

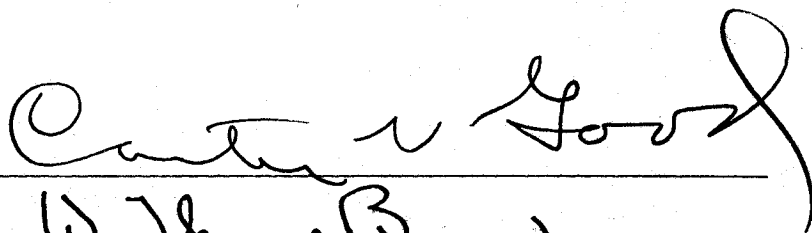
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THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF
CLARK UNIVERSITY AND GAMMON THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

A dissertation submitted to

The Graduate Faculty of the Teachers College
of the University of Cincinnati

in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF EDUCATION

1944

by

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION: THE PROBLEM

After the Civil War the Methodist Episcopal Church conducted as a missionary project a system of schools for Negroes in the South. Among the first to be established were Clark University and Gammon Theological Seminary, the two institutions treated in this study.

Purpose of the Study

The general purpose of this study is to trace the development of Clark University (Clark College) and Gammon Theological Seminary as institutions for the higher education of Negroes. The more specific objectives are: (1) to examine briefly the agencies of the Methodist Episcopal Church that played a part in the founding and administration of Clark and Gammon; (2) to show the extent to which the proposals of these agencies influenced the development of the program of Clark and Gammon; (3) to trace the growth of Gammon as a department of Clark University and as a separately endowed and administered theological seminary; (4) to reveal the distinctive features of each institution in its program of development; (5) to present the non-academic activities of the two institutions and their part in student life; (6) to consider the program of the two institutions in relation to the development and occupational choices of the students; and (7) to analyze the present status and survey the probable future of Clark University as a co-operating institution of the Atlanta University system of higher edu-

oation for Negroes.

In the light of these purposes, an attempt is made not only to provide a better understanding of Clark College¹ on the part of alumni, students, friends, and the constituency of the Methodist Episcopal Church, during the present critical period of transition in the history of the college, but also to forge a needed link in the history of Negro education in the United States. This study deals with an important, but heretofore little known, phase of the history of higher education in the United States, specifically the origin, growth, organization, and administration of the small church-related college for Negroes.

Need for the Study

There is, then, an urgent need for a study of this kind, for these reasons:

1. Throughout the years there has not been written even a monograph dealing with the historical development of Clark University or of Gammon Theological Seminary.
2. The organization and administration of Clark University, and to some extent of Gammon Theological Seminary, as units of a system of institutions, are examples of the trend toward coordination in higher education. This trend involves the development of educational centers and the effecting of affiliations and cooperative relationships among

¹The institution was chartered as Clark University in 1877; the name was changed to Clark College in 1940.

institutions whose programs are similar.

3. The two schools, operating as separate institutions on adjoining campuses, have developed a "work philosophy" and a program of possible significance in higher education.

4. The effectiveness with which Clark and Gammon have operated under a centralized absentee administration in working out a functional program of education in Atlanta, Georgia, should be studied in terms of its contribution to American education.

5. The approach used in tracing the history of these two institutions may prove useful in writing the history of other schools of the Methodist denomination and of church-related colleges in general.

6. Knowledge of the development of Clark University is necessary for an interpretation of the present and future status of the institution in the cooperative program of higher education for Negroes in Atlanta.

7. Because the financial future of Clark College is dependent upon small gifts, an objective interpretation of the college to its alumni, students, and friends is an immediate need.

Related Studies

Among the many accounts written about the different institutions controlled by the Methodist Episcopal Church in Atlanta, none deserves being rated as a history. The early issues of the Gammon Quarterly carried a record of men and their activities in the founding of the institution. A memorial address by W. P. Thirkield,² concerning

² W. P. Thirkield, "A Memorial Address in Honor of E. H. Gammon," Quarterly Bulletin of Gammon Theological Seminary (February, 1892), 3-22.

the life of Elijah H. Gammon and his efforts in the establishment and growth of the seminary, was published as an issue of the Quarterly Bulletin. One of the early professors of Gammon Theological Seminary, E. W. Parks,³ gave a detailed account of the life of William Fletcher Steward, the founder of the Steward Foundation for Africa. The effectiveness achieved by the foundation was through being vitally connected with a kindred institution, Gammon Theological Seminary. Aside from the gifts contributed, the Christian character and life of the founder were pictured as responsible for the strength and solidity of the foundation.

The most comprehensive accounts of Clark University have been reported in surveys dating back as early as 1900. W. E. B. DuBois,⁴ director of the Atlanta conferences of the Atlanta University, published a series of studies of which the fifth, the report of the fifth annual conference, dealt with The College Bred Negro. In his study data concerning the establishment, status, curriculum development, college graduates, and education of women were given for Clark University, along with other Negro institutions. A decade later in 1910 DuBois and Dill⁵ made a similar report, entitled The College Bred Negro American, which was the result of a study of college catalogues, letters from

³ E. W. Parks, "A Memorial Address in Honor of William Fletcher Steward," Quarterly Bulletin of Gammon Theological Seminary, (April, 1901), 3-24.

⁴ W. E. B. DuBois, The College Bred Negro. Atlanta University Publication, No. 5. Atlanta: Atlanta University Press, 1900. Pp. 115.

⁵ W. E. B. DuBois and A. G. Dill, The College Bred Negro American. Atlanta University Publication, No. 15. Atlanta: Atlanta University Press, 1910. Pp. 104.

officials, and the responses of eight hundred Negro graduates to a questionnaire.

The Survey of Negro Colleges and Universities⁶ gave an account of Clark University as to organization and administration, physical plant, admission and graduation requirements, enrollment and degrees, faculty, educational equipment, and extra-curricular activities.

D. W. O. Holmes,⁷ in his study of The Evolution of the Negro College, in the section dealing with the establishment of denominational schools, referred to the early efforts and achievements of the Freedmen's Aid Society and the industrial development of Clark College.

C. A. Talbert,⁸ in his Master's thesis, presented an interpretation of the different phases of the program of the church during the period of reconstruction. His Chapter IV was a study of the development of the Methodist Episcopal Church and its program of education for Negroes, with special reference to the development of schools in Atlanta.

Methodism and the Negro,⁹ each chapter of which was written by a different individual, dealt with the church and phases of its program for the uplift, education, and future of the Negro.

⁶ A. J. Klein, Editor, Survey of Negro Colleges and Universities, Georgia Section, pp. 246-259. Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1928.

⁷ D. W. O. Holmes, The Evolution of the Negro College, pp. 102-118. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1934.

⁸ C. A. Talbert, "The Methodist Episcopal Church and the Negro (1865-1885)." Unpublished Master's Thesis, Department of Church History, Northwestern University, 1931. Pp. 83.

⁹ I. L. Thomas, Editor, Methodism and the Negro. New York: Eaton and Mains, 1910. Pp 328.

Perhaps the best single volume on Negro education under the auspices of the Methodist Episcopal Church was written by Jay S. Stowell.¹⁰ He first gave a brief history of each of the schools operated by the church, followed by statements of needs and implications for the future. A discussion of the early efforts and planning of Clark University was given under the caption, "Building a University." The development of Gammon was interpreted as the centralization of the interest of the church in a well trained Negro ministry.

J. P. Brawley¹¹ in 1926 made an intensive study of the program of guidance in the different colleges operated by the Methodist Episcopal Church. He dealt with the development of the colleges, procedures in the light of the existing conception of education, plans for personnel work and guidance, status of the guidance work, and a proposed program.

A Survey of Negro Colleges and Universities Operated by the Methodist Episcopal Church,¹² made in 1931, was neither exhaustive nor detailed. It included recommendations for each school and the tabulated facts on which the recommendations and conclusions were based. The center of interest throughout the report was the students and their opportunities.

¹⁰ Jay S. Stowell, Methodist Adventures in Negro Education, pp. 34-49, 67-77. Cincinnati: Methodist Book Concern, 1922.

¹¹ James P. Brawley, "The Organization and Administration of Personnel Bureaus in the Negro Colleges of the Methodist Episcopal Church." Unpublished Master's thesis, Northwestern University, 1925. Pp. 164.

¹² T. C. McCuiston, Director, Survey of Negro Colleges and Universities Operated by the Methodist Episcopal Church. Nashville, Tennessee: Board of Education of the M. E. Church, 1931. Pp. 89.

Violet G. Harrison¹³ made a study of Negro colleges and other educational institutions founded by the Methodist Episcopal Church. In this study she gave a brief description of each of the Atlanta institutions and the position of the church toward the education of the Negro.

Charles Edgworth Jones,¹⁴ in a brief statement dealing with educational institutions for Negroes in Georgia, described the founding of Clark University, the theological school, the industrial department, literary societies, and the general status of the university as to faculty and physical plant.

¹³ Violet G. Harrison, "A Study of Negro Colleges and Other Educational Institutions Founded by the M. E. Church." Unpublished Master's thesis, University of Cincinnati, 1937.

¹⁴ Charles Edgworth Jones, Education in Georgia, pp. 149-151. Bureau of Education Circular of Information, No. 4, 1888. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1889.

Sources of Data

Data for this historical narrative have been collected from the following primary sources:

1. Minutes of the board of trustees of Gammon Theological Seminary from 1883-1943.
2. Minutes of the board of trustees of Clark College.
3. Minutes of the faculty of Clark University.
4. Minutes of the faculty of Gammon Theological Seminary.
5. Annual reports of the presidents of Clark University and Gammon Seminary.
6. Catalogues and bulletins of Clark University and Gammon Seminary.
7. Reports of special committees of the faculties of Clark University and Gammon Seminary.
8. Interviews with alumni, old citizens, and faculty members.
9. Pertinent addresses of presidents, school officials, and visitors to the institutions.
10. Original letters from alumni and interested individuals.
11. Annual reports of the Freedmen's Aid Society.
12. Annual reports of the Woman's Home Missionary Society.
13. Departmental reports of Clark University.
14. Files of The Mentor, a quarterly student publication of Clark University.
15. Files of The Foundation, a quarterly publication of Gammon Seminary and The Steward Foundation.
16. Journals of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

In addition to these sources, data have been secured from newspapers, magazines, scrapbooks, and historical volumes dealing with phases of the problem.

Organization of the Study

This study is primarily a historical narrative of the development of Clark University. The sequence of chapters is presented for the most part in chronological order and tells the story of Clark from its origin in 1869 to the present, 1943. The major topics treated are as follows: (1) the work and interest of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Negro education, with special reference to its interest in Clark and Gammon; (2) the early development of Clark University, 1869-1880; (3) the expansion of ministerial training at Clark University and the development of Gammon Theological Seminary as a separately endowed institution, 1883-1943; (4) the beginning and development of industrial training at Clark, 1880-1910; (5) the work of the Woman's Home Missionary Society of the M. E. Church in establishing industrial training for Negro girls at Clark, 1883-1943; (6) the expansion of the academic program - elementary, secondary, teacher training, and college levels, 1910-1923; (7) the administration of M. S. Davage, 1923-1941, the struggle to meet the standards of the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools for highest accreditation, and the effecting of plans to erect the new Clark College as a cooperating institution of the Atlanta University system; and (8) the development and nature of the Atlanta University system, and Clark as a cooperating link in this system.

CHAPTER II

THE M. E. CHURCH IN RELATION TO ADMINISTRATION
OF HIGHER EDUCATION FOR NEGROES
(1866-1941)

Introduction

Local board action and legal enactments, which are often a part of the early history of a college or university in becoming established in a community, are few in the development of schools operated by the Methodist Episcopal Church, because of an unusual system of educational administration. These church schools were first operated as missionary enterprises of the Freedmen's Aid Society, which later became an organic body of the church. Within a span of seventy-seven years, the agency of the church dealing with the education of Negroes has been reorganized five times. This governing body, however, has continued until recently to exercise administrative authority and close supervision over schools for Negroes operated by the M. E. Church.

In this chapter are presented the educational philosophies, proposals, and activities of the different agencies of the church that administered the system of schools for Negroes, and the organization of the Clark University unit, including the several phases of the general program of the church as projected at the institution. The factors of church administration that have peculiarly affected the administration of Clark, and to some extent Gammon, are analyzed briefly to indicate their effect on the development of the two institutions.

The Freedmen's Aid Society, 1866-1888

Establishment of the Freedmen's Aid Society. - The general conference of 1864 took cognizance of the humane work in behalf of the freedmen of the United States, as prosecuted by the leading Freedmen's Aid Commissions (non-denominational societies) organized to unite in a common work the friends of the freedmen throughout the country, without reference to their religious opinions. The commissions were also approved by the conference, as engaged in a work of benevolence of special interest, and ^{the conference} commended their efforts to the people of the church as being worthy of their sympathy and support.¹ By 1866 most of the denominations had organized societies within themselves or had made other arrangements. These denominations had withdrawn, in order to strengthen the missionary efforts of their respective churches by sustaining schools at those points where their missionaries were laboring. As a result, there arose among many of the Methodists the question of whether the contributions of the church might not, and ought not, be made to aid the mission work of the Methodist church in the same way.²

In pursuance of a call, a convention of ministers and laymen met August 7 and 8, 1866, in Trinity Methodist Episcopal Church, Cincinnati, Ohio, to confer concerning the work of relief and education required in behalf of the freedmen. At this meeting Bishop D. W. Clark

¹ Journal of Proceedings of the General Conference of the M. E. Church, pp. 441-42. New York: Carlton and Porter, 1864.

² Official Report of Organization Convention of the Freedmen's Aid Society, p. 6. Cincinnati: Methodist Book Concern, 1866.

was chosen as chairman, and Reverend J. M. Walden as secretary.³

A comprehensive picture of the existing conditions and of the issue at hand is given in the following extract pertaining to the call for the convention:

....The undersigned request a meeting of a few leading ministers and laymen of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the West, to confer in regard to the relation of our Church to the work of relief and education in behalf of the Freedmen. We have been associated with the Western and Northwestern Freedmen's Aid Commissions.... For more than a year there has been a strong tendency toward denominational movements.... Demands for teachers and schools in connection with the mission-work of our Church in the South have been constantly increasing, with no adequate provisions to meet them.... We feel that the time has come when the matter should have the careful and prayerful consideration of those whose judgment upon it would have great influence with the Church.

If deemed best to continue our cooperation with the existing Commissions, the cause demands that the whole strength of our Church be secured to it. If a society to cooperate with our Missionary and Church Extension Societies seems to be required, it should be organized without delay....⁴

By request of those meeting together, J. M. Walden submitted statements pro and con concerning the new movement. He believed that some of the possible results within the realm of the Methodist Episcopal Church were:

1. The schools organized would be supplied with Methodist teachers, and might be under the local supervision of our missionaries, thereby securing them a religious character congenial to the habits and feelings of the colored people.

2. It would give our missionary work greater favor with the Freedmen. There has been a strange quickening of the minds of that race, and the Church which aids them most in the matter of education will gain the greatest influence over them....

3. A Methodist Freedmen's Aid Society would give our Church a more direct, and hence a greater interest in the education of the Freed-

³ Ibid., p. 3.

⁴ Ibid., p. 3.

men, and consequently increase the zeal in the mission-work in their behalf.⁵

Walden was of the opinion that some of the objections would be as follows:

1. It will be claimed that the effect of such an organization will be injurious to existing Commissions. It is not certain that we are to be held responsible if it is clearly seen that our Church would do more by our own Society than in any other way.

2. The objection has been made, though it will not be by any present, that the educational work among the Freedmen should be kept distinct from the religious movement in their behalf....⁶

On the second day of the convention, the committee on organization reported a draft of the constitution and of preamble which, after some modification, was adopted. The following articles are significant:

Article II. The object of this Society shall be to labor for the relief and education of the Freedmen, especially in cooperation with the Missionary and Church Extension Societies of the Methodist Episcopal Church. (Chartered as Freedmen and others so as to include work among white as well as colored people).

Article V. The Society shall annually elect a President, one or more Vice-Presidents, a Corresponding Secretary, a General Field Superintendent, and a Recording Secretary....⁷

A report was presented to the general conference in 1868, pointing out the organization of the society, the ability of the church to finance the work, and the desired recognition, approval, and co-operation. The general conference of 1868 cheerfully endorsed the work and commended it to the liberality of the church. It was thought inex-

⁵ Ibid., pp. 7-8.

⁶ Ibid., p. 8.

⁷ Ibid., p. 12.

pedient to recognize the work of the society as a general conference agency or to elect its officers, because of the temporary nature of the activities of the society.

Accomplishments in restoring the social order. -- Thus, as a special agency of the church, the society went about the task of carrying forward the work started prior to the general conference of 1868. Many ministers of the Gospel had gone into this field of service, because it offered a rare opportunity for doing good for both body and soul. They taught school during the week and preached on the Sabbath, thus carrying forward in harmony this great movement for the intellectual and moral elevation of the Negro race.⁸

Much had been accomplished in the work of restoring the social order, in bringing about friendly relations between the employers and laborers, and in promoting habits of cleanliness, industry, economy, purity, and morality among the freedmen. The stultifying consequences of intemperance, licentiousness, profanity, lying, and stealing, and the practical application of the Golden Rule, were also greatly stressed. It was believed that in this pioneer work of reconstruction the teachers were laying a foundation upon which an enduring superstructure could be reared.⁹

Meeting the physical needs of the freedmen. -- The problems of intellectual, spiritual, and social usefulness could not be met until

⁸ Second Annual Report of the Freedmen's Aid Society of the M. E. Church, p. 11. Cincinnati: Methodist Book Concern, 1868.

⁹ Ibid., p. 12.

something was done for the physical well-being of the freedmen. The extent to which this task was accomplished is reflected in the amounts given in the form of clothing and books. According to Table I,¹⁰ the amount contributed for these items increased through the years following the Civil War, reaching a peak in 1868-1869, with a decrease for the two following years. The report for the year, 1873-1874, did not make reference to clothing as a contribution, although it has continued to be a policy of the missionary societies of the church to aid through clothing.

Educational successes. -- The schoolhouse and the meeting house for religious worship were one, an humble building in which the children were given both religious and academic instruction. Although the project was an educational one, it was closely allied with the missions, aiming at the culture and harmonious development of the abilities with which humanity was endowed.¹¹ As early as 1869, the following accomplishments and policies were recorded by the society:

1. The Society has demonstrated to the South that the Colored people are capable of acquiring a thorough knowledge of the elementary branches of education.... Only give them an opportunity and they will furnish a demonstration of their ability to range the more elevated fields of thought, as well as the humbler walks of science.

2. They had aided in the introduction of the common school into the South, acted as pioneers in the free-school movement Southward. It was felt that the free-school movement must be continued until the whole country would become dotted with these temples of

¹⁰ Appendix I, Table I.

¹¹ Second Annual Report of the Freedmen's Aid Society of the M. E. Church, p. 11. Cincinnati: Methodist Book Concern, 1868.

science, and then the inhabitants of the South, without distinction of color, would vie in morality and intelligence with the hardy sons of the North.

3. They had sustained for that year, in the Southern field, more than one hundred Christian teachers, and these had devoted themselves to the elevation of the Freedmen with an enthusiasm almost unparalleled.¹²

Educational pattern. -- The society, in addition to meeting the physical needs and the fundamentals of adjustment to reconstruction, attempted to meet the educational needs beyond those of the three R's, by means of a well selected and located system of schools. The policy was to locate schools where the needs were greatest. It was also the policy of the society to concentrate its work and to act in cooperation with other agencies employed by the church in the South. Places selected by the missionaries as inviting fields of labor were occupied, and pioneer work was done in localities inaccessible to other agencies.¹³ Institutions operated by the society for the years 1869 and 1879 are given in Table II.¹⁴

As to needs or purposes, the institutions may be grouped as follows:

<u>Need</u>	<u>Type of Institution</u>
Healthy individuals	Medical school
Educated ministers	Biblical institutes and seminaries
Trained teachers	Normal schools and courses
Scholars	Colleges and universities

¹² Third Annual Report of the Freedmen's Aid Society of the M. E. Church, pp. 4-6. Cincinnati: Methodist Book Concern, 1869.

¹³ Ibid., p. 6.

¹⁴ Appendix II, Table II.

Thus, in approximately a decade the number of schools had been satisfactorily increased. However, more significant than numbers, were the activities and interests represented by the types of institutions established. In addition to meeting the need for clothing, the society had established a medical school to care for the health of the freedmen. Meharry Medical College was organized in 1876 as a part of the Central Tennessee College.¹⁵ This was the first school founded by the Freedmen's Aid Society for medical students, and it was the only one in the Mississippi Valley in which colored young men had a fair chance to acquire a thorough education in medical science.¹⁶

The great lack in the South was educated teachers and ministers. Therefore, the primary schools were organized to prepare the way for graded and normal schools, which in turn furnished students for the theological seminary and college. The theological seminary as a separate professional school took form in the establishment of Gammon in 1883. However, in all the schools a theological department was provided, or courses were taught in this field as a part of the general curriculum.

The colleges shared with the universities as possible centers for expansion. It was the hope of the society so to enlarge the program in each higher institution that it would become truly a university center. A general pattern of the church university system established for the Negro is found in the following list of departments, sometimes re-

¹⁵ Eighteenth Annual Report of the Freedmen's Aid Society of the M. E. Church, p. 7. Cincinnati: Methodist Book Concern, 1885.

¹⁶ Eleventh Annual Report of the Freedmen's Aid Society of the M. E. Church, p. 9. Cincinnati: Methodist Book Concern, 1879.

ferred to as schools or colleges:

<u>Departments</u>	<u>Professional Training or Schools</u>
1. Kindergarten	1. Medical school
2. Elementary school	2. Theological seminary
3. Academy	
4. Normal department	
5. Ministerial department	
6. Industrial department	
a. Young women	
b. Young men	
7. College department	

As a general plan each college maintained a normal department, academy, and college department, all of which functioned with much overlapping in courses and facilities, and with a common teaching personnel. The kindergarten and industrial work for young women were under the supervision of the Woman's Home Missionary Society in specially established homes on the campus of the university, under a separate administration. The medical school and seminary began as departments of a projected university, later becoming separate professional schools and bearing a close relationship with the colleges of which they were a part.

Making the work permanent. -- It was not intended by the founders that the society should become a permanent organization. However, the educational work assumed such importance and became so essential to the mission work in the South that its continuation was considered imperative. With this thought in mind, the society presented in 1872 a memorial to the general conference, asking that the society be placed under conference jurisdiction and be given all the advantages the church could afford.¹⁷

¹⁷ Fifth Annual Report of the Freedmen's Aid Society of the M. E. Church, p. 29. Cincinnati: Methodist Book Concern, 1872.

Among the reasons for such action, the following were submitted:

1. The Society had performed a great and good work with a small amount of money.
2. The Society was called into existence for the performance of a work essential to the success of the Church enterprise in the South, which did not legitimately come within the province of any of the benevolent enterprises.
3. The efficiency of the Society would be greatly increased by its recognition.
4. The Government, which, at the beginning, gave liberal appropriations to the educational work among the freedmen, did not any longer furnish assistance in the support of the schools.
5. Permanence and stability would be secured to the educational interest of the Church.
6. The liberality and exertion of other Churches in this cause should incite them to greater diligence and enlarged benevolence.¹⁸

The general conference adopted the report of the committee on freedmen which, among other articles, provided for a corresponding secretary and treasurer, who would annually provide an exhibit of the transactions and conditions of the society to the annual conference, and a quadrennial report to the general conference. Also, disciplinary requirements were drawn up governing the members, board of managers, annual conferences, presiding elders, and preachers as to the financing of the work. This meant that the recognition sought by the general conference of 1868 had become a reality.¹⁹ Making permanent the work of the society

¹⁸ Sixth Annual Report of the Freedmen's Aid Society of the M. E. Church, p. 36. Cincinnati: Methodist Book Concern, 1873.

¹⁹ Ibid., pp. 36-39.

and the acceptance of the articles presented in the report of the committee on freedmen had a peculiar effect upon the organization and administration of Clark and Gammon.

Organization of Clark and Gammon in Relation
to Church Administration

Organization of the Clark University unit. -- The organization of the Clark University unit²⁰ was a loose, informal arrangement, whereby four phases of the general educational program of the church were fostered on the adjoining campuses of Clark University and Gammon Theological Seminary under separate administrations.

Clark University in the course of its development as a university was visionary and could not justly be called a university in the light of the pattern set by the church. During the early years, emphasis was placed upon a mastery of the three "R's" as a basis for the development of moral-religious character. Motivated by the thought that the elevation of the race could be accomplished only by producing racial leaders, a program was instituted for the training of ministers and teachers.

The university employed the policy of relinquishing common school work to the public school system when considered expedient; and, to the members of the board of managers, the institution then became Clark Theological Seminary.²¹ With the organization of the university

²⁰ The term, university unit, is used in referring to Clark University, Gammon Theological Seminary, Steward Missionary Foundation to Africa, and Thayer Home.

²¹ Fifth Annual Report of the Freedmen's Aid Society of the M. E. Church, p. 19. Cincinnati: Methodist Book Concern, 1872.

unit, formal religious training was given in The Gammon School of Theology of Clark University, which later became a separately endowed institution, Gammon Theological Seminary.²² Important in the evolution of Gammon was the zeal of W. F. Steward for the redemption of Africa. His efforts led to the establishment of The Steward Missionary Foundation for Africa in connection with Gammon Seminary. The foundation operated as a separate agency, serving as a bureau of information and as a means of training students of Clark and Gammon as missionaries and church workers.

In the meantime, E. O. Thayer, who became president of Clark University, emphasized the need for a program of education among the freedwomen. The challenge to the women of the church was accepted and the first "model home," the Thayer Home, for the training of Negro girls was established on the campus of Clark University. The women's auxiliaries of the church were independently organized bodies. The Women's Home Missionary Society and local officials of Clark and Gammon worked together in the fostering of a program for the cultural and industrial development of the young women. Thus, the plan of the Clark University unit was in terms of four loosely organized, separately administered parts; namely, Clark University, Gammon Theological Seminary, Steward Foundation for Africa, and Thayer Home.

The board of managers of the Freedmen's Aid Society. -- The board of managers or trustees, which operated the affairs of the univer-

²² Annual Catalogue of Gammon Theological Seminary 1888-1889,
p. 5. Atlanta: Gammon Theological Seminary, 1889.

sity, was as involved as the general organization of the Methodist Church itself. The constitution of the society gave the board the power to entrust its business to an executive committee, composed of the bishop or bishops of the church in charge of the mission-work among the freedmen in the South, together with not less than fifteen members elected by the board. The corresponding secretary and general field superintendent were ex-officio members of the executive committee, and five persons constituted a quorum. At the annual meeting of the board of managers a report was made by the treasurer, corresponding secretary, and general field agent. The society was required to make a quadrennial report to the general conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church.²³

The first president of the Southern work was Bishop D. W. Clark, who was keenly interested in carrying the program of the university forward. Closely associated with him were J. M. Walden and R. S. Rust, corresponding secretary and field superintendent respectively. These individuals frequently visited the campuses of Clark and Gammon, studied the needs of the university, and made recommendations to the local board and board of managers. In working with the presidents of Clark and Gammon, these three men, and those holding similar positions in subsequent years, have been the moving spirits during both lean and prosperous years in the development of the university.

The local board of trustees. -- Clark University was administered by two boards: a local board of trustees and the board of the church agency. The university was incorporated by the Superior Court

²³ Official Report of Organization Convention of the Freedmen's Aid Society of the M. E. Church, pp. 11-13. Cincinnati: Methodist Book Concern, 1866.

of Fulton County on the 7th day of May, 1877.²⁴ The charter granted provided for self government on the part of the specified body of trustees, and granted this body the power to establish a staff for instruction in all departments of science, literature, and the arts; to determine and regulate the course of instruction; to elect a president, other officers, and the teaching personnel; to determine the duties, salaries, emoluments, responsibilities, and tenures of their respective officers; to confer degrees; and generally to make and ordain such rules, orders, regulations and by-laws as shall not violate the constitution and the laws of Georgia or the United States. The trustees were granted the right: to receive by donation, gift, or will any property, real or personal; to rent, lease, purchase, and hold such real or personal property as may be necessary to effect and promote the object of the incorporation; and to dispose of the same.²⁵

Many of the functions delegated to the local authorities mentioned in the charter were performed by the board of managers of the Freedmen's Aid Society or by the board of education of the church. The property, operating expenses, policy, and program of Clark University were the responsibility of the society and later of the board of education. This arrangement has existed, perhaps because of one or all of the following reasons: (1) the property or physical plant of Clark was

²⁴ Superior Court of Fulton County, Minute Book "M", p. 545. Atlanta, Georgia, 1877.

²⁵ Ibid., p. 545.

purchased in the name of the board of managers or of the existing church agency; (2) a feeling that the local board could not handle the affairs of the university, for the protection of the society and the best interest of the institution; (3) the board of managers was responsible for the financing of the university; and (4) perhaps the major reason, the local board was considered by the society as a body that worked with the executive committee composed of the bishop or bishops. The actions of this committee, however, were subject to the final approval of the board of managers or trustees of the church agency. Except in extraordinary circumstances, the bishop has presided over the local boards of the Atlanta institutions; and the corresponding secretary or field agent or both have served from time to time as officers and continuously as members of the local trustee board.

At Gammon Theological Seminary, because of the interest of the founders and the conditions under which the seminary was established, a local board has operated, carrying on functions similar to those performed by the board of managers for Clark University. However, the election of a president and of other personnel was subject to the final approval of the board of the church.

Advantages of location and site. -- A contributing factor in the development of the university has been a well selected site. To be sure, Clark University has occupied, since it was established in 1869, four sites: the Summer Hill location, 1869-1871; Whitehall Street, 1871-1880; South Atlanta, 1880-1941; and its present location in the West Side of Atlanta since 1941. In turning over the Summer Hill elementary school to the city, Clark realized enough money to purchase a seminary

building. Almost alone, Bishop Haven raised money for the South Atlanta site as an investment, with the hope of making the university financially secure. Over four hundred acres of land made possible not only the industrial and agricultural program of the university, but also the sale of enough land to Gammon for a campus. The advantage of housing the two institutions and agencies on adjoining campuses is reflected in the total program of the university.

