and funding resources for these four schools also differed. Berea College was always a private institution and initially mixed race but it became all white in 1904 until integration occurred in 1950. UK was a land-grant institution for white students, publicly funded by state and federal funds. KNII was a land-grant institution for black students, publicly funded by state and federal funds. Lincoln Institute was a private school for black students and was privately funded.

Research Sources

This study relied heavily on information taken from course catalogs from each of the four institutions. The catalogs presented each school to prospective students in various ways, including curriculum, level of education, diplomas, degrees, and certificates that could be attained at the school. Many catalogs gave enrollment numbers for the college as a whole as well as for individual programs.

An analysis of the catalogs from 1890 to 1920 revealed changes that had occurred or were planned at the schools, what students could expect as they pursued an education, and evolving changes in society. In some instances, I was unable to obtain catalogs for the exact years from every one of the four institutions. Therefore, some comparisons are not from exactly the same years, but they are as close as possible.

There were numerous other school publications, reports to the state board of education, and minutes from meetings of trustees. I compared catalogs and publications from each school in 1890 (14 years before passage of the Day Law), and continued the comparison until 1920 (16 years after the law's passage). This helped to clarify the impact of the law on the progress of education for black and white students.

Glossary of Terms

Berea College: This school was officially founded in 1855, it was a small school consisting of a Primary Department offering elementary education to children, and the Academic Department offering secondary education to young people and adults. By 1866, the school was known as the Berea Literary Institute and the college was chartered in April 1866. The first collegiate class was admitted in 1869 and the school was called Berea College thereafter. I will refer to the school as Berea College, as it is presently known.

"Black" versus "white": Originally, I chose to capitalize Black out of respect for African-Americans. As a general category, black does not designate a specific ethnicity or origin; black people may have African, Caribbean, Middle Eastern or other heritage. Negro would have been the term more commonly used in the time period I am writing about, but I was concerned it would be offensive to some readers. After further consideration and advice, however, I decided that black would be less intrusive in the flow of the text, and would still be clear in context.

Jim Crow: the era, and associated laws, that supported legalized segregation. This era began with the U.S. Supreme Court decision in *Plessey v. Ferguson* (1896), which legalized the social doctrine of "separate but equal." It began to break down after the U.S. Supreme Court decision in *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954), specifically in regard to education.

Kentucky State University: In 1886 the university was chartered as the State Normal School for Colored Children. The school became a land-grant institution in 1890 as a result of the second Morrill Act. At the time of this writing, it continues to be

a land-grant institution. It was known as Kentucky Normal and Industrial Institute (KNII) for most of the time covered by this thesis, and that is the designation I have chosen. In 1902 it was renamed Kentucky Normal and Industrial Institute for Colored Persons. In 1926 the name was changed to Kentucky State Industrial College for Colored Persons. The high school portion of the institution was closed in the early 1930s, and in 1938 the name was changed to Kentucky State College for Negroes. The phrase "for Negroes" was dropped in 1952. Kentucky State College became Kentucky State University in 1972.

Lincoln Institute: The Institute officially opened in 1912 near Simpsonville, Kentucky. It was known as Lincoln Institute for the entire time period researched in this thesis. The school ceased operations in 1964.

Progressive Era: This phrase refers to the timeframe from 1890 to 1920.

University of Kentucky: Known as the Agricultural and Mechanical College of Kentucky University from 1866 to 1878, the university was founded as a land-grant institution. From 1878 to 1908, the school was known as Agricultural and Mechanical College of Kentucky. From 1908 to 1916 the school was known as State University, and from 1916 until present it was called University of Kentucky (UK). I use UK throughout the thesis.

Chapter II

Background

According to a history written by Shannon Wilson, Berea College began in a one-room schoolhouse in rural Kentucky in 1855. Its founder, John G. Fee, envisioned a non-sectarian school dedicated to Christian principles. Fee, an anti-slavery advocate, met Kentuckian and fellow anti-slavery advocate, Cassius Clay, of Madison County, and Clay donated the acreage on which the original school stood.[7]

Turmoil was not unusual in the history of Berea College. In 1859, a few years after its founding and nearing the start of the Civil War, the first upheaval occurred. Kentuckians who lived close to the school became aware of Fee's abolitionist tendencies in his preaching and in the school, and that moved to violence those with pro-slavery views. Late that year, a group of about 65 slaveholders and pro-slavery advocates traveled from Richmond, Kentucky, to Berea and forced the abolitionists involved with the school to leave the state. The school was closed and remained so until Fee returned to Berea in the fall of 1865, after the Civil War ended.[8]

According to the Berea College website, when the school reopened it was the first mixed-race and first co-educational school in the South.[9] The first black students were admitted in March 1866, but it created such turmoil that 27 white students left the school

[7] Shannon H. Wilson, *Berea College, An Illustrated History* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 2006), 12-13. Wilson is a former student and a long-time archivist at Berea College.

[8] Wilson, *Berea College,* 20-21.

[9] Berea College website. See: <https://www.berea.edu/>. Accessed September 14, 2016.

to protest the admittance of black students on equal terms.[10] For the academic year 1869-1870, five freshmen were admitted to the College Department and the first bachelor's degree was awarded in 1873.

Normal and Industrial Education

By 1890, normal schools were being established across the South for both black and white students as the nation began to move toward publicly financed education. At the same time, the burgeoning move to establish industrial, or vocational, education was just beginning to take shape.

Under the leadership of William B. Stewart, who served as president of Berea College from 1890 to 1892, the college began to embrace industrial and commercial (business) departments. Industrial training consisted of disciplines such as carpentry, printing, blacksmithing, and pattern making. Berea had long prided itself on its teacher training, but industrial training was a new approach to helping students as they went out into society.[11]

Berea's industrial training was similar to the kind of industrial education that was later promoted as the primary education for blacks across much of the South. But Berea's industrial training program differed in important ways. First, the industrial education program was open to any student, regardless of race or gender, who saw such training as a path to success. The industrial education curriculum aimed to provide broader educational opportunities for all students. Therefore, the push to make an industrial

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[10] Wilson, *Berea College,* 21-22.

[11] Wilson, *Berea College,* 59-61.

education exclusively for blacks was, in reality, an attempt to ration education for black students and to limit rather than expand their opportunities.

Industrial education was not a precisely defined curriculum at the four institutions I investigated. Initially, industrial education taught hands-on skills like carpentry and sewing. However, at Berea, industrial education was promoted as a character-building program that also taught useful life skills. KNII held similar views, but its industrial education was one of only two curriculum options whereas at Berea there were many different options. UK, like Berea, initially offered industrial education as a choice, but it soon advanced to teaching professional skills like mechanical engineering and science-based agriculture.

Black schools across the South instituted industrial education in different ways. Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute, located in Hampton, Virginia, and Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute located in Tuskegee, Alabama, are probably the two best-known schools for advocating industrial education. Anderson wrote about what became known as the "Hampton-Tuskegee idea," in which the primary goal of industrial education was to "provide instruction suitable for adjusting blacks to a subordinate social role in the emergent New South."[12]

Many people saw industrial education in the same light as Anderson, and for that reason not all black schools embraced industrial education. Fisk University, in Nashville, Tennessee, a liberal arts school, offered limited industrial training as part of its curriculum. According to Joe Richardson, Fisk University administrators believed that

[12] Anderson, *Education of Blacks in the South*, 36.

industrial education had some value but it should not interfere with higher education.[13] People who espoused the Hampton-Tuskegee idea argued that an industrial education was the best way to integrate blacks into society; however, many agreed with the Fisk approach.

The development of normal and industrial education programs at black and white schools in Kentucky demonstrated that, based on race, two different systems of education were forming. Black schools faced numerous obstacles such as difficulty obtaining funding, lack of public support, and low-grade facilities. These conditions made educational progress onerous for blacks until the 1920s. With most of the financial and social support going to white schools, they made relatively rapid progress from normal schools and industrial education into full-fledged college-level departments of education, science, and engineering.

Financial Support

From the time Berea College was founded, fund raising in support of the schools was a constant requirement, and remained so well beyond implementation of the Day Law. Several academic researchers examined the efforts of government and philanthropic organizations to bring education to blacks in the South,[14] and numerous groups have invested in education for blacks, becoming an integral part of the black struggle for education that played out after the passage of the Day Law. Two of the earliest

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[13] Joe M. Richardson, *A History of Fisk University, 1865-1946* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2002), 58.

[14] See, for example: Anderson, *Education of Blacks in the South*, 114-115; and William Elton Trueheart, "The Consequences of Federal and State Resource Allocation and Development Policies for Traditionally Black Land-Grant Institutions: 1862-1954" (EdD diss., Harvard University, 1979), 233-234.

organizations to aid Berea College were the American Missionary Association (AMA), and the Freedmen's Bureau organized by the U.S. government.[15] The AMA was primarily concerned with helping blacks receive a traditional liberal education, and the AMA did not push any of the schools it worked with to ration education for blacks by offering a strictly industrial education program.[16]

The Freedmen's Bureau, established after the Civil War, was an effort by the federal government to aid newly emancipated blacks in their efforts to assimilate into a society from which they had been largely excluded. Unfortunately, the Freedmen's Bureau was relatively short-lived (1865 to 1872), but like the AMA, the Bureau did not push for a rationed education for blacks.

Many northern philanthropists routinely donated money to black schools in the South, including Andrew Carnegie, Julius Rosenwald, William Howard Taft, and John D. Rockefeller.[17] Scholars note that involvement in individual schools by any of these donors was often an indication that the school was promoting industrial education. Some philanthropic organizations, like the General Education Board, the Southern Education Board, and the Phelps-Stokes Fund, also pushed schools toward industrial education as a condition for receiving funds.[18] Taft, a member of the Hampton Institute Board of Trustees from 1909 to 1930, expressed his view that blacks were essential to the development of the South, and training like that offered at Hampton was the answer to

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[15] Elisabeth S. Peck, *Berea's First Century, 1855-1955* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1955), 140-141.

[16] Anderson, *Education of Blacks in the South,* 66-70.

[17] Anderson, *Education of Blacks in the South,* 72.

[18] Anderson, *Education of Blacks in the South,* 86.

the race problem.[19] Those who promoted industrial education as the answer to the race problem suggested that as long as agriculture and industry had a minimally trained and cheap workforce, tensions between the races would disappear. From the black perspective, this remedy did little to address racial or educational problems, as not all blacks were satisfied with being regarded as a cheap source of labor for those who had enslaved blacks for centuries.

After the Civil War there were some efforts, particularly by the federal government, to assimilate newly freed slaves into society. During the Reconstruction Era (1865–1877), blacks seized the opportunity to pursue education. Research shows that the idea of education funded by the public was fully supported by blacks in the South. Some schools for blacks were begun by the Freedmen's Bureau, and black people themselves started others.[20]

Federal Legislative Efforts

In addition to black movements toward further education, the U.S. Congress added three amendments to the U.S. Constitution to ensure the full participation of blacks in society. The Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments (sometimes referred to collectively as the Civil War Amendments or War Amendments) addressed three early black concerns immediately following their emancipation. In 1865, ratification of the Thirteenth Amendment declared slavery illegal in the U.S. although imprisonment for a crime was not abolished. The Fourteenth Amendment, ratified in 1868, granted

[19] Keith L. Schall, ed., *Stony the Road: Chapters in the History of Hampton Institute* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1977), 133.

[20] Anderson, *Education of Blacks in the South,* 4-9.

citizenship to all those who were born in the U.S. and guaranteed equal protection of the law to all citizens. The Fifteenth Amendment, ratified in 1870, stated that voting could not be denied due to race, color, or previous indentured servitude. Although these actions by the federal government were intended to help blacks realize the full benefits of citizenship, it was not long before most state governments in the South began putting obstacles in place to prevent this.

The most significant challenge to equality for blacks came from the State of Louisiana in the form of a law requiring segregated railroad cars for white and black passengers. The ensuing case was known as *Plessy v. Ferguson* by the time it appeared at the U.S. Supreme Court. In 1896, the Court upheld the law in Louisiana and established the "separate but equal" doctrine that stood until it was ruled unconstitutional in *Brown v. Board of Education* in 1954. "Separate but equal" was used to justify segregated schools for whites and blacks across much of the nation following the *Plessy* decision. It also successfully defeated the Fourteenth Amendment's guarantee of equal protection under the law.

Another case, this one challenging the Fifteenth Amendment's guarantee of the right to vote, involved the refusal to allow a black man to vote in Lexington, Kentucky. When the man appeared at his polling place to pay the poll tax and vote, he was refused and told he could not vote. This case, *United States v. Reese*, from 1875, resulted in the decision stating that it had not been proved that the man was refused the right to vote due to his race. This decision encouraged many southern states to use devices like poll taxes and literacy tests to deny people, mostly blacks, their right to vote.[21]

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[21] Richard Kluger, *Simple Justice: The History of Brown v. Board of Education and Black America's Struggle for Equality* (New York: A. A. Knopf, 1976), 60-61.

From the late nineteenth century through the early twentieth century, there was a succession of federal legislation that led to the creation and expansion of U.S. land-grant institutions. The legislation attempted to expand access to education across the country. The Morrill Act of 1862 did not address black education; the second Morrill Act of 1890 rectified that.

Prior to the second Morrill Act, the Hatch-George Act of 1887 was passed. The Act established agricultural experiment stations at land-grant institutions nationwide. One of the primary goals of the experiment stations was to apply contemporary science to the field of agriculture. That Act foreshadowed what would become a common occurrence with federal land-grant-related legislation: the lack of equitable appropriations between white and black land-grant institutions. However, according to William Trueheart, the appropriation of Hatch-George funds to black and white land-grant institutions was determined by each state legislature, with the result that Hatch-George funds were denied to black land-grant institutions for 80 years.[22]

In 1890, the Morrill-McComas Act (often referred to as the second Morrill Act) was passed. The law required all states that already had an all-white, land-grant school in place to establish an institution that enabled black students to study agriculture and the mechanical arts. As with the Hatch-George Act, the appropriation for funds to the separate black and white schools was determined by each state legislature. The states used different formulas for determining the funding for the white and black land-grant institutions, based on factors such as the composition of the population, or percentage of

[22] Trueheart, "Consequences of Federal and State Resource Allocation, 38-39.

students in different categories that were enrolled in common school. Most of the formulas led to white schools receiving the majority of the second Morrill Act funds.[23]

It was a step forward for blacks to have land-grant institutions mandated by the federal government, even though constant funding difficulties meant that progress was impeded. In the case of KNII, the designation as a land-grant institution was important because it meant additional funding and prestige. At the same time, the requirement to add mechanical arts and agriculture, which evolved into the industrial education portion of the curriculum, put greater demands on already limited budgets. Straining the funding to accommodate industrial education meant that making improvements to teacher training in the normal school would be difficult. Industrial education was expensive, and if it was mandated but not accompanied by sufficient funds, then the expanded curriculum weighed heavily on the institution's resources.

The Smith-Lever Act of 1914 was the next major piece of land-grant-related legislation. That law created the cooperative extension agriculture programs at the land-grant schools. The Act established outreach to citizens all over the country, conveying, through demonstration and publications, the most current research and trends in agriculture and home economy. The law was a monumental piece of legislation for its effect on educational institutions, students, researchers, and citizens. Again, like the Hatch-George Act and the second Morrill Act, administering the appropriated funds was left up to the state legislatures. As a result, black land-grant institutions were not supported by Smith-Lever funds until 1977.[24] Once again, a national attempt to improve education, and an integrated effort to improve access to knowledge for the general public,

[23] Trueheart, "Consequences of Federal and State Resource Allocation," 39-48.

[24] Trueheart, "Consequences of Federal and State Resource Allocation," 78-85.

blatantly disregarded much of the black population. The Smith-Lever Act could have greatly benefitted black institutions, but instead they were excluded from the cooperative extension movement.

The last piece of land-grant legislation relevant to this thesis was the Smith-Hughes Act of 1917. This act promoted the teaching of vocational education in agriculture, the trades, and industry in the public schools. It also provided assistance with preparing vocational education teachers in the public schools.[25] According to Trueheart, the initial funding for the Smith-Hughes Act was a permanent annual amount of $7.17 million. Of that, $1.09 million was available to land-grant institutions for training teachers to teach vocational education in the public schools. But, again, the states were given power over the distribution of the funding, and black land-grant schools did not see consistent funding even though teacher training was a primary goal of most black land-grant schools.[26]

A black citizen trying to pursue an education in Kentucky during the period 1890 to 1920 faced a difficult task with few good outcomes. With the establishment of black land-grant schools, the AMA, and similar organizations, portions of society actively worked to expand access to education for blacks. At the same time, politicians, organizations, and powerful individuals strove to limit black education by allowing states to control the distribution of funds from federal government programs, while philanthropists insisted on pushing normal school and industrial education as the primary choices for blacks. The Day Law was a clear victory for those who sought to limit educational opportunities for blacks.

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[25] Lazerson and Grubb, *American Education and Vocationalism,* 133-134.

[26] Trueheart, "Consequences of Federal and State Resource Allocation," 99-105.

Berea College Alumni and Leaders

Prior to passage of the Day Law in 1904, Berea College's comprehensive education curriculum, offered to a mixed-race student body, created immeasurable opportunities for black students. The college fostered black individuals who would later become leaders while encouraging and supporting generations of leaders whose influence would be felt across the black community. Educators James S. Hathaway, James Bond, and Carter G. Woodson epitomized the early prominent leadership developed at Berea College. One of the first students to attend Lincoln Institute (the school created by Berea College as a result of the Day Law) was Whitney Young, Sr. He and his son were distinguished black citizens indirectly rooted in Berea College.