The university and the local church. -- In each of its locations the university has been closely associated with a local church. Clark University was founded in Clark Chapel, with which its early history is closely interwoven. Because of crowded conditions while on Whitehall Street, classes were housed in the Lloyd Street Church. Out of Clark and Gammon the South Atlanta Church was established by a student, Henry White. The church has helped the university meet the problems brought about by limitations of physical plant, and both have worked together in a program of community improvement.

The university senate. -- A part of the general plan in operating the system of schools for Negroes was a uniform curriculum in centers carrying forward similar types of work. This plan was flexible. Clark University, as was true of the other schools, determined for itself the scope and quality of its work, the courses it would offer, and the degrees it would grant. This practice among a large number of schools for whites made for confusion concerning academic values and sound procedures in education. To cope with the existing situation, a "university senate" was established by a legislative act of the gen-

eral conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church in May, 1892.²⁶

The conference charge to the senate was as follows:

It is charged by the General Conference with the duty of protecting the educational standards of the Church and has authority to establish standards for the various educational institutions and foundations under the patronage of the Methodist Episcopal Church. It is instructed to report at least quadrennially to the Board of Education a proper classification for each educational institution or foundation under its supervision and on the basis of this report the Board of Education shall prepare its official lists of institutions and shall be governed in its administration.²⁷

By virtue of this authority and in the carrying out of its responsibility, the university senate adopted the necessary standards and classified the educational institutions. Since the ratings of other regional and national associations are important, such classifications have been considered. Plans were evolved in 1928 by which the senate appraised the scope of the work, curriculum, faculty organization, and equipment of the schools sponsored by the department of educational institutions for Negroes, with a view to determining the program that could be sanctioned in each case.

The Freedmen's Aid and Southern Education Society, 1888-1908,
and Freedmen's Aid Society, 1908-1920

Enlarged program of the Freedmen's Aid Society. -- From 1866 to 1880 the work of the Freedmen's Aid Society was confined to schools

²⁶ Raymond Wade and John M. Arters, Editors, Journal of the Thirtieth Delegated General Conference of the M. E. Church, p. 1371. New York: Methodist Book Concern, 1928.

²⁷ Ibid., p. 1371.

among the freedmen, their wants having special consideration because of their helpless condition. In the organization of the Freedmen's Aid Society, it had been anticipated that the time would come when it would be necessary to aid in the education of the illiterate masses among the whites. With this in view, the phrase "and others" was placed in the constitution, to permit the society to undertake such work should the need arise.²⁸ In 1879 the society saved a white seminary from sale to satisfy debts. It saw the need for educational work among the whites and brought the subject to the attention of the general conference of 1880.²⁹ In view of the disposition of the society to aid the work for whites, if directed by the general conference, a memorial to the conference, signed by more than fifty of the leading educators in the South, asked that the Freedmen's Aid Society be directed to extend such assistance.³⁰ It was believed that the enlargement of the school enterprise would strengthen the work for Negroes. To aid citizens of both races would illustrate the broad principles of philanthropy and religion upon which the church work in the South was established, increase good feeling among the members, command the respect of all good citizens, give

²⁸ Official Report of Organization Convention of Freedmen's Aid Society, p. 12. Cincinnati: Methodist Book Concern, 1866.

²⁹ Nineteenth Annual Report of the Freedmen's Aid Society of the M. E. Church, p. 19. Cincinnati: Methodist Book Concern, 1886.

³⁰ Ibid., p. 19.

influence to the church, and protect the colored people.³¹

After careful consideration, the general conference adopted the resolution to keep the organization unchanged. The committee on education was requested to provide for giving aid to schools among the white people of the South, and pastors were instructed, in presenting the claims, to remind the people that a portion of the appropriation would be used for the education of the white population, but not to the embarrassment of the work among Negroes.³²

In aiding the schools for whites in the South, the society found several seminaries in operation which the several conferences were endeavoring to sustain. The great needs of this educational movement for the whites were for institutions of high grade, centrally located, with which these seminaries might be coordinated and act as "feeders." The centers chosen were Little Rock, Arkansas, and Chattanooga, Tennessee.

These enterprising cities were selected upon the advice of the supporting conferences, the counsel of the bishops familiar with the field, and the unanimous judgment of the board of managers. The location of these universities in central cities, in cooperation with the seminaries, was deemed the most judicious method of reaching all sections of the South, and of securing an educational system of permanent and far-

³¹ Thirteenth Annual Report of the Freedmen's Aid Society of the M. E. Church, pp. 12-13. Cincinnati: Methodist Book Concern, 1880.

³² Eighteenth Annual Report of the Freedmen's Aid Society, p. 5. Cincinnati: Methodist Book Concern, 1885. See: Journal of Proceedings of the General Conference of the M. E. Church, p. 345. Cincinnati: Methodist Book Concern, 1880.

reaching influence.³³

In 1888 the general conference approved a change in the name of the society, which thereafter came to be known as the Freedmen's Aid and Southern Education Society.³⁴ As a result of this action, the society labored for over twenty-six years fostering the missionary program of the church in the South among both white and colored persons, until 1908 when the general conference reversed its action of 1882, placing the supervision of the colored work again under the care of the Freedmen's Aid Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church. The responsibility for operating the Southern mountain institutions was transferred to the board of education.³⁵ This arrangement prevailed until 1924.

A program of industrial training for Negroes. -- Paralleling the effort to harmonize and enlarge the work in the South was the problem of determining the type of education needed. The outcome was a program of industrial training in the church schools. This decision doubtless was influenced partly by the success of industrial schools in attracting support and partly by the conviction that industrial training should form one of the essential elements in the education of a people situated as were the Negroes. Among the seven centers of concentration, elaborate programs were offered at Claflin, Clark, and Wiley Universities, with some work in manual training taught in all the schools of the

³³ Ibid., p. 6.

³⁴ Hamilton County, Ohio, Records, Book No. 6, p. 261.

³⁵ Jay S. Stowell, Methodist Adventures in Negro Education, p. 190. Cincinnati: Methodist Book Concern, 1922.

system for Negroes.³⁶ Claflin made a specialty of training young men and young women as teachers of industrial arts, who later became teachers at such schools as Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee, Alabama, and the Georgia State Normal School at Savannah, Georgia. The industrial training of the young women was left to the Woman's Home Missionary Society.³⁷

Interest of the Church in a program of college education. --

With the turn of the century (1900), there was a waning of interest in industrial education for the colleges. The decline of this phase of the work gradually extended well into the first quarter of the twentieth century, moving in the direction of manual training, with its educational implications. It was then that the society readdressed itself to the classical work of the liberal arts college, which had been somewhat overshadowed by the industrial emphasis. Of the colleges operated by the society in 1914, the continuance of eight depended upon the matriculation of forty students within two years and the possession of a fair endowment.³⁸ It was stated that Methodism was not opposed to, but stood for, the higher education of the Negro.³⁹ As an approach to the rebuilding of the academic phase of the program, the inspection of the schools in 1913 by the church authorities did much to reveal what the schools were doing

³⁶ D. W. O. Holmes, The Evaluation of the Negro College, p. 112. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1934.

³⁷ J. M. Walden and T. H. Pearne, "Quadrennial Report of the Board of Directors," Christian Educator, 3 (July, 1892), 421.

³⁸ Report of the Board of Managers to the General Committee of the Freedmen's Aid Society of the M. E. Church, p. 13. Cincinnati: Methodist Book Concern, 1914.

³⁹ Ibid., p. 13.

and should do, as compared with accepted standards.⁴⁰ Many of the states also were working with the church colleges and universities to devise a method of certifying those students who were to teach in the public school system.⁴¹

Board of Education for Negroes of the Methodist
Episcopal Church, 1920-1921

A change of name. -- As a further step toward perfecting an adequate and economical system of schools for Negroes, the church in 1920 once more changed the name of the society to the Board of Education for Negroes of the Methodist Episcopal Church.⁴² It was believed that the name, "Freedmen's Aid Society," was no longer in keeping with the status of the Negro, since there were no more freedmen in the student bodies. All were free men. The duties and powers of the board remained unchanged. The conference, however, in keeping with its policy of working through its Negro leadership for the further development of the race, saw fit to increase the number of Negroes represented on the board as circumstances and conditions warranted. It was also emphasized that the educational work among the Negroes should have a closer relationship with the board of education, especially with respect to academic standards.⁴³

⁴⁰ Ibid., pp. 10-11.

⁴¹ Ibid., p. 13.

⁴² P. J. Maveety and I. Gardland Penn, Annual Report of the Board of Education for Negroes, p. 4. Cincinnati: Methodist Book Concern, 1920.

⁴³ Ibid., p. 4.

Vital legislation of the general conference. -- The most vital legislation, perhaps, of the general conference in behalf of the board, and especially the board of education for Negroes, was the formation of the Council of Boards of Benevolence. For the future, this meant a unified appeal and budget for all the benevolent work of the Methodist Episcopal Church. The educational work for the Negroes shared in all the future programs of the church, large or small, and received its due proportion of publicity in gathering benevolent funds. These principles first found expression in the great centenary financial movement of the church. Acting under the impact of the first world war boom, with all the institutions free from debt and a marked increase in funds, the society projected its program of higher education for Negroes.⁴⁴

Activities of the board. -- Some of the activities of the society in this connection were: (1) construction of new buildings and the remodeling of old ones, (2) increase in the endowment funds of the different colleges, (3) a younger and, in many instances, a more efficient administration, and (4) curriculum adjustments in keeping with accepted standards. An adjustment of the institutions as to numbers resulted in the closing of some; other schools were merged; yet others were reduced to junior colleges; and a few were selected as centers of concentration and expansion.

Board of Education of the Methodist Episcopal Church,
1924-1940

Negro work as a part of the board of education. -- At the gen-

⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 4.

eral conference of 1924, those responsible for the educational work of the church expressed a feeling of mutual obligation and a keen sense of unity. Before the close of the conference, these expressions were given legislative form in a more inclusive way than any board had anticipated. Four boards, dealing with educational institutions, institutions for Negroes, Sunday Schools, and the Epworth League, were merged into one board known as the Board of Education.⁴⁵

Two standing committees were appointed for the quadrennium. Each member of the board was assigned to one of these major committees. One committee gave consideration to all matters related to the educational institutions of the church and the Wesley Foundation work. The other committee considered the work of education, as carried on in the local churches through church schools, Epworth Leagues, and schools of methods. The board, as a whole, received the reports of its employed staff and all matters relating to the financial situation. Each member of the board considered and presented to it recommendations for discussion and action.⁴⁶

Philosophy underlying the merger. -- The underlying philosophy of this great merger, including reorganization and business administration, involved the unitary concept of the student and education. The

⁴⁵ W. S. Bovard, P. J. Maveety, and I. G. Penn, "Annual Report of the Board of Education for Negroes," Christian Education, 33 (November, 1924), 6.

⁴⁶ John M. Arters, Editor, Journal of the Thirty-first Delegated General Conference of the M. E. Church, p. 1307. New York: Methodist Book Concern, 1932.

education of the child, the youth, and the adult was conceived as one unbroken process.⁴⁷ This concept of unity warranted the closest cooperation on the part of all the agencies contributing to the education of individuals at any stage of their development. Another phase of this concept endorsed the complete correlation of the various agencies or departments of the church, in short a social solidarity that recognized the interdependence of all races, nationalities, and classes.⁴⁸

The general conference of 1928 also provided for a survey committee to study carefully the scope of work in Negro schools, in order that the contribution made through the board of education to higher education for Negro youth might be as valuable as possible in meeting changing needs. The facts found by the survey were to serve as a basis for developing a program for the future.⁴⁹

Financial difficulties, 1924-1936. -- The most serious problem of the quadrennium, 1924-1928, confronting the board of education in charge of the work of educating Negro youth, was the marked decline in income, on the eve of the collapse of our economic system in 1929, following the close of the centenary period. Much of the money from the centenary drive had been used for the purchase of new property and for large additions to buildings and equipment. A large part, too, was absorbed

⁴⁷ Raymond Wade and John M. Arters, Editors, Journal of the Thirtieth Delegated General Conference of the M. E. Church, p. 1361. New York: Methodist Book Concern, 1928.

⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 1361.

⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 1369.

by the sharp advances in salaries and costs of maintenance, which had more than doubled.⁵⁰ If the cost of living prior to the depression had continued, or if salaries and current expenditures had dropped back to pre-centenary prices, there would have been very little embarrassment on account of the declining income. However, when the income decreased and all costs, including salaries, continued on the post-war basis, the institutions were confronted with the serious problem of keeping the schools going.⁵¹

Some accomplishments of the board by 1936. -- Despite these financial difficulties, some notable accomplishments with a direct bearing upon the present development of higher education were achieved by 1936:

1. The enrollment for the year closing June, 1931, included 2,555 in college, 440 in professional schools, 1,022 in high school, and 203 others including special students and students in practice school, a total of 4,220. The 2,995 in college and professional schools was a significant contrast to the 595 enrolled in 1921, ten years ago. Thus the field of professional and higher education had become the major interest of the Board of Education, and by virtue of the large enrollment, the board, through the institutions officially related to it, had an opportunity for influencing students of college and professional classification excelled by no other single agency in the nation.

2. The Discipline of the Church provided that institutions sponsored by the Board of Education for Christian education among Negroes should be located and developed with due regard to a system which would provide for the educational needs of the people with the greatest efficiency and economy.

3. The educational work for Negroes was long carried on by the Board of Education and the American Missionary Association in their respective institutions in New Orleans, New Orleans University and

⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 1381.

⁵¹ Ibid., pp. 1381-82.

Straight College, by formal authorization of both bodies combined in Dillard University. This included both New Orleans University and Flint-Goodridge Hospital and Nurse Training School, which had been sponsored by the Board of Education.

4. Of particular note was the strengthening of the co-operative relationship between the Woman's Home Missionary Society and the Board of Education. At the five institutions where the Society maintained dormitories and educational facilities for young women, arrangements were made which greatly added to the social and educational service rendered the students through the agency of the Woman's Home Missionary Society. A still closer cooperation was achieved with the Woman's Home Missionary Society at four schools, by which that organization assumed more complete responsibility for dormitory life for the girls and the college dining hall.⁵²

These Methodist schools worked toward the end of spreading abroad among the people the understanding necessary for good health, for intelligent industry, for a growing culture enriched with religion, and for mature citizenship. Such an understanding, it was believed, could be created only as there were schools in which these ideals were made plain and skill developed for achievement of such goals.

The New Church and its Educational Program, 1936-1942

There were some people, North and South, who, regardless of the animosities and controversies of the era from 1845 to 1870, believed that a normal relationship should exist between the two branches of Methodism. The first steps toward fraternity and organic union came two weeks after the close of the war in 1865. It was not, however, until 1910 that the majority of Methodists favored the union, with the exception of an agreement as to a method for dealing with the Negro

⁵² John M. Artors, Editor, Journal of the Thirty-first Delegated General Conference of the M. E. Church, pp. 1323-24. New York: Methodist Book Concern, 1932.

problem.⁵³

The merger plan was given much momentum by the celebration in 1934 of the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the beginning of organized Methodism in America. This plan was first ratified by the Methodist Protestant Church in May, 1936, followed by the Methodist Episcopal Church in the same year and the Methodist Episcopal Church South in 1937, with the first united conference convening on April 26, 1939.⁵⁴

The constitution of the union carries the name, "The Methodist Church," and provides for a board of education with three divisions: educational institutions, local church, and editorial. The educational institutions in the United States related to the Methodist Church were classified as follows: (1) universities, (2) colleges of liberal arts, (3) schools of theology, (4) schools of religion for lay workers, (5) other professional schools, (6) junior colleges, (7) secondary schools, (8) Wesley Foundations and similar organizations, and (9) training schools for religious workers.⁵⁵

The division of education for Negroes became an agency of the board in administering institutions for Christian education among Negroes, except those institutions owned by other agencies. The division was given the authority to recommend to the board plans by which schools

⁵³ Paul Neff Garber, The Methodist Are One People, p. 73. Nashville: Cokesbury Press, 1939.

⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 131.

⁵⁵ Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church, p. 362. Nashville: Methodist Book Concern, 1940.

sponsored by it might cooperate or unite with schools of other denominations, or work under independent control, provided the interests of the Methodist Church were adequately protected. A special effort was made to secure permanent endowments for schools under the direction of the division, and whenever the board was assured that their support was adequate and that their property would be conserved and perpetuated, the schools, on the recommendation of the division, were transferred to local boards of trustees.⁵⁶

In 1941 M. S. Davage was elected by the church to direct and supervise the activities of the Negro schools of the new church. Speaking before the Regional Public Relations Meeting, he enumerated six stages in the development of education for Negroes since the Civil War. The first period was marked by the establishment of elementary and grammar schools for the freedmen; the second period was characterized by the advancement and standardization of educational procedures and by the stabilization of these growing but struggling educational institutions through generous gifts for buildings, equipment, and endowment; the third stage brought about a change in the attitudes of Southern white individuals and organizations; the fourth period saw a growing willingness on the part of Negroes to assume financial responsibility commensurate with their resources for the support of their schools; the fifth period saw the rise and development of tax-supported institutions. The sixth and present stage of Negro education is marked by anxiety and bewilderment, resulting from a multiplicity of causes.

⁵⁶ Ibid., p. 363.

Some of the causes of confusion are the liquidation of certain of the great philanthropic boards especially friendly to the education of Negroes; the increased cost of maintenance and operation, coupled with the constantly diminishing returns from endowment; decreases in the number of large gifts; greater difficulty in meeting requirements of accreditation; and increased competition with state colleges for teachers' services and students.

To solve these difficulties, the Methodist institutions have been taking stock of their curriculums, for the purpose of serving better the needs of their constituency and the nation, of developing a comprehensive idea of public relations, of interesting more people in donating funds, and of stepping up recruiting plans.⁵⁷

Summary

The Methodist Episcopal Church worked cooperatively with the non-denominational societies of the Freedmen's Aid Commission as early as 1864. The Freedmen's Aid Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church was organized in 1866, with its object that of labor for relief and education of the freedmen and others. Starting as a missionary endeavor, it became a permanent organization of the church in 1872.

The report adopted by the general conference provided, among other officers, for a field agent, corresponding secretary, and a treasurer who would make an annual report to the board of managers, and they later in turn would report to the society. The society made

⁵⁷ "Minutes of the Clark College Faculty, November, 1942,"
p. 2.

its quadrennial report to the general conference of the church. Emphasis was placed upon intellectual, spiritual, physical, and social development of the individual. Types of institutions fostered, in keeping with what seemed immediate needs, were: (1) medical schools and nurse training courses, (2) Biblical institutes and seminary, (3) normal schools and courses, and (4) colleges and universities. The departments of the university were: (1) kindergarten, (2) elementary, (3) academy, (4) normal, (5) ministerial, (6) industrial, and (7) college.

The Clark University unit was composed of four separately administered parts; namely, Clark University, Gammon Theological Seminary, Steward Foundation to Africa, and Thayer Home. The university was administered by two boards, the local board of trustees and the board of the church agency. The charter of the local board provided for many of the functions that were carried on by the church board. The lack of local autonomy was due to one or all of the following reasons: (1) the property or physical plant of Clark was purchased in the name of the board of managers of the church agency; (2) a feeling that the local board could not handle the affairs of the university for the protection of the society and the best interest of the institution; (3) the board of managers was responsible for the financing of the university; and (4) perhaps the major reason, the local board was considered by the society as a body that worked with the executive committee composed of the bishop or bishops. The actions of this committee, however, were subject to the final approval of the board of managers or trustees of the church agency. Except in extraordinary cir-

cumstances, the bishop has presided over the local boards of the Atlanta institutions; and the corresponding secretary or field agent of both have from time to time served as officers and continuously as members of the local trustee board.

The local board of Gammon has always functioned with much authority, because of provisions made when this seminary was established as a separately endowed institution.

Contributing to the growth and expansion of the university unit was the factor of location or an adequate site. Each location of the university was chosen with the thought of expansion in relation to the educational program of the institution and to significant educational movements. The local church and the university worked together in fostering the chosen program of work. Many of the problems arising from limited physical facilities were met by the use of church buildings. Clark University, on becoming free to develop her program of studies after 1892, was confronted with the task of curriculum adjustments in keeping with unified courses of study, standards of the university senate and of accrediting agencies, and student needs.

In the light of the provision of the constitution that referred to freedmen and others, the work was expanded to include training for whites in the South. A system of schools was established similar to that for Negroes. In 1888 the name of the agency was changed to the Freedmen's Aid and Southern Education Society. The general conference later reversed its action of 1888, and in 1908 again placed the work for Negroes under the care of the Freedmen's Aid Society, transferring the work of the schools for whites to the board of education.

A phase of the effort to harmonize and enlarge the work in the South was the problem of determining the type of education most needed. The outcome was a program of industrial training which was stressed partly because of the success of industrial schools in attracting support and partly because of the conviction that it was the type of education for people situated as were the Negroes and the mountain whites. With the waning of interest in industrial education around 1900, the society re-addressed itself to the classical work of the liberal arts college. The church once more, in 1920, changed the name of the society to the Board of Education for Negroes of the Methodist Episcopal Church. It was believed that the name, Freedmen's Aid Society, was no longer in keeping with the status of the Negro, since all were freedmen. The general conference saw fit to increase the number of Negroes represented on the board, in keeping with its policy of working through its Negro leadership for the further development of the race.

A vital piece of legislation was the formation of the Council of Boards of Benevolence. This meant a unified appeal and budget for all the benevolent work of the church. The educational work of the Negro, through sharing in all of the future programs, large or small, received its due proportion of publicity and of benevolent funds. Important activities of this board were: (1) remodeling old buildings and constructing new ones, (2) increasing endowment funds, (3) employing a younger and more efficient group of administrators, (4) making curriculum adjustments, and (5) change of status in institutions by way of closing, merger, reduction to junior level, and selection as centers of concentration and expansion.

At the general conference of 1924, because of an expressed sense of unity on the part of those responsible for the educational work of the church, four boards, including the board of education for Negroes, were merged into one unit known as the board of education. The Negro work became an integral part of the general educational program of the church. The church, consistent with its policy in dealing with schools for whites, believed that as soon as possible local autonomy should be granted each school for Negroes offering courses in higher education. The most serious problem of Methodist education in the quadrennium, 1924-1928, on the eve of the collapse of our economic system in 1929, was the financing of schools for Negroes. With the unification of the Methodist churches in 1939, the work for Negroes remained under the board of education. M. S. Davage, former president of Clark University, was elected in 1941 as secretary of the Division of Education for Negroes.

CHAPTER III

THE EARLY DEVELOPMENT OF CLARK UNIVERSITY, 1869-1880

Introduction

The founding of Clark University by the Freedmen's Aid Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church was the result of a missionary venture following the Civil War, aimed at the elevation of the freedmen and freedwomen by means of a program of Christian education. The growth of the institution during its early period of development was predicated upon the idea that the "three R's" were the basis for learning and that the Negro race could best be elevated by the development of racial leaders in the persons of trained teachers and preachers. This chapter deals with the early development of the institution, its attempt to become a theological seminary, the introduction of the several levels of education, and the constant striving for adequate physical facilities, which were partly met by the purchase of the South Atlanta site in 1880, making possible the development of an extensive program of industrial and ministerial training.

As is true of many present-day church-related colleges, Clark University had its beginning in, and an early history associated with, a local church. The history of the institution is not only interwoven with that of the present Central Church in Atlanta, but is a direct reflection of the philosophy and educational program of the Methodist Episcopal Church, past and present. Moreover, the history of Clark is very closely related to certain circumstances in which the mid-nineteenth century Methodist Church in America found itself. Prior to the

Civil War the Methodist Church, because of the question of slavery, split into Northern and Southern branches. In 1846 Bishop Andrews organized the Methodist Episcopal Church South, freeing each branch to approach the Negro problem as it saw fit.¹ Northerners coming South after the Civil War reestablished the Methodist Episcopal Church throughout the Southland among both white and colored people. The first church established by these people in Atlanta, Georgia, for Negroes was Clark Chapel² on Fraser Street between Jones and Dawson Streets, now Woodard Avenue, in 1867.³

In the year, 1869, the Reverend J. W. Lee opened in Clark Chapel a small primary school for Negro children, the beginning of what was to become Clark University. Proving a success, it was taken over by the Freedmen's Aid Society, and Reverend D. W. Hammond (white), appointed as principal, with Leila Fuller and Mary Dickinson as assistants, was placed in charge.⁴ Later in the year, the Summer Hill schoolhouse, erected in the same year as Clark Chapel, was purchased and the school transferred to the school building. Lou Henly was the next

¹ Lewis Curts, The General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1792-1896, p. 139. Cincinnati: Methodist Book Concern, 1900.

² Built in the form of a cross, Clark Chapel was painted red. Because of this color, the building was generally known as the "Little Red Church," but was more familiarly and sometimes derisively called "The Little Red Cross."

³ Lula Leigh Hill, An Historical Sketch of the Central Methodist Episcopal Church, p. 6. Atlanta: Robinson Printing Company, 1936.

⁴ Catalogue of Clark University, 1879-1881, p. 22. Atlanta: Clark University, 1881.

principal, with her sister, Kizzie Henly, and Kitty Johnson as assistants.⁵

Uriah Cleary, First President, 1870-1871

In 1870, at the age of twenty-one, Uriah Cleary (white), having finished the normal course at the National Normal School, Lebanon, Ohio, came to Clark University. He had taught for twelve months in a common school, and had been outside of Ohio only once. The desire to serve in the South came to President Cleary as the result of a sermon preached by Dr. R. S. Rust, secretary of the Freedmen's Aid Society, in Lebanon, Ohio. After the sermon the question was asked, "Is there one here who would like to teach in the South?" Cleary raised his hand and that afternoon in the parsonage, upon the recommendation of Alfred Holbrook, president of the National Normal School, he was elected president of Clark University.⁶

There was some difficulty in providing assistants; therefore, it was decided to send Cleary to Central Tennessee College in Nashville to wait until the difficulty was solved. This decision proved a wise one, for it was during the two weeks in Nashville that Cleary gained an insight into his future problems and work. Upon arriving in Atlanta, he found that the two men to whom he had been referred lived in Marietta, twenty miles away. In his rambles up and down Peachtree Street he saw

⁵ Ibid., p. 22.

⁶ Letter to M. S. Davage, president of Clark University, from Uriah Cleary, Summerfield, Ohio, dated February 12, 1936.

a sign, "Methodist Episcopal Book Depository." He went into the depository, introduced himself, and showed his letter of identification. A young man who chanced to be in the office escorted him to the schoolhouse.

The school was a two-story, four-room brick building, situated on a red knoll, which became very muddy and slippery in wet weather. It was in a deplorable condition, even though a school had been conducted there for only three or four years. This condition was partly due to the fact that no one was responsible for the building during the vacation periods. Another reason was that the people of the vicinity had adapted it to their own uses for lodge meetings, dances, and "frolics" of all kinds. Only one room had desks; the other rooms had only benches, some with backs and many without. Although conditions were deplorable, Cleary was not discouraged. He procured a gimlet and a screw driver, and went to work remodeling the furniture. A crew scrubbed the building from garret to cellar. Hand bills were printed and circulated, announcing the opening of school.

Sent to assist Cleary were two white women: Mrs. Lee (wife of Reverend J. W. Lee), a graduate of Illinois Female College, and Sallie Eichelberger, a graduate of the Female College of Zenia, Ohio.⁷ The school was called Clark University, but it was in reality a primary school of three departments with pupils of all ages from four to sixty and with all degrees of advancement from A-B-C instruction to grammar, geography, and higher arithmetic. The highest enrollment was 190; of

⁷ Southern whites referred to these women as "Sherman Camp Followers."

these pupils eighty or ninety were in primary classes.⁸

When Bishop Clark died in 1871, he made the university his residuary legatee. The legacy amounted to several thousand dollars. However, the problems and the future of the school seemed so immense to President Cleary, after one year of service, that he felt a better prepared and more efficient man than he should assume the presidency; therefore, he resigned.⁹ While serving the school, he taught six hours a day, held a Bible class one evening in the week and a teacher-training class on another evening, was superintendent of the Sunday School, and attended to all the business of the school.

Administration of I. Marcy, 1871-1872

The following September the school opened under the charge of Reverend I. Marcy (white) with Mrs. Marcy and Mrs. Oldfield (white) as assistants. The administration of Marcy was affected by three significant changes: (1) the occupancy of the Lloyd Street Church by the Clark Chapel Congregation, (2) the turning over of the Summer Street School to the city board of education, and (3) the purchase of the Whitehall Street Property, making possible greater physical facilities and an expanded program.

Occupancy of the Lloyd Street Church by the Clark Chapel Congregation. -- The Lloyd Street Church had been the property of some white Northern Methodists who were residing in the South. The erection

⁸ Letter to M. S. Davage, president of Clark University, from Uriah Cleary, Summerfield, Ohio, dated February 12, 1936.

⁹ Ibid., p. 3.

of the building had cost \$20,000, and there was a church extension debt of \$10,000. Since this debt was too great for the small white congregation, the membership decided to sell the church to the colored group of the Methodist Episcopal Church, which purchased Lloyd Street Church with all its responsibilities and obligations. Thus, Clark Chapel as a church was transformed into the commodious Lloyd Street Methodist Episcopal Church. It was no longer situated in Summer Hill, but in the heart of Atlanta on Lloyd Street (now Central Avenue) at the northwest corner of Hunter Street. At that time the building, with its architectural beauty and prominent location, was one of the outstanding structures of the city, and with this advantage ranked first among colored churches. It began to increase in membership, with many outstanding persons among its communicants and constituency.¹⁰

There were two men who took special interest in assisting Clark Chapel to acquire the new church edifice. One was a pioneer in the development of Atlanta, a white man, H. I. Kimball, who was owner and proprietor of the leading hotel of the South at the time, the Kimball House; and the other was a colored man, John Leake, Sr., an outstanding local preacher and member of Clark Chapel, whose life is written in the history of the church he loved so well. He was chairman of the trustee board and continued in that capacity until his death.¹¹

In the first years of the history of Lloyd Street M. E. Church, the white people held their services in the morning and the colored

¹⁰ Lula Leigh Hill, op. cit., p. 8.

¹¹ Ibid., p. 8.

people at night. President Lansing (white) of Clark University, during his administration (to be described later in this chapter), took charge of the pulpit. He was assisted by Reverend W. C. Lynch, colored, from Mississippi and by Dr. E. Q. Fuller, white, who was in charge of the Methodist Book Concern on Whitehall Street. Lansing attracted large audiences through the power of his preaching. Also, during these years the Sunday School was popular. The students of Clark University composed a large portion of the membership.¹²

The university, over a period of approximately four years, had given evidence of promising growth by 1872, including four teachers and the inauguration of a promising normal department.¹³

Transfer of property to the city of Atlanta. -- The city of Atlanta, Georgia, in the meantime, had introduced a system of free schools. Because the city was not ready to provide a building for the colored children, it accepted an offer to occupy temporarily the Summer Hill school building and to pay the salaries of the teachers. The transfer was made on the first of February, 1869. The number of pupils increased to 275. This change made possible the saving of some money for the purchase of a theological seminary. Also, a desire was expressed for the beginning of a classical department, as soon as the advancement of the students demanded it. In the spring of 1871 the Whitehall Street

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Ibid., p. 10.

13

Fifth Annual Report of the Freedmen's Aid Society of the M. E. Church, p. 18. Cincinnati: Methodist Book Concern, 1872.

property was bought for the consummation of these far-reaching plans.

Clark Theological Seminary

The changed concept of the institution as Clark Theological Seminary instead of Clark University as such was a part of the general program of the Freedmen's Aid Society and a cherished desire of Bishop Clark, who was deeply impressed with the necessity for ministerial training for the Methodist Episcopal Church in the South.

The previous activities of the schools toward ministerial training and the needs of these institutions were presented in the fifth annual report of the society in 1872.¹⁴

In different parts of the South much has already been done in our schools toward ministerial training. Heroically have some of our brethren battled with many discouragements. These efforts in behalf of our rising ministry are deserving of all praise. But the time has now come for increased facilities. While we may not yet withdraw from the work of primary instruction in the South, we feel that the demand for a distinct theological school is imperative. That demand has been expressed in Conference resolutions and in personal appeals. Within a few months a common impulse has seized the whole South. From Virginia to Texas, from the Atlantic to Arkansas, tidings are borne to us of an universal uprising. Ministerial education, in some special form, for the ministry of the South, cannot be any longer postponed.¹⁵

In the report of 1873, the society, in discussing theological seminaries, included the following statement:

The great want of our work in the South, at the present time, is educated teachers and ministers. Our primary schools prepared the way for graded and normal schools, and these will furnish students for the theological seminary and college. These higher institutions of learning were not demanded at first, for we had no pupils sufficiently

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 18.

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 19.

advanced to need them; but we have reached that point in the progress of our educational work where many of our students are prepared to enter high schools and colleges; and the number will constantly increase; and, unless we are willing to lose those for whose primary education we have been at so great expense, we must provide a few Biblical schools where these young men can be properly trained and prepared for the ministry. The candidates for our conferences must have specific and thorough preparation for their work. The interests at stake are too momentous to be intrusted to illiterate and inexperienced ministers. The age in which we live, the field we cultivate, the character of the opposition which we encounter, the consequences involved, demand cultivated intellects, pure hearts, and holy enthusiasm in the Christian ministry.¹⁶

It was in keeping with the idea of Bishop Clark that an institution for elementary and normal instruction was founded by the Freedmen's Aid Society at Atlanta, Georgia. It was his desire, too, that whenever these elementary departments could be safely transferred to the state, that the institution should then become, in the highest sense, a direct spiritual instrumentality of the church; that it should be conducted specially in behalf of ministerial education.

Consummation of plans for Clark Seminary. -- The time for the consummation of Bishop Clark's far-reaching plans had arrived. The secretary of the Freedmen's Aid Society had bought for nine thousand dollars a valuable piece of property with a substantial building, occupying a commanding eminence overlooking the city; and additional land essential to the development of the enterprise had been purchased for seventeen hundred dollars.¹⁷ The new building afforded limited boarding accommodations, with recitation rooms and professors' apart-

¹⁶ Sixth Annual Report of the Freedmen's Aid Society of the M. E. Church, p. 27. Cincinnati: Methodist Book Concern, 1873.

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 19.

ments. The grounds were ample for any additional buildings.

The entire property was well adapted to the design in view, and its purchase marked a new era in the rapidly advancing Southern work. The fulfillment of fond hopes was about to be realized in the better preparation of the scores who were yearly entering the ministerial ranks.

Opening of the Seminary. -- The Clark Theological Seminary was opened with appropriate religious services in February, 1872.¹⁸ Reverend L. D. Barrows (white) of New England, residing temporarily in Atlanta to avoid the rigor of a Northern winter, had been selected by the Freedmen's Aid Society to inaugurate the enterprise. For several weeks previously he had been instructing a class of thirty ministers (Negro) in the Lloyd Street Methodist Episcopal Church. As described by Mrs. Lula L. Hill: "Reverend Barrows was a good preacher and a good teacher, so they would say. Some of the most outstanding preachers of our race [Negro] and of all denominations went to him by night in order to learn how to preach."¹⁹

Barrows rejoiced in the fact that an attempt was being made by some of the Southern states to give the children of the Negro race the rudiments of an education, making it possible for the society to engage in a higher type of training. Indeed, the task of reaching the masses could never have been accomplished by white teachers, except as

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Ibid., p. 19.

¹⁹

Interview between the writer and Lula L. Hill, a former student of Clark and an old citizen of Atlanta, September 26, 1942.

they trained colored teachers for it. Fortunately, many of the students among the Negro race were found to be intelligent, ambitious, energetic, efficient, and fond of their calling. To give them a good start, therefore, meant that in a short time they would be able efficiently to serve their people as teachers.

The demand for an educated Negro ministry was equally pressing. The ministers, whether prepared or ineffective, were the religious teachers of the people. In a church of a hundred thousand members many ministers were needed, and great was their potential power to elevate and enlighten the people to whom they brought the knowledge of Christ. The numerous churches of freedmen could never be intelligently established in Scripture, doctrine, and duty without a fair amount of intelligence and education on the part of the ministry.²⁰

In entering this new field, the managers of the Freedmen's Aid Society knew that they assumed grave responsibilities. Already the schools of the South were taxing the society to its limits, but it was believed that the church should become still more active in the preparation of ministers. Clark Theological Seminary was a large additional burden, but with a great mission. The society, impressed by the great enthusiasm that had been awakened, was confronted with the question, "To what extent will the Church ratify this scheme?"²¹

²⁰ L. D. Barrow, "Sixth Anniversary Address," delivered before the Freedmen's Aid Society at Boston, Massachusetts, May 22, 1873.

²¹ Fifth Annual Report of the Freedmen's Aid Society of the M. E. Church, p. 20. Cincinnati: Methodist Book Concern, 1872.

Close of first session as a seminary. -- Clark Theological Seminary completed its first full session on June 20, 1873. The closing exercises consisted of review examinations in the studies of preparatory classes and of the class in theology. During the session the school numbered seventy-eight students, twenty-three of whom were in the theological department; the others were in the preparatory and normal departments. Seven of the young men had taken work on the various circuits as preachers, and ten or twelve served as teachers in Georgia and in other Southern states. ²²

Life at the seminary. -- The building used was well located, but wholly insufficient for the demands of the school. It was desirable that a Christian home be maintained for the training of the students in the satisfactions and refinements of Christian culture. Those who boarded in the building during the session were decidedly in advance, both in studies and moral improvement, of others who did not enjoy the educational influences of such a Christian home. Because of the anticipated growth of the seminary, another building containing larger school rooms and a chapel was imperative, with additional expense to be incurred in furnishing the rooms. The charge for board was only ten dollars per month. Tuition was one dollar per month, but free to theological students. The students boarding in the building were required to work two hours each day and to assist in the general care of the building. The students from Alabama, Florida, and many parts of the

State of Georgia had come, indicating the breadth of the field served by the institution.²³

Reverend Barrows was assisted in his duties by Dr. E. Q. Fuller, Reverend J. H. Knowles, and Reverend J. W. Lee. Professor I. Marcy of the university and his wife had oversight of the boarding department and aided in training the students. In 1873 Barrows returned to the North; for the remainder of that year the seminary was in charge of Lee, assisted by Reverend W. H. Thomas and Mrs. Lida E. Lee. The teachers were conscientious in their efforts to promote the welfare of the institution, and their efforts resulted in a successful year.

By this time (1872) the university had extended its program to include preparatory, normal, and theological courses. For this reason there was some confusion as to an appropriate name for the institution. Mrs. Hill states that: "Clark was now a Seminary. We never did call it that, but when the men of the Freedmen's Aid Society would come to visit the school, they would refer to the school as Clark Seminary."²⁴ Arthur Gibson says that: "Ministers went to Clark too. My brother John was a student at Clark. I went there to Sunday School when Reverend Isaac J. Lansing was President. We lived only a few blocks away from the school."²⁵

In the report of the society for 1872, reference was made to the changed institution in one place as "Clark University" and in another

²³ Ibid., p. 28.

²⁴ Interview between the writer and Lula L. Hill, September 26, 1942.

²⁵ Interview between the writer and Arthur Gibson, October 7, 1942.

section as "Clark Theological Seminary."²⁶ The school was listed as Clark Theological Seminary in the sixth annual report of 1873, but as Clark University in the report of 1874.²⁷

The Administration of I. J. Lansing, 1875-1876

In the fall of 1874 Reverend I. J. Lansing took charge of the institution and continued his leadership for two years, with the same corps of teachers - Professor H. C. Watson, Mrs. Lansing, Alice Buck, and Martha Smith. President Lansing, a scholar and an eloquent preacher, advanced the school to a flourishing state during his administration.²⁸ His task was that of expanding the physical facilities of the Whitehall school property and of organizing and introducing an instructional program for more complete development of the students.

At the time Lansing took charge, the only accommodations for the school, including the boarding and recitation rooms, consisted of a substantial house of eleven rooms. In addition to this, a plain wooden building was erected at a cost of \$1200. It was twenty-six by forty-six feet, two stories high, the lower story divided by folding-doors into two recitation rooms and the upper floor forming dormitories for boys. The American Stove Works of New York City, through the friendly influence of one of the officers of the company, C. A. Sanford,

²⁶ Freedmen's Aid Society Report, 1872, op. cit., p. 18.

²⁷ Freedmen's Aid Society Report, 1873, op. cit., p. 27.

²⁸ Catalogue of Clark University, 1879-1881, p. 21. Atlanta: Clark University, 1881.

who was a member of the Methodist Episcopal Church, gave a furnace of sufficient capacity to heat the school rooms.²⁹

At the beginning of the year of 1874, a Sunday School was opened. and preaching services were regularly held, the Sunday School having an average attendance of a hundred pupils. A donation of books from the London Religious Tract Society, sent by Reverend Hatfield, furnished some literature for Sunday School; duplicate copies sufficient to give a suitable book to each member of the day school on the occasion of Christmas celebration were provided. The Sunday School held its session at three o'clock on Sabbath afternoons, and every Sabbath morning students acted as teachers and superintendents of other Sunday Schools for churches in the city.³⁰ Thus the Sunday School served a two-fold purpose: to train teachers and to aid in the religious uplift of the community.

The curriculum of the university was organized in terms of felt needs and in consideration of the ability and interests of the students. Classes were taught in everyday English, elocution, physical geography, physiology, bookkeeping, algebra, Latin, Greek, and Bible history. A series of discourses, adapted to the understanding of all the students, was given on the "Young Men and Women of the Bible," the lessons of whose lives were considered in historical order. For the special benefit of those who intended to be teachers, a course of normal lectures was delivered in the hearing of the entire school. During

²⁹ Eighth Annual Report of the Freedmen's Aid Society of the M. E. Church, p. 27. Cincinnati: Methodist Book Concern, 1875.

³⁰ Ibid., p. 29.

the winter, a course of lectures and readings was arranged for the entertainment and instruction of the students and their friends. These were well attended and much appreciated.³¹

Another feature of the administration of Lansing was his religious-social philosophy, which was not only a direct answer to the much discussed question of the social position of the Negro, but formed a basis on which his program of education was carried out. He insisted that the true difference between men, in determining their position in the sight of God, was in character, not color. The members of the faculty treated the students in a genuinely democratic manner. They sat in the same dining room and ate at the same table; the faculty members conversed with students as they would with any persons of similar age and attainments. They urged the students at all times to be worthy of any society and to intrude into none. Truth was taught, and Christ was preached and demonstrated in relation to conduct in everyday life. That the students themselves reacted well to this philosophy and to their new educational opportunities is attested by the following statement:

In scholarship they disappoint us. Their disadvantages we know so well, so much had we heard of their inferiority, that we were unprepared to find them faithful, attentive, and quick of apprehension to such a degree as to place them on a level with scholars who had never known such disadvantages. Young men, who well remember when they were slaves, carried four studies (daily recitations) through a three months' term, and, upon the averaging of a carefully marked record, were found to have a rank above ninety per cent while many of them ranked above ninety-five.³²

31
Ibid., p. 28.

32
Ibid., p. 30.

These accomplishments came in the face of laboring under conditions by no means favorable to learning. The school building had no plaster, paper, or ceiling. In many places the light came through crevices, and it was impossible to keep warm during the coldest weather. So limited were the accommodations that six young men occupied together a room only thirteen by twenty feet, depriving them of privacy and comfort, as well as endangering their health.

The administration of Lansing was a significant link in the development of Clark. In his plea to meet the physical needs of the students, Lansing said:

We need this day a new building, an improvement on the old, costing not less than five thousand dollars - absolutely need it, not for show, nor pride, nor rivalry, but for Christ's poor, our brethren. This amount would furnish the simplest and cheapest space for a hundred more students. As much as many a Church would spend for a spire would open here a building which would make it possible for us to educate a hundred preachers and teachers next year, everyone of whom would be a missionary. For which of these two purposes shall the Lord's money be used? Need I say to the thoughtful reader that now is the time to instruct and save this people, and so save the Church and the nation? It is the day of our most fearful need, the day of the people's peril.³³

The University Chartered, 1877

Lansing, after a period of two years, was succeeded by J. V. Martin, who served for a term of only one year. It was under the administration of Martin that the university was chartered.

The application for the charter to the Superior Court of Fulton County bore the names of the following individuals as a body corporate and politic, under the title of "The Trustees of Clark University":

33

Ibid., p. 31.

Gilbert Haven, Richard S. Rust, Mary J. Clark, Eliphalet Remington,
Joseph H. Chadwick, Washington C. Depauw, Henry K. List, Eliza Chrisman,
Robert T. Kent, Charles O. Fisher, John C. Kimball, Josiah Sherman,
Theodore G. Eiswald, William H. Crogman, James M. Martin, Seaborn C.
Upshaw, and E. Z. Fuller.³⁴

The purposes of the university, as stated in the petition, were
as follows:

That the objects and business of said incorporation are to es-
tablish and perpetuate a university, and thereby promote learning,
afford suitable opportunities for the acquirement of knowledge, and to
foster piety and virtue as essentials of proper education.³⁵

The second item of the petition contains this significant
statement relative to the religious status and pronouncements of faculty
and students:

That the said corporation shall have full power and authority
to confer degrees; and generally to make and ordain such rules, orders,
regulations and By-laws as shall not be repugnant to the Constitution
and laws of Georgia or the United States; provided no degree shall be
conferred but upon the recommendation of the appropriate faculty, and
no instructor in said University, except in the Theological Department,
shall be refused admission to or denied any of the privileges, honors,
or degrees of said University on account of the religious opinions which
he may entertain.³⁶

The name "Clark" was given to the university in honor of
Bishop Davis W. Clark, born on the island of Mount Deseret, off the coast
of Maine. He was elected bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church in
1864, after which it fell to his lot to organize several of the Southern
conferences. In this work he felt a deep and abiding interest. As the

³⁴ Annual Catalogue of Clark University, 1878-1879, p. 22.
Atlanta: Clark University, 1879.

³⁵ Ibid., p. 22.

³⁶ Ibid., p. 23.

first president of the Freedmen's Aid Society, he strove for the elevation of the Negro race through education, and Clark University was the means for realizing his dream. At his death his library became the property of the university. Mrs. Clark became a member of the trustee board. She and her family evidenced a deep interest in the university, contributing liberally to its support and interesting their friends in its welfare.³⁷

The Administration of Robert E. Bisbee, 1878-1879

At the time Reverend Robert E. Bisbee became president, the school had outgrown its physical quarters at the Whitehall site. In presenting the needs of the students and institution at that time, he gave a more comprehensive report than any of his predecessors. The first paragraph of his report throws significant light on the early days of Clark University:

The first school established by the Freedmen's Aid Society in Atlanta was in the year 1869. This was a primary school, and the grade was not much raised for several years. After a time theological and classical departments were added, and the school assumed the form of a seminary, which form it still holds essentially, considered from a New England standpoint. At the same time, meeting as it does all the demands for intermediate and higher education made by the people for whom it is established, it is to them a university.³⁸

It became the policy of the university under Bisbee's administration to organize departments only as they were demanded and

³⁷ Catalogue of Clark University, 1879-1880, p. 21. Atlanta: Clark University, 1881.

³⁸ Eleventh Annual Report of the Freedmen's Aid Society of the M. E. Church, p. 21. Cincinnati: Methodist Book Concern, 1879.

could be maintained; the normal, scientific, classical, and theological departments receiving chief attention for several years. Moreover, during his administration the conviction was confirmed that Atlanta was the most desirable place for the institution, because there were in Georgia nearly a half million Negroes, with only two schools for higher academic and college education open to them. In addition to these two schools, the state had a few small seminaries and high schools, and a poorly supported public school system. If, then, the schools of the society should fail to be maintained, hundreds of intelligent and promising young men and women would be left without an opportunity to obtain an education.

Equally significant in the location of the university, Atlanta was especially adapted to the development of the theological department. The Western Methodist Book Concern had a branch house in Atlanta and one of the official papers of the church was published there. One of the bishops had his official residence in Atlanta. These advantages made the place especially attractive to ministers, and rendered Atlanta the headquarters of Methodism in the South. For these reasons able lecturers could be readily obtained, and the students had frequent opportunities to hear the best speakers in the church.³⁹

The buildings during the administration of Bisbee consisted of a large three-story brick house, formerly a private dwelling, and a two-story school building containing two large recitation rooms and four dormitory rooms. There was also on the grounds a building containing several dormitory rooms, occupied by students. The institution,

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Ibid., p. 24.

however, was not provided with a chapel or a sufficient number of suitable recitation rooms. This made it necessary to transfer a part of the school to the basement of the Lloyd Street Methodist Episcopal Church, nearly a mile from the university, where there was ample room, but where the students were in a great measure shut off from the influences and advantages of the college campus.⁴⁰ Here again, the church, at least in part, became the school. Not only were the university buildings inadequate to accommodate the needs of the institution, but they were poorly equipped and unattractive. Bisbee spoke of this handicap as follows:

The buildings are inadequate to the wants of the school, and lack that attractiveness and impressiveness which is so desirable in a work of this kind. For this reason many who would otherwise be students here are drawn to other schools that can present a better external appearance and furnish more ample accommodations.⁴¹

With reference to the library, Bisbee said:

Moreover, it is impossible to secure that attention and discipline which could be easily attained in buildings better suited to the purpose.... The institution is provided with a library of five or six hundred volumes, comprising a goodly number of important theological works for advanced scholars, but which are beyond the reach of most of our students, many lives of eminent divines, several hundred juvenile Sunday School books, and a few miscellaneous books that are readable.⁴²

However, despite these handicaps, President Bisbee had faith in the ultimate success of the Clark experiment and in the justness of its cause:

... In short, the University is about equal to a New England seminary of ordinary grade. If ever a school was needy, this one is.

⁴⁰ Twentieth Annual Report of the Freedmen's Aid Society of the M. E. Church, p. 23. Cincinnati: Methodist Book Concern, 1877.

⁴¹ Ibid., p. 23.

⁴² Ibid., p. 23.

Still, we are by no means discouraged.... our location is one of the best in the South.... Our constituency embraces all of Georgia, and a considerable number of students come from South Carolina and Alabama. With the prayers and efforts of our friends, we shall surely succeed. Our motto is "onward."⁴³

Another important development during the administration of Bisbee was in the direction of coeducation. From the beginning the university had been coeducational, but in 1878 and 1879 the society in its reports emphasized the training of freedwomen. The Woman's Home Missionary Society later met the need by establishing homes on the campuses of the various colleges, the first being Thayer Home at Clark University. This type of work not only became a vital factor in the development of the university in later years, but dealt with a difficult sociological and economic problem. As Bisbee said in describing the need for such a home:

Not the least important work of our school is the saving of young girls ... often the daughters of wealthy white men and of colored women who still continue in the practices of slavery ... from lives of shame. Many are made victims every year. Though often intelligent and capable of great refinement, daughters of such parentage are almost sure to be led astray unless rescued by the school and kept under its influence until their characters are formed. Girls from ten to fourteen years of age can be adopted by the school at an expense of from fifty to seventy-five dollars a year, and any one donating this sum will do a great work for God and humanity.⁴⁴

In answer to the pleas of Bisbee and others, the society bought a new site in the south side of the city, and it was his privilege to see the institution well housed and to witness the actual beginning of the projected university.

⁴³ Ibid., p. 23.

⁴⁴ Freedmen's Aid Society Report, 1879, op. cit., p. 24.

Development of the South Atlanta Site by Bishop Haven
and President Thayer

In the report of President Bisbee to the society (1879), mention was made of what the society had done to relieve the congested conditions of the physical plant. However, it was Bishop Gilbert Haven, resident bishop of the Atlanta area, who in 1880, looked from a hilltop a mile south of the city of Atlanta over a pine forest of four hundred and fifty acres that had been purchased as a location for this same school and said: "I guess now folks will believe that we have come to stay. They haven't believed it before."⁴⁵ This doubt had become a part of the thinking of many persons, because of the lack of permanency of a chief administrator, frequent changes in site, and inadequate physical facilities.

However, many were opposed to the new site and the bishop appeared to be the only person who really believed in it. The location was more than a mile from the corporation limits and there was no pavement. There was no regular means of communication with the city; an "old bus" was used to meet trains when students arrived. Provisions had to be drawn from town by mule cart, and there was no adequate water supply. When the rains came, the red Georgia mud made the roads almost impassable, and the drinking water took on the color of the mud to such an extent that the food was more or less regularly tinged with red. It was humorously stated that whatever might be the complexion of the stu-

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Tenth Annual Report of the Freedmen's Aid Society of the M. E. Church, p. 43. Cincinnati: Methodist Book Concern, 1878.

dents and faculty members outside, they were always sure to be red inside.⁴⁶

Doubters insisted that no one would ever come to such a place to attend school, but the bishop was unmoved. As he looked from this commanding vantage point toward the city, he declared unhesitatingly: "It will not be necessary to carry the school to the pupils; they will come to it."⁴⁷ And come they did from the very first.

Location and construction of Chrisman Hall. -- Again, Haven differed with his associates as to the location of the building to be constructed. They made a trip to the newly purchased land and, while in the shade of one of the large oaks that stood on approximately the highest point of the campus, mapped the location of the building.⁴⁸

The excellent college building, constructed at a cost^{of} over thirty thousand dollars, was named in honor of Mrs. Eliza Chrisman (a highly valued friend of Bishop Clark), who contributed ten thousand dollars towards its erection. The balance of the sum was pledged by Bishop Haven and by Dr. Rust in behalf of the Freedmen's Aid Society.⁴⁹ The building was 125 feet long and 40 feet wide, with an "L" 40 by 50 feet; it extended three stories above the basement. The building included four excellent school rooms, chapel, parlor, library, reading room,

⁴⁶ Jay S. Stowell, The Methodist Adventure in Negro Education, p. 67. Cincinnati: The Methodist Book Concern, 1922.

⁴⁷ Jay S. Stowell, op. cit., p. 68.

⁴⁸ D. W. Taylor, "Founder's Day Holds Spotlight on Clark Campus," Atlanta Daily World, 8 (February 29, 1936), 1.

⁴⁹ Annual Catalogues of Clark University, 1879-1881, p. 21. Atlanta: Clark University, 1881.

kitchen, laundry, dining-room, and dormitories that accommodated the teachers and about one hundred students. It was thought that, when these rooms were filled, smaller dormitories for boys could be constructed from timber on the university grounds and other college buildings erected from the abundance of granite on the campus.⁵⁰

The foundation and basement walls of the building were an excellent quality of granite quarried within a few hundred yards of the site. Competent judges called it the best foundation in the state. Above the basement the walls were of brick made on the campus. The construction was done in a practical, thorough manner. The architecture was commanding, with the building visible from all directions. The location in a grove on a hill was unusually attractive.⁵¹

Dedication of Chrisman Hall. -- The new Chrisman Hall of Clark University was dedicated, during the first year of the administration of E. O. Thayer, with appropriate literary exercises on October 6, 1880. Ex-Governor Brown of Georgia, then United States Senator, stood on the platform of the new building and publicly gave thanks to the representatives of the North for the aid given the South in the work of education. Beside him were three other former governors of Georgia, the school commissioner of the state, and representatives of the enterprise and intelligence of the swiftly rising commonwealth. Behind Senator Brown were four bishops, one of the blood of the race to be benefited. Before him

⁵⁰ Freedmen's Aid Society Report, 1879, op. cit., p. 24.

⁵¹ Ibid., p. 24.

was a throng of colored people, sons and daughters of a race that now faced a far brighter educational future.⁵² It is no wonder, then, that in the report of the society in 1880 were a note of joyous optimism and a rededication to the perpetuation of a worthy cause. The society wrote: "The new building is already crowded with promising students, and the institution enters upon a bright career of usefulness, inspiring confidence and hope in the minds of our people in the South."⁵³

Program planned. -- It was a part of Bishop Haven's dream that the large acreage (450) would make it possible for poor students to support themselves while they were getting their education; but, at least at first, matters did not work out just that way. A large productive farm was maintained by the university, however, and milk, eggs, pork, potatoes, grain, and vegetables were provided in abundance for the use of the boarding hall. In some respects the farm was not conducted in an efficient, systematic way, since in disoussing the industrial department attention is called to the needs and inadequacies of the farm project:

The young men have carried on quite a large farm, decreasing the expenses of the boarding department, and aiding themselves. However, lack of a farmer to take charge and want of tools has [sic] prevented the carrying out of any systematic plan. No where about the University could a few hundred dollars be spent to better advantage.⁵⁴

⁵² Twelfth Annual Report of the Freedmen's Aid Society of the M. E. Church, p. 51. Cincinnati: Methodist Book Concern, 1880.

⁵³ Ibid., p. 7.

⁵⁴ Annual Catalogue of Clark University, 1882-1883, p. 16. Atlanta: Clark University, 1883.

A more promising or brighter picture is given, however, in a later issue of the catalogue, wherein a statement is made relative to the amount of land available for the industrial department and to supervision of the work by Captain W. F. Wheeler, who was an experienced educator and a successful farmer.⁵⁵

The other part of Bishop Haven's dream was that, after reserving ample college grounds and selling enough lots to create a fine village, the land remaining should be divided into small farms and rented at a good profit, thus providing a permanent endowment for the school.

After the death of Haven in 1881, Bishop Warren took up the educational work where it was left by his predecessor, whose Christian character had made an indelible impression on the memory of the colored people. Warren, too, was fortunately an able, unselfish man with a singleness of purpose and driving energy. Throughout the South the schools felt the inspiration of Bishop Warren's presence and labors; every worthy, struggling enterprise shared his counsel and assistance.⁵⁶ The bishop ardently believed in the future of industrial education, and desired to see it promoted at Clark University. Working in cooperation with President E. O. Thayer, he provided a home for girls to whom training in various household arts and home-making was given. Another building was constructed to house the industrial arts program of the young men. It was due largely to Warren's efforts that funds were raised for

⁵⁵ Annual Catalogue of Clark University, 1883-1884, p. 17.
Atlanta: Clark University, 1884.

⁵⁶ Fifteenth Annual Report of the Freedmen's Aid Society, p.8.
Cincinnati: Methodist Book Concern, 1882.

the establishment and endowment of an effective theological seminary in connection with Clark University.⁵⁷ Thus, the vision of Bishop Gilbert Haven was responsible for the location of the school, and the genius of Bishop Henry W. Warren determined the course of its development.

Summary

Clark University had its beginning as an elementary school in Clark Chapel in 1869. This venture was later taken over by the Freedmen's Aid Society, with the hope that the school might become the nucleus of a full fledged university. The first president of the university was Uriah Cleary (white), who served for only one year. Cleary was followed by I. Marcy, under whose administration the Summer Hill site was sold to the city board of education of Atlanta. This transaction made possible the purchase of the Whitehall property and the establishment of an institution known to the officials of the society as Clark Seminary. The school as a seminary was short lived, and was again referred to as Clark University in 1874.

I. J. Lansing served as president of the university from 1874 to 1876. Under his administration the physical plant was improved and enlarged. A Sunday School was opened on the college campus in 1874, when an attempt was made to consider the materials used in relation to the previous training of the students. The university operated on the basis of the principle that the difference between men in the sight of God was one of character, not of color. The faculty, which was white,

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Ibid., p. 8.

and the students ate in the same dining-room, where they sat and conversed upon those issues of interest to students and faculty. The life of Christ was related to everyday living, and there was a degree of satisfaction over the ability of the students to learn, even in the midst of poor physical conditions.

Although founded in 1869, the university was not chartered until 1877, during the administration of J. V. Martin. The school was named Clark University after Bishop David W. Clark, who, when serving as the first president of the Freedmen's Aid Society, had labored untiringly in the interest of the university. His widow, Mary F. Clark, was one of the trustees to petition for the charter. President Martin was succeeded by R. W. Bisbee (white), who continued to plead for the improvement and expansion of the physical plant of the university. The direction that the academic program should take was clear to him; namely, to provide for normal, scientific, classical, and theological departments. He insisted upon the moral and religious education of freedwomen.