James S. Hathaway

James S. Hathaway was born during the era of slavery in 1854. In 1884, he graduated from Berea College in the classical curriculum of the collegiate department. Hathaway was elected a tutor of Latin and mathematics the day after his graduation, and he served in that position until 1893. While at Berea College, given the mixed student population, it could be presumed that Hathaway tutored both black and white students, which would have been extremely unusual in the South during these times. For white students, exposure to a black educator with authority could disrupt stereotypes by showing that blacks were as capable as whites.

Hathaway left Berea in 1893 to become a professor of agriculture at KNII. There he helped raise money to establish and operate a farm for teaching agriculture at KNII.[27]

[27] W. D. Johnson, *Biographical Sketches of Prominent Negro Men and Women of Kentucky* (Lexington: Standard Print, 1897), 39-41.

His leadership and influence impacted many future generations. In 1900, Hathaway became president of KNII.

James Bond

Listed in the 1891-92 senior class of the collegiate department, James Bond's major course of study was scientific. He graduated in 1892 and by 1896 was a member of the Board of Trustees of Berea College. Bond was an important participant in the college's efforts to found the Lincoln Institute following passage of the Day Law.

Correspondence from Bond to the administrators at Berea College offers insight into the intensity of the efforts to fund the Lincoln Institute. He traversed the state, largely by railroad, in a door-to-door effort seeking donations and pledges. Bond recounted people's reactions, ranging from excitement about helping fund the new, as yet unnamed, "colored" school, to folks who slammed the door in his face. He was undeterred in his commitment to replace opportunities lost when Berea College was closed to black students.

In a letter dated November 1909, he wrote about leaving a home in the evening hours after speaking with the residents about his fundraising efforts. It was dark outside as he left, and he walked out the front door only to realize there were no front steps, and he landed in a barrel of cold water. He reported a few small injuries and ripped trousers, but he did not give up in his efforts to raise money for the new school.[28]

[28] James Bond, to the Berea College administration, Lincoln Institute 1908-1909, Berea College Special Collections and Archives [Record Group 13.29, Box 1], Hutchins Library, Berea, KY.

Horace Mann Bond and Julian Bond

James Bond's efforts to advocate for black Americans were continued by his son Horace Mann Bond, and then by Horace's son Julian Bond. Horace Bond was a noted advocate for black education and civil rights. He was a member of the faculty at Fisk University in the 1930s and received his doctorate from the University of Chicago in 1936. In 1934, Horace Bond wrote *The Education of the Negro in the American Social Order*,[29] which gave his views on black education from the time of emancipation to the time of his writing. In a review of Horace Bond's book, Carter Woodson said it was a useful study in the history of black education. Woodson explained that Bond saw a system that trained blacks to a certain level of education primarily to benefit the black's former oppressors. Horace Bond argued that in order to truly benefit blacks, their education should focus on critical thinking and leadership so they could understand how to improve their standing in American society.[30]

Horace's son, Julian Bond, continued the family tradition of advocating equality for blacks, but he chose to act through politics rather than academics. Julian Bond was elected to the General Assembly of the State of Georgia in 1965 and served for 20 years. He was a founder of the Southern Poverty Law Center, and served as chairman of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) from 1998 to 2010.

James Bond's education at Berea College gave him the foundation to become an effective advocate for black equality. His son and grandson also pursued education and

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[29] Horace Mann Bond, *The Education of the Negro in the American Social Order* (Holmer Green, England: Octagon Books (1934), revised 1966).

[30] C. G. Woodson, "Review: The Education of the Negro in the American Social Order," *Journal of Negro History* 20, no. 3 (1935): 353-355.

continued the legacy. The Bond family is an example of the importance of Berea College to the black community and how the hard work of James Bond continued the fight for equality for generations. Bond was a highly successful black man in his time.

Carter Godwin Woodson

For the 1902-03 academic year, Carter Godwin Woodson was listed as a senior in the Berea College Collegiate Department, consisting of 50 students.[31] In 1912, Woodson became the second black American to receive a Ph.D. from Harvard, and he is credited with founding Black History as a field of study. Woodson was the preeminent black Berea College graduate from the time frame prior to the Day Law.

Woodson is perhaps best known for his early recognition that black history needed to be told by blacks, from the perspective of blacks, rather than by whites whose perspective on black history was that of an outside observer. In 1915, Woodson founded the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History. Through this association, Woodson, with the help of professional colleagues and interested citizens, collected over 5,000 primary source materials from blacks, including deeds, diaries, letters, and folklore which could be used for research and accurate depictions of the black experience in America and abroad. Woodson's efforts lasted for decades, from approximately 1916 into the 1940s. Ultimately, these sources were assembled into the Carter G. Woodson Collection of Negro Papers at the Library of Congress and are available there for

[31] Berea College Course Catalog, 1902-1903, *Bulletins of Berea College, 1902-1903; Announcements, 1903-1904* (Berea, KY: Berea College Archives [Record Group 12.02, 55]).

research.[32] Woodson's vision, passion, and unceasing pursuit of source material made a lasting mark on the study of black history while ensuring that it would be told from the black point of view.

Whitney M. Young, Sr., and Whitney M. Young, Jr.

Although Lincoln Institute did not offer college-level education when it began operating in 1912, its association with Berea College gave it credibility within the black community. One of the earliest students at Lincoln Institute was Whitney M. Young, Sr. He served in the armed forces during World War I, and thereafter his career revolved around education and civil rights. Young received his bachelor's degree from Louisville Municipal College (now University of Louisville) and his master's degree from Fisk University.

Young returned to Lincoln Institute in 1920 as a faculty member, where he taught mechanical engineering and served as superintendent of the power and heat facilities. In 1935, he became the first black president of Lincoln Institute, and held that position until Lincoln closed in 1964. Historian William Ellis credited Young for getting Lincoln Institute out of debt after Young became president. [33] His obituary noted that Young served as president of the Kentucky Negro Education Association and the Kentucky Education Association.[34] In 1964, President Lyndon Johnson appointed Young to serve on the Citizens Committee for Implementation of the 1964 Civil Rights Law.

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[32] Jacqueline Goggin, "Carter G. Woodson and the Collection of Source Materials for Afro-American History," *American Archivist* 48, no. 3 (1985): 262-269.

[33] William E. Ellis, *A History of Education in Kentucky* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2011), 217.

[34] Whitney M. Young, Sr., Obituary, *Washington Post,* August 20, 1975.

Whitney Young, Sr. used his education and his continuing involvement in education to advocate for civil rights, and that passion for black equality was passed on to his son, Whitney M. Young, Jr., who served as executive director of the National Urban League from 1961 to 1967. In tributes to Young, Jr. after his death on March 11, 1971,[35] he was widely recognized for his belief that economic equality for blacks was a prerequisite to social equality.

James S. Hathaway, James Bond, Carter G. Woodson, and Whitney M. Young Sr., were themselves successful in education and sought to improve education for all blacks. These successful men, their heirs, and those whom they influenced, proved that given opportunities for equal education, race did not predetermine intellect or the potential for success. These men were inspirations and key to the progress of the black community in the U.S. However, in much of the white community, they were perceived as a threat to the established social hierarchy. Berea College paved the way for these men, laying the foundation and influencing each one in their important roles as advocates for black equality and for shaping of the future.

[35] Whitney M. Young, Jr., Obituary, *Amsterdam News,* March 20, 1971.

Chapter III

A Chronological History of Normal Schools in Kentucky

Prior to emancipation in 1865, formal schooling for blacks was virtually unobtainable in the South. In many areas it was illegal to teach a black person to read. Following the Civil War, a few black students came to Berea College, and from then on the school maintained that it was there to offer a chance to succeed to every person. The college stated that a person's personal worth came from his character, not his race, so the school always welcomed students regardless of their race. The school was proud of the fact that it had successfully operated a mixed-race school. The catalog noted: "Our long history proves that it is a mutual advantage for those who should cooperate for the public good to learn to respect each other in the classroom."[36]

Before the Day Law was implemented, Berea College, the University of Kentucky, and KNII each operated a normal school, and Lincoln Institute had a normal school when it opened in 1912. By 1891, the number of black students at Berea College had risen to a 53 percent majority, reflecting the strong post-emancipation desire for education among blacks. The influential black leaders just discussed—James S. Hathaway, James Bond, and Carter G. Woodson—came out of Berea College during the era prior to the Day Law.

From 1890 to 1904, the normal school at Berea College was the only mixed-race school in Kentucky. After passage of the Day Law, Berea College became an institution

[36] Berea College Course Catalog, 1904-1905, 10-11.

for whites only. Likewise, during this same period only whites were admitted to the UK; only black students were admitted to KNII; and only blacks were admitted to Lincoln Institute's initial class in 1912.

The major consequence of the Day Law was complete segregation of education in Kentucky. This led to limited choices in education, thereby making social, economic, and political equality more elusive for blacks. When Berea College's class composition changed from mixed race to all white, this left black students with non-collegiate normal school, industrial education, or religious education as their only options. My research for this thesis covered the time period beginning 15 years prior to passage of the Day Law, and began by comparing teacher training at the various normal schools.

The teaching certification process in Kentucky began in 1852 with a law that required a county examiner to test prospective teachers for a fee of 50 cents. That law created three levels of certification: first-class, second-class, and third-class, and by 1894 a state diploma was added. The rules governing the issuance and renewal of certificates changed multiple times before 1900 and at first were good only in the issuing county. The state diploma was good across the entire state and did not have to be renewed. The integrity of this system of testing was questionable as students were sometimes able to buy the test questions in advance or bribe county officials to award passing grades.[37] In 1891 neither Berea College nor KNII made any mention of awarding specific teaching certifications to students or preparing them to take a county exam for any level of certification upon graduation.

[37] Ellis, *A History of Education in Kentucky*, 83.

Normal Schools: 1890 to 1900

In the sections that follow, I provide a chronological history of black education during the time period 1890 to 1900. I compare the education that was available to black and/or white students at three of the four colleges examined in this study (Lincoln Institute did not open until 1912), and show how education progressed at each school.

Berea College

The black population of Kentucky in 1890 was 268,071—just over 14 percent of the state's total population.[38] As the idea slowly developed that public education should be available to all regardless of race, a shortage of teachers was inevitable. Normal schools were one of the earliest attempts to address that shortage.

In 1890, Berea College was the only mixed-race institution in Kentucky to offer a liberal arts education through the collegiate level. It offered common school through the eighth grade, followed by a two-year preparatory department. Normal education was listed under "Special Instruction" in the Course Catalog for 1891-1892. [39] The catalog is unclear whether normal instruction followed completion of common school or completion of the preparatory department.[40] The faculty and trustees of the school planned to further develop the normal school when they had the means to do so,[41] but at that time it was not a major course in the curriculum. In 1891, a normal education at Berea College did not result in any state teacher certification, according to the catalog.

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[38] Anderson, *Education of Blacks in the South,* 41.

[39] Berea College Course Catalog, 1891-1892, *Officers and Students of Berea College 1891-1892* (Berea, KY: Berea College Archives [Record Group 12.02: 29]).

[40] Berea College Course Catalog, 1891-1892, 29.

[41] Berea College Course Catalog, 1891-1892, 29-30.

At that time, there were 350 students enrolled (184 blacks, 166 whites), and 31 were in the collegiate department, which had two course curriculums.[42] The scientific course was a two-year course and led to a Bachelor of Science degree. The classical course was three years: a freshman year in the scientific course plus two additional years of study that together led to a Bachelor of Arts degree.[43] All students applying for admission were required to bring a letter stating their good moral character from an individual of good standing in their community. What made Berea College unique was its policy of admission to all curriculums without regard to race or gender.

The level of social equality at Berea College would likely have been greater than that experienced by black students almost anywhere else in Kentucky. Nevertheless, it would be wrong to view Berea College as some kind of utopia, free of racism and racial conflict. As noted earlier, the school experienced a small rebellion by some of the early white students who left in protest when the first black students arrived at the school in 1866. In the 1870s, the trustees were compelled to create policies to address relations between the races at social functions and even for dating and marriage. The policy urged students to resist relationships when skin color differences were substantial.[44] The Day Law came about as the result of a visit in November 1903 to Berea by State Representative Carl Day. While there he witnessed blacks and whites associating freely, which he found unacceptable, and he decided to end the mixed-race school through

[42] Berea College Course Catalog, 1891-1892, 18.

[43] Berea College Course Catalog, 1891-1892, 20-25.

[44] Wilson, *Berea College, an Illustrated History,* 46.

legislation.[45] Thus the post-Reconstruction rising tide of racism in the South eventually invaded Berea College's unique environment.

Kluger discusses the importance of the twentieth century's growing number of sociological and psychological studies regarding the affects of segregation. He wrote about an academic researcher and professor named Hugh Speer who earned his doctorate at the University of Chicago, was a professor at the University of Kansas City (now defunct), and served as a witness in the Supreme Court case, *Brown v. Board of Education.* Speer argued that if black school children could not attend school with white children, then they were not learning how to function in a community of multiple cultures. He concluded that any curriculum in a segregated school was flawed for precisely that reason.[46] Speer's testimony in *Brown*, although given 50 years after the Day Law's passage, reflected upon the importance of the loss of the mixed-race education at Berea College. His statements underscored the argument that the loss of Berea College seriously hindered black education and the struggle for social equality. It also could be considered a loss to white students because it removed the opportunity to share a common purpose in pursuit of education and to establish a shared culture with blacks.

University of Kentucky

In 1891, UK offered a one-year common school course that prepared students to take a county exam for the first-class certificate. In addition, the normal school at UK offered a four-year normal course that led to a diploma. It was not clear in the UK catalog

[45] Ellis, *A History of Education in Kentucky,* 152.

[46] Hugh Speer, quoted in Kluger, *Simple Justice,* 411-412.

whether the diploma awarded was a state diploma that entitled a teacher to teach anywhere in the state and did not require renewal, or if the diploma was merely an academic diploma that would require the student to take an additional state exam for certification.[47]

For the academic year 1893-94, the normal school at UK enrolled 18 students—9 male and 9 female.[48] The school did not serve a substantial number of students in teacher training. The small number of normal school students at UK may have reflected the reluctance of whites to embrace the idea of publicly funded education for all. At the end of the nineteenth century, former slaves were much more likely to advocate for large-scale public education than were poor whites or even middle-class whites. Some people from the South did not necessarily see education as a benefit to their interests. Thus, while they went along with education for whites, many of them did not want to endorse education for blacks.[49] In an extreme example, in 1903, the president of the University of Tennessee, Charles Dabney, suggested that black education be halted entirely until southern whites were thoroughly educated.[50] It may have been almost inevitable that as the wealthy class began to embrace education for whites, they would see the usefulness of limiting education options for blacks in order to maintain the existing social hierarchy.

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[47] University of Kentucky Course Catalog, 1890-1891, *Annual Register of the State College of Kentucky, Statement of the Condition, Matriculates, and Course of Study for the College Year 1889-1890, with Announcements for 1890-1891* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Libraries, Special Collections Research Center [(accession number 2011 ua006]).

[48] Ezra L. Gillis, *The University of Kentucky, Its History and Development: A Series of Charts Depicting the More Important Data, 1862-1955* (Lexington: University of Kentucky, 1956), 20. Also available from: <https://public.tableau.com/profile/ alex.dixon#!/vizhome/TheGillisBooklet/>. Accessed July 10, 2017.

[49] Anderson, *Education of Blacks in the South,* 26-27.

[50] Richardson, *A History of Fisk University, 1865-1946,* 66.

Kentucky Normal and Industrial Institute

In 1891, KNII's primary focus was normal education for black teachers; industrial education had just begun to enter the curriculum. Students had to be at least 16 years old and have completed common school in order to attend KNII.[51] With a higher admission age, no common school or college-level programs, and exclusively black student body, KNII was much different from Berea College. While Berea served a much larger student body in 1891 (350 students), KNII's total enrollment for the 1890 to 1891 academic year was 77 students.[52]

Normal Schools: 1901 to 1910

In this section, I briefly discuss black education in Kentucky from 1901 to 1910. I compare the education that was available to black and/or white students at three of the four colleges examined in this study (not including Lincoln Institute), and show how education progressed at each school.

Berea College

By the 1902-03 academic year, the course offerings and number of students had grown considerably since 1891. However, Berea College President William Goodell Frost made the decision that the student body should reflect the proportions of blacks and whites vis-à-vis the state population, which meant that black students would constitute a much smaller percentage of the Berea student body. Historian Paul Nelson noted that by

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[51] Kentucky Normal and Industrial Institute, *Fourth Annual Course Catalogue, 1890-1891, Annual Announcements for 1891-1892* (Frankfort: Paul G. Blazer Library, Special Collections and Archives), 15-16.

[52] KNII, *Fourth Annual Course Catalogue*, 6.

1903, on the eve of the passage of the Day Law and under Frost's leadership, Berea College had steadily diminished the enrollment of black students in favor of white students from the nearby mountain region.[53]

For the academic year 1902-03, the school enrolled 977 students: 803 were white, 174 were black (21.6 percent of the student body). According to the 1900 census, blacks comprised 13.4 percent of the Kentucky population compared to just over 14 percent in 1890.[54] The normal school had 160 students, and at this point was its own department at the school rather than, as in 1891, being listed as part of a "Special Instruction" section.[55]

Berea College was largely a primary and secondary school in 1902. Of the 977 students enrolled for this particular year, 635 were in the model schools and 83 were academy students. The college department was growing, but not as dramatically as the primary and secondary schools. For the 1902-03 year, the collegiate department consisted of 50 students.[56]

By 1902, the normal school was training teachers to pursue many different levels of certification. At Berea College in 1902, a student could pursue the first-class, second-class, or third-class certificate; a state certificate after the three-year normal course; or the state diploma that was awarded after successful completion of the four-year normal course. The four-year normal course was the most extensive normal course offered at Berea College in 1902 but it was not considered a college-level course.