In 1880 the South Atlanta property was purchased by Bishop Gilbert Haven with three purposes in mind: (1) to render the school financially secure, (2) to offer an opportunity for poor students to support themselves, and (3) to establish a program of industrial training. The program of industrial and ministerial training was carried forward through the efforts of Bishops Haven and Warren and of President Thayer.

CHAPTER IV

THE EXPANDED PROGRAM OF MINISTERIAL TRAINING, 1883-1943

Introduction

The development of Gammon Theological Seminary might be conceived as an expansion of the early program of Clark University for the training of ministers and Christian workers. An attempt was made to make Clark University a seminary when it was situated on Whitehall Street. When the University was moved to South Atlanta, however, the Gammon School of Theology, together with the Stewart Missionary Foundation to Africa founded as a part of the work for the training of leaders for missionary work abroad and at home in 1893, was established as a department of Clark University. Thus was begun an expanded program of ministerial training. This program has passed through three significant stages: (1) establishment as the theological department of Clark University, 1883-1888, (2) establishment as a separate institution, 1888-1926, and (3) recognition as an "A" class graduate seminary, 1926-1943.

Throughout the years there has existed a spirit of co-operation, which has manifested itself in a joint use of teachers, exchange of students, and a working together of Clark and Gammon in making possible activities for the intellectual and cultural development of students, faculty, and community of the university unit. The seminary also has enriched its program through co-operative effort with other institutions of the city and community agencies.

Establishment of the Gammon School of Theology (First Stage)

Warren-Gammon partnership. -- It was believed that the age demanded cultivated intellect, as well as pure hearts.¹ A large number of students had been trained in the schools of the Freedmen's Aid Society in the elements of science and theology, but only a few had completed a full course of Biblical study. In fact, the demand for ministers had been so great that many of the promising students went into the work with incomplete preparation, and others were compelled to abandon their studies because of a lack of means to defray their expenses.² Moved by the great need for a well trained Christian ministry, especially for Negroes, Dr. E. Q. Fuller, Reverend E. H. Gammon, and Bishop Warren came together to make plans for the establishment of the Gammon School of Theology of Clark University.

Construction of Gammon Hall. -- One of the important results of this meeting was the construction of Gammon Hall. For more than a year, Bishop Warren had urged its claims in the great amphitheater at Chautauqua, at a score of other summer encampments, in hundreds of churches, and on many a lecture platform. Having added to the big gift of Reverend Gammon, more than four hundred generous donors had watched the progress of the building with interest and rejoiced with Warren on its completion free of debt. Many had also responded to a call for

¹ R. S. Rust, "Organization and Work of the Freedmen's Aid Society," Address delivered at the fifteenth anniversary of the society at Cincinnati, Ohio, dated December 21, 1882. Also: Fifteenth Annual Report of the Freedmen's Aid Society of the M. E. Church, p. 32. Cincinnati: Methodist Book Concern, 1882.

² Ibid., p. 32.

means to furnish rooms; however, some of the rooms remained empty, awaiting furniture and a donor's name over the door.³

The building, Gammon Hall of Theology, erected upon the highest eminence of the whole region, was of Gothic architecture, one hundred and twelve feet long and fifty feet wide. The basement story was built of light granite and the other stories were constructed of brick, handsomely trimmed with cut stone.⁴ In this building were found the residence of the dean, the library, lecture rooms, reading rooms, recitation rooms, and dormitories for a large number of students.⁵

Dedication of Gammon Hall. -- Gammon Hall was dedicated on Tuesday, December 18, 1883, with appropriate exercises. These were opened with singing by the Clark choir, prayer by Reverend J. B. Williams, and Scripture lesson by Reverend D. W. Mays of Chattanooga, Tennessee. Bishop Warren delivered an address in which he stated the purpose and function of the institute; namely, to develop Christian men and women and to send them forth to live out acceptable truths before the world, and to develop the entire man to lift this world up toward God.

The next speaker, Reverend R. S. Rust, used as his theme, "The Christian Minister." After the keys were presented to President Thayer by the architect, J. W. Adams, Bishop Warren offered the prayer of dedi-

³ "Dedication of Gammon Hall," Methodist Advocate, 15 (December 26, 1883). Also: Gammon Scrapbook, Article 2, p. 1. Atlanta; Gammon Theological Seminary, 1883.

⁴ "Gammon Hall," Methodist Advocate, 15 (December 28, 1883).

⁵ R. S. Rust, "Dedication of Gammon Hall," Western Christian Advocate, (December 9, 1883).

cation. He was followed by Reverend Wilbur P. Thirkield, who answered some objections to schools of theology and set forth the character of the work that this school proposed to accomplish. Reverend Williams assured the faculty that the preachers would send students to the institution. The program ended with a tribute to the memory of Bishop Gilbert Haven, Dr. E. Q. Fuller, and Dr. Rust.⁶

W. P. Thirkield elected dean. -- The first step in the organization of the school, as taken in June, 1883, was the unanimous action of the board of trustees of Clark University and of the executive committee of the Freedmen's Aid Society⁷ in electing Reverend Wilbur P. Thirkield as dean. From 1883 to 1888 the school as a department of Clark University, then under the presidency of Dr. E. O. Thayer, pursued the following aim:

To teach Biblical theology, rather than systematic theology expressed in scriptural terms or a dogmatic theology cast in scientific phrase. This is the true Methodist notion of training men for the ministry, and none other would meet the requirement of this school.⁸

Dean Thirkield, working in the light of this general aim, classified and enlarged upon it when he stated that:

The aim of this school is to do practical work in helping men towards success in the ministry. Its course of study is broad and practical; its ideals are high; its work thorough; its methods fresh, systematic, clear and simple. It proposes to suit its course of study and its methods of instruction to the culture and capacity of the students who seek its advantages.

Much of the work is done through lectures, with thorough expositions and practical reviews. Special attention is given to essays

⁶ "Gammon Hall," Methodist Advocate, 15 (December 28, 1883).

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ E. O. Thayer, "Gammon Seminary," Central Advocate, 59 (April 28, 1884).

and discussions by the class in connection with our Bible studies. The design of the school is to send out earnest, practical, evangelical preachers, who shall do intelligent and loyal service for Christ and the Church.⁹

Clark-Gammon program of studies. -- In pursuing the aim and ideals of the school, the administrative officers integrated its program with that of the collegiate department of Clark. A coordinate course of studies was worked out and announced in the first bulletin of the seminary. All candidates for admission to the school were required to bring from the official board or quarterly conference of their church satisfactory testimonials as to their personal religious character and fitness for the ministry. Academically, each had to show proficiency in the English branches, and those inadequately prepared were advised to enter the classes of the collegiate department. For the successful working of such a plan, the classes of the theology school were scheduled for the afternoon.¹⁰

The regular course of study consisting of three years was designed for those who, by previous school training, were fitted for a full and thorough course in theology. Also, a partial course of study occupying one or two years was provided for those whose circumstances did not permit completion of the full theological course. It was also possible for graduates of higher institutions to finish the regular course in two years, by doing extra work during vacations.¹¹

Administrative problems. -- Besides curriculum problems and

⁹ Annual Catalogue of Clark University, 1883-1884, p. 25.
Atlanta: Clark University, 1884.

¹⁰ Ibid., pp. 25-26.

¹¹ Ibid., p. 11.

adjustments, the administrative officers had many other problems. Some of the major difficulties were: (1) providing adequate living facilities for married men and their families, (2) building a desirable library collection, and (3) selling the purpose and program of the school to students and friends.

Married students, who could not live in the dormitory with their families, found it difficult to locate suitable homes. Houses near the school were scarce and rent was comparatively high for the times. For two ordinary rooms the yearly rental was sixty dollars.¹² This made a heavy drain upon the limited resources of married students. To give relief, Dean Thirkield gained permission to erect some cottages on the grounds south of the Theological Hall. With the aid of the school of carpentry of Clark University, a neat comfortable cottage could be built for two hundred dollars. In order to get the project started, however, the dean constructed one on his own responsibility; then he was able to secure during the following summer the sum of \$1,000.00 for his program of cottage building.¹³

From the beginning of the school, much attention had been given to the need and importance of a good library, but money to purchase necessary books was not forthcoming. Therefore, pleas for books were sent out:

At the Gammon School of Theology, Clark University, Atlanta, Georgia, there are worthy students without books.... The shelves of the carefully arranged library are waiting to receive them. The library is

¹² Gammon Scrapbook, Article 1, p. 8. Atlanta, Georgia: Gammon Theological Seminary, 1883.

¹³ Ibid., p. 8.

used constantly in connection with class work. They need those old and new ones. They will be of great use to the young ministers, unused by you, they will be invaluable to them. Please look over your libraries. See what books you can spare.¹⁴

To meet this need, the New England Conference proposed a "New England Conference Alcove." The plan was to ask for and collect books not being used by ministers in their libraries; to get possession of the libraries of superannuated and deceased ministers; to secure a donation of two books apiece from each individual of the conference; to sell duplicates to students for class work at a nominal sum and to establish a full alcove in Methodist history, hymnology, and similar subjects.¹⁵

Presentation of the aims, ideals, services, and needs of Gammon to the nation at large succeeded in developing a certain amount of interest in the school. This fact is attested to by the many expressions of students and friends in different sections of the country. S. A. Cowan, a student, wrote this significant statement:

Through the Providence of God it is my privilege to be a student of Gammon School of Theology and receive that which I have longed for - a thorough systematic drill in the great and glorious doctrine of the Gospel.... The Theological library contains more than 2,000 volumes of the best theological works to which the students have free access.... Rev. W. P. Thirkield, B. D., Dean of this department, is an earnest and efficient instructor. His whole heart and soul is in the work, and his words seem divinely inspired and full of the Holy Ghost.... The Theological class consists of twenty-six members who are earnestly striving to fit themselves for the great, responsible work of the ministry.... Those who are to lead God's hosts in the next generation must fully equip themselves for the work by taking a systematic course in some one of our theological seminaries.¹⁶

¹⁴ Ibid., Article 4, p. 8.

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 8.

¹⁶ S. A. Cowan, "Clark University," Southwestern Christian Advocate, 12 (May 21, 1885).

E. M. Jones, writing in the Methodist Advocate upon the subject of "What We Get at Gammon," gives a detailed outline of the program:

1. A Cordial Welcome: You are soon made to feel that you are at home surrounded by our friends and brethren.

2. We get a correct knowledge of how little we know. As soon as this is discovered, we begin to unlearn some things that we have learned.

3. You will come in contact with other minds: This is a many sided blessing. It helps one to rightly value his own information; it is informing and inspiring.

4. We get a thorough and systematic training in the important branches of theology; namely, exegetical, systematic, practical and historical.

5. Lectures: We have not only the privileges and advantages of listening to the faculty, but other distinguished men, Atlanta is quite a central city, and men who travel South very seldom fail to visit it.

6. We get a knowledge of how and what to study: It is very frequently said that when one has learned how to study, he is partly educated. We get the "How" as well as the "What." We have access to the library of the school, which contains more than five thousand of choicest volumes. This is a feast that we all enjoy.

7. We grow: We grow both intellectually and spiritually. The mind of the student is drawn out, developed and disciplined.¹⁷

In the following account of the first graduating class of the school in 1886, one may note especially, not only the names of dignitaries whom the occasion attracted, but also the implication of inter-racial good-will:

The commencement exercises of the Gammon School of Theology of Clark University took place yesterday at the Lloyd Street Methodist Episcopal Church. The large auditorium was filled. Among the distinguished guests were his excellency Governor McDaniel, Dr. Orr, State School Commissioner, Bishop Walden, Dr. Rust, Dr. Ward of the New York

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E. M. Jones, "What We Get at Gammon," Methodist Advocate, 20 (October, 1888). Also: Gammon Scrapbook, Article 1, p. 34, Atlanta, Gammon Seminary, 1888.

Independent, Mr. Gammon and Judge Reese. A large number of white and colored ministers were present.... The first class of seven ministers were graduated from the three year's course of this flourishing theological school.... The graduating exercises of the first class were most gratifying and encouraging to the friends of the school.¹⁸

However, the most far-reaching statement made during the period as to the place and responsibility of the Gammon School of Theology was uttered by Reverend A. G. Haygood, of the Methodist Episcopal Church South, at the fourth annual opening of the school in 1886. From that address the following extract is often quoted today:

It may be questioned whether any single institution, under the care of the Methodist Episcopal Church, holds a place of importance and responsibility equal to that which is comparable to Gammon Theological School. To state the thought otherwise, the Methodist Episcopal Church could better afford to lose "Drew" than "Gammon." Looking at the matter in another light, it may well be questioned whether any single institution in the Southern States could not be better spared. These things I say not to please you, but to quicken and strengthen your sense of responsibility.... The colored people could ill afford to lose the lease of the institutions that give them opportunity, and the white people can as little afford such a loss.¹⁹

Moreover, among the recommendations offered by Haygood, that addressed to the faculty challenged their creative ability in providing a suitable program and method, and was suggestive of both good common sense and of the important function of Gammon. His suggestions to the faculty were:

The advice I would venture to give is simple. Do your work and not the work of others. You can not do that work on the model of other schools. Your work is unique. You will have to invent your own methods. Many a school has failed of success by undertaking to work on

¹⁸ "Commencement Exercises of Gammon School of Theology," Southwestern Christian Advocate, 13 (April 15, 1886).

¹⁹ Atticus G. Haygood, Address delivered at the Fourth Annual Opening of the Gammon School of Theology, Atlanta, Georgia, October 27, 1886.

plans suited to other conditions. If you escape mistakes for a time, it will be a marvel of good judgement. It will, perhaps, take some courage to follow strictly your own judgment of your work, but you are capable of the achievement.²⁰

Reverend Gammon's reaction to Haygood's address is significant, especially with respect to the importance of the seminary and its pioneer work. A part of Gammon's letter to Bishop Warren was quoted in the memorial address delivered by Thirkield in 1891:

I wrote you a few lines in haste, yesterday, of Dr. Haygood's speech as printed in the Journal. His whole speech must have been a wonderful production. I think the preachers of the South should generally have a copy of it, and possibly, a judicious distribution of it in the North would do the school quite as much good. You must have had a glorious time.

What amazed me was that Dr. Haygood's views so fully coincided with mine. I did not think there was a man, North or South, who agreed with me on the importance of your school; but Dr. Haygood seems to be fully up to my measure.... It rejoices me exceedingly that he takes the same view of the subject. They are words fitly spoken, and their influence will never die.²¹

Gammon's interest in the institution was unflagging. Indeed, in July, 1885, he said to Dean Thirkield, who was a guest at his home in Batavia, Illinois:

If you have your ordinary success in drawing the students in and teaching them, and I have ordinary business success, we will make that institution such a power in the South as no one outside conceives of. I intend to devote the balance of my life to the interests of that school. I have faith in it without a doubt. Please secure all you can for scholarships in your travels, as that will fill up the school with good students.²²

Proposal of Reverend Gammon. -- Gammon studied the situation of the seminary and became convinced that this school, in order to ful-

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ W. P. Thirkield, "Reverend Elijah H. Gammon," Gammon Quarterly Bulletin, (February, 1892), 13.

²² Ibid., p. 12.

fill its largest usefulness, should be independent in its organization and government, and thus sustain the same relation to each school in the entire system of educational institutions of the Freedmen's Aid and Southern Education Society. This conviction was based upon his long experience as a trustee of Garrett Biblical Institute.²³

It was generally felt that Clark University had a natural field of its own from which to recruit students. The separation from Clark would make Gammon the central theological school of the entire system of colleges and seminaries in the South. It would give to Gammon as the nearest theological school a natural field of at least thirteen states, in which were twenty conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church. It would make Gammon the school of theology for the Methodist Episcopal Church of the whole South, as Boston School of Theology was for the Eastern States, Drew for the Middle States, and Garrett for the Northwest.²⁴ To this end, Dr. Gammon in February, 1887, stated his plan and faith as follows:

They, the Freedmen's Aid Board, will hardly ignore my proposition or put it off indefinitely, as it contemplates securing the school an endowment of not less than two hundred thousand dollars at my death, I reserving the revenue from it during my life. The conditions are: (1) that it be made an independent school, under the control of the Freedmen's Aid Society; (2) that they support the professors, except the senior professor, during my life; and (3) that they give the school what land it needs, as Dr. Rust and I can agree upon. I want some land west of Capitol Avenue. I also want to help the school with what means I have to spare in building, etc., during my life. I would like to see it the best theological school of the whole South, white or black; I am certain that we are on the right track and have made no mistake thus far.²⁵

²³ Ibid., p. 14.

²⁴ "School and College," Christian Advocate, 62 (July 28, 1887).

²⁵ W. P. Thirkield, op. cit., p. 14.

Separation and Change of Name (Second Stage)

In keeping with the request of Dr. Gammon for a separate school of Theology to serve the entire territory, a charter was granted for this purpose on March 24, 1888.²⁶ The board of trustees of the Gammon School of Theology met on June 7, 1888, at the Lloyd Street Methodist Episcopal Church, to perfect its organization, with Dr. Haygood serving as temporary chairman and Professor W. H. Crogman temporary secretary. The permanent organization took place with the following officers: Bishop J. M. Walden, president; J. C. Harzell, vice-president; W. H. Crogman, secretary; and W. P. Thirkield, treasurer.²⁷

At a special meeting of the board on December 21, 1888, the president stated that he had consulted both Gammon and the faculty as to the desirability of changing the name of the institution from "Gammon School of Theology" to "Gammon Theological Seminary," and that all had expressed themselves in favor of such a change. On the motion of J. C. Kimball, the Freedmen's Aid and Southern Education Society concurring, the name of the school was changed by the trustees. This amendment to the charter was granted by the Fulton County Court on January 30, 1889.²⁸

Administration of President W. P. Thirkield. -- Under the new name the institution entered its second period of service to religious education. The first to serve as president of this new centralized unit

²⁶ Annual Catalogue of Gammon Theological Seminary, 1888-1889,
p. 5. Atlanta, Georgia, 1889.

²⁷ "Minutes of a special meeting of the Trustees of Gammon Seminary, June 7, 1888," p. 1.

²⁸ Annual Catalogue of Gammon Theological Seminary 1888-1889,
p. 5. Atlanta, Georgia, 1889.

of Christian training for the denomination was the former dean, W. P. Thirkield. It was his task to see that the seminary was financially secure; to make known the work of the institution to the other schools of the territory and to the conferences and general church; and to work with Clark University on the one hand and with Thayer Hall on the other, in perfecting a program for the complete development of those entering the seminary.

In 1891 the school lost in the death of Dr. Gammon its greatest friend and benefactor, but from Gammon came a bequest of \$250,000 for endowment of the school, making in all approximately \$650,000, including what had been contributed in the construction of a new building and in the payment of teachers' salaries. By the conditions of Gammon's will, the institution was further provided for by a future donation of his property after his death.²⁹

Donation of new library building. -- With the school endowed, President Thirkield set about the task of securing certain essentials for the seminary. Among these was a new library building donated by Gammon just before his death. Occupied first in 1889-1890,³⁰ it was one of the most convenient and beautiful structures of its kind in the South. Its dimensions were sixty-eight by forty-eight feet. Its foundations were of granite, with cut-stone trimmings. The superstructure was of brick trimmed with heavy rock-faced stone and terra cotta, with Roman

²⁹ Letter to editor of the Times-Democrat, from Charles Logan, New Orleans, Louisiana, dated January 6, 1893.

³⁰ Annual Catalogue of Gammon Theological Seminary 1889-1890, p. 28. Atlanta: Gammon Theological Seminary, 1890.

arabesque ornamentations. On the right wing of the structure was the fire-proof library proper, with two stories of alcoves for books, capable of accommodating two thousand volumes. The building also contained a study for the professors, a general reading room, a work-room, and a large safety vault for especially rare and valuable books.³¹ For the time it represented the latest developments in library architecture. Through the efforts of Thirkield, Gammon was able to build up what was probably one of the best institutional libraries of this type in the South. In fact, the library of the seminary in the special theological department was considered as unsurpassed in the South.³²

Beginning of a division of historical theology. -- Prior to making the seminary an independent school, the work in the division of historical theology was shared by three professors, with James C. Murry, teacher of exegetical theology, as the first librarian. The appointment of Reverend W. W. Crawford as professor of historical theology in 1889 provided a full-time man in each of the four major areas in the seminary. Crawford and Bowen, each as professor of historical theology, served also as librarian for the period, 1889-1905.

The faculty members projected the organization of an historical society, the purpose of which was to build up, in connection with the library of the seminary, a complete and trustworthy department of historical information upon the various movements that related to the

³¹ "Dedication of the New Library of the Gammon School of Theology," Atlanta Constitution, 21 (May 29, 1889), 2.

³² Ibid., p. 2.

Negro and the South.³³ This department succeeded in collecting many books, pamphlets, addresses, and articles, dealing with the origin, ethnology, and history of the Negro and the rise, development, and abolition of slavery. In addition to such materials, the seminary workers collected other types, dealing not only with the ecclesiastical and educational movements of the churches among the colored people, but also containing statistical records of the Negro's progress in wealth, learning, industry, inventions, mechanical art, and ecclesiology.³⁴

Work of the preacher's assembly and itinerant's club. -- The seminary served both those preparing for the ministry and, through its "Preacher's Assembly and Itinerant's Club," those actively engaged in the field. The design of the assembly was to bring together a large number of southern ministers of all denominations to hear addresses by representative men from all parts of the nation, to receive from the faculty systematic instruction on theological subjects, and to exchange views on church life and work. It was intended, therefore, that the assembly should be profitable alike to those with and without special theological training. The nature of this work is revealed through an extract from a letter sent by President Thirkield to the ministers in 1893:

We are planning to make the Preacher's Institute to be held at your University, April 9-10, an occasion of special interest and profit to every minister, local preacher, and candidate for the ministry. The

³³ Annual Catalogue of Gammon Theological Seminary 1893-1894, pp. 22-23. Atlanta: Gammon Theological Seminary, 1894.

³⁴ Ibid., p. 23.

program for this institute is very practical. It is not taken up with things you can get out of books.

We shall also study together the planning and writing of sermons. How to use the Bible, and other books and papers in gathering material for sermons. How to make and gather illustrations. How to get the meaning out of texts. How to unfold and put in preaching form the thoughts that center in and gather about a text;... that is, how to plan and build sermons. These methods we shall illustrate by practical study of texts, by blackboard exercises, etc.

Then we shall hold conferences on important subjects relating to church work and management; - the life of the people; their special needs; how as preachers we may help them in their social, moral, educational, business, as well as in their religious life.... We shall see much through over a half hundred original views thrown on a large canvas.³⁵

The Stewart Missionary Foundation to Africa. -- Another phase of the ministerial program, foreign missions, was greatly augmented by establishing in connection with the seminary a department under the title of the "Stewart Missionary Foundation for Africa."³⁶ Reverend W. F. Stewart had designated for the endowment of this foundation a group of farms of six acres, all under high cultivation in Central, Illinois, which he conveyed in trust, the income only to be used to maintain this department. In writing to the faculty, Stewart expressed a hope that the foundation would become a center for the diffusion of missionary intelligence, for the development of missionary enthusiasm, for the increase of missionary offerings, and for the training of effective missionaries.³⁷ In addition to the direct work of the recitation room, Stewart contem-

³⁵ Letter to alumni and ministers of the conferences, from W. P. Thirkield, President of Gammon Seminary, Atlanta, Georgia, dated March, 1893. See: Gammon Scrapbook, p. 39. Atlanta: Gammon Theological Seminary, 1893.

³⁶ Annual Catalogue of Gammon Theological Seminary, 1893-1894, p. 27. Atlanta: Gammon Theological Seminary, 1894.

³⁷ Ibid., p. 27.

plated other educative means that would reach the schools, the missions, and the entire membership of the church. Among the avenues in mind were the following:

1. A system of literary and oratorical missionary prize contests. These might include prize missionary hymns, prize missionary essays and orations to be presented in public contests.
2. I would also arrange correspondence with all our missions in Africa and invite special reports, the best of which should be awarded prizes.
3. And I would also extend an invitation to the whole membership of the church to write to the department on any feature of missionary work, these papers to be classified and recognition to be made according to the value of the best.
4. Added to these might be arranged a monthly course of addresses or sermons.
5. It might be that from all these an annual souvenir missionary volume might be edited and published that would be interesting and of value. If a program so varied and extensive could be carried out, it would turn the thought of the brightest and most promising students in our schools into missionary lines.³⁸

The Stewart Missionary Foundation for Africa was accepted and adopted by the board of trustees of the seminary at their regular meeting May 10, 1894, with the following resolutions:

1. Resolved: That we gratefully accept the offer tendered the Seminary by Reverend W. F. Stewart and approve the general plan of work proposed by him in his letter, and we agree to carry out this plan so far as practicable.
2. Resolved: That in accepting this trust it is not our purpose to supplement other efforts being made for the ultimate evangelization of Africa by the Negro race.³⁹

³⁸ Annual Catalogue of Gammon Theological Seminary, 1893-1894,
p. 27. Atlanta: Gammon Theological Seminary, 1894.

³⁹ "Minutes of the Sixth Annual Session of the Board of Trustees of Gammon Theological Seminary, May 16, 1894," p. 5.

The work was inaugurated at Gammon with three series of annual prize competitions - an academy, a college, and a theological seminary series - open to the students of institutions under the auspices of the Freedmen's Aid and Southern Education Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church.⁴⁰ In each of the series prizes were given for missionary hymns, and in the academy and college series there were prizes for essays; in the theological seminary series prizes were awarded for winning orations. All these essays and orations were on some subject connected with Africa as a missionary field, or on missionary work in Africa.⁴¹ In addition to this program of awards, the foundation by 1900 had purchased over three hundred volumes on African explorations and missions. A nucleus of an African museum also had been collected, including the products of the country and specimens of handicraft in wood, iron, brass, cloth, and grass, which revealed the artistic skill of the untutored African. Over two hundred stereopticon slides, illustrative of Africa and its people, had been obtained, and a circulating library was set in motion.⁴²

Resignation of Thirkield. -- The board of control of the Epworth League elected President Thirkield as general secretary of the League on November 24, 1899. His resignation as president of the seminary and professor of practical theology was accepted by the Gammon board, and he began immediately upon his new work. The esteem with

⁴⁰ Annual Catalogue of Gammon Theological Seminary, 1893-1894, p. 27. Atlanta: Gammon Theological Seminary, 1894.

⁴¹ Ibid., p. 27.

⁴² E. D. Parks, "William Fletcher Stewart," Gammon Quarterly Bulletin, (February, 1901), 29-30.

which he was held can be observed in the following extract ^{from} the resolution drawn up by the faculty:

Whereas, Dr. W. P. Thirkield has been at the head of Gammon Theological Seminary since its establishment as a department of Clark University in 1883 and its president since it became a separate institution in 1888, and by his planning, management, and public presentation, has been the leader in the organization and development of the Seminary and in giving it its present large usefulness and commanding position:

Be it resolved by the Faculty of Gammon Theological Seminary, that we express our high appreciation of the inestimable value to the Seminary and the colored people and the cause of Christian education, the Church and the nation, of President Thirkield as the leader in the organization, management, and upbuilding of the Seminary.⁴³

Bishop Robert E. Jones, as late as 1942, made this appraisal of Dr. W. P. Thirkield and his work at Gammon:

Dr. Thirkield was responsible, in a very large measure, for what Gammon is. He put his all into this enterprise, not as a means of earning a livelihood, but in the same spirit that Dr. Gammon gave his wealth, Thirkield gave his time and talent. Whenever and whatever this history of Gammon Theological Seminary is rehearsed, the name of Thirkield must stand out in bold relief. He brought his family with him. His family became a part of the life of this Institution and of the community which on this hill, it established. Without reservation, he and his wife and children were a part of the enterprise. His children attended Clark, they were taught by Marie Hardwick, a woman of rare culture and a teacher of great power. Moreover, the Thirkield home was as much of the educational influence of Gammon as the class rooms themselves.⁴⁴

Faculty administration. -- When on January 3, 1900, Thirkield presented his report in which was included his resignation, the board of trustees was confronted with the problem of a temporary president for the remainder of the year, and decided to place the administration of the

⁴³ "Resignation of President Thirkield," Gammon Quarterly Bulletin, (February, 1900), 3.

⁴⁴ R. E. Jones, Founders' Day Address, Gammon Theological Seminary, Atlanta, Georgia, December 14, 1940.

seminary in the hands of the faculty.⁴⁵ Each professor was to serve in order of seniority, being chairman of the faculty for one-third of the time to the close of the seminary year; this arrangement was not to affect the salary of any of the professors.⁴⁶ This system of rotation was continued until May 30, 1901, when Reverend L. G. Adkinson was elected president of the seminary.⁴⁷

Administration of Adkinson. -- During Adkinson's short period of administration, special consideration was given to increasing student aid and to keeping the institution conspicuously before the supporting conferences. Aid to students had already been advocated by Dr. Gammon early in the history of the seminary, and emphasis had been placed on encouraging deserving students by awarding them free tuition or aiding them through loans made without interest.⁴⁸ Gifts from friends and from the General Education Board also enabled needy students to pursue their ministerial training. Moreover, President Adkinson, in his report to the board of trustees in 1902, made a recommendation, which was passed, authorizing his spending, with the aid of the faculty, five hundred dollars from the appropriation for general expense in providing donations for students. No student was to receive more than thirty dollars, and, if so

⁴⁵ "Minutes of a Special Meeting of the Board of Trustees of Gammon Theological Seminary, January 3, 1900," p. 2.

⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 6.

⁴⁷ "Minutes of the Eighth Annual Session of the Board of Trustees of Gammon Theological Seminary, May 30, 1901," p. 4.