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[53] Paul D. Nelson, "Experiment in Interracial Education at Berea," *Journal of Negro History* 59, no. 1 (1974): 19.

[54] John A. Hardin, *Fifty Years of Segregation: Black Higher Education in Kentucky, 1904-1954* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1997), 123, Table 1.

[55] Berea College Course Catalog, 1902-1903, 28.

[56] Berea College Course Catalog, 1902-1903, 76.

It is not clear in the Berea College catalog what the difference was between a *state diploma* and a *state certificate*. According to Ellis, the *state diploma* entitled a teacher to teach anywhere in the state and did not require a renewal—essentially a lifetime certification. The other state certifications, classified as certificates rather than as diplomas, required renewals and were specific to counties.[57] The *state certificate* was intended to allow teaching anywhere in the state but did require periodic renewal.

At this time Berea College also operated a model school for teachers in training who could do practice teaching under the tutelage of established teachers.[58] The model schools were part of the Preparatory Department, which also ran a school called "the academy." The academy was essentially a high school, taught by the college professors, and intended to prepare the students for admission to college.[59]

For a small school in a small rural community, Berea College offered a tremendous amount of opportunity in education for all races, genders, and ages. The description of the 1902 college curriculum shows that Berea College aimed to offer a modern education for all who qualified. The collegiate department offered this description of what it termed the "Classical Course":

> The Classical Course is the standard of the American college — a thorough and liberal education, developing each human faculty, and touching upon each branch of human knowledge by extended courses in Mathematics, Natural Science, History, Ancient and Modern Literature, Philosophy, and other subjects.[60]

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[57] Ellis, *A History of Education in Kentucky,* 83.

[58] Berea College Course Catalog, 1902-1903, 28-29.

[59] Berea College Course Catalog, 1902-1903, 30.

[60] Berea College Course Catalog, 1902-1903, 34.

In striving to offer a standard liberal arts education, the school also offered a scientific course and a literary course. The catalog acknowledged that Berea College did not offer the specialized types of professional programs that northern schools offered, but stated the college's intention to offer numerous course choices and a quality education for its students.[61] The courses offered at the collegiate level in 1902 were typical of what would have been available for any liberal arts school. Options included languages like Latin and Greek, and disciplines such as psychology, sociology, history, civics, trigonometry, geometry, logic, and philosophy.

A sociology course offering was quite unusual at this time. According to Richardson, Fisk University President George Augustus Gates introduced sociology to Fisk, and the course began to be emphasized in black schools.[62] Since Berea College was not accredited until 1926 it is difficult to judge its programs relative to other institutions in the state or nationally. However, it appears as though Berea followed widely accepted college programs and, in the case of teaching sociology, it was somewhat ahead of its time.

University of Kentucky

In 1902, the University of Kentucky (UK) had expanded its normal school to include college and non-college levels of instruction. The school had 27 students enrolled at the college level and working toward a Bachelor of Pedagogy degree. In addition, there

[61] Berea College Course Catalog, 1902-1903, 34.

[62] Richardson, *A History of Fisk University, 1865-1946,* 64.

were 96 students not at college level who were pursuing state or county certificates for teaching.[63]

UK was a white land-grant institution so it received federal funding. As the state's preeminent public institution of higher education, it was able to advance teacher training to the college level much more quickly than either Berea College or KNII.

Kentucky Normal and Industrial Institute[64]

By 1902, KNII student enrollment had increased from 77 students in 1891, to 200 students in 1902. This larger student body meant a greater emphasis on industrial education than ten years earlier. The impetus for this focus was the 1890 Morrill Act, which mandated that agriculture and mechanic arts be taught at white and black land-grant institutions. Therefore, by 1902 all students, including those in the normal school, had a requirement for some industrial education as part of their curriculum. The choices for industrial education were agriculture, printing, carpentry, blacksmithing, broom making, cooking, sewing, and laundry. This increasing attention to industrial courses reflected the larger movement, particularly in the South, toward industrial education for blacks—especially since KNII was designated by Kentucky as the state's black land-grant institution.

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[63] University of Kentucky Course Catalog, 1902-1903, *Catalogue of the Officers, Studies, and Students of the State College of Kentucky, Lexington, With a Part of the Regulations for the Session Ending June 4, 1903* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Libraries, Special Collections Research Center [accession number 2011 ua006]), 113.

[64] I was unable to locate a course catalog from KNII for the academic year 1902-03. Therefore, the information on KNII given here came from the following: "Common School Report to the County Superintendent" (Frankfort: Kentucky Department for Libraries and Archives, 1901-03).

In 1902, KNII did not have a model school associated with its normal school. This concern was addressed in the epistolary report to the county superintendent.[65] KNII President James S. Hathaway stressed the need for a model school to train prospective teachers in all facets of classroom conduct and techniques. However, KNII lacked state or federal funds that would have enabled it to build a model school. Training new teachers without enabling them to observe experienced teachers and interact with students in a classroom environment was not ideal. To improve the quality of teachers, methods of teacher training needed to improve, otherwise a cycle of inadequately trained teachers continued. Hathaway noted in his report that in an effort to help KNII and the black community, the Frankfort black schools had circulated a petition requesting that their schools serve as the model school for KNII; all that was needed was approval by the proper authorities.[66] This effort demonstrated the importance placed on education by the black community. It was also a meaningful effort to help local children acquire an education while at the same time improving teacher training for black students in Kentucky. The epistolary report did not explain which, if any, teacher certifications were awarded upon graduation from KNII, or which state certification tests KNII students would be prepared to take after attending classes there.

In addition, the Morrill Act required schools to include agriculture and mechanic arts in the curriculum, which ultimately became the industrial education portion of the school. Resources essential to industrial education, such as agricultural machinery,

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[65] "Epistolary Reports of County Superintendents, July 1901-June 1903" (Frankfort: Kentucky Department for Libraries and Archives, Archival Records Management Division, Kentucky State University Collection), 85.

[66] "Epistolary Reports, July 1901-June 1903," 81-82.

livestock, printing equipment, woodworking equipment, and kitchen equipment, were expensive and competed for funds with the normal school.

Passage of the Day Law in 1904

Significant changes occurred in black education in Kentucky as a result of the passage of the Day Law. It was proposed in January 1904, passed by the state legislature in March 1904, and became effective in July 1904. I examine here the impact of the Day Law on the education that was available to black and/or white students at three of the four colleges in this study (not Lincoln Institute), and show how education changed (or not) at each school.

Berea College

For the academic year beginning in the fall of 1904, the total student population of Berea College was 862—about 11 percent smaller than the student population in the previous academic year. College students numbered 34 compared to 50 students two years earlier—a 36 percent decrease in the college department. The 1904-05 catalog stated there were 52 black students formerly enrolled at Berea. Following implementation of the Day Law, in a philanthropic effort, Berea College helped those black students enroll at other institutions.[67] In his autobiography, President Frost described the College's efforts to support the displaced black students:

> The Institution [Berea College] provided for these young [black] people such aid as was necessary in each case, including railroad fare, to enable them to continue their studies in other schools—Fisk, Knoxville, Hampton, or schools in the North. The next year the Institution adopted a

[67] Berea College Course Catalog, 1904-1905 (Berea, KY: Berea College Archives [Record Group 12.02]).

> number of other young people recommended by its colored graduates, so as to keep up the number aided at from sixty to one hundred. Besides this, it raised special funds for the colored public school in Berea, for the colored schoolhouse, and for the purchase of a good dwelling for the use of the colored teachers in Berea.[68]

Berea College demonstrated its commitment to black education by not abandoning its black students—a decision later confirmed by the opening of Lincoln Institute in 1912, which evidenced Berea College's continuing commitment to education for black students.

For the academic years 1902-03 and 1904-05, the certifications available to all students were the same; the first-class certificate, a state certificate, and a state diploma. The more advanced option, the state diploma, was available only to white students at Berea College, since it was closed to blacks in 1904 because of the Day Law.

Pedagogy (the advanced study of teaching techniques and theory) was a significant feature of normal school training at Berea. In 1904, the pedagogy curriculum included courses on the history of education, practice teaching in the model schools, courses focused on recalling information and conveying that information efficiently, courses discussing teaching theory and how to adapt that theory to country schools, courses on school management, and courses discussing psychology and how to use psychological principles in teaching.[69] The pedagogy part of the normal school was far more extensive than anything available to blacks at the time.

I could not determine whether the trustees of Berea College ever seriously considered that Berea college could emerge as a black school, rather than white,

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[68] William Goodell Frost, *For the Mountains: An Autobiography* (New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1937), 176.

[69] Berea College Course Catalog, 1904-1905, 46-47.

following passage of the Day Law. On a strictly financial basis, the school would be much larger if it maintained a white student population and sacrificed the black student population. This was the most likely determination given Frost's decisions in earlier years to decrease the number of black students so the student body would be a proportionate reflection of the state population.

In the fall of 1904, Berea College was, in most ways, the same institution it had been in the years just prior. Notwithstanding the absence of black students and consequently the somewhat smaller student body, the school offered essentially the same education as before the Day Law took effect. However, Berea College administrators decided to challenge the Day Law in court. That was a slow process, and during that time, the school continued as a whites-only school.

A section of the 1904-05 catalog entitled "Berea College: History and Aims" brings to light some of the losses inflicted on the black community because black students could no longer attend the school. The significance of the total loss of a college-level, liberal arts education for blacks in Kentucky is reflected in the following statement: "Recognizing the fact that from college-bred men come the majority of leaders among people of the United States, it [Berea College] provides a full college course and points the way to its completion."[70] Clearly, the blow to progress in the black community was apparent as far as social, economic, and political equality were concerned. Without a college education, full citizenship and equality for blacks would be far less likely.

Another feature of Berea College that benefitted all students was their growing understanding that many of the stereotypes they had heard were not true. In the South, the mixed-race classroom was unique to Berea College prior to Fall 1904. That environment

[70] Berea College Course Catalog, 1904-1905, 9.

presented a rare opportunity for black students to exhibit their work ethic, intellectual ability, and drive to succeed, all while performing the same physical and academic work as white students. It is likely that black students were more acutely aware of their lost opportunity to disprove many of the prejudices initially harbored by white students, rather than the white students learning that in many ways blacks were just like whites. Black students in Kentucky would not share classrooms with white students at Berea College again until the fall of 1950.[71]

To put this change in context, it is interesting to note that what happened at Berea College was somewhat akin to events three years earlier at Maryville College in Maryville, Tennessee. Maryville College, located about 150 miles south of Berea College, was also a mixed-race school until the State of Tennessee banned mixed-race public and private schools in 1901. From 1866 to 1901, Maryville College enrolled about 60 black students (all male). Of the 60, 9 graduated from the college and 18 became teachers.[72] Although the sentiment of banning mixed-race education was the same in both states, because Maryville College served many fewer blacks in Tennessee, the impact was not as far-reaching.

University of Kentucky

UK continued to make progress in its education programs at the time of the Day Law's proposal and passage. For the academic year 1903-04, UK had 15 collegiate-level normal school students working toward a Bachelor of Pedagogy degree, while the non-

[71] Wilson, *Berea College,* 147.

[72] Ralph Waldo Lloyd, *Maryville College: A History of 150 Years, 1819-1969* (Maryville: Maryville College Press, 1969), 183-206.

collegiate normal school students numbered 109.[73] The non-collegiate students pursued one of three different certificates: a county certificate, a state certificate, or a state diploma.

The catalog for 1903-1904 stated that, beginning in fall 1904, UK would offer special courses that would train students to seek the important and powerful position of county superintendent.[74] This person made many decisions regarding curriculum and allocated funds among the county schools.

Kentucky Normal and Industrial Institute

In the years 1903-04, immediately before passage of the Day Law, KNII struggled to provide enough openings for all the black students who wanted to attend this historically black school. A 1903 report to the superintendent of education repeated concerns about overcrowding at the school, and mentioned the fact that it had to turn away potential students. KNII was in the process of building a new dormitory to accommodate more students, but due to lack of funding, the building remained unfinished and uninhabitable from 1901 to 1903.[75] In 1905, the dormitory was finally completed and housed female students.

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[73] University of Kentucky Course Catalogue, 1903-1904, *Officers, Studies, and Students of the State College of Kentucky, Lexington, With a Part of the Regulations for the Session Ending June 2, 1904* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Libraries, Special Collections Research Center [accession number 2011 ua006]), 121.

[74] University of Kentucky Course Catalog, 1903-1904, 83-84.

[75] "Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, July 1, 1903 to June 30, 1905" (Frankfort: Kentucky Department for Libraries and Archives, Archival Records Management Division, Kentucky State University Collection), 170-175.

The three-year normal school still did not have a model school in 1903 because the 1902 petition from the local black community had not been approved. Consequently, because of ongoing funding problems, the desire to build a model school remained unfulfilled. In the end, an old washhouse building was converted into a model school furnished by the parents of local KNII students.

The 1903-05 biennial report stressed a desire to raise the salaries of KNII teachers. The point was made that the salaries, although sufficient ten years earlier, now lagged significantly behind salaries for teachers at similar schools. The low salaries were making it difficult to find and retain experienced teachers.[76] The Biennial Report did not mention which, if any, teacher certifications were awarded upon graduation from KNII, or which state certification tests the students would be prepared for after attending classes at KNII.

Normal Schools: 1910 to 1915

In this section, I briefly discuss black education in Kentucky from 1910 to 1915. I compare the educational opportunities that were available to black and/or white students at each of the four colleges examined in this study, and show how education progressed at each school.

Berea College

By 1910, the size of the student body at Berea College had returned to pre-Day Law numbers: a total of 1,356—about 57 percent larger than in the years immediately

[76] "Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, July 1, 1905 to June 30, 1907" (Frankfort: Kentucky Department for Libraries and Archives, Archival Records Management Division, Kentucky State University Collection), 327-332.

following passage of the Day Law. The college continued to offer all levels of education, from primary school through college. The collegiate department had 58 students, a 70 percent increase compared to the 1904-05 academic year; the normal school had 350 students.[77] In the 1910-1911 catalog, the college claimed that "Berea-trained teachers rank high in county and state examinations and in teaching. . . . The demand for those who complete our courses is far greater than the supply."[78] By this time, Berea was training large numbers of teachers, and Berea was an asset to the state as the desire for a college education continued to expand. At the same time, however, the supply of black teachers in Kentucky was hampered by their loss of access to Berea College.

The philanthropic effort to aid black student education, which began in 1904, continued. The 1910-1911 catalog listed 16 students referred to as "Berea Colored Students at Other Institutions." These other institutions included Fisk University (5 students), Knoxville College (7 students), College of Physicians and Surgeons (1 student), Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute (2 students), and Roger Williams University (1 student). [79] These students had to leave Kentucky in order to pursue a college education. The 1910-11 Berea College catalog also listed a local black common school that had 77 students, which suggests that Berea College maintained an interest in that school and in black education generally.[80]

In 1910, Berea College's normal school had advanced in some significant ways since the passage of the Day Law. It offered a one-year course leading to a county

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[77] Berea College Course Catalog, 1910-1911 (Berea, KY: Berea College Archives [Record Group 12.02]), 141.

[78] Berea College Course Catalog, 1910-1911, 54.

[79] Berea College Course Catalog, 1910-1911, 140-141.

[80] Berea College Course Catalog, 1910-1911, 140.

certificate, the state certificate course, and the state diploma course. In addition, the normal school offered a Bachelor of Pedagogy degree, which required an additional four years of study after the completion of the state courses. This advanced level of study was intended for students who sought to become a county superintendent or the principal of a high school.[81] A county superintendent would be involved in the management aspects of county schools, such as funding for faculty and facilities, and as such it was a bureaucratic position in the state. This was another step of progress in teacher education that was not available to the black community at that time.[82] Even though the Bachelor of Pedagogy degree was an option in 1910, the degree was not listed as part of the collegiate department, for reasons I could not determine.

When comparing the normal courses for 1904-05 and 1910-11, it was evident that during those two years the state certificate course and the state diploma course were quite similar. However, there was one significant difference in terms of practical training: in 1910, there was one additional term dedicated to student teaching than had been required in 1904. In both years, the state diploma course (which was more comprehensive) was one year longer than the state certificate course.

In addition to completing the state courses and four additional years of study, the Bachelor of Pedagogy also required nine months of teaching and the writing of a thesis.[83] Some of the advanced study required included additional coursework in Bible studies, specific studies for teaching of industrial education, education methods, the history of

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[81] Berea College Course Catalog, 1910-1911, 54-55.

[82] It was not until 2004 that Elaine Farris, of Shelby County, KY, became the first black, full-time, superintendent in the state. See: Gerald L. Smith, Karen C. McDaniel, and John A. Hardin eds., *The Kentucky African American* Encyclopedia (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 2015), 268.

[83] Berea College Course Catalog, 1910-1911, 55.

American education, and additional courses in Latin and German. The study of history was greatly expanded to include ancient history, European history, American history, and Kentucky history.

By 1910, the political science department had grown extensively, and the coursework was especially noteworthy. The description for a course on Civil Government stated that such instruction "will enable teachers to give their pupils a good understanding of the workings of our state and national governments, the duties of citizenship, and the principles of justice, equality, free speech and self-government."[84] This course may have been an ideal platform from which to discuss the many issues surrounding Berea College and its efforts to fight the Day Law.

In the pedagogy department, the industrial education course would have been relevant to both white and black. The description stated: "The development of industrial education, its phases in America and other countries, manual training in city and county schools, what share industrial features should have in the public school curriculum, training for teachers for this special feature of modern education, etc."[85] There was no answer to the question of whether to incorporate industrial education into, or as a replacement for, a traditional liberal arts education.

University of Kentucky

UK had phased out its normal school by 1908, and instead began operating a Department of Education that conferred a Bachelor of Arts and a Bachelor of Science in

[84] Berea College Course Catalog, 1910-1911, 65.

[85] Berea College Course Catalog, 1910-1911, 65.

Education.[86] The differences between the two degrees were minor: the Bachelor of Science degree included additional science and drawing, the Bachelor of Arts included Latin and two other education courses.[87] Teaching of teachers had advanced significantly at UK compared to Berea College, and even further compared to KNII.

Kentucky Normal and Industrial Institute

The academic year 1910-11 brought some changes to the normal school at KNII, but they did not lead to significant progress for the students. The normal school was a three-year program, as it had been since 1890. The students who attended KNII with the aim of becoming teachers were required to have some industrial education in their education. The goal was to "better prepare them [the students] to discharge intelligently the duties and responsibilities of American Citizenship."[88] It seemed apparent that in 1911 those overseeing education for blacks were intent on molding the students into some acceptable version of responsible citizenship.

It was not just industrial education that had this goal. I read through the entire description of the US History course at KNII for 1911 while consciously applying it to the black experience in the United States. The description read:

> The History of the United States is early brought to the attention of the student. He is given the most thorough and exhausting drill in the study of United States History, in order to bring him to an intelligent and

[86] University of Kentucky Course Catalogue, 1908-1909, *Catalog of the Officers, Studies, and Students of the State University, Lexington, Kentucky. For the Session Ending June 3, 1909* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Libraries, Special Collections Research Center [accession number 2011 ua006]), 77. A catalog for the academic year 1910-1911 could not be located, so I used this catalog in its place.

[87] University of Kentucky Course Catalog, 1908-1909, 81-82.

[88] KNII Course Catalog, 1911-1912, *25th Annual Catalogue, The Kentucky Normal and Industrial Institute for Colored Persons, 1911-1912, Announcements 1912-1913* (Frankfort: Paul G. Blazer Library, Special Collections and Archives, Kentucky State University), 12.

> appreciative sense of his obligations to the government which sacrifice and great effort has made his own.
>
> The Period of Discovery, the Colonial Period, the Revolutionary War, the founding of the American Republic, the Second War with Great Britain, the Mexican War, the Great Civil strife between the sections, the War with Spain, the matchless inventions of American genius, these are some of the facts which are brought home with every student.
>
> This Institution insists upon a student's learning the history of his country. It takes this step as one of the best means of encouraging patriotic devotion to her institutions and inspiring in him greater respect for citizenship which is the price of American Liberty.[89]

Although the beginning of the description mentions "sacrifice and great effort" it does not appear to be referring to the sacrifice and effort of slaves, especially as the long list of events in the second paragraph does not include slavery as a fact in the creation of America. This description reads like a sanitized version of history that suggests black students should dismiss their own history in America so they may achieve the primary goal of becoming better citizens based on standards determined by whites.

In 1911, the KNII normal school offered three different courses, but none of those courses led to different levels of certification. The standard normal school course was a three-year course that led to a state diploma; the state diploma allowed the teacher to teach at any black common school in the state and was good for life. KNII also offered a four-year normal course, which course allowed the student to teach part of the year and complete the normal school requirements by simply allowing an extra year to obtain the state diploma. The last option was a twelve-week teachers' review course of the common school curriculum, and was intended for working teachers. This review course did not

[89] KNII Course Catalog, 1911-1912, 21.

lead to any certification, and no industrial course work was required.[90] The review course was an attempt to improve teacher quality by offering additional training to those already working in the state.

Lincoln Institute

Lincoln Institute opened its doors to black students in October 1912. The planning by Berea College and fund-raising efforts to establish this school took years, and it continued to evolve even after the school opened. The school's quarterly publication, the *Lincoln Institute Worker,* noted that the school intended to accommodate 150 students, although it began with about 40 students.[91]

In January 1912, the board of trustees of Lincoln Institute authorized the publication of a school prospectus intended for potential students.[92] The prospectus said the school would not accept students under the age of 15. It would provide courses for the fifth through eighth grades. There would also be full Normal training (four years) that would include work ordinarily given in a high school course, which most likely refers to the courses of junior normal and advance normal—essentially the ninth through twelfth

[90] KNII Course Catalog, 1911-1912, 12-15.

[91] *Lincoln Institute Worker,* October 1912 (Berea, KY: Berea College Special Collections and Archives [Record Group 13.29, box 3, Record Group Associated Items], Academic Divisions, Lincoln Institute: Publications 1907-1919). Inside the cover of this issue it was written that the school had a student capacity of 150. Page 1 stated that it began operation with about 40 students enrolled.

[92] Lincoln Institute, Board Meeting Minutes, November 9, 1909 to May 15, 1947 (Louisville, KY: Papers of Lincoln Foundation), 28.

grades.[93] There were also industrial courses in agriculture, horticulture, dairying, domestic science, and music.

The July 1912 edition of the *Lincoln Institute Worker* said the normal school would be six years long but divided into three separate two-year programs: junior normal, advance normal, and professional normal. The first two years (junior normal) prepared students for the county certificate; the second two years (advance normal) led to either the state certificate or the state diploma; the last two years (professional normal) led to a Bachelor of Pedagogy degree.[94] Lincoln Institute was not a college institution in 1912 and the degree "Bachelor of Pedagogy" would not have been a standard collegiate-level degree. Lincoln likely used that name to indicate the extra study needed to complete the highest-level normal school offering.

The *Lincoln Institute Worker* stated that there was some desire for a teacher review course at the school, and if enough people inquired, the school would consider adding it.[95] The course would likely have been similar to the teacher review course being offered by KNII. However, there was no indication in the prospectus that such a teacher review course would be offered.

Students were required to work at least two hours per day, and were not paid in cash; their wages were recorded and applied to their school bills. The prospectus listed the wages students could expect to earn from various jobs at the school: dishwashers

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[93] Lincoln Institute, *Lincoln Institute of Kentucky Prospectus* (Berea, KY: Berea College Special Collections and Archives [Record Group 13.29 box 3, Record Group Associated Items], Academic Divisions, Lincoln Institute: Publications 1907-1919), 4-5.

[94] *Lincoln Institute Worker*, July 1912 (Berea College, Special Collections and Archives, Lincoln Institute Worker folder 1909-1912 [Record Group 13.29, box 4]), 12-13.

[95] *Lincoln Institute Worker*, July 1912, 10.

earned five cents per hour, general labor earned a student seven cents per hour, more experienced labor earned eight to ten cents per hour, and student monitors earned twelve and a half cents per hour.[96] In December 1912, the trustees decided the wage schedule for student labor had to be reduced as the wages promised in the prospectus were determined to be too high.[97]

In 1913, the board of trustees of Lincoln Institute recommended adding dormitory rooms in the attic of Berea Hall. The board said the growing number of students would pay for the rooms.[98] It is not clear if the additional space was needed to accommodate students that were being turned away, or if this was done to increase revenue in order to actively recruit more students. In either case, lack of space and lack of revenue were common problems at many black schools.

Normal Schools: 1915 to 1920

In 1915, the cities of Louisville and Lexington each had one public high school for black students. Louisville had 402 students enrolled, and Lexington had 111.[99] The city of Louisville had the largest black population. Training of black teachers for secondary schools, and the introduction of courses specifically designed to discuss black culture, were some of the most important changes.

In this section, I briefly discuss black education in Kentucky from 1915 to 1920. I compare the educational opportunities that were available to black and/or white students

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[96] Berea College Archives, *Lincoln Institute of Kentucky Prospectus,*1912, 8-9.

[97] Lincoln Institute, Board Meeting Minutes, 36.

[98] Lincoln Institute, Board Meeting Minutes, 42.

[99] Anderson, *Education of Blacks in the South,* 200-201, table 6.4.

at each of the four colleges examined in this study, and show how education progressed at each school.

Berea College

By now, Berea College had grown significantly. The academic year beginning in the fall of 1915 had a total student body of 1,750 students—a 29 percent increase from five years earlier. The collegiate department had 103 students—a 77 percent increase from five years earlier. Most students were enrolled in the normal school (280), the Academy (334), and the foundation school (482), or were in common school grades of first through eighth—a total of 1,096 of the 1,750 students.[100]

By 1915, Berea College had added a college-level program in education that illustrated the loss dealt to the black community by highlighting the continued progress in college-level training that was available to white students. The Bachelor of Pedagogy degree, which had previously been specific only to the normal school, was now a degree within the collegiate department. At that time, not a single school in Kentucky offered a college-level degree in education to black students. Only State Colored Baptist University in Louisville offered a college-level education in law and medicine.[101]

Berea College's normal school also continued to offer various levels of teacher training. It intentionally focused the normal school on training teachers to teach in rural schools and training students to become county superintendents.[102] This was congruent

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[100] Berea College Course Catalog, 1915-1916 (Berea: Berea College Archives [Record Group 12.02]), 196.

[101] Hardin, *Fifty Years of Segregation,* 3-4.

[102] Berea College Course Catalog, 1915-1916, 89.

with Frost's efforts to focus Berea College admissions on white students from the mountain region, but represented another missed opportunity for black students who were not being trained for positions as county superintendent.

One course, titled "History of Education in America," examined education prior to the adoption of the Constitution, when public education for many, but especially blacks, was virtually nonexistent. Another portion of the course addressed "the development of education from the adoption of the Constitution till the present time, with reference to the social, religious and political ideas of the period."[103]

Two additional courses in the collegiate department, also options for students pursuing the Bachelor of Pedagogy degree, suggested the possibility of in-depth exploration of important issues regarding race and education. The first was a philosophy course titled "Ethics" described as, "A study of the origin, nature and affirmations of the moral faculty, and the practical applications of moral principles in conduct."[104] This course was relevant to Berea College given its history with the Day Law and whether there were any moral reasons for banning mixed-race education in the state. A second course in political science, titled "Rural Sociology," was described as, "A study of problems of rural life and plans for betterment. Special attention will be given to the mountain region of Kentucky and to the race problem."[105] These courses were examples of a depth of study that was not available to black students—certainly not at Berea, but also not at KNII or Lincoln Institute in 1915.

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[103] Berea College Course Catalog, 1915-1916, 68.

[104] Berea College Course Catalog, 1915-1916, 75.

[105] Berea College Course Catalog, 1915-1916, 76.

The academic year 1915-16 offered a course titled “Industrial Education,” which focused on the role of industrial education in public schools. In 1910, the course was listed among those offered by the normal school, but in 1915 it had become a college-level course. The course description was the same for both years, part of which posed the question regarding industrial education” “What share [should] industrial features have in the public school curriculum. . . .” It appears the school acknowledges that the mix of a industrial education and a classic liberal arts education was debatable. By 1915, the idea that industrial education should be part of public education was unquestionable.

This was shortly after Samuel Armstrong of the Hampton Institute and others began to push the creation of a curriculum for black education that trained a class of workers, and the majority of that curriculum was industrial training. Many Southern whites argued that blacks should not be offered an education similar to a traditional liberal arts education; rather, blacks needed a curriculum that was adapted to the norms of the southern white social structures and racial views.[106] There was wide-ranging disparity in the reasons for why industrial education was important for blacks as compared to whites. Industrial education for blacks was viewed as a limiting factor, and it was encouraged as one of only two primary educational opportunities made available to them. For whites, industrial education was another option in an already extensive curricula intended to increase their opportunities.

[106] Anderson, *Education of Blacks in the South*, 29-32.

During 1915-16, Berea College's Foundation School—a recent addition to the college—served 482 students.[107] This department was designed to educate adults in the community who had little or no previous schooling;[108] no one under the age of 15 could attend. As Frost said, it was designed "to help with the multitudes of young people who have missed early opportunities and would be embarrassed to go to school with little children."[109] In addition, the Foundation School also prepared students to attend the normal school if they desired. The school was a true asset to the community, and clearly popular, as it accounted for nearly 500 students in 1915. In 1915, the black community was two generations removed from the institution of slavery and, had they been allowed, this type of school would have been of great value since most blacks received little or no education during their childhood years.

By the academic year 1919-20, Berea College had grown significantly. In 1919, it had 2,384 students enrolled, a 36 percent increase from 1915. The collegiate department was growing at a more robust rate than the school as a whole, with 178 students enrolled, a 72 percent increase over 1915. The normal school had grown 35 percent since 1915 to 379 students, the foundation school had grown 29 percent to 622 students, and the academy had grown by 62 percent to 542 students.[110]

Besides the significant increase in the number of students enrolled in the college-level programs, in the fall of 1919 Berea College added one more program to the

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[107] Frost's autobiography said the Foundation School was established in 1904 (Frost, *For the Mountains*, 154-155). However, in all of the catalogs examined for this thesis, 1915 was the first time the Foundation School was listed as its own separate entity.

[108] Berea College Course Catalog, 1915-1916, 141.

[109] Frost, *For the Mountains*, 154.

[110] Berea College Course Catalog, 1919-1920, *Bulletin of Berea College, General Catalog 1919-1920* (Berea, KY: Berea College Archives, [Record Group 12.02]), 212.

collegiate department: a bachelor's degree in philosophy, in addition to the bachelor's degrees offered in classics (i.e., standard liberal arts), science, literature, and pedagogy. In 1891 the school had only 31 students enrolled in college-level courses and offered just two courses of study, classical and scientific. By 1920, the school showed steady growth and new options for bringing education to those who desired it.

The academy portion of Berea College was for students who completed the common school curriculum but desired more education, either to enter a collegiate program or simply to be better educated. Growth in the academy and the collegiate department at Berea College reflected the increasing recognition and acceptance of education across the nation. But blacks missed the opportunity to participate in this growth of education, as Anderson noted, saying that many people "did not view black secondary education as relevant to its [philanthropists' and school boards'] schemes for the social and economic development of the New South."[111] This short-sighted view maintained that blacks needed only a limited education in order to be workers, since that was the role blacks would have in the South, and any education beyond common school was unnecessary. The Day Law helped to advance this view by removing access to higher education for black students at Berea College.

University of Kentucky

By 1915, the UK normal school was no longer a feature of the university and teacher training occurred entirely at the collegiate level. The university offered both a Bachelor of Arts and a Bachelor of Science degree in education, and each degree entitled the graduate to teach for life in any common or high school in the state. Besides the two

[111] Anderson, *Education of Blacks in the South*, 202.

bachelor's degrees, students could obtain four different teacher's certificates that did not require four years of collegiate studies: elementary, intermediate, and advanced certificates. The elementary and intermediate certificates required renewals, but the advanced certificate could be extended permanently and become a life certificate after three years of teaching and with the approval of the state superintendent.[112] UK did not graduate a large number of teachers; in 1915, UK awarded 20 bachelor's degrees from the education department: 5 to men and 15 to women.[113]

Advances in teacher training at UK were now markedly superior to advances at KNII and Lincoln Institute. Yet, KNII (and probably Lincoln) could not accommodate all the black students who wished to attend (and not all of them were normal school students). While I could not uncover specific reasons for this expanded interest by black students, perhaps it goes back to blacks' embrace of education compared to the slower acceptance of a need for public education by whites. It could also be that teaching was perceived by blacks as an important job, one that carried with it some status, as opposed to being a laborer. A high school education was the extent of the training for black students who took the most advanced normal courses of instruction.

Kentucky Normal and Industrial Institute

Some changes of note had occurred at KNII by 1915, but none significantly advanced the qualifications of the graduates. By this time, the school had added a preparatory course that trained the students to either take the county certificate exam or to

[112] University of Kentucky Course Catalog, 1914-1915 (Lexington: University of Kentucky [accession number 2011 ua006], Special Collections Research Center), 102-103.

[113] Gillis, *The University of Kentucky,* 15.

enter the normal school to pursue a state diploma.[114] The county certificate course prepared students to take the county exam and then teach at common schools in the county in which they took and passed the exam.

The 1915 Berea College catalog contains a good explanation of what a "county certificate" meant (and I make the assumption that this explanation applies to KNII as well). After taking the county exam and earning a passing grade, a county certificate was awarded based on the grade received. The lowest passing grade earned a third-class certificate, followed by the second-class certificate, and finally a first-class certificate for those with the highest grades.[115] If students from the preparatory course chose to go on to the normal course, they could teach for part of the year and then take the three-year normal course during other times of the year to work toward the state diploma. That course was known as the four-year normal course. In 1915, KNII continued to offer the three-year normal course leading to the state diploma. This was the standard course for teacher training, which KNII had offered since its founding (in 1890 the standard normal course was two years). Awarding a state diploma became standard by 1911. The changes at KNII in 1915 may have helped some students pursue the state diploma because initially they could earn a certificate and then work toward saving money to pay for the three-year normal course, which was the highest level teaching credential available to KNII students in 1911.

The state diploma allowed teachers to work in the common schools, but as high schools were becoming more common, the quality of training for black teachers did not

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[114] KNII Course Catalog, 1915-1916, *Twenty-Eighth Annual Catalogue of The Kentucky Normal and Industrial Institute for Colored Persons, 1914-1915, Announcements for 1915-1916* (Frankfort, KY: Paul G. Blazer Library, Special Collections and Archives), 18.

[115] Berea College Course Catalog, 1915-1916, 92.

improve significantly. In 1910, there were 1,342 black public high school students in Kentucky, compared to 6,874 white students.[116] The number of black high school students was not large for the entire state, but in fact it was an increase of more than 850 percent in the number of black public high school students from 1890 when there were only 155.[117] Since teacher training for blacks was not advancing much, this would have led to difficulty in finding qualified black high school teachers.

Lincoln Institute

By the fall of 1915, Lincoln Institute was in its fourth year of operation. That year, Lincoln sought to establish a model school to be used as part of its teacher training. On June 3, 1915, the board of trustees discussed a proposal to the Shelby County Board of Education to combine the black schools in Simpsonville and Evansville into one new school to be built on the grounds of the Lincoln Institute and serve as the model school. The new school would be a two-room school with space for 40 students and "suitable toilets." The teacher would be chosen by Lincoln Institute but paid by the state. The proposed agreement would last for not less than ten years. The proposal was authorized on June 23, 1915.