⁴⁸ Annual Bulletin of Clark University, 1883-1884, p. 24. Atlanta: Clark University, 1884.

aided, he not only would have to meet all of his obligations to the seminary without aid from any other loan fund, but must remain in attendance at least six months of the session. In this adventure the board advised President Adkinson to keep the Cincinnati board informed as to policy pursued and the status of sums loaned.⁴⁹

Besides working out practical means of aiding needy students, Adkinson was ardent in his efforts to keep the needs and work of Gammon always before the various conferences. To this end, either he or other members of the faculty arranged to attend the different district and annual conferences. This practice was made feasible and practical by funds specially appropriated for such purposes.⁵⁰

After serving the seminary for approximately four years, Adkinson died in 1905. A meeting of the executive committee was held immediately after his death, which resulted in placing the administration of the school again in the hands of the faculty.⁵¹

Election of John Wesley Edward Bowen. -- The board of trustees of Gammon Seminary at its thirteenth annual meeting on June 12, 1906, presented the names of six candidates for the presidency to the board of the Freedmen's Aid Society at Cincinnati.⁵² In case of a vacancy in the faculty, two names were presented to the Cincinnati board as nominees from

⁴⁹ "Minutes of the Ninth Annual Session of the Board of Trustees of Gammon Theological Seminary, May 8, 1902," p. 2.

⁵⁰ "Minutes of the Eleventh Annual Session of the Board of Trustees of Gammon Theological Seminary, July 1, 1904," pp. 52-53.

⁵¹ "Minutes of the Thirteenth Annual Session of the Board of Trustees of Gammon Theological Seminary, June 12, 1906," p. 2.

⁵² Ibid., p. 6.

which a professor might be selected.⁵³ On October 12, 1906, Dr. J. W. E. Bowen (Negro) was elected president and professor of historical theology, and on December 11 of the same year Reverend Charles H. Hines and Reverend George Arnold were elected as professor and instructor, respectively.⁵⁴

Having been elected to the chair of historical theology in 1893-1894, Bowen was by no means a stranger at Gammon. He was a prolific writer, a forceful speaker, and an able scholar, through which means he was able to reach and impress many people. His greatest contribution to the seminary as its president was perhaps in the area of public relations. An extract from a letter sent by the president of the alumni association in 1906 is indicative of the co-operation of this organization with the program of President Bowen. The activities emphasized were:

1. Letter to collect... suggesting that each alumnus pay a portion of his loan.
2. Co-operate in securing more students. Every alumnus send one student.
3. Annual Alumni Reunion, April 24.
4. 1908 - celebration of our Quarto-Centennial, presenting to the school an oil painting of Mr. and Mrs. Gammon.
5. Gammon, "Who's Who."⁵⁵

After serving as president of Gammon for six years, Bowen resigned his post to resume his favorite role as professor of historical theology. At the conclusion of the Founders' Day program on December 14,

⁵³ Ibid., p. 6.

⁵⁴ Annual Catalogue of Gammon Theological Seminary 1906-1907, p. 7. Atlanta: Gammon Theological Seminary, 1907.

⁵⁵ Letter to alumni of Gammon Theological Seminary, from J. W. E. Bowen, President of Gammon Seminary, Atlanta, Georgia, dated March, 1906. See: Gammon Scrapbook, p. 33. Atlanta: Gammon Theological Seminary, 1906.

1941, Dr. Matthew S. Davage, Secretary of Negro education of Nashville, Tennessee, spoke of the conscientious work done by Bowen during his years as president and professor at Gammon.⁵⁶

Unified administration of Clark and Gammon. -- At a special meeting of the board on June 29, 1910, it was voted to take up the subject of appointment of one man as president of Clark and Gammon, which resulted in the passing of a resolution that the same person serve both institutions.⁵⁷ The Gammon board also voted that the nomination be made by the board at Cincinnati. The secretary was instructed to convey to the board of Clark University, at their next meeting, information of the action taken by the Gammon board with reference to the one president for the two schools. In August of the same year the nomination of S. E. Idleman was confirmed, which completed his election as president of both institutions.⁵⁸

The life of this arrangement, however, was short-lived; one year later the board at its annual meeting on May 16, 1911, resolved that "the administrative question relating to the joint administration of Gammon Theological Seminary and Clark University be open for review and final consideration at the close of the school year." This resolution was adopted.⁵⁹ On June 26, 1912, Dr. S. E. Idleman was nominated president of Gam-

⁵⁶ After Dr. Davage's address, a portrait of Dr. Bowen, donated by his wife, was unveiled. A pleasant feature of the unveiling was a short speech by Dr. Bowen's son, Rev. J. W. E. Bowen, Jr., of New Orleans, Louisiana. This portrait, along with those of the other founders and leaders of Gammon, still hangs in the faculty room.

⁵⁷ "Minutes of a special meeting of the Board of Trustees of Gammon Theological Seminary, June 29, 1910," p. 3.

⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 3.

⁵⁹ "Minutes of the Eighteenth Annual Session of the Board of Trustees of Gammon Theological Seminary, May 16, 1911," p. 5.

mon Theological Seminary, and the board at Cincinnati was requested to provide a president for Clark University as soon as possible.⁶⁰

Idleman was successful in establishing at the close of his administration a department of missions at the seminary. It had been stated earlier by Stewart that when the income to the foundation proved sufficient, a department of missions should be established, financed entirely from the treasury of the foundation.⁶¹ Not until 1910, however, was this department of missions organized and standard courses offered. Work in the department, amounting to two recitation hours per week for the entire seminary course, was required of all students. The aim was to provide a liberal course in practical Christianity; to prepare pastors to be leaders in mission study, and to train them in organizing churches for the most effective missionary service; and to train missionaries for the foreign field, particularly for work in Africa. Full credit was given by the seminary for all work done in the department.⁶²

This department was subject to the rules of the seminary. The professor in charge of the department was nominated by the trustees of the Stewart Missionary Foundation and elected in the manner usually employed for other members of the faculty. He was paid from the funds of the foundation, but in other respects his relation to the seminary was

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"Minutes of the Nineteenth Annual Session of the Board of Trustees of Gammon Theological Seminary, June 26, 1912," p. 3.

61

Annual Catalogue of Gammon Theological Seminary, 1910-1911,
p. 17. Atlanta: Gammon Theological Seminary, 1911.

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Ibid., p. 18.

the same as for other professors.⁶³ On the recommendation of Stewart, the Stewart Foundation for Africa nominated Reverend D. D. Martin as Professor of missions, which was confirmed.⁶⁴

President Idleman presented his resignation in connection with his mid-year report to the board on March 11, 1914. The board referred the resignation to the committee on faculty and changes in courses of study and administration.⁶⁵ At the afternoon session of the board, a resolution was presented, calling attention to the success with which the affairs of the seminary had been administered, the wisdom and conservatism with which the money of the school had been spent, and to maintenance of the student body in both school spirit and in the number and quality of students. The Christian character of Idleman, his bearing as a president, and his devotion to the work committed to him were highly praised.⁶⁶

Clark-Gammon as co-hosts to convention of college men. -- At the March meeting of the board in 1914, Dr. P. M. Watters was unanimously elected as president of the seminary. Dr. Bowen was also elected as vice-president of the faculty, to take effect at the opening of the following school year.⁶⁷ Of immediate concern to the new administration was the

⁶³ "Minutes of the Eighteenth Annual Session of the Board of Trustees of Gammon Theological Seminary, May 16, 1911," p. 4.

⁶⁴ Ibid., p. 5.

⁶⁵ "Minutes of the Mid-Year Session of the Board of Trustees of Gammon Theological Seminary, March 11, 1914," p. 3.

⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 6.

⁶⁷ Ibid., p. 4.

convention of college men from colored institutions, which was to be held under the leadership of John R. Mott, with Clark University and Gammon Theological Seminary as co-hosts. In this task the executive committee of the board was directed to co-operate with Clark in preparing the buildings and grounds for the convention. The sum of five hundred dollars was appropriated for the renovation and repairs of the Clark University Chapel, which had been freely used by the seminary for years.⁶⁸ It was also suggested that the library building be re-decorated throughout; that such carpenter work as was necessary be done; that the basement be newly floored with cement; that junk and rubbish be removed, burned, or sold; and that the pamphlets and books be overhauled and put in proper order for use. Repairs were authorized on the homes of Professors Haines, Bowen, and Watters. The extra expense involved in preparing for the student convention was to be paid out of the funds of Gammon Theological Seminary, with the amount determined by the executive committee after conferring with the executive committee of Clark University.⁶⁹

Inauguration of President Watters and dedication of refectory. -- The inauguration of the Reverend Philip Melancthon Watters as president of the seminary and the dedication of the new Gammon refectory on the sixth of January, 1916, marked the thirty-third mile-post in the history of the seminary.⁷⁰

68 Ibid., p. 4.

69 Ibid., p. 9.

70 "Inauguration of President P. M. Watters," Gammon Quarterly Bulletin, (August, 1916), 3.

The central attractions of the week were the inaugural exercises and the dedication exercises, but around these were featured the programs of the annual meeting of the college presidents and principals of the institutions under the Freedmen's Aid Society and the Gammon conferences of college presidents and principals.⁷¹ In the first conference the program covered a large area of educational discussion. In the discussions of the Gammon conference thought was centered upon the ministry and ministerial training and life, the place the seminary should occupy among the system of schools, and its relation to the problem of the moral and spiritual uplift of Negroes in this country and in Africa. On these programs were special addresses by Bishop Thirkield and by President Tripple of Drew Theological Seminary.⁷²

The dedication exercises took place in the afternoon, with Bishop Thirkield presiding. The dedicatory address was delivered by President William H. Crawford of Allegheny College, Meadville, Pennsylvania. Robert E. Jones, editor of the Southwestern Christian Advocate, delivered an address on "The Seminary and Her Alumni." Bishop Leete, who had been the inspirer of the project to erect the refectory and who had watched its construction from foundation to complete furnishings, also delivered an address, after which he dedicated the building. All these exercises took place in the refectory. In the evening a reception to the faculty, students, and visiting friends climaxed the celebration.⁷³

⁷¹ Ibid., p. 3.

⁷² Ibid., p. 4.

⁷³ Ibid., p. 4.

President Watters' educational philosophy and his conception of a program of ministerial training for the men of Gammon are revealed in part in the following excerpt from his inauguration address:

Let this, then, be our purpose and prayer, that, so help God, this Seminary shall stand, in teaching and in life through all the years, for a divine call to the ministry of Jesus Christ. The second thing for which this Seminary stands is a liberal training for men who are called to preach. We believe that the call does not preclude, but rather includes all possible training.... We must have liberally-trained men. What then, are the essentials of this training? Concerning the teaching of Greek and Hebrew I am in thorough accord with the modern trend of theological curricula. The widening of the field of knowledge makes it unwise to require a study of the Greek and Hebrew texts. If all our students were college graduates, this would be true; but it is especially true for us in facing the limitation in previous training on the part of most of our men. And yet I am clear in my conviction that we must offer both Greek and Hebrew as electives to picked men.⁷⁴

As an extension of the regular program of the seminary, Watters initiated the idea of preachers' institutes, which were to be held annually in a number of towns and cities by the faculty in connection with the district conferences.⁷⁵ In the meantime the summer school for rural pastors grew steadily under the directors of the boards of home missions and of church extension of the church, working with the faculty of the seminary.⁷⁶ The faculty of the summer school represented all phases of theological instruction in the seminary faculty and gave instruction in varied phases of rural and civic work for pastors.⁷⁷

During the last year of Watters' administration the board of

⁷⁴ Ibid., pp. 4-12.

⁷⁵ "Minutes of the Twenty-third Annual Session of the Board of Trustees of Gammon Theological Seminary, June 6, 1916," p. 4.

⁷⁶ Annual Catalogue of Gammon Theological Seminary, 1920-1921, p. 59. Atlanta: Gammon Theological Seminary, 1921.

⁷⁷ Ibid., p. 2.

trustees agreed to the publication of a twenty-page school magazine issued six times a year, called The Foundation.⁷⁸ The secretary of the Stewart Foundation was editor, the faculty served on the editorial staff, and the cost of printing was divided between the seminary and the Stewart Foundation. The aim of the publication was to provide a voice for the school, to keep the alumni in touch with each other and with their Alma Mater, and to identify school life closely with the redemption of Africa.⁷⁹

For another phase of the program Bishop Thirkield repeated a statement of his and Mrs. Thirkield's purpose to establish a lecture-ship in Gammon on practical theology, social service, and race relations.⁸⁰

New Clark-Gammon Curriculum (Third Stage)

Dr. George H. Trevor (white), having served the seminary as Professor of New Testament and Christian Doctrine and as acting president, was elected as head of the seminary at the thirty-second annual meeting of the board on April 30, 1926.⁸¹ He has been referred to as the typical combination of accurate scholarship and religious enthusiasm, and together with Mrs. Trevor was a cultural influence through-

⁷⁸ "Minutes of Adjourned Session of the Board of Trustees of Gammon Theological Seminary, October 23, 1924," p. 2.

⁷⁹ Ibid., p. 2.

⁸⁰ "Minutes of the Thirty-first Annual Session of the Board of Trustees of Gammon Theological Seminary, April 29, 1925," p. 3.

⁸¹ "Minutes of the Thirty-second Annual Session of the Board of Trustees of Gammon Theological Seminary, April 30, 1926," p. 3.

out the seminary family.

For some years a change in the general plan of work in Gammon, and in plans affecting interchange of instruction with Clark University, had been contemplated by the faculty. During the first year of Watters' administration the board adopted the following plan, providing that items 1, 2, and 7 as listed below become immediately effective; that items 3, 4, 5, and 6 become effective in the fall of 1926; and that other changes be gradually adopted as circumstances would permit, but as rapidly as possible:

1. Lengthen the school year by four weeks.
2. Divide the year into two semesters instead of three terms.
3. Divide the student body into two schools: the school of theology and the Bible training school.
4. Require as minimum preparation for the School of Theology a fully accredited high school course.
5. Provide that Gammon shall do for Clark all work in the department of Religious Education, including all required work in the Bible, offering one year in the New Testament and one year in the Old Testament to the high school students of Clark, and one year in the New Testament and one year in the Old Testament to the students in College; the high school work to be offered in the Gammon Bible School and the College work in the School of Theology.
6. Clark University could do for Gammon all high school work as required for students in the Bible School (and for conditioned students in the School of Theology). In addition to all courses in the high school, Clark could offer to students in the Gammon School of Theology courses in Economics, Biology, Sociology, Astronomy, Geology and English Literature.
7. Any student beginning his work in one school and continuing it in the other shall be able to save one year, completing his college and theological courses in six years.⁸²

⁸² Annual Catalogue of Gammon Theological Seminary 1925-1926,
pp. 32-24. Atlanta: Gammon Theological Seminary, 1926.

This plan was approved by Clark University and the hearty co-operation of the university was assured.⁸³ This venture may be considered as the third step on the part of the two institutions in providing for the religious training and other needs of Negro youth. To aid in perfecting the program, R. N. Brooks was elected to fill the chair of historical theology.

Administration of Franklin Halsted Clapp. -- Trevor served the seminary only a short time, retiring in 1927. It became the task of Dr. Clapp (white) to make the initial appraisal of the newly instituted program. He was a graduate of Wesleyan University and Drew Theological Seminary, and had studied at Columbia University and Mansfield College in England. For twenty years he had held important charges in the Michigan Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and twice had made foreign tours during which he visited the countries of Europe and of the near East.

Inauguration of President Clapp. -- The commencement week exercises of the seminary on May 19-21, 1929, and the inauguration of President F. H. Clapp were important events in the history of Gammon, for the school entered upon a new era of development. This occasion, one of orientation to new ideals in theological education, brought forth many challenging addresses, some of which were: "The Minister, a Factor in Social Reconstruction," by President W. P. Few of Duke University; "College Co-operation in Pre-ministerial Training," by Secretary W. S. Bovard of the board of education of the Methodist Episcopal Church; and "The

83

Ibid., p. 34.

Theological Seminary, the Hope of the Church," by President Frederick C. Eiselen of Garrett Biblical Institute. Greetings of an inter-denominational character were brought by President Florence M. Read of Spelman Seminary. After the charge to the new president by Bishop Thirkield, the former dean and first president of the seminary, Clapp spoke on "Re-thinking the Function of the Theological Seminary."⁸⁴ His address revealed awareness of the need for re-adaptation of educational ideals and theories in training for religious leadership for adjusting the curriculum of the seminary to the practical needs, problems, and circumstances of real life.

Is the theological seminary doing just the work which is needed for the church of today? In view of the many readjustments that are being made in the educational world, ought not the seminary to re-examine its methods and its curriculum to see if it cannot better meet the requirements of the present day?

The faculty of the theological seminary ought periodically to visit churches in both the city and rural communities, especially where the alumni of the seminary are pastors. By studying the field carefully the faculty could judge wherein the pastor was meeting the needs of the situation and wherein he was failing. After visiting a goodly number of churches, the faculty could very readily readjust their methods of teaching and change the curriculum to avoid the weaknesses which they observed in the men whom they had previously trained.⁸⁵

Inservice training. -- As to inservice training, President Clapp was successful in having the trustees adopt the policy of the "Sabbatical" year, with a view to allowing a Gammon professor who had been in service at Gammon for seven years or more the privilege of one half year off on full pay or a full year off on half pay. It was understood that the time

84 "Gammon Enters New Era of Development," Southwestern Christian Advocate, 56 (June 13, 1929), 460-461.

85 Ibid., p. 462.

would be spent in study and travel, and it was expected that the professor would receive much benefit.⁸⁶

By recommendation of the president and faculty, the Bible training school was discontinued, and entrance requirements were fixed at high school or college graduation. This change was based on the facts that over 13,000 Negro youth were attending college and that the general conference had made high school graduation the minimum educational requirement for admission into the annual conferences; therefore, Gammon could not afford to use its resources in training men below this standard. To prevent the higher standards from becoming a hardship, an interdenominational summer school for all pastors already in the field was suggested.⁸⁷

The president sensed a trend in higher education toward coordination and affiliation of schools, especially among Negro colleges, and called to the attention of the trustees of Gammon in 1929 the merger that had just taken place between Morehouse, Spelman, and Atlanta University. It was felt that, since Atlanta University was to be a graduate school, Gammon should consider the question of some sort of an affiliation whereby Gammon would be the graduate school of theology or religion. The problem was referred to the executive committee of the seminary.⁸⁸

Administration of Willis J. King. -- Dr. King, the present president (1944), was the second Negro to be elected as president of the

⁸⁶ "Minutes of the Twenty-fifth Annual Session of the Board of Trustees of the Gammon Theological Seminary, May 22, 1922," p. 1.

⁸⁷ Ibid., p. 1.

⁸⁸ Ibid., p. 1.

seminary and the fourth to be chosen from the rank of professors during the life of the school. King brought much to the position in terms of both education and experience. His education included the A. B. degree from Wiley College, Texas, and the S. T. D. and Ph. D. degrees from Boston University. In 1922 King represented the Negro students of America at the World's Student Christian Federation, Peking, China. In 1929 he was chosen by the Julius Rosenwald Fund for research in Oxford University and Palestine under the auspices of the American School of Oriental Research. Three times he served as a delegate to the general conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church. In 1926 he wrote The Negro in American Life. Before coming to Gammon, King was for two years president of Samuel Houston College, Austin, Texas.⁸⁹

The closing of Bible training school. -- The discontinuing of the Bible training school, which ranked second to the school of divinity as to number of graduates in 1930, suggests not only a new emphasis in type of work, but also in building up the school of divinity in enrollment. As a method of approach an appeal for students was made to other schools. Professors visited private and state colleges, conducted forums, and had conferences with the students. This problem of student enrollment became more complex as a result of discontinuance of the diploma course in 1937-1938, and by the action of the general conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1936, which raised the requirement for admission to four years of college training.

⁸⁹ "Inauguration of W. J. King," Atlanta World, 5 (May 5, 1933).

Beginning with 1937-1938, applicants were considered under the following heads:

1. Regular Students: graduates of a standard college who were candidates for the Bachelor of Divinity Degree.

2. Unclassified Students: Applicants who were not college graduates but who had graduated from a standard junior college or had completed sixty semester hours or more of acceptable academic work in a standard college were admitted to "unclassified" standing.

3. Special Students: Mature persons who had graduated from high school but had not completed two full years of college work were admitted as "Special Students" for a nominal connection with the Seminary while completing their college work at Clark, or at another Atlanta College. The number admitted was limited and at the discretion of the faculty.⁹⁰

Curriculum organization. -- Curriculum adjustments were made as to: (1) specific statement of aim, (2) reorganization of courses, and (3) the use of the services and offerings of other institutions and agencies of the community. The general objective of the seminary was stated as follows:

The general objective of the Gammon Theological Seminary is to provide the needed guidance and enrichment of the experience of men and women who are preparing for various fields of Christian service. These include the pulpit and pastoral ministry, educational ministry, missionary service in the United States and abroad, and other related types of Christian service. Specifically, this involves the acquisition of certain types of information and knowledge, the development of Christian attitudes toward life and the program of Christian activities, and the acquiring of skill and techniques in the performances of the functions of the Christian ministry in its various forms.⁹¹

It was believed by the faculty that the divisional type of organization would more effectively serve the needs of the students of

⁹⁰ Annual Catalogue of Gammon Theological Seminary, 1937-1938,
p. 12. Atlanta: Gammon Theological Seminary, 1938.

⁹¹ Annual Catalogue of Gammon Theological Seminary, 1935-1936,
p. 19. Atlanta: Gammon Theological Seminary, 1936.

Gammon. These needs, in terms of the existing faculty personnel, could best be met by appropriate integration of five areas or divisions:

- (1) division of Biblical literature; (2) division of Christian history;
- (3) division of Christian Doctrine; (4) division of church activities;
- and (5) division of Christian missions.⁹²

There were certain minimum requirements in each division of the curriculum for the degree of Bachelor of Divinity (90 hours): division 1, 16 hours; division 2, 8 hours; division 4, 25 hours; and division 5, 6 hours. The remaining 27 hours necessary for graduation could be freely selected from the several divisions of the curriculum, with the approval of the registration committee.⁹³

Working relations with the Atlanta University School of Social Work. -- In 1928-1929, through a plan of broad co-operation, the Atlanta School of Social Work gave three extension courses at the seminary. As an outgrowth of this work, an elaborate plan of co-operation was perfected in 1937 in connection with the Bachelor of Religious Education degree for women, and in 1933-1934 action was taken by the board of trustees of the seminary to create a department for the training of women. The purpose of the department was to provide training for Christian service for the following groups:

1. The wives of the students at Gammon.

⁹² Annual Catalogue of Gammon Theological Seminary, 1937-1938, p. 26, Atlanta: Gammon Theological Seminary, 1938.

⁹³ Ibid., p. 26.

2. Those who might enter full-time church work in other fields but who need religious education as supplementary to other training.

3. Women who wish to understand local church work as lay workers.

4. Those who wish to train for church vocations as Pastor's Assistants, Religious Education Directors, Deaconesses, or Social Service Workers.⁹⁴

Women who were college graduates and who desired to prepare for the regular ministry could enter the seminary as candidates for the B. D. degree. The department for women workers served all others, both graduates of a junior college or a standard two-year normal school and graduates of a standard four-year college, who wished to prepare for a more specialized type of Christian service. Provisions were made for women to enter as candidates after having completed two years (60 semester hours) of standard work at Clark or at some other university.⁹⁵

Women graduates of accredited colleges had to take sixty semester hours for the Bachelor of Religious Education degree, of which thirty were in the field of religion and thirty in vocational and professional courses. One-third of the latter could be earned in the Atlanta School of Social Work in theory and content courses. In addition to the thirty hours of prescribed vocational theory and content courses, at least three semester hours of supervised field work could be required of the candidate, the kind and amount to be determined by the School of Social Work. Some of the field work, however, had to be done in church

⁹⁴ Annual Catalogue of Gammon Theological Seminary, 1937-1938,
p. 20. Atlanta: Gammon Theological Seminary, 1938.

⁹⁵ Ibid., p. 23.

service under the supervision of the Gammon faculty.

Courses in Gammon Seminary could be taken without charge by students regularly enrolled in the Atlanta School of Social Work under the following conditions:

1. Courses to be selected with the approval of the Director and Registrar of Atlanta School of Social Work.

2. The total credit hours so included in any student's semester program not to exceed six semester hours and the total for the two years' course not to exceed twenty semester hours.

3. Any modification of the foregoing conditions for a given student had to be approved by both the Director and Registrar of Atlanta School and the President and Registrar of Gammon Seminary.⁹⁶

A recent action of the board at Gammon in 1942, relative to the B. R. E. degree for ministerial students, was referred to the president and faculty for re-study and report the following year.

Co-operation with the Interracial Commission. -- The fifteen years prior to 1944 have seen definite improvement in race relations in the South. Much of the leadership in this area has come from the Interracial Commission with headquarters in Atlanta. The commission has placed great emphasis on education as the principle by which mutual understanding and mutual good will could be developed between the white and Negro races. Most of the effort was directed toward the white group. Gammon Seminary, however, realizing that training in racial relationships was needed by both races, offered for a number of years brief courses in race relations for credit. This course has been under the direction of a competent member of the staff of the Interracial Commission and is

open without charge to students of the seminary and to senior college students of the Atlanta colleges.⁹⁷

The co-operative minister's institute movement. -- Gammon Theological Seminary, in cooperation with the six other Negro institutions of higher learning in Atlanta, conducted for the first time in 1934 a four-week minister's institute. Courses designed to meet the needs of pastors and religious workers, irrespective of denomination, were offered in the fields of Bible study, sermon building, missions, religious education, and the organization of church activities. The arrangement was that the summer institutes would be held annually in cooperation, and that they would rotate as to location. The first institute was held at Morehouse College, the second at Gammon, and the third at Morris Brown College. In recent years the institute has been held for a period of two weeks in connection with the co-operative summer school movement at Atlanta University.⁹⁸

Summary

The Gammon School of Theology of Clark University was established in 1883; the building housing the department was dedicated on December 18, 1883. The first step in the organization of the school was the election of W. P. Thirkield as dean. He served in this capacity from 1883 to 1888, when the school was made a separate institution. The aim of the school was to teach Biblical theology rather than systematic

97 Ibid., p. 24.

98 Ibid., p. 25.

theology. Thirkield advocated practical work, for the purpose of helping men toward success in the ministry. The goal of the school was to send out earnest, practical, evangelical preachers, who would render intelligent and loyal service. Some of the administrative problems confronting Thirkield during the first stage in the development of the school were: (1) providing adequate living quarters for the married men and their families, (2) building a desirable library collection, and (3) getting the purpose and program of the school effectively before students and friends.

Gammon, because of his long experience as a trustee of Garrett Biblical Institute, believed that, in order to fulfill its largest usefulness, the school should be independent. His plans were: (1) that the school be made independent and under the control of the Freedmen's Aid Society, (2) that the society support all of the professors except the senior professor, and (3) that the land needed for a campus be provided. The school was chartered as a separate institution on March 24, 1888. The charter was amended on January 30, 1889, changing the name to "Gammon Theological Seminary." This marked the second step in the development of the seminary. Before his death Gammon made a bequest of \$250,000, making a total given to the school of approximately \$650,000.

The Stewart Missionary Foundation to Africa was established in 1893 as a part of the program of Gammon. The Foundation became a center for the diffusion of missionary intelligence and the training of missionaries.

After the resignation of Thirkield, the seminary was under the

control of the faculty until the election of L. G. Adkinson as president on May 30, 1901. The contribution of Adkinson was that of building up a student loan fund and of convincing the annual conferences of the needs and importance of the institution. J. W. E. Bowen was elected to succeed Adkinson on October 12, 1906. He was the first Negro to serve as president of the seminary, and was a scholar, lecturer, and writer. Bowen's program centered around the building up of an alert and interested alumni association. In 1910 Clark and Gammon were placed under a single administration, with S. E. Idleman as president of both institutions. The life of this arrangement was for a period of only one year.

The administrations of P. M. Watters, G. H. Trevor, F. H. Clapp, and W. J. King brought about many changes in curriculum, educational philosophy, co-operation, and accreditation; this period may be considered as the third step in the development of the institution. The seminary has worked cooperatively with Clark University, and more recently with the School of Social Work, the Interracial Commission, and the Atlanta University summer school. In doing so, the seminary has expanded its program and has adjusted it to the social, economic, educational, and religious needs of the people and territory served.

CHAPTER V

INDUSTRIAL EDUCATION FOR THE MEN OF CLARK UNIVERSITY, 1880-1910

Introduction

People of both the North and the South came to believe after the war that economic security and respectability for the South could be regained only through an adequate program of industrial and technical education. Among the many beliefs as to the best course for the Negro, the Methodist Episcopal Church held that industrial training was an essential part of Christian training and, therefore, should be a part of the church's work in the education of white and colored persons in the South. However, the development of the industrial curriculum of Clark University to the point of national recognition was a slow and painstaking process, because of limited funds for maintenance and expansion. The university, nevertheless, succeeded over a period of sixteen years in expanding its offerings from two fields, carpentry and agriculture, to twelve different fields. In short, the period of industrial expansion may be conceived as extending from 1880 up to the time the university was forced to close the department of industrial training in 1896 because of lack of funds. By 1904, however, the work had been revamped and was offered as manual training, and the agricultural program of the university found expression in a highly organized system of farming. This activity at Clark University was in keeping with the general movement of the time, and the aid rendered by the university to farmers through yearly conferences was similar to that offered at Tuskegee Institute.

Naturally, this phase of the industrial program is primarily concerned with the curriculum for young men. A detailed analysis of the program for young women will be presented in the chapters dealing with the development of Thayer Home.

The South and industrial education. -- At the close of the war between the states, the South was poverty stricken. As late as 1880 the wealth of this section was tied-up in land cultivated by a non-productive system of agriculture. Because of the natural resources of the region and the power of "King Cotton," predictions were made that the South would soon become the industrial power of the world. However, prior to 1880, the South was bent on producing merely raw materials by means of unskilled labor, depending upon the skill of workers in other sections to produce for her the desired finished products. The marked changes that took place within the decade, 1880-1890, in a rise of value of all the South's manufactured products and the increased sum paid to factory workers aroused a consciousness of the need for industrial education as a solution of the economic problem of the region.¹ Thus, in discussing industrial education as a hope of the South, Thack said that:

More and more it is coming to be seen that the industrial hope of the South is in a wide dissemination of scientific, technical, and manual education, in making universal, so far as may be, that knowledge of the forces of mechanics that will lead to the development and mastery of the material resources that still lie slumbering in the depths of our hills and fields and forests - this the supreme need of our impoverished Southland.... Not only do we need the expert Captain of industry, but we need as well trained men in the rank....