There was one specific condition, however: the cost of the new school would not exceed the "amount of money donated for such purpose."[118] According to various issues of the minutes, financial issues were almost constant in the early years of the Lincoln

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[116] Anderson, *Education of Blacks in the South*, 190-191, table 6.2.

[117] Anderson, *Education of Blacks in the South*, 189, table 6.1.

[118] Lincoln Institute, Board Meeting Minutes, 50-51.

Institute. It appears that in order to get a model school that was also a public school, Lincoln Institute had to pay all of the construction costs by raising money for the model school. The state was willing to pay the teacher, but would only to go that far—and it must be recognized that the state was actually saving money because one teacher was replacing two teachers by combining the two black schools. According to the minutes, after the proposal was initially discussed, and through to 1920, the building of a model school was not discussed further; it appeared that the proposal never came to fruition.[119]

Between 1915 and 1920, the minutes show that financial concerns were nearly constant. In February 1918, the board of trustees discussed hiring a field agent who would be responsible for recruiting students and assisting with fundraising for Lincoln Institute. In May 1918, the board decided to hire the field agent.[120]

In 1917, an investor named Julius Rosenwald offered an annual donation of $500 for five years provided the school first secured pledges of $4,500 annually for those five years.[121] The January 1918 issue of *Lincoln Institute Worker* declared that the conditions of the Rosenwald Fund offer had been successfully completed.[122] I discovered, however, that the involvement in any school by the Rosenwald Fund was an indication that the school was being pressured to make industrial education a primary component of the curriculum.

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[119] Lincoln Institute, Board Meeting Minutes, 51-62.

[120] Lincoln Institute, Board Meeting Minutes, 55-56.

[121] *Lincoln Institute Worker,* April 1917 (Frankfort: Kentucky Department for Libraries and Archives, Lincoln Institute Collection), 1.

[122] *Lincoln Institute Worker,* January 1918 (Frankfort: Kentucky Department for Libraries and Archives, Lincoln Institute Collection), 1-2.

George Foster Peabody, of New York City, was another investor who held similar views. He made an interesting offer to Lincoln Institute in February 1919: he wished to donate more than 61,000 acres of land in Magoffin County, approximately 140 miles east of Lincoln Institute. The offer was complicated due to the default on mortgage payments by the owner and by the presence of squatters on the land.[123] By the end of 1920, it had not yet been determined whether Lincoln Institute owned that land.

Andrew Carnegie donated half of the original money to open the Lincoln Institute. Like Rosenwald and Peabody, he felt that industrial education was the best form of education for progress among blacks. With the involvement of these philanthropists who advocated mainly worker training for blacks, the normal school at Lincoln Institute was seen as less of a priority and industrial education was considered more important.

Normal Schools: 1920

In this last year of the time period covered by this thesis, I briefly discuss the status of black education in Kentucky as it stood in 1920. I compare the education that was available to black and/or white students at each of the four colleges in this study, and show how education had progressed at each school.

Berea College

For the academic year 1919-20, Berea College had not changed significantly from 1915. However, during this period Berea College President Frost struggled with personal matters. In 1917, he suffered an unknown ailment that caused memory loss and fainting

[123] Lincoln Institute, Board Meeting Minutes, 57-59.

spells; the college trustees recommended a full year's leave to aid his recovery.[124] In September 1918, Frost's son Cleveland perished in the sinking of the *Ticonderoga* by a German U-boat in the Atlantic. Cleveland Frost was named after a well-known architect of the day, J. Cleveland Cady, whom Frost described as a distant relative.[125] Cady died in New York in April 1919. These matters likely affected Frost's ability to lead the college and to continue fundraising at the time. This could be part of the reason why Berea College changed very little between 1915 and 1920.

University of Kentucky

The UK catalog for summer session 1920 described a small selection of education courses. There were specific courses in agriculture and vocational education for students seeking to teach in those fields under the provision of the Smith-Hughes Act.[126] There were a limited number of education classes listed, including history of education and educational psychology.[127] There is no doubt that, as in 1915, the UK education program was much superior to that of either KNII or Lincoln Institute. The UK program still serviced a small number of students. In 1920, UK awarded no bachelor's degrees for students in the field of education; in 1921, there were seven bachelor's degrees conferred

[124] Frost, *For the Mountains*, 300-305.

[125] Frost, *For the Mountains*, 100. Cady designed the Boone Tavern Hotel in Berea as well as other structures on the Berea College campus. He was at one time a trustee of Berea College.

[126] University of Kentucky Course Catalog, Summer Session, 1920 (Lexington: University of Kentucky, Summer Session 1920 [accession number 2011 ua006], Special Collections Research Center), 7. A copy of the course catalog for 1919 to 1920 or the 1920-21 academic year could not be located. I used the 1920 summer session catalog instead.

[127] University of Kentucky Course Catalog, Summer Session 1920, 12-13.

in the field of education. It was not until 1925 that UK graduated more than 50 students in education.[128]

Kentucky Normal and Industrial Institute

In 1920, state legislative actions brought changes in the certificates available to students at KNII. The catalog stated: "The Institute is authorized by recent legislative enactment to confer an Elementary certificate, an Intermediate Certificate, an Advanced Certificate. . . ."[129] However, the catalog only explained the coursework for earning elementary and the intermediate certificates.

In 1920, the normal school at KNII was still a three-year program, and the changes just mentioned were an addition to the three-year course that led to the state diploma. The state diploma allowed teachers to teach in the *common schools* of the state without further examination. The courses that led to the elementary and intermediate certificates were also three-year courses. However, they allowed teachers to teach in *any public colored school* in the state without further examination. Presumably this included secondary schools, and represented progress for black teachers. These programs were specifically aimed at training teachers to teach in agriculture and home economics.[130] This was likely the result of the Smith-Hughes Act of 1917. That law mandated that a portion of its funding be made available to land-grant institutions for the training of teachers to teach vocational education in the public schools.

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[128] Gillis, *University of Kentucky, Its History and Development,* 17.

[129] Kentucky Normal and Industrial Institute Course Catalog, 1919-1920, *Catalogue of The Kentucky Normal and Industrial Institute for Colored Persons 1918-1919, Announcements and Faculty for 1919 and 1920* (Frankfort, KY: Paul G. Blazer Library, Special Collections and Archives, Kentucky State University), 27.

[130] Kentucky Normal and Industrial Institute Course Catalog, 1919-1920, 22-28.

Ellis notes that even as late as 1939, a study of school curriculums in Kentucky found that black students were being completely separated from their own heritage. Black history was largely ignored in textbooks that were prepared by whites for white students.[131] Therefore, two courses at KNII in 1920 were unusual, and important, at the time. The first was a history course titled "Negro-American History," and the description stated: "The progress of the Negro in America is thoroughly studied from the early period of importation of slaves to the present day." The course met five times a week for forty weeks.[132] It enabled blacks to study their history in a way that was unprecedented. The second course was a sociology course titled "The Negro Problem," and the description stated:

> To acquaint the student with the part the Negro is playing in the development of American civilization and with industrial, intellectual, religious, social and economic conditions of the Negro in America, a twenty weeks study of Negro Problems is given. Special attention is given to urban conditions, housing and occupations of the Negro.[133]

These two courses allowed for the study of areas intensely important to the black community, and they were signs of significant progress in black education.

Lincoln Institute

In 1921 the normal course at Lincoln Institute was described as "full normal training," just as it was described in the July 1912 issue of the *Lincoln Institute Worker.* But in 1912, the normal course was described in terms of work normally taught in a high

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[131] Ellis, *A History of Education in Kentucky,* 178.

[132] Kentucky Normal and Industrial Institute Course Catalog, 1919-1920, 37.

[133] Kentucky Normal and Industrial Institute Course Catalog, 1919-1920, 38.

school course. By 1921, however, the normal school was offering a four-year certificate course and required completion of common school prior to admittance. The certificate course was comparable to a ninth through twelfth grade education and led to a county certificate. Although Lincoln Institute did not offer a teachers' review course, it did encourage practicing teachers who wanted to renew their skills to take the certificate course. After the certificate course, a student could pursue the diploma course, which required an additional two years of study.[134] The catalog did not refer to the diploma course as "junior college" but it was, nonetheless, a fifth and sixth year of study after the completion of the eighth grade or common school.

Even though in 1915 the board of trustees had entered into an agreement with the Shelby County Board of Education to build a model school on the Lincoln Institute grounds, there was no mention of a model school in the 1921 catalog. It listed a one-year, three-term practice course, but it did not explain what the practice course entailed or where the practice teaching took place.[135]

[134] Lincoln Institute Course Catalog, 1921-1922, *Annual Catalog 1921-1922, Lincoln Institute of Kentucky* (Berea, KY: Berea College Special Collections and Archives, Lincoln Institute Publications 1922-1972 [Record Group 13.29, Box 3]), 8-10.

[135] Lincoln Institute Course Catalog, 1921-1922, 9.

Chapter IV

A Chronological History of Industrial Education in Kentucky

Booker T. Washington and W. E. B. Du Bois famously debated the idea that an industrial, or vocational, education should be the primary education available to blacks. The Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute was among the earliest black schools to embrace the idea of industrial education for blacks as the preferred curriculum over a traditional liberal arts education.

Washington, born a slave, had attended and graduated from Hampton, and he promoted industrial education as being as good for all blacks as it had been for him. In his famous 1895 speech at the Atlanta Exposition, Washington spoke about the future of blacks and—with great deference to whites—assured his audience that blacks need not press for social and political equality. He declared that blacks should move past the previous generations of hardship and accept their role as laborers in society through which social and political equality inevitably would be achieved. He stated:

> The wisest among my race understand that the agitation of questions of social equality is the extremist folly, and that progress in the enjoyment of all the privileges that will come to us must be the result of severe and constant struggle rather than of artificial forcing. No race that has anything to contribute to the markets of the world is long in any degree ostracized.[136]

The sentiment that blacks could work their way to social equality was popular among many people, particularly whites, but was it by no means popular with everyone.

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[136] Booker T. Washington, *Up from Slavery* (New York: Penguin Classics, [1901] 1986), 223.

In stark contrast to Booker T. Washington, W.E.B. Du Bois believed that social equality should be sought quickly and directly. After hundreds of years of servitude, emancipation was only a beginning, and blacks would have to continue to push for social equality—education would be integral to that pursuit. Born a free man in Great Barrington, Massachusetts, Du Bois took a classic liberal arts route through school. He graduated from Fisk University in Nashville, Tennessee in 1888; in 1895, he earned his doctoral degree in history, becoming the first black person to receive a doctorate from Harvard University.

In *The Souls of Black Folk,* Du Bois addressed Washington directly, stating:

> But so far as Mr. Washington apologizes for injustice, North or South, does not rightly value the privilege and duty of voting, belittles the emasculating effects of caste distinctions, and opposes the higher training and ambition of our brighter minds,— so far as he, the South, or the Nation, does this,— we must unceasingly and firmly oppose them. By every civilized and peaceful method we must strive for the rights which the world accords to men, clinging unwaveringly to those great words which the sons of the Fathers would fain forget: "We hold these truths to be self-evident: That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."[137]

Du Bois did not subscribe to the belief that by ignoring their painful past, blacks would achieve social equality by learning to appreciate the reward of a hard day's work and by simply accepting life in the proletariat while seeking no greater aspirations. Du Bois believed that a successful future for blacks would require the right to vote, social equality, and an education suitable to each individual's ability.[138]

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[137] W. E. B. Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk* (First Library of America Paperback Classic Edition, [1903] 2009), 48.

[138] Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk,* 44.

Passage of the Day Law, which led to the loss of Berea College as an educational institution for blacks, significantly influenced the broader struggle to manage education for blacks in Kentucky. Ultimately, this led to rationing education for blacks and slowed progress toward social equality. Public education policy was presented as beneficial to all—just as public health policy, such as vaccinations against disease; or public safety policy, such as a minimum age for operating motor vehicles—are intended to create a society that is healthy and safe for everyone. In practice, however, the push toward industrial education for blacks, and away from a liberal arts education, was another example of a policy intended to restrain blacks while benefitting whites.

The evidence I present about the four schools studied—Berea College, University of Kentucky, Kentucky Normal and Industrial Institute, and Lincoln Institute —shows that an industrial education was common among both blacks and whites from 1890 to 1920. The distinction was that industrial education was available to white students if they *chose* to pursue it as a further expansion of opportunity for white education. State legislators and wealthy philanthropists, who were interested in maintaining a cheap workforce and preventing blacks from achieving economic or political success, determined that industrial education should be the primary focus of black education; it could be used as a tool to limit educational and social opportunities for blacks. As Anderson stated: "This new [industrial] curriculum offered the possibility of adapting black education to the particular needs and interests of the South's dominant-class whites."[139]

Industrial education programs at the four institutions being considered here demonstrated that industrial education was not a uniform and consistent curriculum. As

[139] Anderson, *Education of Blacks in the South,* 31.

noted earlier, industrial education had two different forms: one was referred to as the Hampton model based on the curriculum created at the Hampton Institute; the other was the missionary model typical of the American Missionary Association. The Hampton model required students to work in some kind of manual labor for at least half of every school day. The missionary model accepted work-training programs, such as printing and agriculture, but those were not the primary programs, they accompanied a liberal arts curriculum.[140]

The industrial or vocational type education at Berea College and UK resembled the missionary model. Work was to varying degrees required, or made available to help students pay for their schooling. The KNII and the Lincoln Institute, serving small student bodies, were more of the missionary style school than the Hampton style. The vocational training offered made up a considerable portion of the available course work. The evolution of industrial education from 1890 to 1920 at these four schools revealed different implementations, based on race, of industrial education at these institutions.

Examining the ways in which industrial education was incorporated into the curriculum at Berea College from 1890 to 1920 illustrates how this unique mixed-race institution participated in the expansion of industrial education. UK offered limited industrial education early on, which soon split: part into the agriculture program and part into the engineering department. KNII offered industrial education in 1890 and continued to do so through 1920. This school was an example of how the curriculum in the industrial education department remained relatively simple throughout this time period and stifled progress for black students. Once Lincoln Institute began operations, it also

[140] Anderson, *Education of Blacks in the South,* 33-78. In the chapter "The Hampton Model of Normal School Industrial Education, 1868-1915," Anderson discusses the Hampton and Missionary models of industrial education, how they developed, and who advocated for each model.

incorporated industrial education as a significant portion of the programming at the school, resigned to the trend of limiting education choices for the black community. According to Anderson:

> This aspect of the ex-slaves' struggle for universal education—the development of a special form of industrial education for Afro-Americans—provoked more controversy than any other issue in black education during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. As the period 1860 to 1880 was characterized by efforts to establish the legal, institutional, and moral foundation of universal schooling for ex-slaves, the quarter century following was characterized by movements to transform the content and purpose of instruction in black education.[141]

The different degrees to which industrial education factored into black and white schools and their curriculums illustrates two points:

- At white schools, industrial education did not slow progress but rather increased the options available to students by adding to the existing liberal arts education.
- In black schools, industrial education strained the limited resources available for normal education. Industrial education required manual labor each day, which decreased the time available for academic studies.

With the passage of the second Morrill-McComas Act in 1890, every state that had an all-white land-grant college in place as a result of the Morrill Act of 1862, was required to establish an institution for black students who wanted to study agriculture and the mechanic arts. That law also required an equitable distribution of funds to the separate institutions. The 1890 law initially gave each state $15,000 to be used for land-grant funding; the funding increased $1,000 per year, per state, until the amount equaled $25,000. The funds could only be used for programs related to agriculture and industry, not for buying land or constructing or repairing buildings. Each state could decide the

[141] Anderson, *Education of Blacks in the South,* 31-32.

basis for the distribution of the funds if they had more than one land-grant institution, so Kentucky chose to distribute funds based on the percentage of blacks versus whites in the state population.[142] Thus, for the school year 1890-91, KNII received $2,175 in federal land-grant funding, an amount based on blacks representing approximately 14 percent of the state's population.[143] The remaining $12,825 went to UK, the white land-grant institution.

Industrial Education: 1890 to 1900

In this section, I provide a brief history of industrial education during the time period 1890 to 1900. I compare the industrial education curriculums at three of the four colleges in this study (Lincoln Institute was not established until 1912), highlight the opportunities available to black and/or white students at each college, and show how education progressed at those schools.

In 1890, 56 percent of the black citizens of Kentucky were illiterate compared to 16 percent of whites.[144] The black population in Kentucky in 1890 was 268,071.[145] According to the U.S. Commissioner of Education, only 0.72 percent of blacks age 15 to 19 were enrolled in high school.[146] Therefore, any form of education at this time reached a very small number of black students. With so few blacks attending school in their late teens, there was little likelihood of an organized or effective pushback from the black

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[142] Trueheart, "Consequences of Federal and State Resource Allocation," 42-47.

[143] Kentucky Normal and Industrial Institute Course Catalog, 1890-1891, 12.

[144] Trueheart, "Consequences of Federal and State Resource Allocation," 49, table 3.

[145] Hardin, *Fifty Years of Segregation,* 123, table 1.

[146] Anderson, *Education of Blacks in the South,* 189, table 6. 1.

community as education curriculums began to have the industrial education feature added to it.