1

Carelton B. Gibson, "Industrial Education for the South," Proceedings of the Fourth Conference for Education in the South, pp. 88-92. Harrisburg, Pennsylvania: Mount Pleasant Press, 1901.

The trained hand and the trained eye our white children also must have, or gradually, but surely, will all forms of industrial occupation pass from their control. Again, the future of the South depends upon industrial education.²

The greater portion of the agricultural produce of the South had been the result of Negro labor. The one-crop system, as operated in the South, had proved detrimental to the soil, and nothing had been done to educate the Negro in modern agricultural methods. In order to meet this need, a conference (thereafter a yearly event) was called at Tuskegee in 1892. Here the conferees received both information and instruction as to the improvement of agriculture.³

Colonization of the Negro. -- After the undoing of political reconstruction in the South, the Negro found himself as a bit of flotsam, engulfed with problems on every side. The poor whites frequently killed or lynched the Negro for trivial offenses, and the economic system in which he was forced to labor afforded him few comforts and much mental and emotional unrest. As a way out, many suggestions were made. Some thought that the problem would be solved with a change in political party. Others believed that religion would be the solution. Some Negroes, under the inspiration of leaders like Bishop H. M. Turner, did not feel that the race had a fair chance in the United States. A few of them, therefore, emigrated to Wapimo, Mexico; but, becoming dissatisfied with the situation there, they returned to their homes in Georgia

² C. C. Thack, "Industrial Education the Hope of the South," Proceedings of the Fifth Conference for Education in the South, pp. 91-92. Knoxville, Tennessee: Gont-Ogen Company, 1902.

³ Charles H. Wesley, Negro Labor in the United States, p. 229. New York: Vanguard Press, 1926.

and Alabama in 1895. The coming of the Negro into Mexico caused suspicion and excitement. A Mexican newspaper, El Tiempo, which had been denouncing lynching in the United States, changed front after these Negroes arrived in Mexico.⁴

As another venture, in quest of new opportunities and desiring to reenforce the civilization of Liberia, 197 Negroes sailed from Savannah, Georgia, for Liberia on March 19, 1895. Commenting on this step, the Macon Telegraph referred to the action of these Negroes as a rebellion against the social laws governing all people of the United States, and as an outcome of an increasingly strong feeling among the Negroes of the Southern states that would continue to grow with the spread of education and enlightenment among them.⁵ A more helpful early view was as follows:

The presence of 7,500,000 American Negroes in this country, in connection with all that clusters around the "color line," has led to various theories in regards to the "Southern problem." Some things may be regarded as settled, among which are: (1) the Negro is an American citizen; (2) he is here to stay; (3) he must be qualified to enjoy the privileges of our American civilization, and to meet its responsibilities; (4) in his present condition he is more or less a menace to our free institutions; and (5) it is the duty of every patriotic citizen to afford him the opportunities to do the best for himself, his country, and humanity.⁶

The plea of Booker Washington and others for industrial education. -- It was in the same year (1895) of the Mexico and Liberia exodus that Booker T. Washington, at the opening of the Atlantic Cotton States and International Exposition at Atlanta, uttered his plea for industrial

⁴ Carter G. Woodson, A Century of Negro Migration, pp. 150-151. Lancaster, Pennsylvania: Press of the New Era Printing Company, 1918.

⁵ Ibid., p. 151.

⁶ "The American Negro and Africa," Christian Educator, 2 (October, 1891), 298-99.

education as an approach to the Negro problem. Washington expressed a desire to say something that would cement the friendship of the races and bring about hearty cooperation between them. He told those of his race who hoped to better their conditions in foreign lands and who did not sense the importance of cultivating friendly relations with the Southern white man to "cast down their buckets" where they were.⁷ He pleaded with them to cast down their buckets in the fields of agriculture, mechanics, commerce, domestic service, and in the professions. The fact that the South had given the Negro a chance in commerce was evident at the exposition. Washington felt that the Negro should dignify work, begin at the bottom of life and not at the top, and above all should not let grievances overshadow his opportunities.⁸ Washington, moreover, asked of his white friends to cast down their buckets among the eight millions of Negroes whose habits they knew, to give the Negro encouragement, and to help him educate the head, hand, and heart.⁹ It is not claimed that Washington's views on industrial education were new and original, but never had the cause been presented with such force and fervor by a member of the Negro race. This address and the recognition it revealed from leading publications and citizens, including the then president of our country, Grover Cleveland, did much to stimulate a program of industrial education for Negroes in the South.

⁷ Booker T. Washington, Up From Slavery, pp. 219-220. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1900.

⁸ Ibid., p. 221.

⁹ Ibid., p. 221.

Subsequently school officers gave varied interpretations of an industrial philosophy of education that should underlie a program of education for the Negro.

In this same area the views of George F. Winston are significant:

The Negro problem in the South is at bottom industrial. The only hope for the Negro is to become more efficient as a laborer. The real struggle is for existence and the Negro is ill-prepared to win it. To this generation and many yet to come there is need of radical changes in Negro education. His colleges of law, medicine, theology, literature, science and art should be turned into schools for industrial training. Hampton and Tuskegee should be duplicated in every state.¹⁰

George W. Lawrence said in a similar view:

We do not see why instruction (tool) might not be profitably given in connection with grammar, geography, arithmetic, algebra, philosophy, geometry, and the like. The provision for instruction in use of tools and the elements which underlie the mechanic arts in connection with our schools is certainly practicable and in the highest degree desirable.... Such partial preliminary industrial training will, moreover, enable the youth more readily to determine the matter of his future vocation.¹¹

Industrial training as a part of Christian education. -- Industrial training was a part of the teaching emphasized by Bishops Coke and Asbury in Cokesbury College, the first institution of learning established by the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States, located near Baltimore at Abingdon, Maryland.¹² When it is remembered that the bishops prepared the rules governing the college in every particular, and that the ministers adopted these rules in their conference session,

¹⁰ George W. Winston, "Industrial Training in Relation to the Negro Problem," Proceedings of the Fourth Conference for Education in the South, p. 103. Harrisburg, Pennsylvania: Mount Pleasant Press, 1901.

¹¹ Thomas Lawrence, "Industrial Education," Proceedings of the First Conference for Education in the South, p. 18. Capon, West Virginia, 1896.

¹² J. C. Hartzell, "Industrial Training in Our First American College," Christian Educator, 3 (April, 1892), 368-369.

it is evident that in the minds of these men worthy industrial training was considered an essential part of Christian education.¹³

Industrial training, as it was being taught in the Christian church schools of the South, had for its purpose just what Coke and Asbury and their fellow-laborers intended; namely, the preparation of young people for practical life. It was thought that the individual learned by doing, and gained the best benefits of labor by being taught how to do right. Lessons were learned best by working under the leadership of competent Christian teachers, when industrial labor was made a part of physical development.¹⁴ This work in the South was interpreted and instituted in a selected group of colleges and universities through the activities of the Freedmen's Aid Society.

Southern whites and industrial training. -- J. F. Spence, chancellor of U. S. Grant University, presented to this society certain keen observations on the needs of the whites in one county of North Carolina. It was found that in this county seventy-five per cent of the white voters could not read the ballot they cast. In a school district of the same county, there were 121 children of school age, of which nine could write and fifteen could read. There were 117 voters, but only twenty-one of them could read their ballots. In the same district there were 125 adult white women, only thirteen of whom could read. Many of the white youth in the section were hungry for an education.¹⁵ Spence's

¹³ Ibid., p. 369.

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 369.

¹⁵ J. F. Spence, "Our Brothers in White," Twenty-second Annual Report of the Freedmen's Aid Society of the M. E. Church, pp. 50-51. Cincinnati: Methodist Book Concern, 1889.

suggestions as to what the church and the Northern people could do for the South and its schools were as follows:

1. By generous and judicious donations establish secondary and collegiate schools.

2. Encouragement by aiding in the training of teachers for common schools. It has splended material for competent teachers born on the soil. The South needs only the "helping hand" to better establish and grow her training schools.

3. The South needs industrial or training schools of several kinds: schools of housekeeping, to train girls from the rural districts in the art of skilled home-making. Connected with every literary school of the church in the South there should be such a department established. Schools of agriculture and of mechanics, to develop and train skilled workmen among the masses, and thus give new life to farming and manufacturing interests.¹⁶

The need and advantage of industrial education for Negroes. --

The Freedmen's Aid Society kept prominently before the minds of its students the idea that work was the great mission of life. It was a mandate of heaven that through the sweat of the brow they were to eat bread all of their life, a statement implying that not to work was to fail in the mission of life. Industrial training, therefore, was elevated and ranked along with the scholarly and necessary attainments of life. Educationally, such training was essential to the physical development of the individual. The education of head and heart was incomplete without that of the hands. Physical education was essential to intellectual and moral education, imparting beauty and strength to both. Such training furnished the individual a means of obtaining competent support and respectable standing in society. In the ante-bellum South promising hands

among the slaves had been taught trades and, though slaves, they became skilled workmen and good mechanics. This group, however, rapidly vanished after the war and left a great need for trained men in the various industries of the South.¹⁷ It was believed that the Negro race, if trained, could furnish labor in abundance. Philanthropists could find no better way to provide labor and to aid the Negro than by contributing liberally to establish and support industrial schools, in which youth could be taught trades, and drilled in the principles and practice of mechanical arts.¹⁸

Industrial training in schools for Negroes. -- Institutions operated for Negroes in 1885 by the Methodist Episcopal Church were classified in a rather general way as chartered, medical, theological, and institutions not chartered. In 1888 the organization of schools among Negroes included eight colleges, each with several departments; one theological school, and four Biblical departments; one medical college and one dental college; one law school; twelve industrial schools, each with various departments; and ten seminaries and normal schools. In these schools there were 243 teachers and 6,106 students, of which 865 were enrolled in the industrial department. This phase of the work was not stressed during 1885.¹⁹

In connection with several of the larger institutions, schools of carpentry, blacksmithing, agriculture, wagon making, and printing had

¹⁷ Twentieth Annual Report of the Freedmen's Aid Society of the M. E. Church, p. 15. Cincinnati: Methodist Book Concern, 1887.

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 15.

¹⁹ Appendix III, Table III.

been established.²⁰ In the boarding halls and dormitories the young women were given practical instruction in the duties of home life. It was believed that the teaching of trades to young people and drilling in the principles of mechanical and industrial arts contributed to success in acquiring property and influenced youth, not only to improve their homes, but to become better members of society.²¹

The industrial program necessitated both the adding of teachers and the construction of new buildings, together with the purchase of equipment. To this cause the Slater Fund contributed regularly, giving to the institutions for the year of 1888 the sum of \$9,000.²² Also, the Peabody Fund made a contribution of \$1,000 to the schools for the same year.²³

Industrial Education at Clark University - First Phase

Early purposes. -- The purposes of the industrial program at Clark may be interpreted through statements in the catalogues of the period and through the writings and addresses of presidents and faculty members. As early as 1881 reference was made in the college catalogue to courses in carpentry and architecture; under the caption of "Polytechnic Institute" this statement of the proposed program was given:

²⁰ Twenty-first Annual Report of the Freedmen's Aid and Southern Educational Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, p. 15. Cincinnati: Methodist Book Concern, 1888.

²¹ Ibid., p. 15.

²² Ibid., p. 24.

²³ Ibid., p. 24.

The education demanded by the colored people for several generations to come is a very practical one. A training that unfits them in any way for their life work is injurious. Skilled workmen in every department are as imperatively demanded as are teachers or preachers. To meet this want it is our purpose to gradually build up various departments for training students as farmers, mechanics, and business men - extending the plan as fast as means are furnished. The idea which will be more fully set forth in future circulars includes Schools of Agriculture, Iron-working, Carpentry, and Practical Business. The president of the University will be happy to correspond with any who are disposed to help much or little in this direction. During the past year a School of Carpentry has been organized. A workshop 24 x 36 has been erected, benches and tools supplied, and instruction given in architecture, building and cabinet work.²⁴

The specific objectives of the proposed program in industrial education were:

1. To correct the idea that education prepares for a life of indolence.
2. To furnish a means of obtaining an honest living.
3. To secure healthful exercise for the students.
4. To train the intellect through the skillful use of the hands.²⁵

The economic values to be derived from such industrial training were expressed as follows:

Every young man fifteen years old and below the college classes, is required to devote from one to two hours per day to manual training, consisting both of theoretical and practical work. Pupils are required not only to construct miniature models, but products for the market as well, and thus are prepared for the struggle of life, should no professional position open to them. Not all students can fill professions. Skilled bread winners are second to skilled soul winners. The great need of the South, and especially of the colored people, is skilled workmen who can wield a deft hand and teach others to do the same, men who can

²⁴ Annual Catalogue of Clark University, 1880-1881, p. 18. Atlanta: H. H. Dickson Book and Job Printers, 1881.

²⁵ Annual Catalogue of Clark University, 1882-1883, p. 16. Atlanta: Clark University, 1883.

earn \$2.50 per day, while others are earning \$0.75. Clark University is endeavoring to supply this want through her Industrial Department.²⁶

Industrial philosophy of President W. H. Hickman. -- President Thayer, working with Bishop Warren, had visualized a program of industrial education for Clark University in making the purchase of the South Atlanta site. During the administration of Thayer the program was initiated and carried to a high level of development. Thayer also provided the facilities and made possible the beginning on the campus of the "model home," which bore his name.

The role of Presidents W. H. Hickman, D. C. John, C. M. Melden, and W. H. Crogman was that of continuing the work already begun. Of these men, Hickman presented in his report to the Freedmen's Aid Society perhaps the best written statement of the industrial work. To him man was a dual character living in two worlds, the physical and the spiritual. An adequate program for the development of the whole man must provide for the education of hand and body, as well as heart and head. In a world of pressure, haste, and waste, the individual could not rely upon the out-worn system of apprenticeship training.²⁷ In order to meet the demands of the times, trade schools and a program of industrial education were considered as supplementary to seminary, college, and university.²⁸ Hickman considered the following statements well supported by experience:

²⁶ Annual Catalogue of Clark University, 1896-1897, p. 43.
Atlanta: Clark University Press, 1897.

²⁷ W. H. Hickman, "Trade Schools for Clark University," Twenty-second Annual Report of the Freedmen's Aid Society of the M. E. Church,
p. 52. Cincinnati: Methodist Book Concern, 1889.

²⁸ Ibid., p. 52.

1. To teach the knowledge of trades is a necessity for the good of the nation, and especially so for the salvation of the colored man.

2. The apprentice system is uncooperative, impracticable, and can not meet the demands of the day.

3. The trade school can.

4. The best and the cheapest place for the trade school is to supplement the seminary, the college, and the university.²⁹

Hickman also believed that, in teaching trades to the students, they would become skilled wage workers and maintain a standing among mechanics. It would not be best, he thought, to push them into trades requiring much capital. Instead, there were more independence and greater thrift and inspiration for the man who started out with his own "kit" of tools to set up for himself in some trade than for the man who served as a skilled worker under some other person.³⁰ Hickman held the following view relative to student labor and market competition for the finished products:

We can not go on the market and sell for cash at anything like what other first-class goods bring. We have not the advantages for making goods sell for cash as cash firms have. Then we can not always deliver the work when wanted; there are so many contingencies in student labor. The slow-order work is the best kind for industrial schools, but that requires large capital. The repair work pays better but it does not furnish the range of experience, and often has to be pushed in too great haste for student labor.³¹

The plea of Hickman, who was directing the work of Clark at perhaps the period of its greatest industrial development, was not for better equipment, but for more buildings and tools, in order to double

²⁹ Ibid., p. 53.

³⁰ Ibid., p. 56.

³¹ Twenty-second Annual Report of the Freedmen's Aid Society of the M. E. Church, pp. 55-56. Cincinnati: Methodist Book Concern, 1889.

production without increasing the ratio of expenses, since the same superintendent and foreman could lead and instruct three hundred students as well as seventy-five.³²

Housing the industrial department. -- The housing of the industrial department in an adequate building was a part of the general building program, including the construction of Warren, Gammon, and Ballard Halls. Because of the crowded conditions for the women, a new building, Warren Hall, was constructed in 1885. This hall contained forty-five bed rooms, a large reading room, large kitchens and laundries, and a dining-room capable of seating three hundred persons.³³

An interesting account is given by Bishop Warren of his partnership with Reverend Gammon in constructing the new building for the young women and the establishment of a theological seminary at the college. The interest of Gammon in the program of educating the freedmen was intimated to Warren by Fuller. Warren went to Chicago to see Gammon, and after a long earnest conversation they agreed to a partnership to establish a seminary. Gammon gave \$25,000 and Warren put into the project, through the aid of his friends, \$20,000. However, before finishing the building, each had contributed more than agreed. When the seminary was completed, the business partnership was dissolved. To the end, however, these two men were known to each other as "my partner."³⁴

³² Ibid., pp. 56-57.

³³ Annual Catalogue of Clark University, 1899-1900, p. 9. Atlanta: Clark University Press, 1900.

³⁴ W. P. Thirkield, "Elijah H. Gammon," Gammon Quarterly Bulletin, (February, 1891), 10.

Soon after the seminary was finished, Gammon donated the amount of money contributed by Warren and built a dormitory for Clark University, honoring his friend by naming it "Warren Hall." Gammon did not know that the seminary was to be called by his own name until it was done.³⁵

The site chosen for Warren Hall was where the old shops were located, which necessitated the finding of a new site for the shops. The plan was to raise a large part of the money in the South and to name the building "Georgia Hall," at an estimated cost of \$5,000, of which one thousand had been conditionally pledged. Cards were printed, representing a brick, and were sold at ten cents each, with the sale of forty thousand cards insuring the completion of the building. The actual bricks were to be burned in the university brick-yard, so as to make possible a large structure for a small outlay.³⁶

No record is available of the actual construction of a Georgia Hall on the campus. The building actually provided for the industrial department was constructed through the benevolence of a Mr. Ballard of Brooklyn, New York.³⁷ This large brick building, named Ballard Hall, was one hundred by forty feet. The first floor was divided into two parts, with one half occupied by the carpenter-shops, planing-mill, lathes, band-saw, etc. The other part was occupied by the wheelwright-shop. The second floor was divided into four rooms: one for the print-

³⁵ Ibid., p. 10.

³⁶ Annual Catalogue of Clark University, 1885-1886, p. 33. Atlanta: Clark University Press, 1886.

³⁷ Twenty-fifth Annual Report of the Freedmen's Aid and Southern Education Society, p. 175. Cincinnati: Methodist Book Concern, 1891.

ing-office, one for the varnish and finishing department, another for the harness and trimming shop, and the remaining room devoted to an office and to mechanical drafting. The machinery was driven by a thirty-horse-power engine. The blacksmith-shop and foundry were in a separate building. The blacksmith-shop of brick was forty by thirty feet, and contained three forges, drills, benches, etc. The foundry, sixty by forty feet, was supplied with the latest improved cupola.³⁸

Instructional organization of the industrial work. -- The officials of the university, working upon the assumption that every student should be required to spend some part of the day in the trade schools in order to get at least a working knowledge of tools, were confronted with the problem of lack of space and tools. To overcome these difficulties, a rotating class system was initiated.

For the year, 1889, fourteen young men were enrolled in the carpenter-shop, nine in the wheelwright-shop, nine in the blacksmith-shop, nine in the printing department, six in the paint-room, six in the harness department, and seven in mechanical drafting. These students were grouped into four classes: Class D was the group of beginners, and worked without pay; Class C received five cents per hour for extra work; Class B received seven and a half cents per hour for extra work; and Class A received ten cents per hour for extra work. A student passed from a lower group to a higher one at certain times by special

examination.³⁹

Two hours per day were required from all trade students, a university hour and a practice hour, for which they received no pay, but many of the students found extra time beyond this requirement to earn a large part of their expenses in school. It was a policy of the department to give students all the work they had time to do, after they had spent the required time in preparation for classes.⁴⁰

An attempt was made at all times to see that the department was under the supervision of a skilled superintendent, and that each shop was under the leadership of an experienced foreman. Significant in this connection were the faithful services rendered by A. D. Houghton, as superintendent of the industrial department and teacher of mechanical drawing.⁴¹

Development of the industrial curriculum. -- The first statement relative to the offering of industrial training at Clark University appeared in the college catalogue for the year, 1879-1880. Classified under special courses were English classics, carpentry, and architecture. These courses were not a part of the academic program and were so offered as not to interfere with the regular courses or duties of the students.⁴² Those who were able to complete such a course received a certificate from the instructor of the department. The life of the depart-

³⁹ Twenty-second Annual Report of the Freedmen's Aid and Southern Education Society, pp. 54-55. Cincinnati: Methodist Book Concern, 1889.

⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 55.

⁴¹ Ibid., p. 176.

⁴² Annual Catalogue of Clark University, 1879-1880, pp. 14-16. Atlanta: Clark University, 1880.

ment organized in terms of "schools" was short-lived, lasting for only two years. The industrial department, in terms of organization, offerings, teaching personnel, and production, reached a high peak in 1885-1886. An attempt was made during the year of 1885-1886 to integrate the industrial work with related academic offerings of the university. First-year students, in addition to two hours of practical work per day, were required to take arithmetic to decimal fractions, reading, spelling, and writing. The practical work of second-year students was the same amount as for the first-year, with an increased load of academic subjects composed of arithmetic to evaluation, reading, spelling, writing, and geography. Third-year students spent one hour per day doing practical work and took business arithmetic twice each week, together with geography, elementary grammar, reading, spelling, writing, and industrial and architectural drawing.⁴³

In 1886 the "schools" were again referred to as departments. In presenting the department to the public for the purpose of securing funds, the competency of the teachers and the physical condition of the shops were emphasized. The nature of the training was described in detail; for example, the printing department referred to its good press for printing a full newspaper and job work. The university paper, the biweekly The Elevator, and the annual catalogue were printed in the department. Again, attention was called to the carriage shop as being in charge of a competent mechanic, B. F. Hoyt. Carriage and wagon making

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Annual Catalogue of Clark University, 1885-1886, p. 31.
Atlanta: Clark University Press, 1886.

were taught, and students were provided experiences with all of the related trades in connection with the construction of these vehicles.

There was a close integration of the work in carriage and wagon making, iron work, trimming, painting, and harness making.

The description of the department for the year, 1885-1886, was in terms of facilities and social usefulness of the work. The educational approach, in terms of a statement of specific aims, activities, and electives in the field, was not given for the department until 1896, during the administration of President D. C. John. During his administration there was also compiled a list of general regulations governing unexcused absences, handling of tools, marking system, and requirement for a certificate of graduation.⁴⁴

Closing of the industrial department. -- The department, after reaching a high degree of organization and social usefulness, was forced to close for the school year, 1896-1897, because of the withdrawal of the Slater appropriation. President John, writing under the caption of "A Few Words to Friends" in the catalogue for the same year, made the following plea:

...Our Industrial Department has been closed by the withdrawal of the appropriation from the Slater Fund. This is little short of a calamity to the young men who come here to be fitted for the struggle of life. The Freedmen's Aid and Southern Education Society, with its diminished income is not able to reopen it. Can it be possible that the Methodist Episcopal Church will allow this Department to be closed, simply because the Slater Board has withdrawn its support?

Private Schools are securing, by personal solicitation in the

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Annual Catalogue of Clark University, 1896-1897, pp. 44-49.
Atlanta: Clark University Press, 1897.

North, ample funds to carry on Industrial Departments of mammoth proportions. Will not some philanthropic Methodist whose eyes may fall on this reopen ours? It takes \$2,500 a year to run it to its full capacity. Who will be the first to respond?⁴⁵

The following year the industrial work of the university was listed as manual training. However, the summary of enrollment in the various departments listed seven students in the industrial department. Some emphasis continued to be placed upon production for economic purposes, especially in printing and later in scientific farming.⁴⁶

Achievements of the Industrial Department

The accomplishments of the industrial department may be measured in part through the recognition the university received because of objects constructed in the industrial department and through the success of those who went out to work at their trades.

In response to a request, the Freedmen's Aid Society made an exhibit for the World's Exposition held in New Orleans in 1884, to which nearly all of the affiliated schools responded. In terms of neatness, penmanship, evidence of careful teaching, and scholarship, the exhibition was considered the best test of the success of the work since the organization of the society. More than three hundred square feet of table space were required to accommodate the port-folios.⁴⁷ From the girls came diversified articles for personal use and household utility

⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 71.

⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 71.

⁴⁷ Eighteenth Annual Report of the Freedmen's Aid Society of the M. E. Church, pp. 26-27. Cincinnati: Methodist Book Concern, 1885.

and ornamentation. The boys sent a great variety of useful ornamental articles. One boy from Claflin College sent an oil painting for which he received special commendation. Clark University sent a buggy made by the boys. In fact, at Clark University the work was developed to such a point that the best carriages, hearses, express wagons, and similar vehicles made in Atlanta were said to have come from the shops on the campus.⁴⁸

There was a feeling on the part of the Freedmen's Aid Society that the financial returns in the form of wages received by the graduates of the trade departments well compensated them for what they had invested. Some of the graduates from Clark University working in the Southern states received as painters, carriage makers, and harness makers from \$1.25 to \$2.00 per day. A few working as blacksmiths received as high as \$2.50 per day.⁴⁹

These figures are significant, as compared with the daily wage of the Negro during this early period of his economic development. Some two hundred employers of Negro labor in several states of the South gave the Chattanooga, Tennessee, Tradesman illuminating facts and figures concerning the status of the Negro worker. Skilled Negro laborers were earning \$3.00 a day, less skilled a sum of \$2.00, and the others earned an average of \$1.75 per day. Unskilled Negro labor was paid from \$0.60 to \$1.50 a day, the average being \$1.10. White labor was preferred by

⁴⁸ Jay S. Stowell, Methodist Adventure in Negro Education, p. 70. Cincinnati: Methodist Book Concern, 1922.

⁴⁹ "Industrial Graduates from Clark University," Christian Educator, 2 (October, 1891). 302.

thirty-five employers, twenty-seven saw no difference, and forty-nine employers preferred the Negro. There were sixty-seven employers who were sure that colored labor was increasing in efficiency, while forty-three thought not, and fifteen saw no change. More than half of the employers announced their intention to continue to employ colored labor, while only two said they would have no more of it.⁵⁰

The Manual Training Emphasis - Second Phase
of the Industrial Program

The second step in the development of the industrial program at Clark University was an expression of the manual training movement in America with its European background. The introduction of manual training schools grew out of the feeling that too much of education was merely the learning of content from textbooks. The philosophy underlying the movement was originated by Friedrich Froebel, creator of the kindergarten and the first to advocate its application to the upper years of schooling. In 1866 Finland required by law that there should be some form of manual training for boys in primary schools, and later it was introduced into the curriculum of the training colleges for male teachers.⁵¹

This work was taken over by Sweden, and in 1892 the government established schools for teaching boys and young men carpentry, wood-turning, wood-carving, brush-making, bookbinding, the occupations

⁵⁰ "Methodist Episcopal Church in the South," Christian Educator, 3 (April, 1892), 389.

⁵¹ F. L. Clapp, W. J. Chase, and Curtis Merriman, Introduction to Education, pp. 104-105. Boston: Ginn and Co., 1935.

of coopers and wheelwrights, and also work in copper and iron. Teachers were trained in these arts and many of them came to teach in the United States. At first the economic purpose held sway, but later the educational aspect dominated, and a well organized program of tool work developed for boys between twelve and fifteen years of age. To this training, involving both wood and metal work, the Swedish gave the name of "sloyd."⁵²

The European manual training exhibits in 1876 at the Centennial Exhibition in Philadelphia gave a strong impetus to the movement and led to the establishment of many manual training schools in this county. The first was in St. Louis in 1879, in connection with Washington University. Many of these schools were established in large cities, with emphasis on manual training for the purpose of general culture, the supporters disclaiming any intention of establishing schools for the teaching of trades.⁵³

As a result of these new forces, a combination of the industrial and manual training emphasis was found in the work during the transitional period at Clark University. Woodworkers were taught the names, use, and care of the different tools. Exercises were given in measuring, sawing, planning, gaging, boring, laying-out, joint making, glueing, and applied work. The emphasis was upon the acquisition of information and learning through the process of construction rather than production for the market. This approach was also used for the blacksmiths and to some degree for printers and shoemakers.⁵⁴

⁵² Ibid., p. 105.

⁵³ E. E. Brown, The Making of Our Middle Schools, pp. 451-452. New York: Longman's Green and Co., 1902.

⁵⁴ Annual Catalogue of Clark University, 1897-1898, pp. 36-39. Atlanta: Clark University Press, 1898.

Every student in the eighth grade, first year preparatory, and normal classes was required to take manual training work. It was open to those in other classes only by special permission from the superintendent of the department and the president of the university. Finishing the work of the industrial department, especially printing and shoemaking, necessitated graduating also from the preparatory or normal course. The students were required to pay a fee of one dollar a year for the use of tools and materials. Drawing instruments and materials were purchased by the student and subject to the approval of the instructor.⁵⁵ The industrial and manual training emphases characterized the program down to 1904, when a description of the work for the year and the teaching of elementary "sloyd" more nearly reflected the idea of manual training for the purpose of general culture. An illustrative description of the work in wood is as follows:

The sloyd system of knifework will be taught.... The aim of the work in this course is to develop accuracy in laying off work and in cutting out of same. This training also forms a scientific basis for cabinet and fine carpenter work.

In all sloyd construction this wood will be used and different varieties introduced as the work advances. The natural characteristics of each wood used will be considered in connection with the construction work.⁵⁶

When it is recalled that this department had been closed because of a lack of funds, it might be concluded that the manual training movement offered a way out or a means for continuing some industrial work. Not only was there a reduction in the nature and scope of

⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 37.

⁵⁶ Annual Catalogue of Clark University, 1903-1904, pp. 36-37. Atlanta: Clark University Press, 1904.

work done, however, but also there were only two members of the faculty carrying on the entire program of manual training, instead of one or two persons in each department. It should be kept in mind that the printing department continued to do small and large jobs. When the press was turned over to Lawyer Taylor of the mathematics department, he taught each of his six sons the trade that has made it possible today for them to supplement their earning capacity by printing small jobs. Also, the university, under the direction of P. C. Parks, became engaged in an elaborate program of scientific farming.

Scientific Farming as a Third Phase of the Industrial Program

Scientific farming as a special project at Clark University was again a reflection of the general industrial and scientific movement of the period. The old educational program of the past had no place for those important departments that were the peculiar outgrowth of the new educational world; namely, the kindergarten, manual and art training, technological instruction, and business education. However, even in the older branches there was a rapidly expanding development in knowledge, not only in the humanities, but also in the social and natural sciences. More and more it became a part of the thinking of leading educators that efficiency in any vocational or professional field could be improved by training and education. Bonny wrote as follows:

Equally important is the idea, now well established, that the farmer, the manufacturer, the merchant, or other business man, needs a thorough education for his calling quite as much as do the professional classes for theirs. Modern experience has abundantly shown that a farm abandoned by ignorant incompetence as worn out and worthless can be made to blossom like the rose under an application of intelligent

skill and scientific knowledge such as the higher institutions of learning impart.

Of vast importance and significance is the new movement of colleges and universities, under the name of University Extension, to ally themselves with the people. That alliance will prove of inestimable value to both.⁵⁷

The universities and colleges, in fostering a scientific program in industrial education, were greatly aided financially by the federal government. The Morrill Act of 1862, for example, provided for the donation of land to the several states and territories that supported colleges for the benefit of agriculture and mechanical arts.⁵⁸ The enactment of supplementary legislation (the so called second Morrill Act in 1890 and the Nelson amendment of 1907) reaffirmed and augmented the provisions of the Agricultural and Mechanical College Act of 1862. Provision was included in the second act, not only to prevent discrimination against Negroes in the full enjoyment of the benefits of federal aid to the agricultural and mechanical colleges, but also to permit the establishment of separate institutions for the two major races.⁵⁹ The Hatch Act initiated a new federally aided service of scientific investigation and experimentation in agricultural education for local areas.⁶⁰ A few Negroes were the recipients of this training in Northern colleges and in state universities for Negroes. In keeping with the trend, Clark

⁵⁷ Charles G. Bonny, Addresses and Proceedings, International Congress of Education, p. 18. Washington: National Education Association, 1893.

⁵⁸ Federal Relations to Education, Report of the Advisory Committee, Part II, p. 35. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1931.

⁵⁹ Ibid., p. 45.

⁶⁰ Ibid., p. 35.

University employed P. C. Parks, who had received the Bachelor of Science degree in agriculture, as director of the university farm.

Under Parks' supervision a program of scientific farming was initiated. The purpose of the course was to present the elements of intensive agriculture, so as to fit the student to teach in rural and grade schools. Instruction was given in the use of modern hand implements and of horse farm tools, as well as in elementary farm surveying. A small tract of land was used as an experimental farm on which investigations were made of agricultural problems of value to the South. In the prosecution of this phase of the work there was close co-operation between the departments of chemistry and biology. To this end, courses were listed as agricultural zoology, agricultural botany, and agricultural chemistry. In these courses the feeding, breeding, and management of stock and plants were stressed, together with chemical analyses of those elements and compounds of most importance to agriculture.⁶¹

The farmers' institute. -- An attempt was made at Clark University, as was true at Tuskegee, to build a strong sentiment among the people in favor of agricultural education. For this purpose an effort was made to reach the white farmers of the state and the different religious denominations among the colored people. Parks attended the white dairy-men's annual state convention, four of Bishop Holsey's conferences of the C. M. E. Church, and two annual conferences held by the Methodist Episcopal Church in Georgia. Farmers' institutes were held in five coun-

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Annual Catalogue of Clark University, 1907-1908, p. 23.
Atlanta: Clark University Printing Press, 1908.

ties of Georgia. At all of these gatherings stress was placed on the importance of agricultural education among the colored people, with the hope of acquainting prospective students with the work and of enlisting the interest and co-operation of parents in the farm work at Clark University. This farm attracted considerable attention and drew warm praise from agricultural experts and visitors.⁶² D. J. Croscy, expert in agricultural instruction for the department of agriculture at Washington, D. C., was favorably impressed on visiting the farm, as were T. B. Williams and G. S. Dickerman, agents of the John F. Slater Fund, from which fund Clark University received \$500 to aid in carrying on the work. It is significant, too, that S. A. Knapp, agent of the Bureau of Plant Industry, made the farm at Clark the headquarters for agricultural information for the Negro farmers of the state. Also, an agricultural expert was appointed to help conduct the farmers' institute. Plans were made for a round-up farmers' institute, which was held at the university in August, 1907. Its aim was to put the farmers in close touch with the actual needs of the colored people.⁶³ This aim and the work of the school farm attracted the attention of the editor of the Atlanta Constitution, which carried the following statement:

The Constitution desires to commend this practical work for the betterment of the Negro race in the South, which has been accomplished on the school farm in connection with Clark University, near this city, and which, on a scale somewhat limited, splendidly serves to forecast what

⁶² P. C. Parks, Report of the Agricultural Department of Clark University, 1906-1907, pp. 1-2. Atlanta: Clark University Printing Press, 1907.

⁶³ Ibid., p. 2.

may be expected from similar experiments.⁶⁴

Because the board of managers believed that the work at seven strategic points⁶⁵ should be strengthened and enlarged, it recommended that the general committee send out an appeal for more funds to the church and friends of industrial education throughout the country. It was felt that, since the farm at Clark University was unquestionably one of the most important departments of the work being carried forward in the South, the project should be given as much financial support as possible. Nevertheless, about 1910, the university, not having a special fund or annual appropriation for the elaborate program of scientific farming and agricultural education, was forced to discontinue the offering of this service. However, some individual farming did continue, and much food for the table was provided from this source.⁶⁶

Summary

People in the North and South, after the war between the states, felt that the economic security of the South could be regained only through a program of industrial and technical education. Concerning the Negro, many theories were held as to his salvation. Some of the leaders believed that the problem would be solved with a change in poli-

⁶⁴ Forty-fourth Annual Report of the Freedmen's Aid Society of the M. E. Church, p. 11. Cincinnati: Methodist Book Concern, 1910.

⁶⁵ The seven strategic points were: Claflin University, Orangeburg, S. C.; Morristown Industrial College, Morristown, Tennessee; Clark University, Atlanta, Georgia; Wiley University, Marshall, Texas; Rust University, Holly Springs, Mississippi; Gilbert Academy, Baldwin, Louisiana; and Princess Ann Academy, Princess Ann, Maryland.

⁶⁶ Interview between the writer and John A. Green, alumnus of Clark University, September 14, 1943.

tical party. Others were of the opinion that religion and right living would make for better conditions. With yet others emigration was the only solution.

A group of Negroes had gone to Wapimio, Mexico, and to Liberia in 1895, the same year in which Booker T. Washington was invited to address the International Exposition at Atlanta. Washington's plea upon that occasion was for the Negro to stay in the South and that an approach to the problem be made through a program of industrial education. Among other school men to champion in their writings and speeches the cause of the Negro and industrial education were George F. Winston and George W. Lawrence.

The Methodist Episcopal Church conceived of industrial training as a definite part of Christian training and offered it in each of its schools for white and colored students in the South. Among the centers chosen was Clark University, where industrial training became a part of the program as early as 1879. When the university purchased its site in South Atlanta in 1880, it was hoped that the male students would engage in farming as a means of self-help. Industrial training at Clark as an organized program was perhaps best conceived by President Hickman. To him, man lived in two worlds, the physical and the spiritual, and any adequate program of education must provide for the education of hand and body, as well as head and heart. This complete development could best be accomplished by having the trade school to supplement the seminary, the college, and the university.

The institution strove to prepare finished mechanics and thus to increase the earning capacity of its men from seventy-five cents per

day to as high as \$2.50 per day. This program necessitated an increase in teaching personnel, adequate housing facilities (which became a part of the building program of the university), and a constant plea for more equipment. The university had been aided by an appropriation from the Slater Fund, but this aid was withdrawn in 1896. President John made an appeal to the friends of the college, but failing in his attempt to raise money he was forced to close the department with the beginning of the school year, 1886-1887. The aim of the university, however, had been accomplished to a large degree, for many of the students were earning \$1.25 to \$2.00 per day. A few working as blacksmiths were receiving as high as \$2.50 per day. Many citizens of Atlanta believed that the best carriages, hearses, express wagons, and similar vehicles made in the city came from the shops on the Clark University campus.

With the closing of the industrial department as such, the university became interested in a program of manual training. The transition was at first very slow and manual training did not really characterize the work until as late as 1904. Even after this date, printing as a vocation continued to be taught, because it was self-supporting.

The third and last phase of the industrial program at Clark University was that of scientific farming. This program was initiated by P. C. Parks about 1906. The purpose of the work was to prepare students to teach agriculture and to investigate agricultural problems of value to the South by bringing about a close co-operation with the science departments of the university. In connection with this work, a farmers' institute, similar to that at Tuskegee, was conducted for the education of farmers. Because of insufficient funds the university about 1910 was

forced to discontinue this part of the curriculum.

CHAPTER VI

THE M. E. CHURCH IN RELATION TO THE INDUSTRIAL PROGRAM FOR WOMEN AT CLARK UNIVERSITY, 1883-1943

Introduction

The early attempt of the women of the Methodist Episcopal Church to serve in elevating the newly emancipated colored women came as a missionary adventure. Interest in this adventure was stimulated by the great tide of disconsolate immigrants who came to America and by the moral and social depravity of the freedwomen. In approaching the problem of the different races, especially that of the women of the Negro race, the women of the Methodist Episcopal Church caused special homes to be built in connection with the colleges operated by the church. In addition to this, an attempt was made to educate the parents of the school community by means of a program of adult education. This chapter traces the activities of the Woman's Home Missionary Society and the industrial program of education for girls at Thayer Home located on the campus of Clark University.

The first attempt to establish a home for girls on the campus of Clark University was made by E. O. Thayer and the faculty. The building constructed was turned over to the Woman's Home Missionary Society in 1883 and the name was changed from Fisk Cottage to Thayer Home, the first home to be established for colored girls by the society. From the beginning, the home adapted its program to real life situations and emphasized the necessity for good housekeeping. Beginning as a service unit,

by 1910 well-organized courses in clothing and foods had developed and the society sought the same recognition for work done in the home as for other courses taught in the university. As a result of this and similar efforts, the work of the home developed into the department of home economics of the university and the granting in 1935-1936 of the A. B. degree with a major in home economics.

Championing the Moral and Industrial Cause
of the Freedwomen

It was not until 1830 that a missionary society was organized for women only, called "The Female Missionary Society of Lynchburg and Auxiliary Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church." The purpose set forth in the preamble was as follows:

Being deeply sensible of the unmerited goodness of our Heavenly Father in having cast our lots in a land of light and liberty, having bestowed upon us the invaluable privileges of the gospel, we deem it our duty to put our mites into the treasury of the Lord to aid in sending the good news of salvation to those who know not a Saviour.¹

After the work was successfully prosecuted for nineteen years by leading women of Lynchburg, Virginia, a division in the ranks of the local pastors brought about its dissolution; but not before there was reported \$479.00 in the treasury, a large sum to be raised for missions in that time.²

It would be a mistake, however, to conclude that at last woman had decided to assert herself and, therefore, was beginning to organize just for the sake of organizing. It should be remembered that at that

¹ S. W. Brummitt, Looking Backward - Thinking Forward. The Jubilee History of the Woman's Home Missionary Society of the M. E. Church, 1880-1930, p. 11. Cincinnati: Methodist Book Concern, 1930.

² Ibid., p. 12.

time counter forces were at work in America to compel women to assume again their traditional subserviency and quiescence in all things social, political, and educational. A great tide of immigration had turned toward our shores and, just previous to the date, 1880, so strongly fixed in the minds of the women of the church, the number of female immigrants who came to the land of the free in a single year was one and a quarter millions.³

Just ten years before this date, the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church had been organized. Before this society came interested men and women, requesting that it begin to care for the heathen from China, Japan, Italy, and Greece, now on American soil. However, the official decision, reached after full consideration, was that the word "foreign" in the title of the society precluded the undertaking of missionary work in the home land.⁴

Again, it must be noted that this significant date, 1880, came within the generation after the ending of the Civil War. The strife between brothers was ended, but sorrow and desolation, the usual aftermath of war, were found both in the North and the South. It was to ruined homes, broken hearts, and scorched lands that the boys of the blue and gray had returned at the war's end. Reconstruction time followed, when the conquered and conqueror began the desolate, arduous task of rebuilding. Land and houses could be mended, but pent-up emotions against the injustices and cruelties of war were not easily assuaged. Added to the

³ Ibid., p. 12.

⁴ Ibid., p. 12.

suspicion and strife of this time was one result of the war not reckoned with. The slave had been freed. The Southern states had about 6,000,000 Negroes whose wills were weakened by long servitude, a people ignorant of the common laws of living, the dire need of whose womanhood demanded the attention of Christian women.⁵

It was recognized that, because the woman made the home of every race and people, no people could hope to rise in the scale of civilization above the character of its home. It was not to be expected, therefore, that parents whose lives had been tethered to the field and the hut, who knew so little of the sacred bond of marriage, should be able to organize Christian homes or train their children in principles of morality of which they had no knowledge. The absence of all the refinements of home life and the degrading influences that surrounded the freedman afforded but little elevation of the home.⁶ Thus, it was considered exceedingly important that some way be devised to improve the moral condition of the home of the ex-slaves.

It was also believed that the schools had done a good work among the freedmen; that the results had justified the cost, labor, and sacrifice; and that Negro students had proved themselves educable. Yet, if the homes to which these youth returned and in which their time was spent, except for the few hours each day under the influence of Christian

⁵ Ibid., p. 12.

⁶ Eleventh Annual Report of the Freedmen's Aid Society of the M. E. Church, p. 16. Cincinnati: Methodist Book Concern, 1878.

teachers, could be reached, how much more rapidly the work of elevating the Negro could be carried forward! As it was, the good impressions made by the school were soon effaced by the counteracting influences of homes destitute of the order, privacy, and propriety essential to integrity of character. Slavery had ignored these rights of humanity, and the relations of the two races under its rule were demoralizing. It was the freed-women on whom the burden and the misery of this degradation fell with the heaviest weight.⁷

In 1875, at a mass meeting of women in Baltimore, it was resolved to petition the Freedmen's Aid Society, which had been organized in 1866, to include women in its board membership. To the petition came this answer:

By the Act of Incorporation males only are eligible to the Board of Members, but we unanimously recommend that women be cordially admitted to participate in all our meetings as advisors and counselors.⁸

Under this suggestion some progress was made, and in 1876, at the ninth annual meeting of the Freedmen's Aid Society in Pittsburgh, several women spoke. A woman's meeting was called, but the legal obstructions were not dislodged. On January 20, 1877, came the final decision:

In view of the fact that the introduction of females into the Board of Managers, by the law of the State of Ohio under which the Society holds its charter, would endanger its property, it is not practicable to elect a lady an Assistant Corresponding Secretary; but Mrs. Jennie F. Willing was offered "the appointment of Agent" under the direction of the Corresponding Secretary, which position she declined.⁹

⁷ Ibid., p. 16.

⁸ S. W. Brummitt, op. cit., p. 15.

⁹ Ibid., p. 15.

Activities of the Hartzells' in New Orleans. -- While some women were seeking a way to serve in the North, a woman was serving in the South. Dr. Joseph C. Hartzell and his wife, after his appointment to the pastorate of Ames Chapel (white), New Orleans, Louisiana, late in 1869, arrived in that city with his family in February, 1870, where he remained until 1883. Associated with them were the professors in the Freedmen's Aid schools, the representatives of other departments of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and also some kindred spirits of other denominations. These, with their wives and friends and an occasional winter tourist, formed a little colony of Northern men and women in the heart of the city in which New Orleans University was located, and became the center of a religious movement characterized by keen solicitude for the future of the freed people. They stood alone and steadfast in the midst of disorganization and calumny, even of personal danger, calmly planning to place in the great "lump" their one small measure of gospel "leaven."¹⁰

It was soon found that much of this endeavor of necessity must be person to person work. Regardless of the social censure sure to follow, Mrs. Hartzell went much among the colored people during the early years of her residence in New Orleans. She was deeply interested in them and they were responsive to her sympathy. Without plan or object, save the consecrated purpose of following in the footsteps of Him "who came not to be ministered unto, but to minister," she, according to Stecker, "went about doing good."¹¹

¹⁰ M. P. Stecker, How the Woman's Home Missionary Society Came to Be, A Demonstration, p. 3. Cincinnati: Methodist Book Concern.

¹¹ Ibid., p. 3.

The visit to the South in 1872 of Mrs. J. L. Whetstone of Cincinnati, who met Mrs. Hartzell, and the visit of a recent bride by the name of Mrs. R. S. Rust in 1877 gave encouragement to Mrs. Hartzell in the routine of her life.¹² Dr. and Mrs. Rust remained three weeks in New Orleans in anxious consideration of the problem presented. In company with some of the local workers, Mrs. Rust visited in the homes of the Negroes and was deeply stirred by what she saw and heard. The result of this visit was that Bishop Wiley and Dr. Rust, both of whom had long considered it desirable to have an organization of women who would intelligently cooperate in religious work for these poor people, approved of the work inaugurated by Mrs. Hartzell and arranged that, for the time being, it should be reported through the Freedmen's Aid Society. Accordingly, when Mrs. Rust left New Orleans she resolved to work for the organization of a society that should bring Northern women to see the desperate need of the poor colored women and children of the Southland.¹³

In the meantime, the Methodist Episcopal Church had been building up churches and schools among the freedmen. The work had been a success, not only in the number of churches and schools established, but also in its practical effects among the colored people. There was, however, the need for a more direct effort to save and elevate the freedwomen. Indeed, the colored people needed schools and churches, but one could expect advancement in virtue and in real Christian civilization only

¹² S. W. Brummitt, op. cit., p. 16.

¹³ M. P. Stecker, op. cit., p. 4.

as the freedwomen were rehabilitated spiritually and morally. This rehabilitation became a growing concern to women like Mrs. Hartzell, who in the fall of 1878 secured the interest of her friends in the North and collected seven hundred dollars with which four missionaries were sustained for several months in New Orleans.¹⁴ These missionaries visited the people in their homes, held meetings for mothers and also for young women, and used all these opportunities to give religious and moral instruction and to offer suggestions and practical advice on all matters relating to home life, personal habits, and taste.¹⁵ This work proved to be so constructive and suggestive that resolutions for its continuance were passed by the Louisiana conference.¹⁶ The character of the work is indicated by the following details concerning home visitation:

1. Part of every day was given by each missionary to visiting the homes of the people. In these visits moral and religious instructions were given. The poor were helped, the sick comforted, and the aged cared for as far as could be.

2. Mothers' meetings: These were held weekly on Thursday afternoon, at the home, and were often largely attended and were full of interest.

3. Girls' Sewing Schools: These were held in various churches in the afternoon, each missionary taking charge of one. Eight were organized and over five hundred different girls were brought under the influence of the missionaries. They were taught to cut, fit, and make ordinary garments, and efforts were made to instruct them in matters of home-life.¹⁷

¹⁴ Twelfth Annual Report of the Freedmen's Aid Society of the M. E. Church, p. 55. Cincinnati: Methodist Book Concern, 1879.

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 56.

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 56.

¹⁷ Ibid., pp. 56-57.

In view of the possibilities of and the problems attendant upon this work, it was evident that here in the South was opened a challenging field for public-spirited women of America. To meet this challenge, seas need not to be crossed, nor foreign languages learned, and the harvest could be reaped almost as soon as the seed was sown. The desire to organize and utilize the interest awakened in this field of labor was repressed by the objection that already too many societies were claiming the time and benevolence of the church.¹⁸ Various reasons were urged, however, for uniting the proposed plan of mission labor with the already established work of the Freedmen's Aid Society, since it was deemed that this plan would save expense and enhance the usefulness of both activities. Such a plan also offered an opportunity for the training of persons interested in the redemption of Africa. Moreover, in all the schools there were young women who would make good missionaries for their own sex, if only given a chance to prepare themselves for the work. One or two dollars per week would be enough to secure for them the advantages desired. It was believed that candidates for this work could be named by the principals of the schools or at the office of the society, and could thus become beneficiaries of individuals or local societies. It was not long before a strong interest in mission work in Africa was developed among colored students.¹⁹ Consequently many proposals to further this interest and work were made to the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society and to

¹⁸ Eleventh Annual Report of the Freedmen's Aid Society of the M. E. Church, p. 17. Cincinnati: Methodist Book Concern, 1878.

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 18.

the Freedmen's Aid Society, but to no avail, despite Mrs. Hartzell's untiring efforts to convince everyone of the importance of the project.

Establishment and Activities of the Woman's Home
Missionary Society

The general conference of 1880, however, approved of the activity, but beyond this nothing was done, partly because other matters were considered of greater importance and partly because the work for the freedmen was not popular. However, Dr. A. B. Leonard, with the assistance of Dr. J. N. Irwin of the Trinity Church, arranged a meeting in that church on June 8, 1880, and made a motion to form a Woman's Home Missionary Society with a recommendation for special attention to the Southern field.²⁰ Of this meeting the following account was given in the Cincinnati Daily Gazette:

About fifty ladies, members of the Methodist Episcopal Church in this city, met in the lecture room of Trinity Church yesterday afternoon to confer together concerning the organization of a Society having for its purpose the amelioration of the conditions of the freedwoman in the South.... Mrs. J. L. Whetstone, who had recently returned from an extended visit in the South, urged the importance of extending it to the whole population as well.

Several meetings followed, until on July 6, at Trinity, the committee on constitution ... presented a report which was adopted. Then came the greatest difficulty in the selection of a president by the committee.²¹

Up until the night before July 10, 1880, when the nominating committee was to report, no one had been found for president of the society. At the last moment the name of Mrs. Rutherford B. Hayes, wife of

²⁰ S. W. Brummitt, op. cit., p. 118.

²¹ Ibid., p. 18.

the President of the United States, was suggested. Thus, to the White House and to the First Lady went the call for help. Mrs. Hayes, a staunch Methodist, favorably answered the call and accepted the presidency of the society.²² Elected to serve with her were: vice-president, Mrs. John Davis; corresponding secretary, Mrs. R. S. Rust; recording secretary, Mrs. James Dale; and treasurer, Mrs. A. R. Clark.²³

The first annual meeting was not held until October 30, 1882. Exactly how many attended those sessions at the Saint Paul Methodist Episcopal Church in Cincinnati, Ohio, is not known. Reports were heard from nineteen conferences, nine secretaries reporting by letter. Reports of twenty-seven conference corresponding secretaries were printed in the first annual report, an indication of the widespread growth and interest.²⁴

Consideration was given at this meeting to the proposal to unite with the Woman's Missionary Society on the Pacific coast, an organization which had been formed in 1870 for "the elevation and salvation of heathen women on this coast." A committee of the conference was named to effect the union, which was done after some delays in 1893.

Deep concern also was manifested for the Indian people, and a committee was appointed to consider the interest in the work concerning the Indians and to unite with other societies in urging upon Congress the duty of abiding by the treaties and of making provision for the edu-

²² S. W. Brummitt, op. cit., pp. 18-19.

²³ Ibid., pp. 20-25.

²⁴ "Story of the Work of the Woman's Home Missions, 1880-1890," Woman's Home Missions, 55 (October, 1938), 4.

cation of Indian youth. Other standing committees of the young society were: conduct of the work, conference organization, ways and means, missionary candidates, mission supplies, beneficiaries, publication of society organ, printing, and leaflets. The last three committees indicate that the women realized the importance of missionary education through the printed word. The committee on publication was authorized to begin a paper whenever it was expedient.²⁵

The above mentioned co-operation of the society and its willingness to expand its program to include all races through a variety of activities were in keeping with the constitution of the society, which gave the following statement as to purpose:

The aim of this Society shall be to enlist and organize the efforts of Christian women in behalf of the needy and destitute women and children of all sections of our country without distinction of race, and to co-operate with the other societies and agencies of the Church in educational missionary work.²⁶

Moreover, organizations for children and young people were encouraged from the beginning. At the first meeting a constitution for young people was adopted, with its aim as follows: "The object of this Society is to interest the children and youth of the Church in missionary work in our own land, and to secure their help in carrying it forward."²⁷

The organization sustained relations with the Freedmen's Aid

²⁵ Ibid., p. 4.

²⁶ Second Annual Report of the Woman's Home Missionary Society of the M. E. Church, p. 93. Cincinnati: Methodist Book Concern, 1883.

²⁷ Ibid., p. 99.

Society similar to those which the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society held with the parent society. Its plan of organization made provision for conference societies in the several conferences, for a board of managers composed of representatives from the several conference societies, and for an executive board of twenty-one women, to be elected by the general board of managers at its annual meeting.²⁸ By the time of the second annual meeting, November 20-22, 1883, great progress had been made in systematizing the work. To distribute the increasing responsibilities and to secure an intelligent management of the expanding projects, the various fields of work were divided into bureaus, with a secretary in charge of each bureau. The secretary of a bureau studied the field and its needs, forwarded the information with recommendations to the executive board, and supervised the established work.²⁹ The early bureaus and the secretaries were as follows:

Indians: Mrs. H. C. McCabe, Delaware, Ohio.
 Mormons: Mrs. A. F. Newman, Lincoln, Nebraska.
 Colored People in the South: Mrs. R. S. Rust, Cincinnati, Ohio.
 Illiterate White People in the South: Mrs. A. C. Knight, Athens, Tennessee.
 New Mexico and Arizona: Mrs. A. R. Clark, Cincinnati, Ohio.
 Chinese: Mrs. J. H. Bayliss, Cincinnati, Ohio.
 Western and Northwestern Frontiers: Mrs. C. F. Springer, Anamosa, Iowa.³⁰

Education of Negro girls in the South. -- The second annual report, 1883, by Mrs. Rust, corresponding secretary, presented the activi-

²⁸ Thirteenth Annual Report of the Freedmen's Aid Society of the M. E. Church, p. 16. Cincinnati: Methodist Book Concern, 1880.

²⁹ "Story of the Work of the Woman's Home Missions, 1880-1890," Woman's Home Missions, 55 (October, 1938), 4.

³⁰ Ibid., p. 4.

ties of the year under the following captions: missionary teachers, of which there were eleven in the field for the year; beneficiaries, eleven girls aided in school during the year; conference organization, activities fostered for the purpose of presenting the society to the women of the church; woman's responsibility, the task as one for the women of the church, increased by the fact that more than two-thirds of the members of the church were women; and special training for girls.

Industrial training was recognized as essential in the special training program for girls. Theretofore a large proportion of the pupils remaining in the schools long enough to obtain more than the rudiments of an education had been males, for boys were constantly urged to fit themselves for higher pursuits, trades, business, and the professions. Many of the young men had been aided by friends to become teachers, physicians, and preachers, while little such help had been offered to girls. The thought was presented that, if these trained men were obliged to marry ignorant women and to return to disorderly cabin life, too many of them would fall back into their former habits and vices.

Therefore, the women of the society generally believed that the situation called for a type of training in home-life duties different from what the classroom and the extended scale of housekeeping of the college could furnish. In order that the freedwomen might become prepared as efficient servants, clean housekeepers, and resourceful wives, they must be brought under the influence of something like a true home, thereby gaining a true conception of the order, grace, and comfort of home.³¹ Toward this end, the committee on industrial homes

³¹ Second Annual Report of the Woman's Home Missionary Society of the M. E. Church, pp. 21-31. Cincinnati: Methodist Book Concern, 1883.

made the following recommendations:

1. We recommend that an industrial department shall be added, when practicable, to every school sustained by the church.

2. We recommend that young wives and mothers be invited to these industrial departments for instruction in keeping their clothing, persons, and homes orderly and comfortable.³²

By law IV of the constitution of the society, adopted by the general conference of 1884, is an expanded statement of the program with special emphasis on the care of home and schools, the ages of those permitted to attend, and the specific curriculum activities. The program is summarized in the following statement:

Pupils of all ages may be admitted to our Industrial Schools. It shall be the aim in these schools to provide: (1) Such social and moral training as shall tend to make good neighbors and good citizens; (2) When necessary, the rudiments of education - reading, writing and keeping simple accounts; (3) Such domestic instructions as shall fit girls to care for a house, and prepare plain meals properly and economically; (4) Instruction in dressmaking and cutting, making, and mending the plain garments of ordinary wearing apparel; (5) Tuition in nursing - the care of the sick; (6) Kindergarten and kitchen-garden training; (7) Instruction in the cultivation of vegetables, fruits and flowers.³³

Deaconess work as a phase of the missionary program. -- Another phase of the program of service and education, which had direct implications for the organization and projection of the work among Negro girls, was the training of deaconesses. The society in carrying out its program, which was constantly increasing as to number of projects and scope of work, made three discoveries, each complementary to one another: that the program must have workers, that the program could not offer

³² Ibid., pp. 53-54.

³³ Ibid., pp. 153-154.

workers the prevailing rate of pay for their services, and that there were women to whom commercial rates of pay were not important. All three facts combined to make the adoption of deaconess work almost a matter of course.³⁴ This pattern had been set earlier in Europe in the form of Christian societies in England, France, Germany, and Switzerland. When Jane Bancroft went to Europe in 1886 to study social ethics and the methods in use by varied Christian groups for the relief and evangelization of the most neglected classes in the population, it was inevitable that she would be attracted to these women banded together as a company of volunteer specialists in Christian service.³⁵ This idea came to America, and soon the general conference defined the new form of service as follows:

A deaconess is a woman who has been led by the Spirit and by the providence of God to forego all other pursuits in life that she may devote herself wholly to the Christlike service of doing good. The single aim and controlling purpose of the deaconess is to minister, as Jesus did, to the wants of a suffering, sorrowing and sin-laden world. Her work is to visit the sick, pray with the dying, to comfort the sorrowing, to seek the wandering, to save the sinning, to relieve the poor, to care for the orphan, and to take other Christlike service.³⁶

The work was instituted and carried forward by the Woman's Home Missionary Society in the form of a committee with Miss Bancroft as chairman. This committee later became a bureau of the society. The general conference from time to time took account of the need for new legislative action, but not until 1908 did it move to unify the work of the deaconess.