Berea College

Industrial education was a small component of the curriculum at Berea College when the academic year began in fall 1890. Of the school's 350 students in primary grades through college, there was no indication in that year's catalog of how many students were in the industrial courses.[147] Like the normal school curriculum, industrial training was listed in the catalog under a section called "Special Instruction," and there was no specific description. Two courses within industrial education were mentioned: printing, which was responsible for printing the school newspaper, the *Berea College Reporter*, among other items*;* and sewing, for female students. There were several other categories of manual labor, but no specifics were provided regarding the number of students, work performed, amount or method of payment, or how many hours the students worked.[148]

Frost and the trustees of Berea College decided that industrial education would be part of the curriculum going forward, so as the century drew to a close, Berea College sought and secured funds to expand its industrial education program. In addition, in 1891, Berea College charged the students tuition: $3.00 to $5.00 per three-month term (some students received a scholarship that paid their tuition).[149]

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[147] Berea College Course Catalog, 1891-1892, 18.

[148] Berea College Course Catalog, 1891-1892, 29.

[149] Berea College Course Catalog, 1891-1892, 33.

Although the industrial education curriculum at Berea College was just beginning to take shape in 1891, the trustees and faculty were discussing plans to expand those offerings, as well as those in the normal school and commercial departments. In the October 31, 1898 edition of the college newspaper, the *Berea Reporter*, President Frost, discussed the increasing importance of industrial education. He first acknowledged that the great mission of the school was to train teachers, but he noted that not all students would, or could, be teachers. His remarks at the dedication of the new agricultural building expanded on what he thought of industrial education:

> A person needs to be educated for manual labor just as much as for school teaching. It takes skill, science, to run a farm or a family, a mill or a meat-shop, as it ought to run. So Berea proposes to teach sewing, cooking, printing, carpentry, nursing, and farming. . . . And farming is a trade that requires a great deal of intelligence. If the land is poor, the owner must enrich it with sweat and skill. He must have the help of Science. And this should be one duty of a college, to bring down the great arm of science to help the poor.[150]

Berea College was a mixed-race school at the time of these remarks, and there was nothing in them to suggest that industrial education would be available for students based solely on their race or gender. In fact, an industrial education would be available to any student who chose to pursue it. It is notable that he said farming required intelligence. He seems not to want to convey the message that being a farmer was somehow less important or impactful than it was to be a teacher. Industrial education at Berea College was another opportunity for the school to reach out to more students and empower them with hope for a future they could embrace. It is notable that in the case of UK and Berea College, industrial education was presented, at least in part, as college-level work. That was not the case at KNII or Lincoln Institute.

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[150] *Berea Reporter* 10, no. 2 (October 31, 1898). Berea College Archives [Record Group 12.24], Sub Group: Berea College Reporter (defunct).

The vision that industrial education could be an option for any student did not correspond with the growing movement in the South to restrain blacks through limited educational opportunities. At white schools, students were being trained for emerging jobs in industry, such as mining and chemical engineering. At black schools, students were being trained for jobs in the old economy, such as farm laborer or seamstresses. As a mixed-race school, Berea College black students could avoid being forced into industrial education as their primary option.

There were, of course, opposing opinions. In 1899, at the Conference for Education in the South, held at Capon Springs, West Virginia, philanthropist William H. Baldwin, a northern railroad executive and trustee of the Hampton Institute, expressed his philosophy that industrial education should teach blacks to be good citizens who would learn to accept low wages for unskilled jobs. Baldwin further encouraged blacks to accept their lower status in society, leave questions of social equality alone, and not to expect to be involved in politics.[151]

University of Kentucky

In the fall of 1890, UK had a student body of 509 student.[152] UK offered extensive industrial education courses, primarily at the collegiate level, for programs in agriculture or engineering. For example, the description for the Department of Engineering read as follows:

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[151] Anderson, *Education of Blacks in the South,* 82-84.

[152] University of Kentucky Course Catalog, 1890-1891, 8-20. There was no summary of student figures provided in the catalog for this year. I determined the student count of 509 by counting the student names in the catalog. I did not include the Summer Sessions in either 1889 or 1890.

> The educated engineer should have a thorough foundation of knowledge in certain subjects of common application—for example, Drawing, Mathematics, Physics, Mechanics and Chemistry, and the application of these sciences to machinery, to structures of iron, wood and masonry, the flow of streams in artificial channels for water-works, drainage, and for sanitary purposes. To attain this end as far as is possible in a college course is the aim of the department.[153]

This description emphasized that vocational training at UK was intended to train future professionals. This training at the college level was undoubtedly more advanced than the training in a print shop or the sewing instruction being offered at Berea College in 1891.

Kentucky Normal and Industrial Institute

In the fall of 1890, KNII had 77 students. It was not a Hampton-model industrial school. The federal land-grant funding required that both KNII and UK should incorporate agriculture and mechanics into their curriculums. At KNII, however, a student could not attend the school solely for industry. If students wished to enroll in the industrial programs, they had to be either simultaneously enrolled in the normal school or be a graduate of the normal school.[154] Unlike Berea College, where many students engaged in manual labor, compulsory work for students had not yet become the rule at KNII.

For black students at KNII who were also Kentucky residents, there was no charge for tuition. However, students had to sign an agreement to teach in the black common schools of Kentucky for twice the amount of time they spent at KNII in the

[153] University of Kentucky Course Catalog, 1889-1890, 56.

[154] Kentucky Normal and Industrial Institute Course Catalog, 1890-1891, 13.

normal school.[155] The agreement applied to all students because the school was primarily a normal school, and industrial education was seen as a complement to teacher training at that time.

Industrial Education: 1901 to 1910

In this section, I provide a brief history of industrial education from 1901 to 1910. I compare the industrial education provided at three of the four colleges in this study, highlight the opportunities available to black and/or white students at each college, and show how education progressed at the schools.

Berea College

When the academic year 1902-03 began, Berea College faced criticism for being a mixed-race school. In the catalog that year, in the section that spoke of the school's history and its aims going forward, the topic of race relations was broached. The administrators tried to walk a fine line by arguing that good character was the most important factor for students, and race did not matter. However, that statement was followed by the proclamation that they would not force any student to closely associate with anyone they found objectionable. Furthermore, even as Berea College was continuing with a mixed-race education, it did not object to the segregation occurring in Kentucky's public schools. Like the cautious tone expressed in earlier sentiments, the administrators defended the school's mixed-race history, admonished the divisiveness of racism, and maintained that it was important for the well-being of society for the races to learn to respect each other. They acknowledged the struggles of race relations and

[155] Kentucky Normal and Industrial Institute Course Catalog, 1890-1891, 11-16.

declared that the school advocated integrity and racial purity.[156] These statements about race reflected the school's efforts to improve race relations at the college while recognizing that many people would not approve of its actions.

By 1902, the number of black students as a percentage of the Berea College student population had fallen to 18 percent (174 black students),[157] but those students had access to all offered courses, and an appropriate level of education for their ability, just like white students. The catalog stated: "In coming this year to Berea, you will meet a cordial welcome from a progressive body of people—students, teachers, citizens—all seeking to keep up with the world of progress in thought and action."[158] Even though Berea College was privately operated, the movement toward agriculture and mechanic arts was similar to the changes occurring at UK and KNII.

President Frost said that one duty of a college should be to "bring down the great arm of science to help the poor," and that was where Berea College initially introduced a limited amount of industrial education into the college curriculum. Scientific courses included advanced botany, forestry, geology, and surveying,[159] and each course had fieldwork and/or lab work associated with it. Those courses made up the bulk of college-level work related to industrial education.

Industrial education in the applied sciences at Berea was more extensive than the college options. Courses included; agriculture, domestic science, carpentry, printing, bookbinding, and nursing. The programs were separated into higher-grade programs,

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[156] Berea College Course Catalog, 1902-1903, 12.

[157] Berea College Course Catalog, 1902-1903, 76.

[158] Berea College Course Catalog, 1902-1903, 12.

[159] Berea College Course Catalog, 1902-1903, 38-41.

agriculture and domestic science, and certificate programs for carpentry, printing, bookbinding, and nursing. The higher-grade programs required completion of common school before admittance; the certificate programs required only some work in the common school;[160] the agriculture and domestic science courses were basically high-school level and were similar to what was available at KNII and, later, at Lincoln Institute.

Industrial education at Berea College was not modeled after the Hampton model. Berea College did not require all students to work, but it had work available for students who needed help paying for school. Tuition was free, but there were still charges for room, board, books, and other school-related expenses. Work available to female students included library monitor, copying, and domestic labor; male students could choose from printing, bookbinding, carpentry, and cooking. The work options were nearly the same as the certificate training programs except they were paid positions performing duties for the school rather than to earn a proficiency certificate. Wages were paid in "college scrip" which could be used to pay school-related bills; it was not paid in cash.[161]

The 1902-1903 catalog contained language familiar to the arguments initially used by advocates of industrial education for blacks and whites. It stated: "The working students develop a feeling of independence, self-reliance, and an appreciation of the dignity of labor, which are an essential part of an education. . . ."[162] This statement implied some ambivalence about combining industrial education with moral teaching when it was offered *as a choice* to some students while *it was assigned* for others. If a

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[160] Berea College Course Catalog, 1902-1903, 45-50.

[161] Berea College Course Catalog, 1902-1903, 26.

[162] Berea College Course Catalog, 1902-1903, 26.

person takes on a project (in education or in life) of his or her own volition and successfully completes that project, he or she may experience all of the feelings in the statement above. But if forced to complete any task that is largely for the benefit of someone else, he or she may not feel such dignity, self-reliance, or independence.

By the early twentieth century, the notion that academic education and moral values were essential components of education was beginning to fade, especially at leading U.S. universities. Land-grant research institutions like UK did not necessarily want to teach moral development as part of their academic program.[163] However, Berea College in 1902 was still committed to incorporating moral teaching into its curriculum.

Passage of the Day Law in 1904

In the fall of 1904, Berea College experienced a major change: it was the first year in decades that no black students attended the school. That fall, Berea College became an all-white school as a result of passage of the Day Law, although it remained concerned with each student's character and appreciation for work—more like KNII was doing as a black school, and less like UK, which was pulling away from those concerns.

Berea had been presenting itself as primarily a liberal arts institution, but the focus on industrial education was growing. In the "History and Aims" section of the catalog, the section titled "Education" stressed that imparting knowledge and developing the mind and character of the students were the two primary goals of education at Berea. Immediately following was the description of industrial education:

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[163] W. Norton Grubb, and Marvin Lazerson, *The Education Gospel: The Economic Power of Schooling* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004), 59-60.

> Education is not gathered primarily from books, nor is it merely a matter of brain. The hand must be trained to obey the mind, and the eye to distinguish between things which differ. Every young person should be taught to enjoy doing manual work well, both as a preparation for real life, and as a development of character.[164]

Work done by Berea College students in 1904 had two main purposes: (1) to instill the concept that work is good preparation for life, and (2) to ensure that students needing financial assistance could earn money to pay their way through school.[165] The tenet of compulsory work for all students was not yet a rule at Berea.

In 1904, Berea continued to offer industrial education at the college, and what was available in 1904 did not differ significantly from the industrial education course offered in 1902. The industrial education offered at Berea had never been specifically for black or white students, so the loss of black students did not cause any changes to the industrial education options at the school. However, the trustees were frustrated at the slow progress and expense associated with the curriculum expansion.[166]

Furthermore, the scientific course at the college level was the same in 1904 as it had been in prior years; there were no noteworthy additions of industrial courses added to this advanced level of study. The applied sciences studies were the same for women in 1904 as they were in 1902. The men, however, had two additional courses at the apprentice level: certificate courses in the use of woodwork machinery, and a certificate course in bricklaying.[167] Added to the other certificate courses of carpentry, domestic science, nursing, printing, and stenography, there were 70 students enrolled exclusively

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[164] Berea College Course Catalog, 1904-1905, 10.

[165] Berea College Course Catalog, 1904-1905, 10-11.

[166] Frost, *For the Mountains,* 120-121.

[167] Berea College Course Catalog, 1904-1905, 49-50.

in those courses, and 9 students enrolled exclusively in the diploma-level agriculture and domestic science courses.

Of the 862 students at the school in 1904, fewer than 10 percent attended solely for industrial education. Instead, 612 of those students studied some aspect of industrial training along with the rest of their schooling.[168] Whether it was due to the nature of industrial education or because it was a relatively new offering at the school, Berea College was not yet attracting significant numbers of students interested in going to school primarily for vocational training. In addition, Berea College was always seeking funds to operate and expand the school. But with no reliable, annual federal or state funding, Berea College found it difficult to make and execute long-term plans.

University of Kentucky

For the 1902-03 academic year, UK had a department that taught courses in botany, horticulture, and agriculture. The catalog course description made it clear that the degree awarded from the department was aimed at students who were interested in owning or managing a farm, raising cattle, producing milk commercially, maximizing crop efficiency, or any other agriculture-related enterprise.[169] By comparison, Berea College had only a few college-level courses related to agriculture in the "scientific course" at Berea, and that comprised industrial education coursework available at an advanced level.

[168] Berea College Course Catalog, 1904-1905, 84.

[169] University of Kentucky Course Catalog, 1902-1903, 17-22.

Another notable aspect of student life at UK was student labor. The manual labor done by the students was not intended to teach morals or respect for a work ethic. The description of manual labor reads, in part:

> The work necessary for carrying on the agricultural or horticultural operations of the College is done by the students, and is paid for at rates from six to ten cents per hour. Its design is twofold: to put in practice the instruction received in the class-room, and to assist students who are in need of money. . . . Students are paid monthly for the service rendered, and apply the money as they see proper.[170]

The major difference in this program compared to the work program was that UK students were not paid in "college scrip" as they were at Berea. UK students were paid an hourly rate in cash, and could use the money as they chose. Note the description of manual labor did not mention morals, values, or the responsibilities of citizenship.

In 1906, UK began operating a school of domestic science. The course provided teacher training for practical skills in cooking and household management. It was similar to the normal school and appeared to be beyond common school level but not college level. The catalog did not state any specific requirements for admission to the program. The program was taught in a new building with modern equipment and plenty of space for practical teaching and lectures.[171]

This white land-grant school was progressing far ahead in facilities, finances, state and federal support—despite the fact that at the end of the 1906 catalog, there was a comment regarding the poor state of education in Kentucky. The statement concerned the

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[170] University of Kentucky Course Catalog, 1902-1903, 119.

[171] University of Kentucky Course Catalog, 1906-1907, *Catalogue of the Officers, Studies, and Students of the State College of Kentucky, Lexington, With a Part of the Regulations for the Session Ending June 6, 1907* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Libraries, Special Collections Research Center, University of Kentucky Course Catalogs [accession number 2011 ua006]), 89.

importance of education, and the attempts made to address those concerns at UK. A portion of the narrative stated that schools should

> be the incessant demand of every Kentuckian, man or woman, who desires the supreme welfare of the state; who is ashamed that Kentucky continues to be disgraced by ignorance, and by its concomitants, poverty, lawlessness, vice and crime; and who would have the State to stand in knowledge not, as now, sixth from the bottom of the roll of States, but near the top, as the peer of the proudest and most enlightened of her sister commonwealths. . . . And these sorely needed schools will be the result, not of occasional and spasmodic effort but of slow and steady evolution. All the conferences and conventions, all the speeches and resolutions from now till the crack of doom will avail little unless they are followed up with persistent appeals to the people, by tongue and pen, county by county, and man by man, till Kentuckians learn the lesson taught by Germans, and that lesson is that the path to true national grandeur lies through great knowledge faithfully applied, and moreover that the income from education vastly exceeds the outlay for it.[172]

When the words were applied to UK, it seemed apparent that progress was being made. College-level curriculums were being added steadily, and UK was building new facilities and adding grounds that included an experiment station.

Kentucky Normal and Industrial Institute

Unlike Berea College, KNII required all students to take some courses in industrial education as part of their studies, and all students were required to work. As a school for black students, it is not surprising that a work requirement came along with the addition of industrial education. The idea of instilling an appreciation for work was a constant theme at KNII, as was the goal of training students to be respectable citizens.

In his 1901-1903 report to the County Superintendent of Education, KNII President (and Berea College graduate) James S. Hathaway repeatedly touched on teaching the value of work and training KNII students to conduct themselves as

[172] University of Kentucky Course Catalog, 1906-1907, 150.

responsible citizens. Regarding students at KNII, Hathaway wrote: "By their integrity and industry, they are serving the communities in which they live and are not seeking political office."[173] This report would have been aimed at the white state legislature and others that controlled state funding support for KNII. Clearly, Hathaway felt he had to reassure them that the students were not pushing for greater social equality.

Black schools were also under pressure to improve the morality and character of their students as blacks were routinely stereotyped as having poor character and being immoral. Hathaway touched on that issue when he discussed the industrial department at KNII. He said the school was happy to have an industrial education curriculum, noting: "We are surely succeeding in an effort to bring idleness, loafing, and contempt for work into disrepute."[174] He seems to imply that industrial education was perceived as a tool to mold black students into citizens that were more acceptable to white society.

In 1904, KNII had the same industrial education options that had been available years earlier: cooking, sewing, printing, agriculture, and carpentry. Industrial education had not expanded, and in fact was struggling financially to maintain just those programs. In writing his report for the Superintendent of Public Instruction, President Hathaway pointed out that the state contributed nothing to the school annually for industrial training, which left the school in difficult circumstances.[175] After Hathaway put forward his list of concerns for the school, which included problems with incomplete or under-sized facilities, safe heating systems, and adequate water for personal use and fire safety,

[173] "Epistolary Report July 1901-June 1903," 83.

[174] "Epistolary Report July 1901-June 1903," 86.

[175] "Biennial Report July 1903 to June 1905," 170.

he requested an annual appropriation of $6,000 to $7,000 from the state legislature to address those concerns.[176]

During this period, blacks represented about 13 percent of the state's population. The largest concentration of blacks was in the Louisville area, so most county school districts had only a few blacks. This meant that white politicians felt no accountability to blacks and could ignore black concerns in their districts while steering money to white institutions.[177] Hathaway's request to go from no financial support to thousands of dollars per year was undoubtedly hopeless. It is not clear when, or even if, a significant increase in funding for industrial education was ever achieved.

KNII tried to address these concerns, but the task was difficult. The school received about 15 percent of its annual funding from the federal government, and state funding was even less reliable. KNII made continual appeals to the state for funding, but those appeals were often ignored or reduced drastically. Progress at KNII was very slow compared to Berea College or UK, and this continued to be the case well beyond 1920.

Industrial Education: 1910 to 1915

Many scholars agreed with W. E. B. Du Bois' position that in the South the concept of public education for all, provided by the government, was strongly supported by blacks.[178] But the desire to force blacks into industrial education was driven by Southern elites and Northern philanthropists who saw social and economic benefits from

[176] "Biennial Report July 1903 to June 1905*,"* 170-175.

[177] Trueheart, "Consequences of Federal and State Resource Allocation," 233.

[178] Anderson, *Education of Blacks in the South,* 6.

such a move. They wanted to grow a large black agricultural workforce that would accept the role of laborer and low status in the social hierarchy.[179]

By 1910, however, it was apparent that blacks were not willing to accept such limited roles. This was reflected in the decreasing number of blacks in the population of Kentucky. In the early- to mid-twentieth century, racial oppression of blacks in the South, coupled with little access to good schools, caused blacks to migrate to urban areas of the North and South where industrialization offered more opportunities.[180] From 1900 to 1920, the percentage of Kentucky's black population declined slowly but steadily. In 1900, blacks comprised 13.3 percent of the state's population; by 1920 it had dropped to 9.8 percent. This trend was apparent through the 1930 census as black migration continued across many southern states.[181] The decline was evident in Tennessee, Georgia, and Mississippi. Although the black population was a relatively small percentage of the statewide populations of Kentucky and Tennessee, the states of Georgia and Mississippi still had a large proportion of blacks.

The percentage of black agricultural workers in the South also declined steadily from 1900 to 1920, although it was not quite as dramatic as the overall decreased number of blacks in the general population. The decline reflected more than just migration to northern states. Black children were going to school rather than working on farms; black families were moving to urban areas in search of economic and educational opportunities. The black community rejected the idea that it would remain a large and constant

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[179] Anderson, *Education of Blacks in the South,* 88-89.

[180] Anderson, *Education of Blacks in the South,* 202-203.

[181] Anderson, *Education of Blacks in the South,* 41, table 2.1.

agricultural labor force to benefit whites. Yielding to that idea would deny their ambition for greater social equality.

However, even though blacks pursued opportunities elsewhere, many blacks in rural areas continued to work in agriculture, perhaps because that was the primary opportunity for employment. In Kentucky, from 1900 to 1920, the number of black agriculture workers fell from 9% to 8%—not a big decline. But by 1930, blacks amounted to only 1% of all agricultural workers. The same states that mirrored Kentucky in declining populations, also mirrored Kentucky in the declining percentage of black agricultural workers.[182] The decline suggests that in order to increase and diversify opportunity for themselves, blacks moved north away from the southern rural areas.

Berea College

By 1910, Berea College had evolved in the way it approached industrial education. All students were now required to work while attending the school. Industrial education was referred to as vocational education, and incorporated many liberal arts classes. These changes exemplified a recognition that training workers to use the tools but without additional academic training was not sufficient for young people. Combining industrial education with liberal arts courses was an evolution of industrial education, which now sought to teach students to be business owners or supervisors, not just laborers.

The trustees and administrators of Berea College continued to believe that work training helped to produce people of good character. Such training was common at black

[182] Anderson, *Education of Blacks in the South,* 45, table 2. 2.

schools because many agreed with the stereotypes of blacks that suggested they needed to improve their character and build a strong work ethic to become better citizens.

At this point, Berea College had been an all-white school for six years, so its commitment to work training was not based on racial stereotypes. Instead, the school believed in the value of work training for all students. The school explicitly rejected students who did not want to participate in the required work, as that was a key component of keeping the school tuition free. Free tuition was essentially a scholarship for each student, which was paid for by each student performing some work that was essential to school operations. The work requirement mandated that all students work a minimum of 7 hours per week but no more than 18 hours per week unless they decreased their course work.[183] This enabled the school to reduce its operating costs by having students handle routine tasks like cleaning and general maintenance. The work requirement allowed students to succeed in their schoolwork while simultaneously building personal character.

Manual labor for campus projects was the bedrock of student life at black land-grant institutions, but at white land-grant institutions the students successfully opposed the use of student labor for most campus maintenance.[184] Berea College took a hybrid approach to how work was done. Like the black land-grant institutions, Berea required all students to work in some capacity while attending school. But, like the white land-grant institutions, Berea incorporated a significant amount of liberal arts course work into their industrial education. This approach trained workers that had the skills needed to become

[183] Berea College Course Catalog, 1910-1911, 28-29.

[184] Trueheart, "Consequences of Federal and State Resource Allocation," 59.

supervisors or business owners, whereas black schools focused mainly on training laborers.

In 1910, the industrial education available to students at Berea College had not changed at the college level. However, the vocational options in the diploma courses had increased from two in 1905 (agriculture and home science) to five (agriculture, nursing, carpentry, home science, and business). The diploma courses were two years long, and each required liberal arts courses as a portion of the class work. The diploma courses had 112 students enrolled in 1910—69 were in the commercial (business) department and 43 were the carpentry department.

A look at individual courses in the diploma program suggested that skills such as math, writing, public speaking, and knowledge of history and philosophy were good mental tools to accompany the use of physical tools like a hammer, a plow, or a sewing machine. Except for nursing, the two-year diploma programs required one hour per week of rhetorical training aimed at teaching how to form arguments through writing. The programs all required courses in English (grammar and literature), history (U.S., English, and/or ancient), and mathematics. The nursing program concentrated on the practical requirements of working in a hospital, such as nursing duties and hospital housekeeping. Nursing students also took courses in anatomy, physiology, dietetics, and obstetrics.[185]

The combination of industrial education with liberal arts coursework had clear benefits. The structure of the two-year diploma programs indicated the belief that if students were going to attend school for a vocational education, they needed to acquire more than just the ability to use the physical tools of a trade. Mathematics was necessary to create a household budget or to plan and build a structure. Training in rhetoric, English

[185] Berea College Course Catalog, 1910-1911, 80-90.

grammar, literature, history, and philosophy all combined to help one construct and present an argument in a rational and enlightened manner.

University of Kentucky

The UK catalog for 1914-15 showed significant expansion in industrial education. UK began operating a program in domestic science in 1906; by 1908, the domestic science program was a department in the College of Arts and Sciences. The college program offered more in-depth and advanced courses than was offered at Berea College or at KNII. One example was a course in chemistry and nutrition that studied food chemistry and its relation to human nutrition. There was also a course in food production and manufacturing, which studied food production from its raw source to the household table.[186] The rapid changes in the domestic science program at UK were typical of the progress that was possible at the white schools in the early twentieth century.

Kentucky Normal and Industrial Institute

By the fall of 1911, although courses at KNII had seen some expansion, none of that growth occurred at the college level. The total number of faculty members for the 1911-12 school year was 23, and only 5 appeared to have a college degree.[187] The industrial education offerings were somewhat more extensive, now including agriculture, printing, carpentry, domestic science (cooking and sewing), and mechanical and electrical engineering. These courses could be taken as a supplement to the normal school curriculum, or as an individual program that led to a certificate of proficiency in the

[186] University of Kentucky Course Catalog, 1914-1915, 73-75.

[187] Kentucky Normal and Industrial Institute Course Catalog, 1911-1912, 4-5.

studied trade. The catalog description of the Industrial Education Department noted: "The spirit of the department is in keeping with the motto: 'Labor conquers all things.'"[188] In that spirit, all students were required to work at least 30 hours of manual labor per month,[189] which averaged out to 7.5 hours per week. The manual labor requirement was almost the same as what Berea College required of its students (7 hours per week). Since passage of the Day Law in 1904, KNII was one of the primary options for teacher training for blacks students in Kentucky; indeed, KNII remained the leading teacher training school in Kentucky well into the twentieth century.[190]

Lincoln Institute

By 1910, Berea College had successfully raised $400,000 (what the trustees called an adjustment fund), to be used to open a new school for black students. The school, located in Simpsonville, Kentucky, was called Lincoln Institute. Finding a location for the school resulted in several confrontations with white citizens in Kentucky, and even the state legislature attempted to restrict the building of any industrial school in the state. Eventually, Anchorage, Kentucky, located about twelve miles to the east of Louisville, was chosen as the initial location for the Lincoln Institute. In his autobiography, Frost describes being angrily approached by a group of citizens from Anchorage that demanded the school not be built there. Details of the confrontation were vague, but the protestors succeeded in driving the proposed school away.[191]

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[188] Kentucky Normal and Industrial Institute Course Catalog, 1911-1912, 30.

[189] Kentucky Normal and Industrial Institute Course Catalog, 1911-1912, 10.

[190] Ellis, *A History of Education in Kentucky,* 153.

[191] Frost, *For the Mountains,* 184.

The final location chosen for the school was Simpsonville, Kentucky. Shortly after it was publicly disclosed as the location, the state legislator for Simpsonville, John Holland, proposed the Holland Bill. It was an example of the many tactics utilized in an attempt to control black opportunities. The Holland Law sought to require a majority vote in favor of the school, from the voters of the county where the school was to be built.[192] This proposed law, like the 1905 Day Law, was an attempt to use the power of the state to limit educational opportunities available to blacks in Kentucky. In June 1910, the Holland Law was deemed unconstitutional and struck down by the courts.

According to minutes from the board meetings of Lincoln Institute, even Berea College was briefly an impediment to the progress of Lincoln Institute. In March 1910, the board of Lincoln Institute discussed a request made by Berea College that Lincoln delay its court challenge to the Holland Law because otherwise it would interfere with fundraising efforts by Berea College. The board decided to proceed with the court challenge so planning for the school could move forward,[193] and the Institute opened in 1912.

Industrial Education: 1915 to 1920

In this section, I briefly discuss industrial education for the period 1915 to 1920. I compare the industrial education that was available to black and/or white students at each of the four colleges examined in this study, and show the progress achieved (or not) at each school.

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[192] *Columbia Trust Company v. Lincoln Institute of Kentucky*, June 17, 1910, Court of Appeals of the State of Kentucky (Berea, KY: Berea College Archives [Record Group 13.29], Lincoln Institute, Court Cases, 1910.

[193] Lincoln Institute, Board Meeting Minutes, 5.

Berea College

As the 1915-16 academic year began, industrial education at Berea College had made only subtle changes if one were to compare with 1910. It appeared the push for industrial education had reached a plateau at Berea College, as well as KNII and Lincoln Institute. None of these three institutions had advanced industrial education to the college level as UK had done years earlier.

The 1915 Berea College catalog showed an expansion to eight diploma courses in the vocational department: agriculture, business, carpentry, home science, nursing, printing, special, and weaving. Total student enrollment in the diploma courses was 222, with the majority of students enrolled in three programs: agriculture, business, and home science (166 of the 222 students). The shorter and less-demanding certificate courses had 34 students in addition to the diploma course students.[194] These numbers suggest that students attending school for industrial education preferred the well-rounded diploma course that consisted of both manual and academic instruction.

A subtle and interesting change in the diploma courses also occurred in 1915: history courses were removed entirely from required class work. Apparently this was done to expand the practical courses in the curriculum. In the earlier diploma course for agriculture, there had been optional courses in mathematics, philosophy, English, natural science, and history. When the 1915 academic year began, some of the elective liberal arts courses from 1910 had become requirements, including mathematics, English, philosophy, and natural science. However, history was not required and nor was it listed as a suggested elective course. Along with these changes were the increased requirements

[194] Berea College Course Catalog, 1915-1916, 196.

of a more practical nature, such as fruit culture, feeding stock, soils, and stock judging, which were all in the agriculture course.[195]

College courses at Berea College in 1915 had not increased the amount of industrial education included in that curriculum. The scientific course continued to involve classes that were practical in nature. Vocational courses were available as electives for any of the college degree programs. There were no vocational courses named as electives that were specifically for college students, although the catalog did recommend courses in agriculture, carpentry, or home science. If college students had opted for such classes, they would have been in classes with industrial or normal school students.[196]

Berea College had engaged in extension work for decades before the Smith-Lever Act of 1914, which was the beginning of the national cooperative extension programs of the land-grant institutions.[197] As early as 1902, the school catalog talked about extension services offered to the communities surrounding Berea. Much of the extension work was Sunday-school type lectures or proselytizing, but the extension work also included a traveling library, lectures on teaching, and lectures on country life in the home and on the farm.[198]

In 1912, Berea College (a private college for white students) entered into a joint venture with the U.S. Department of Agriculture to hire Frank Montgomery, who was asked to familiarize himself with rural society near Berea and then make

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[195] Berea College Course Catalog, 1915-1916, 117.

[196] Berea College Course Catalog, 1915-1916, 47-76.

[197] Trueheart, "Consequences of Federal and State Resource Allocation," 78.

[198] Berea College Course Catalog, 1902-1903, 44.

recommendations for improving agriculture in those areas. He was compensated for his work in a joint arrangement between Berea College and the Department of Agriculture.[199] Prior to coming to Berea College, Montgomery lived in Meridian, Mississippi, and worked for the U.S. Weather Bureau for 12 years. He had a Master of Science degree from Ohio Wesleyan University and some teaching experience at the Ohio School for the Blind.[200] Berea College's early foray into agricultural extension work was quite progressive for 1912 and might possibly have resulted in some benefits to the black community because so much of that community was engaged in some aspect of agriculture.

University of Kentucky

As Berea College expanded its outreach into rural areas, the Kentucky Agricultural Experiment Station at the University of Kentucky became more prominent. In 1912, the Kentucky State Legislature committed to an annual appropriation of $50,000 specifically for the experiment station at UK, and in 1914, the federal government provided additional funding to the station through the Smith-Lever Act. In addition to citing the added financial support for the experiment station, the 1914-1915 catalog explicitly stated the importance of the station:

> The Kentucky Agricultural Experiment Station is not only an important adjunct to the University in the education of students for the leading industrial pursuits, but it also, through its continual diffusion of knowledge

[199] This information is in a letter from Frost to Montgomery where he proposed the joint venture. Frost mentioned that this type of arrangement was happening in different parts of the country, specifically in rural areas, and pertaining to agriculture. See: Berea College Special Collections and Archives [Record Group 3.03, Box 11], William Goodell Frost Papers-Correspondence.

[200] Berea College, Faculty-Staff Personnel Files, Special Collections and Archives [Record Group 9A]. This collection includes a questionnaire filled out by Montgomery for Berea College regarding his personal and academic history.

> to a large proportion of our population, an institution of great usefulness to the commonwealth.[201]

UK and Berea College both benefited from the nationwide belief that agricultural education was important for the country. In different ways, these schools were part of the national push to disseminate academic knowledge to citizens for use in their private agricultural undertakings. However, the Smith-Lever Act funding and the private expansion of agricultural outreach at Berea College were examples of how progress and the beneficial effects of scientific agriculture were controlled by whites. As farming was becoming industrialized, it was the white schools that received funds to help further develop agriculture. White schools operated the cooperative extension departments, which took new developments in agriculture out into the wider communities. In fact, black land-grant institutions were not officially supported by Smith-Lever funding until passage of the Food and Agriculture Act in 1977.[202]

By 1915 it was clear that UK had quickly and successfully brought its industrial education up to college level. The school never required that all students had to work. Agriculture students performed some labor at the experiment station because it was integral to the program. UK did also offer work opportunities to students who needed financial assistance, which was similar to work-study as opposed to "work ethic" training.

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[201] University of Kentucky Course Catalog, 1914-1915, 37.

[202] Trueheart, "Consequences of Federal and State Resource Allocation," 82.

Kentucky Normal and Industrial Institute

While Berea College and UK were making progress toward infusing agriculture with academic knowledge, the KNII catalog for 1913-14 had a decidedly different tone. In describing the various courses and programs, the catalog implies that students should not expect too much from their education, particularly the industrial programs. The following portions of descriptions from some of the trade courses illustrate this cautionary attitude.

- First, from the Introduction to the industrial department: "The department of Industry and Manual Training is organized to foster the educational idea of vocational training, and to reclaim the lost art of technical efficiency in the industrial arts, in the Southern Negro."[203] Being only a generation or two removed from the abolition of slavery, it is difficult to know when blacks might earlier have possessed the "technical efficiency" that the school states it is trying to "reclaim."
- When describing the purpose of the manual training available at the school, the catalog stated: "[T]he primary object of [manual training] is educational, and to bring the student into familiar touch with the conditions about them, rather than to develop experts along these special lines."[204] This suggests that students would receive training to become familiar with what was expected of them as laborers, but they should not expect to become experts. Further, when describing the carpentry and cabinet-making course, the catalog stated that the course "is conducted more from the standpoint of making the student familiar with the different tools, processes, and

[203] Kentucky Normal and Industrial Institute Course Catalog, 1913-1914, *27th Annual Catalogue of the Kentucky Normal and Industrial Institute for Colored Persons, 1913-1914, Announcements 1914-1915* (Frankfort: Kentucky State University, Paul G. Blazer Library, Special Collections and Archives), 42.

[204] Kentucky Normal and Industrial Institute Course Catalog, 1913-1914, 42.

methods of construction than with the idea of developing mechanical skill."[205] Offering one course that claims to teach both cabinet making and carpentry would imply that a student will acquire only a rudimentary education in either discipline, since the delicate work of cabinet making is far different from the more rough business of carpentry.

- In another instance, to demonstrate that such low expectations were also placed on female students, the course description for sewing stated: "It is not the aim of this course to turn out proficient seamstresses but rather to give the student the ability to do her ordinary sewing, an accomplishment very useful and valuable to any young woman. . . ."[206] This class was not intended to train a woman to open her own business, but rather provide training for basic tailoring or typical household repairs.

As many proponents of industrial education probably preferred, as 1915 approached, black students at KNII attended school with an optimistic outlook for the future but were being conditioned to accept some aspect of a role as laborer while being reminded that they should expect nothing more than that from their education.

Lincoln Institute

Lincoln Institute continued to struggle during this time period, but the impact of the Day Law was significant. Although the black community tried to overcome the setback, replacing all that Berea College offered was a long and arduous process. Ultimately, the lost opportunities for a college education for blacks were never replaced.

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[205] Kentucky Normal and Industrial Institute Course Catalog, 1913-1914, 43.

[206] Kentucky Normal and Industrial Institute Course Catalog, 1913-1914, 46.

In addition, the push toward a Hampton model of education for blacks was beginning to fail by 1915,[207] so Lincoln Institute, also being pushed toward a Hampton-style model, found itself pursuing it at a very inopportune time. Supporters of industrial education who were involved with Lincoln Institute likely felt some pressure relative to their decision to support a Hampton-style school, especially as public interest for that type of school was fading. Andrew Carnegie donated half of the original funding for the Lincoln Institute and the Rosenwald Fund was also involved with the Lincoln Institute. Both of those sources of funds were undoubtedly pressuring the school to make industrial education a prominent feature of the curriculum.[208]

Industrial Education: 1920

The push by Southern elites and Northern philanthropists for industrial education as the standard education for black students began to weaken during the period 1915 to 1920. Jobs that previously had been viewed as more suitable to blacks—and therefore were featured at industrial schools—were also becoming acceptable jobs for whites as widespread economic difficulties settled into American society. Moreover, national education standards were changing rapidly, and acceptance of publicly supported education was increasing. These changes began to make a purely industrial education obsolete. By the late 1920s even Hampton and Tuskegee had done away with industrial education and had moved to become liberal arts institutions.[209]

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[207] Anderson, *Education of Blacks in the South,* 258.

[208] Anderson, *Education of Blacks in the South,* 247.

[209] Anderson, *Education of Blacks in the South,* 229-258.

In this section, I briefly discuss industrial education as it stood in 1920, the last year of the time period covered by this thesis. I compare the industrial education that was available to black and/or white students at each of the four colleges examined in this study, and show the progress achieved (or not) at each school.

Berea College

In the fall of 1919, Berea College had an enrollment of 2,100 students, of whom 178 were college students (the enrollment figure of 2,100 did not include the training school, model school, or summer school students).[210] College students made up 8.5 percent of the student body. By 1920, industrial education at Berea College looked similar to the programs offered in 1915. Vocational courses continued to be acceptable as electives at the college level, but there was no college course that originated from industrial education.

The stagnation of industrial education may have been due to several circumstances. Because industrial education was expensive to operate, the trustees may not have been able to justify extending industrial education to the college level. They may have decided that industrial education was more valuable as an option for younger students who might be intending to continue on to college courses. Whether for these reasons or some others, the fact is that industrial education at Berea College had plateaued.

The vocational school still offered two levels of course work: the two-year diploma course and the one term certificate course. For the most part, the disciplines were the same as in 1915, but options within the disciplines had increased. The domestic

[210] Berea College Course Catalog, 1919-1920, 212.

science course added classes in food and nutrition, home nursing, and sanitation for the home and community. The agriculture course included classes in soil and soil fertility, general poultry husbandry, and veterinary science for farm animals.[211] These courses allowed students to learn specific skills within the broad categories that Berea College had been offering in industrial education for the previous thirty years.

Berea College continued to offer free tuition and to require all students to work in exchange for the tuition. Initially intended only for students who needed extra income to pay for school, the work requirement had evolved into a mandatory condition of attendance. Students worked a few more hours in 1920 than they did in 1915. Students who worked in offices were expected to work up to ten hours per week; those doing manual labor were expected to work up to twelve hours per week.[212]

University of Kentucky

By 1920, UK offered courses in agricultural education and educational psychology under provisions of the Smith-Hughes Act, in order to train students to teach vocational education in Kentucky high schools.[213] The law limited such training solely to land-grant institutions. The Act provided federal money to train public school teachers in industrial education, including agriculture and home economics, both of which were common in white and black land-grant industrial education programs.

[211] Berea College Course Catalog, 1919-1920, 117-149.

[212] Berea College Course Catalog, 1919-1920, 49.

[213] University of Kentucky Course Catalog for Summer Session, 1920, 7.

The law did not, however, require any allotment of funds for black land-grant schools.[214] Both federal and state funds for industrial education were provided to white land-grant institutions, reflecting the advantages white students continued to have over black students. The Smith-Hughes Act required matching state funds, but again, there was no specific requirement for those matching funds to go to black land-grant institutions. It is difficult to see how blacks could make equal progress in education when state and federal governments were not willing to adequately fund the options available to black students at that time.

In 1914, the Smith-Lever Act established cooperative extension programs as a significant feature of land-grant institutions, but the funds for such programs were initially given only to white land-grant institutions. By 1920, the Smith-Hughes Act was giving additional support to land-grant institutions to include industrial education in the training of teachers. These teachers could then teach in public schools that included industrial education in some part of the curriculum. This program was intended to shape public education at both black and white public schools. Smith-Hughes also provided money to public primary and secondary schools to pay teachers who taught vocational education.[215]

Kentucky Normal and Industrial Institute

In 1920, KNII had received little, if any funding from the Smith-Hughes Act, but it was evident from its catalogs that KNII was trying to comply with the objective of the law. The 1919 summer session catalog described teacher training in industrial education

[214] Trueheart, "Consequences of Federal and State Resource Allocation," 99-105.

[215] Lazerson and Grubb, *American Education and Vocationalism,* 133.

that would prepare teachers to teach vocational education at primary and secondary public schools. The summer session concentrated on teacher training in areas such as algebra, history, education, and ethics. Industrial training included agriculture, domestic science, woodworking, machine shop, weaving, and basketry. Agriculture training included subjects such as dairying and agronomy. Domestic science continued to cover topics such as household economy and food study. None of these areas of study showed much progress for blacks in education when compared to the previous 30 years.

Teacher training for industrial education was intended to teach younger students, beginning in common school, that these were the kinds of jobs for which a black person should expect to train. Anderson said: "The ideological functions of black industrial education were more important than the technical functions. The primary aim was to gain the consent of black pupils to the racially segmented economy imposed on them by the dominant white society."[216] These "ideological functions" were served by introducing industrial education to black students as early as possible. Teaching industrial education to common school and high school students along with typical liberal arts courses could have influenced the way blacks perceived their role in society.

In the description of the "special and technical course," which included the manual training and domestic science courses, the school seems to acknowledge the objectives of the Smith-Hughes Act by stating: "These courses are among the most important given in the Summer School, and are treated with special attention throughout the course. They are given in response to a great demand for such work in the rural

[216] Anderson, *Education of Blacks in the South,* 227.

schools of the state."[217] The words "most important" in the description was a reference to teachers in rural schools striving to incorporate industrial education as part of the standard curriculum. By incorporating the Smith-Hughes objective of providing vocational training in public schools, the black schools were in effect supporting white objectives for black education. Conforming to the Smith-Hughes idea of industrial education in primary and secondary schools encouraged acceptance of a system intended to maintain the existing social hierarchy. While some black land-grant institutions received funds in the early years of Smith-Hughes, the amounts were small, and as time passed those amounts decreased.[218] It is not clear whether KNII received any such funds.

Lincoln Institute

In 1920, some aspects of the Lincoln Institute operations were still modeled after policies at Berea College. For example, all students were required to work. The industrial education curriculum included liberal arts courses such as physics, mathematics, and literature. There were three courses in agriculture: two-year, four-year, and six-year courses. The agriculture programs included liberal arts style courses such as English literature and English composition, mathematics, rhetoric, and Latin. [219] Interestingly, the home economics course (formerly domestic science), which was only available in a four-

[217] Kentucky Normal and Industrial Institute Course Catalog, 1919-1920, 64.

[218] Trueheart, "Consequences of Federal and State Resource Allocation," 103. Trueheart did not show specific amounts of funds allotted to Kentucky, but he did have numbers for other states. Smith-Hughes funding ranged from as much as 74 percent for Mississippi's black land-grant institution in 1928, to nothing for black land-grant institutions in 1933 and 1934. I contacted Sharon R. McGee, Archives Records Manager at Kentucky State University, about federal land-grant funding to KNII and she was unable to locate any specific numbers. She made an inquiry to KNII about federal funds, and the research did not find any information.

[219] Lincoln Institute Course Catalog, 1921-1922, 8-15.

year course, did not require any liberal arts classes. Since the home economics course was a normal course, practice teaching was required at the end of the fourth year.[220]

According to minutes from Lincoln Institute board meetings, the school faced several challenges around 1920, including high operating costs associated with industrial education: purchasing sheep in 1916, a hay baler in 1917, a piano in 1919, and cattle in 1920. The need for funds to cover these expenses for industrial education equipment and supplies, faculty compensation, and facilities maintenance never ceased, and the school often had to arrange loans to cover those expenses.[221]

[220] Lincoln Institute Course Catalog, 1921-1922, 15-16.

[221] Lincoln Institute, Board Meeting Minutes, 52-64.

Chapter V

Conclusion

The Day Law, which resulted in complete segregation of education in Kentucky, brought immeasurable loss to the black community. Prior to its passage, the classic liberal arts studies available at Berea College for both black and white students resulted in leaders like James Bond and Carter Woodson who strongly advocated for social, political, and economic equality for blacks in America. By effectively removing access to that style of education for other black students over the decades, it is impossible to know how many motivated young black people never had the opportunity to develop their abilities to be leaders in their own communities. Whereas such an education was available to all students at Berea College prior to the Day Law, after its passage all black students were required to travel out of state for a similar education.

Industrial education was introduced into the existing educational structure for both black and white students. The critical difference was that as industrial education evolved, it expanded the choices available to white students but restricted the choices for black students. At white schools, industrial education quickly transformed into the development of professional training, at the collegiate level, for disciplines such as engineering and science-based agriculture. At black schools, industrial education centered the curriculum on training for manual-labor jobs such as bricklaying, printing, carpentry, and domestic science. By 1920, industrial education for black students had

changed very little despite efforts by black schools and the larger black community to improve it.

The addition of industrial education to the curriculum at black schools introduced more financial burdens for institutions that were already fiscally strained. Land-grant institutions like KNII, which had opened as normal schools, were forced by legislation to build facilities, buy farm equipment and animals, and undertake the daily responsibilities of operating a farm. But the additional demands on the schools' budgets were not met with significant increases in funding to effectively manage the programs. By adding industrial education along with normal school, it became difficult to serve either role well.

When Lincoln Institute opened in 1912, like KNII it offered both normal school and industrial education. Since Lincoln was a privately operated school, it was not required to abide by land-grant legislation, but it did have similar difficulties in adequately fulfilling its goals. Berea College had years of experience in raising funds for education, so Lincoln Institute followed that approach. This ultimately led Lincoln Institute to becoming involved with and influenced by Andrew Carnegie and Julius Rosenwald. These two philanthropists, like many others, believed that industrial education should be a primary focus at many of the schools they helped to fund.

When industrial education was being widely added to school curricula, it had many different supporters and opponents. Some philanthropists claimed to support industrial education because it would help keep young people in school longer, train them for work and living, and it could reinforce common school values that taught all students, but especially the poor and minorities, that they would benefit ethically from manual

training. Other philanthropists saw industrial education as a lower-level education that prevented people from embracing a more traditional academic education, which in turn prevented them from acquiring the ability to understand the multiple aspects of work, like planning projects or predicting complex issues that could arise.[222]

Educators also held conflicting views regarding the benefits of widespread inclusion of industrial education into school curricula. Like philanthropists, many educators thought industrial education might inspire students to remain in school because they could see the benefits of training for jobs that seemed relevant to their daily lives and their futures. Conversely, educators like Du Bois saw industrial education as training for jobs that were fading away in the modern economy, which would ultimately perpetuate inequality by leaving those students prepared only for industrial-type jobs for their adult lives.[223]

The incorporation of industrial education into all levels of education was a contentious process. There can be no doubt that some students would embrace industrial education while others would not see manual training as their preferred path forward. There can also be no doubt that the decision as to whether industrial education was a good path for any student could not be pre-determined by his or her race. Industrial education and normal school became the two main choices for education available to blacks, and that limiting of choice enabled education policy to perpetuate the existing social hierarchy. By curtailing choice in education, restricting expansion of liberal arts options in curricula, and straining budgets enough to slow advances in teacher training,

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[222] Grubb and Lazerson, *The Education Gospel,* 36-37.

[223] Grubb and Lazerson, *The Education Gospel,* 38-40.

black students were unable to progress as rapidly as white students. In 1933, Carter Woodson published his book, *The Mis-Education of the Negro,* in which he said:

> The so-called modern education, with all its defects, however, does others so much more good than it does the Negro, because it has been worked out in conformity to the needs of those who have enslaved and oppressed weaker peoples. For example, the philosophy and ethics resulting from our educational system have justified slavery, peonage, segregation, and lynching. The oppressor has the right to exploit, to handicap, and to kill the oppressed.[224]

Woodson was not talking just about industrial education with these words. He argued that the entire approach to educating blacks in America had developed to serve whites at the expense of blacks. Woodson saw a system of education that controlled black expectations by forcing them to conform to the desires of whites, and a society that, through fear and intimidation, intended to preserve the existing hierarchy. Woodson further added:

> It was well understood that if by the teaching of history the white man could be further assured of his superiority and the Negro could be made to feel that he had always been a failure and that the subjection of his will to some other race is necessary, the freedman, then, would still be a slave. If you can control a man's thinking you do not have to worry about his action. When you determine what a man shall think you do not have to concern yourself about what he will do. If you make a man feel that he is inferior, you do not have to compel him to accept an inferior status, for he will seek it himself.[225]

When so many of the decisions regarding education for blacks, like financing public school facilities, designing curricula, and determining choices in programs, were left up to the existing white authority, it was nearly inevitable that the needs and desires of the black community would be secondary to the concerns of those who were in charge.

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[224] Carter G. Woodson, *The Mis-Education of the Negro* (Chicago: African American Images, 2000), xvi.

[225] Woodson, *The Mis-Education of the Negro,* 84.

From 1890 to 1920, black normal schools in Kentucky saw few changes in the teaching certifications they awarded to students and, consequently, teaching jobs available to blacks were limited. Industrial education was incorporated into black schools and then the curriculum became stagnant. In comparison, at many white schools over the same period of time, normal schools evolved into college-level education programs, and industrial education rapidly advanced to the collegiate level.

Berea College incorporated industrial education into its curriculum, and while it did not reach the collegiate level achieved by UK, the program did add liberal arts courses into the school's industrial education program. Adding academic studies to the industrial course was an indication that the administrators of Berea College recognized that well-trained workers needed more than just an ability to use tools. Workers needed academic knowledge, like mathematics and writing skills, to achieve higher accomplishments in life.

Unfortunately, as federal legislation began to develop, in the form of the 1890 Morrill Act, the 1914 Smith-Lever Act, and the 1917 Smith-Hughes Act, Kentucky was repeatedly given authority over how the funding for the state was allocated. Consequently, when the state apportioned funds for education, black schools almost always received far less funding than white schools. An egregious example of the unjust land-grant funding allocations was implementation of the Smith-Lever Act of 1914. In this case, the law created cooperative extension services for which land-grant institutions are still very well-known. However, not a single black land-grant school in the nation received funding from that law until 1977. The beginning of the cooperative extension program demonstrated another way in which education policy created opportunities for

white students while simultaneously preventing black schools and students from making progress. Ultimately, the Day Law gave legal authority to a process that implicitly and explicitly caused black people to bend to the will of those who had always wielded power and authority.

Appendix A

Text of the Day Law of 1904

The text of the Day Law, as reported in the April 1904 edition of the *Berea Quarterly,* is as follows:

1. That it shall be unlawful for any person, corporation, or association of persons, to maintain or operate any college, school or institution where persons of white and negro races are both received as pupils for instruction, and any person or corporation who shall operate or maintain any such college, school or institution, shall be fined $1,000, and any person or corporation who may be convicted of violating the provisions of this act shall be fined $100 for each day they may operate said college, school or institution, after such conviction.
2. That any instructor who shall teach in any school, college or institution, when members of the said two races are received as pupils for instruction, shall be guilty of operating and maintaining same, and fined as provided in the first section hereof.
3. It shall be unlawful for any white person to attend any school or institution where negroes are received as pupils or receive instruction, and it shall be unlawful for any negro or colored person to attend any school or institution where white persons are received as pupils or receive instruction. Any person so offending shall be fined $50 for each day he attends such institution or school. Provided that the provisions of this law shall not apply to any penal institution or house of reform.

4. Nothing in this act shall be construed to prevent any private school, college or institution of learning from maintaining a separate and distinct branch thereof, in a different locality, not less than twenty-five miles distant, for the education of one race or color.
5. This act shall not take effect or be in operation before the fifteenth day of July, 1904.[226]

The above text reads as the law was presented to the Kentucky State Legislature in January 1904.

In March 1904, the law passed and was quickly challenged in the courts. The courts removed the 25-mile requirement but the rest of the law was upheld. The Day Law was subsequently challenged all the way to the U.S. Supreme Court (*Berea College v. Commonwealth of Kentucky*) where, in 1908, the version without the 25-mile distance requirement was upheld.

[226] *Berea Quarterly*, April 1904 (Berea, KY: Berea College Archives [Record Group 12.21, Publications], 14-15.

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