³⁴ S. W. Brummitt, op. cit., p. 38.

³⁵ Ibid., p. 39.

³⁶ S. W. Brummitt, op. cit., pp. 40-41.

In that year a general deaconess board was created, with general supervision over all forms of the work. The uniforms of the deaconesses were standardized and steps were taken to prevent the unauthorized use of these uniforms.³⁷

The society realized early that its own workers must have a special type of training not offered by any of the existing schools or colleges. Within three years of the founding of the organization, a training school for home and foreign mission workers was proposed by Chicago Methodists. After several years of indefinite gropings, a start was made in the establishment of the Chicago Training School.³⁸ The first deaconess home was established in connection with the Chicago Training School, but in 1889 the school passed into other hands and the Woman's Home Missionary Society began the building and enlargement of a deaconess department under its own control. At Yale this work became a part of the divinity school on a graduate level.³⁹ In Atlanta it was a part of the program of Gammon, Clark University, and Thayer Home, which was maintained by the society.⁴⁰

Meeting the needs of Negro girls during the exodus from the South. -- In 1917 there was a great exodus of Negroes from the South to the North and West; for example, hundreds arrived daily in Cincinnati, Ohio. Poor living conditions with attendant evils moved the board of

³⁷ Ibid., p. 44.

³⁸ Ibid., p. 46.

³⁹ Ibid., p. 47.

⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 51.

trustees of the Woman's Home Missionary Society to appoint a committee to study the situation. Serving on this committee were Mrs. W. H. Anderson, member of the board and wife of the resident bishop of the Cincinnati area; Mrs. H. R. Foreman; and Mrs. J. P. Monroe, president and corresponding secretary of the Lexington conference.⁴¹

As a result of the efforts of this committee, "Newcomer's Home" was opened in a rented building in Cincinnati. When, in the fall of 1917, a new home was purchased for white girls, a former dormitory for white women, Glenn Home, was made available to colored women. Renamed Friendship Home, this building became a haven for colored women who had left their homes in distant places to seek employment in the city. The status of the guests rapidly changed from migrant or transient to permanent resident, and today for many of the women employed in service the home provides comfortable living quarters at moderate rates. Besides the Cincinnati Friendship Home, a national project, there are three other Friendship Homes supported by the Woman's Home Missionary Society of the Delaware, Genesee, and the Detroit Conferences.⁴²

Establishment of a college for Negro girls. -- One of the outstanding achievements in the history of the Society was realized in 1926, when Bennett College (Greensboro, North Carolina) was reorganized as a college for women.⁴³ Bishop Wilbur P. Thirkield, as

⁴¹ H. R. Hargin, Friendship Home and Mothers' Memorial Center, p. 2. Cincinnati: Methodist Book Concern.

⁴² Ibid., p. 4.

⁴³ Edward Harrison, "Bennett College," Woman's Home Missions, 55 (February, 1938), 8.

president of the board, had advocated the urgent need for a standardized college for colored women, offering advantages comparable with the best schools in the North for girls of other races.⁴⁴ This college is an embodiment of the ideals of the society, past and present, in the training of young women for effective living. Under the administration of Dr. David Jones, Bennett College has grown from a junior college to a four-year college with an "A" rating from the Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools of the Southern States.⁴⁵

Results of the work of the society with Negro girls. -- At the ninth annual meeting of the society, in 1890, Mrs. John Davis, the president, presented a brief statistical summary of the salient facts in the history and work of the organization:

75 Conference Societies	
55,000 members, adult and juvenile	
Over 2,000 auxiliaries	
Cash receipts	\$387,178.12
Value of supplies	157,717.79
Local work	<u>10,000.00</u>
Total for the ten years	\$554,895.91 ⁴⁶

Moreover, within the first decade of its existence, the society was largely responsible for founding the homes listed below. The dates show what work has been closed and what projects still continue:

1881, Thayer Home, Atlanta, Georgia.
 1881-1932, Bilbert Haven Home and School, Savannah, Georgia.
 1883-1907, Matthew Simpson Industrial Home, Orangeburg, South Carolina.

⁴⁴ S. W. Brummitt, op. cit., p. 144.

⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 145.

⁴⁶ "Story of the Work of the Woman's Home Missions, 1880-1890," Woman's Home Missions, 55 (October, 1938), 9.

- 1884, E. L. Rust Home, Holly Springs, Mississippi.
 1884-1926, Kent Industrial Home, Greensboro, North Carolina.
 1883-1934, Adeline M. Smith Home, Little Rock, Arkansas.
 1885, Boylan Home, Jacksonville, Florida.
 1887, Allen Home, Asheville, North Carolina.
 1887, Browning Home and School, Camden, South Carolina.
 1889, Peck Home, New Orleans, Louisiana.⁴⁷

To this list of homes operated for colored girls must be added those in Utah, three Indian missions in Oklahoma, four projects in New Mexico, and one in Alaska.

The following classification of the work for colored girls was given after 1930:

Kindergartens and Day Nurseries:

1. Mothers' Memorial Center, Cincinnati, Ohio.
2. Faith Community Center, New Orleans, Louisiana.

Schools:

1. Allen Home and School, Asheville, North Carolina.
2. Boylan-Haven School, Jacksonville, Florida.
3. Browning Home and Mather Academy, boys and girls, Camden, South Carolina.
4. Gilbert Academy, with Peck Hall as dormitory for girls, New Orleans, Louisiana.

Homes:

1. Sager-Brown Home, Baldwin, Louisiana.
2. Friendship Home, Cincinnati, Ohio.

Hospitals:

1. Brewster Hospital, Jacksonville, Florida.

Dormitories:

1. Eliza Dee Hall, Samuel Huston College, Austin, Texas.
2. E. L. Rust Hall, Rust College, Holly Springs, Mississippi.
3. Thayer Hall, Clark University, Atlanta, Georgia.⁴⁸

Six of the projects established during the decade of 1880-1890

⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 9.

⁴⁸ Fifty-seventh Annual Report of the Woman's Home Missionary Society of the M. E. Church, pp. 208-217. Cincinnati: Methodist Book Concern, 1938.

were a part of the program of the decade, 1930-1940. Several of the homes had combined with other homes and institutions in a co-operative program of education, the homes serving primarily as dormitories for young women. For example, Kent Home in 1926 became a part of Bennett College.

During its six decades of service, the society has been conscientious and useful in its program of uplift for the underprivileged. It has developed into a potent auxiliary to the church, to which it has presented 12,373 units of organization, of which 6,305 were adults, 2,662 young people, and 3,411 juniors. The total assets of the society in 1938, including cash, investments, buildings, grounds and equipment, and deaconess institutions, were \$10,698,241.23. There was a total membership of 265,000.⁴⁹

The Development of Thayer Home

It was natural that a home for the training and development of colored girls would be established at Clark University under the administration of Dr. Thayer, since it was he who had advocated such a project in his addresses and writings. The need for such a home, in keeping with the sentiments expressed by the society, was so keenly felt by Thayer and the teachers of Clark University that they united in asking Northern friends to aid in erecting a building for such a purpose.⁵⁰ From Boston

⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 100.

⁵⁰ Fifth Annual Report of the Woman's Home Missionary Society of the M. E. Church, p. 76. Cincinnati: Methodist Book Concern, 1885-1886.

came a gift of five hundred dollars; since the first person giving such a sum was to name the home, the first model house was known as Fisk Cottage.⁵¹

Upon the completion of the building, the problem of providing funds for furnishing the home and of defraying the expense of a superintendent was not easy. The thought occurred to the officials to give the building to the Woman's Home Missionary Society, provided the organization would furnish it and supply the superintendent. The matter was presented to the society as being of great advantage to Clark University and at the same time as affording a good opportunity to inaugurate the work and educational program of the organization in the South.⁵² Becoming interested, the society sent Mrs. E. L. Rust, the new corresponding secretary of the organization, to Atlanta. She immediately suggested that, if the building were turned over to the organization, it would be furnished and equipped with teachers. This was done, and the society came into possession of its first home in 1883. This home, furnished by the gifts of forty women, headed by Miss Jane Bancroft,⁵³ became a laboratory to train girls in homemaking under cultured, intelligent leadership. The fundamental purpose of Thayer Home has not varied during the years, although many changes have come in physical structure, personnel, methods,

⁵¹ Fisk Cottage is today the residence of the Taylor family on the old Clark University campus.

⁵² Fifth Annual Report of the Woman's Home Missionary Society of the M. E. Church, p. 76. Cincinnati: Methodist Book Concern, 1885-1886.

⁵³ S. W. Brummit, op. cit., p. 134.

and in the scope of the work.⁵⁴ Mrs. E. L. Rust has definitely and succinctly defined the purpose and scope of such homes as the Thayer Home:

Our Homes are for young girls whose education and morals have been neglected. Such may enter these, find protection, and receive such training in them as their condition and destiny demand. They are intended to supplement the work of the various benevolent agencies of the Church, with special industrial and moral training, that will prepare women to make good homes and live useful and happy lives.⁵⁵

The home was small, accommodating only six girls at one time. Chrisman Hall, a dormitory for girls, had been greatly crowded, the sleeping accommodations for the girls being quite inadequate for the number to be provided for. Mrs. E. H. Gammon, while on a visit to the university several years before, had observed the crowded condition and realized the need for more room. Therefore, knowing the results that would accrue, if more girls could have the benefit of home training, she offered to give one half the cost of a new building which should not exceed the sum of three thousand dollars to erect.⁵⁶ The offer was readily accepted and some money was raised, but not enough to warrant beginning the building at that time. Moreover, the committee was confronted with complications arising in the course of negotiations for title to the necessary grounds and with other preliminary details that required satisfactory adjustment before actual construction could begin. During 1885-1886, however, Warren Hall was completed, through the generosity of Mr. Gammon, and thereby ample accommodations were provided for the girls at the uni-

⁵⁴ "Thayer Hall," Woman's Home Missions, 56 (September, 1939), 5.

⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 5.

⁵⁶ Fifth Annual Report of the Woman's Home Missionary Society of the M. E. Church, p. 76. Cincinnati: Methodist Book Concern, 1885-1886.

versity. Thus, the great need for a new home was met. Mr. Gammon, therefore, withdrew his offer to donate one half the cost of constructing the new home, but the ladies of the society were given the assurance that Mrs. Gammon would provide five hundred dollars toward the building.⁵⁷

Though the building was unfinished, it was dedicated at commencement time in June, 1887, and named Thayer Industrial Home in honor of Reverend E. O. Thayer, president of Clark University, who had manifested much interest in the first home and had continued a friend of the society. A plea was sent to New England, the home of the Thayers, for a thousand dollars to finish the building and for three hundred dollars to furnish it.⁵⁸

During the year, 1888-1889, the building was completed and considered as one of the best structures belonging to the organization. The total cost of the building, including hot-water heating on the first floor, was about six thousand dollars. It was furnished throughout at an additional expense of five hundred and fifty dollars, of which two hundred and fifty were from the Slater Fund. Many personal contributions also were made to the building and furnishing of this home. Even the lot on which the home was located had been obtained by a perpetual lease from the Freedmen's Aid Society at a nominal rental of one dollar.⁵⁹

⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 76.

⁵⁸ Seventh Annual Report of the Woman's Home Missionary Society of the M. E. Church, p. 43. Cincinnati: Methodist Book Concern, 1887-1888.

⁵⁹ In addition to the ground immediately about the building, which was graded and sown with grass seed, there were a clothes yard and a small garden plot for cultivation. A coal shed was built, and it was the hope of the society to build soon a barn for the "Home cow."

In 1898 Clark students remodeled this building, which soon became the seat of a flourishing industrial school presided over by Superintendent Florence Mitchell. Applications to the home exceeded accommodations, and many applicants were turned away each year.⁶⁰ Therefore, in 1921 the old building was again remodeled, and two years later other additions were made in order to house a more expanded program, especially the kindergarten. This remodeling was done during the administration of Mrs. Grace McCormick Wilson.⁶¹

The building was shaped in the form of an "H," with two long wings reaching back from the main building on each side of the court. The east wing housed on the first floor the kitchen and pantries of the hall, and the laboratory and demonstration dining room of the foods classes of the department of home economics. The first floor of the west wing was divided into rooms for the clothing classes and a large lecture room, which was also used for many other purposes, including service as a Sunday School classroom, group meetings, teas, and committee meetings. Beyond this was the kindergarten room. The second and third floors were used for housing some seventy young women.⁶²

Housekeeping and life at Thayer Home. -- The young women at Thayer, consistent with the general purpose for establishing such homes, were held responsible for keeping the home clean and in good order, and

⁶⁰ S. W. Brummitt, op. cit., p. 135.

⁶¹ Ibid., p. 135.

⁶² W. H. Smith, "Thayer Hall," Woman's Home Missions, 55 (September, 1938), 9.

at the same time many of them pursued their studies in the university. During the early period of the work, some did not have time to finish their training in the culinary arts, yet they did receive culture and home training that were greatly needed.⁶³

The home, being associated with Clark University and on the same campus with Gammon Theological Seminary, made possible the three-fold education of head, heart, and hands. It, therefore, stood as an object lesson, teaching that the true home was where love, cleanliness, and thought for the comfort of others were the rule of life. The girls inevitably took pride in the work of the home and understood that it was a success only as they co-operated to make it so.⁶⁴

Life in Thayer was essentially founded upon the two Christian principles of work and accountability. From the early morning rising bell until curfew was sounded at night there was a succession of activities, namely: duty work, classes, recreation, devotions, Queen Esthers, Y. W. C. A., and student volunteer meetings-- all making for a full, rounded, Christian womanhood.⁶⁵

A day at Thayer Hall, therefore, did not have much time for leisure. The rising bell rang at five forty-five, but many of the girls were already up and busy in kitchen and dining room helping to prepare and serve breakfast. At six forty-five the breakfast bell sounded. There

⁶³ Eighth Annual Report of the Woman's Home Missionary Society of the M. E. Church, p. 62. Cincinnati: Methodist Book Concern, 1888-1889.

⁶⁴ Ibid., p. 62.

⁶⁵ Anna L. Zook, "Thayer Hall," Woman's Home Missions, 56 (September, 1939), 5.

was no excuse for tardiness. After breakfast, those girls appointed to assist in the housekeeping had to put parlors, halls, and teachers' rooms in order. Another crew washed dishes and prepared vegetables for lunch. Those relieved of extra work had to care for their own rooms. In short, everyone had a duty to perform and on schedule. With reference to classes, the day began at eight o'clock. After an hour out for lunch (12:30 to 1:30),⁶⁶ the average student had classes until three-thirty in the afternoon, when began such extra-curricular activities as chorus practice, dramatics, basketball practice, and committee and class meetings. In addition, each girl had to find time to do her own laundry and to keep her clothing in order.⁶⁷

Early curriculum developments, 1883-1900. -- Another phase of the program for developing the young women of Thayer Hall and for expressing the underlying philosophy of the industrial home of the Woman's Home Missionary Society was that of formal class work. Miss Florence L. Mitchell first came to the university to serve as preceptress and as teacher of English, classics, and mathematics. With the opening of the "model home," she became its manager. To a group of six girls who remained for a period of three months, she taught the art of housekeeping. All the girls were taught various kinds of sewing, and an advanced class studied the most approved systems of dress-making and millinery.⁶⁸

⁶⁶ W. M. Smith, op. cit., p. 9.

⁶⁷ Ibid., p. 9.

⁶⁸ Annual Catalogue of Clark University, 1892-1893, p. 31.
Atlanta: Clark University Press, 1893.

In keeping with the organization of the university (an industrial department with its different schools), this new work formed the "school of domestic economy," as Dr. Rust called it in 1882, in which enterprising girls, by serving as waitresses in the dining hall, could pay a part of their board bill and attend school.⁶⁹

Young women were admitted to the home after completing the elementary grades in the university. Cooking classes were organized and systematic instruction was given at regular intervals in the department of housekeeping. Practical talks were given on domestic science, hygiene of food and dress, physical culture, and social ethics. The classes in plain sewing, dress-making, cutting, and fitting were organized and the work carried through a regular course of study.⁷⁰ The work in dress-making and sewing was organized as follows:

Dressmaking

First Year: Inside Finish to waist. Talks on selecting materials and planning dresses. Fundamentals of sewing. Practice work in finishing and trimming.

Second Year: Study of system of dressmaking. Taking measures and drafting pattern from measures taken.

Third Year: Study and selection of styles suited to different figures.... Drafting and fitting plain princess dress. Practice work covering entire course.

Sewing

First Year: Overhanding, hemming, running, feeling, back-stitching.... Practical application of above stitches.

⁶⁹ Fifteenth Annual Report of the Freedmen's Aid Society of the M. E. Church, p. 36. Cincinnati: Methodist Book Concern, 1882.

⁷⁰ Annual Catalogue of Clark University, 1892-1893, p. 31. Atlanta: Clark University Press, 1893.

Second Year: Folding and basting hems by measures. Tucking, darning and patching.... Outlining and fancy stitches and copying from designs.

Third Year: Plain machine work. Fine hand sewing.... Making of under garments and baby linen...⁷¹

By 1896, in connection with the work in dressmaking and sewing, the following three-year program had been worked out in cooking and household science:

Cooking and Household Sciences

First Year: Object lessons and practice work in elements of cooking.

Second Year: Study and classification of food materials and the relation of different foods to hygiene. Practice work in cooking.

Third Year: Chemistry of cooking (course of twelve lectures); study of household sanitation. Planning and arranging of menus; practice work in cooking.⁷²

Nurse training department. -- The department added during this period was nurse training, which had three objectives. First was the teaching of physiology by text books, charts, and lectures, so as to make the student not only acquainted with the organization and purposes of his own body, but also with the nature and kinds of food best for good health. Second was the teaching of simple rules and principles in the care of the sick, in the administering of first aid, and in the scientific care of the sick room. Third was the training of efficient nurses, an important objective, since the demand for skilled nurses in all classes of society

⁷¹ Ibid., p. 31.

⁷² Annual Catalogue of Clark University, 1896-1897, p. 43.

Atlanta: Clark University Press, 1897.

was great. To assist in this nurse-training program, the Freedmen's Aid and Southern Education Society selected Dr. Moury as professor of physiology and as college physician. Dr. Moury, recognized at that time as a good physician and as a lover of humanity, gave much of his time to the care of the poor, for which he received little or no compensation.⁷³ To him all the students of the school, except those excused by the faculty, applied for admission.⁷⁴

Development of a Department of Home Economics, 1900-1903

In 1900-1901 it was decided to give the school a less pretentious name. To this end it was forthwith changed from a school of domestic economy to a department of domestic economics. To the three-year course in sewing, which dealt primarily with the fundamentals (darning, patching, and common sewing), had been added a fourth year, including fine hand work, practice work, and the making of lined cotton dresses. The course in dressmaking had been reduced to two years, including the following time requirements:

First Year: (Same as 1896)
 Second Year: (Same as 1896)
 Drafting 2 lessons a week.
 Model Work 2 lessons a week.
 Practice Work 10 hours per week.⁷⁵

After this work had become established and standardized, two kinds of certificates were given. Students with only an elementary edu-

⁷³ Annual Catalogue of Clark University 1892-1893, pp. 32-33. Atlanta: Clark University Press, 1893.

⁷⁴ Ibid., p. 23.

⁷⁵ Annual Catalogue of Clark University 1900-1901, p. 41. Atlanta: Clark University Press, 1901.

ation were given certificates and recommended as dressmakers, while those who had graduated from the normal or college preparatory course with one year of practice teaching in sewing were recommended as teachers of sewing.⁷⁶

Similarly, the three-year course in cooking and household science, which had been developed by 1896, was increased to four years, with the work of the fourth year including the following courses: Invalid cookery, beverages, frozen dishes, menu arrangement, and practice work in cooking. One lesson of an hour and a half was given each week, with an extra charge of fifty cents for materials per term. This course supplemented the work in nurse training.⁷⁷

Professional emphasis and the development of a department of home economics . -- The decade, 1900-1910, was marked by an increase in professional emphasis and by expansion of the program. However, the course in dress-making remained the same, although a sharp distinction was made in sewing for those in the grades and for students of preparatory and normal rank.⁷⁸ The work in the area of cooking was planned and outlined in the following fashion:

I. Air, relation to life and fire; fuels, management and care of stove or range. Definition of terms.

II. Food in its relation to life; body stuffs and food stuff.

III. Preservation of food; canning, jelly-making, etc. Special diets for infants and invalids. Beverages.⁷⁹

⁷⁶ Ibid., p. 41.

⁷⁷ Ibid., pp. 38-42.

⁷⁸ Annual Catalogue of Clark University, 1908-1909, p. 36.
Atlanta: Clark University Press, 1909.

⁷⁹ Ibid., p. 93.

To this program of industrial training for young women was added "domestic art," including the following phases: (1) drafting and sewing, (2) drawing and water colors, (3) nature study, (4) art needle work, (5) weaving and basketry, and (6) home furnishing and decoration.⁸⁰

By 1921-1922 another change was made in the title of the department, when the work was listed under the caption of "home economics." This title symbolized the beginning of a real college department with a sharp distinction between courses, in terms of the different aims and needs of the types of students served. The possibility of college students specializing in home economics was made definite in a statement listed in the college catalogue for the year: "Students desiring to specialize in Home Economics should plan their work so as to take such related subjects as chemistry, physics, physiology, economics, as early as possible in their college course."⁸¹ The aims of the new department, more inclusive and professional than before, were sufficiently broad to accommodate the following types of students:

1. Those students who desire a general knowledge of the subject matter as a basis for application in the study of general arts and sciences as a part of their liberal education.
2. Those students who desire to make a detailed study of Home Economics in its relation to the arts and sciences which are fundamental in the management of the home.
3. Those students who desire to teach Home Economics.
4. Those students who wish to prepare to be dietitians, institutional managers, matrons, etc.⁸²

⁸⁰ Ibid., p. 93.

⁸¹ Annual Catalogue of Clark University, 1921-1922, p. 46.
Atlanta: Clark University, 1922.

⁸² Ibid., pp. 46-47.

Prior to 1931-1932, the work was not only listed as "Home Economics - Thayer Hall," but a statement of the work in the catalogue revealed clearly that this was distinctly a development of the Woman's Home Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Thus a missionary tone and spirit had always permeated the work. By 1931-1932, however, there was a change in tone and purpose of the work, as an analysis of the following statement reveals:

The aim of the college course in Home Economics is not merely to increase the student's information, but to stimulate interest in continued study and to cultivate an attitude of social and economic responsibility. The courses in this department are arranged primarily to meet the needs of those who plan to teach Home Economics or Home Economics and related subjects in the grade or high schools, of those who wish to apply their knowledge in professional or technical fields, and of those who wish to become efficient home makers.⁸³

Moreover, the work listed under the caption, "Department of Home Economics," in the Clark catalogue carried the same number system and description as other course offerings. The courses listed to the extent of thirty semester hours were: foods, dietetics, child care and development, home nursing, home management, house planning and furnishing, family relations, and methods of teaching home economics. The work in dressmaking, however, remained a separate division, giving the two types of certificates as in previous years.

Granting of a major in home economics, 1931-1936. -- In May, 1931, the committee on course of study, together with Roberta Clemens, head of the department of home economics, drew up statements in the form of a report in answer to a request made for a major in home economics at

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Annual Catalogue of Clark University, 1931-1932, p. 60.
Atlanta: Clark University, 1932.

Thayer Home, to be offered the following year. The statements presented at that meeting were as follows:

After careful consideration of the request of the Department of Home Economics for a major in that department, which major is to be given full credit at Clark University, the committee on course of study submits the following statements as a report:

1. The Department of Home Economics has not yet developed to the magnitude of a major department.
2. The library facilities are not adequate for a major in that department.
3. The teaching personnel of the Department of Home Economics is inadequate for a major in that department.
4. The department is not distinct from the high school and the work offered to outside or special students.
5. Thayer Home needs more time to grow into an academic institution, so as to sustain a more organic and harmonious academic relationship to the College of Arts and Sciences.
6. For a major in Home Economics, certain courses must be offered which cannot now be offered at Thayer Home nor Clark University, because of limited laboratory facilities and limited teaching personnel.
7. All major departments at Clark University must be headed or directed by persons with a Master's degree, or at least two years of graduate training.
8. The Department of Home Economics must have a guaranteed annual budget before a major can be wisely offered.⁸⁴

Besides the problems of size of the department, adequate teaching personnel, library, and limited laboratory facilities are to be considered the statements relative to separate classes for the different groups served and the growth of the Home as an academic institution. The home, in keeping with the purpose for which it was established, enrolled

⁸⁴ J. P. Brawley, Report of the Academic Council of Clark University to the Officials of Thayer Home, pp. 2-3. Atlanta, Georgia, 1931.

the women of the community, many of whom were of secondary level and less. These individuals, students in the academy, and college students were grouped in some instances in the same course. Because of the "service concept" that had permeated the activities of the Society and Thayer Home previously, there was some lack of an appreciation of the necessary academic standards for harmonization of the offerings of the two distinctly operated institutions. Again, because of limited personnel and needed expansion of physical facilities, the basic ideal for which the Society had been brought into existence had to some extent been abolished.

At the same time, the committee on courses of study gave its reaction to another request requiring all boarding girls to take a general course in home economics. In consideration of this request, the committee made the following statements:

The committee on course of study has discussed thoroughly the request of Thayer Home that all boarding girls be required to take a general course in Home Economics, and that college credit be given for the same. In consideration of this request, the committee on course of study makes the following statements:

1. Credit will be given for a general course in Home Economics as required of all boarding college girls by Thayer Home, the credit for which is to be included in the eighteen hours of Home Economics which are now granted.

2. That the general course in Home Economics as required should be required by Thayer Home rather than by Clark University.

3. If the course is required by Clark University, it will have to be stipulated in the catalogue as a requirement for the Bachelor of Arts degree, which stipulated requirement could not be carried out because all girls in the college department, both boarding and city girls, would have to take the course, immediately creating a problem of congestion which could not be satisfactorily adjusted.⁸⁵

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Ibid., p. 2.

The inadequacies presented in the report were but guides for the future development of the department, making for much adjustment and petitioning for major recognition. In 1933 Miss Clemens again petitioned the council, as follows:

Recently you received from us a request for a major in Home Economics. We wish to submit, in connection with that request, for your further consideration a course of study which we feel will fulfill to a greater degree the aims of the department. The Home Economics teacher, in order to do effective work in the community, needs a knowledge of clothing in addition to an understanding of foods, of the management of the house, etc. Thus we have incorporated some clothing courses in our course of study.

Your answer to our former request for a major in this department stipulated a teacher with a master's degree or two years of graduate training. If a major in this department is granted, a teacher with the required amount of training will be provided by the Woman's Home Missionary Society.⁸⁶

Enclosed with the Clemens' letter was an outline of the aims of the department and of the course of study presented. The general aims given were: (1) to acquire a wide, general knowledge from various fields; (2) to supplement this knowledge with specific study so as to afford an understanding of the intellectual, social, and economic bases of the home and its possible contribution to our civilization; and (3) to try to meet the needs of the girls. The specific aims were: (1) to develop Christian character and good citizenship and to promote health and sanitation; (2) to cultivate the perception of the beautiful; (3) to afford preparation for present day social and economic responsibilities; (4) to help the student to think things through for herself; and (5) to assist the student in the development of habits and techniques

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Letter from Roberta Clemens to the Academic Council of Clark University, Atlanta, Georgia, dated February 12, 1935.

of efficient, practical work. The professional aim was to equip the student to enter one of the various professional fields in the scope of home economics: (1) dieticians, (2) costume stylists, (3) budget advisors, (4) teachers, (5) home makers, (6) demonstrators, (7) nurses, and (8) social workers. Electives offered in the various departments of Clark University made such specialization possible.⁸⁷

In 1933-1934 Pearl Frances Musgrave, who had earned the B. S. and M. S. degrees in home economics from Kansas State College, was added to the Thayer staff. Ethel M. Brown, superintendent of the home, and Miss Musgrave made a request to the Academic Council for a major in home economics leading to the B. S. degree:

In view of the fact that the Department of Home Economics in Thayer Hall has been reorganized, we respectfully submit for your approval a copy of our four-year curriculum leading to a major in Home Economics.

We have made an effort to make this suggested course meet the requirements of Clark University for the Bachelor of Science Degree upon graduation, as well as to prepare the candidate to receive a state certificate in Georgia.

Any changes deemed necessary shall be cheerfully made.

We hope that this curriculum may receive your prayerful consideration and final approval.⁸⁸

During the school year, 1935-1936, a major was granted the department leading to the A. B. degree. The work of the department was carried forward by Mildred Kenyon, A. B., M. S., who served as head of the department until June, 1941.

⁸⁷ Ibid., p. 2.

⁸⁸ Letter from E. M. Brown and Pearl Musgrave to the Academic Council of Clark University, Atlanta, Georgia, dated February 4, 1934.

Establishment and abolition of the kindergarten department. --

In 1905 the Society rented a room off the campus for the purpose of opening a kindergarten department. The room was conveniently situated and well equipped. In the kindergarten the children, learning to do by doing, were taught a large variety of games, songs, and rhythmic exercises, together with the proper manipulation of toys and the sympathetic understanding of nature and human life.⁸⁹

The kindergarten prospered and later was housed in the new Thayer Hall, becoming a definite part of the program of the home. However, in 1932 the project was discontinued. The kindergarten had met its need and had rendered good service to the community. The space formerly used by the kindergarten was converted into an apartment with a reception hall, living room, dining room, kitchen, and two bedrooms. This apartment was used as a practice house for the senior young women who were majoring in home economics. They came there, three at a time, for a period of six weeks. This schedule gave each one two weeks to act as hostess, maid, and cook respectively.

Other services and cost of operating the home. -- Thayer Hall, in keeping with the policy of the Society in its conduct of homes on other college campuses, took over the boarding department of the university in 1933-1934. The hall was not only a home for the young women students of Clark University, but also for young women who came to Gammon Theological Seminary to avail themselves of special religious train-

⁸⁹ Annual Catalogue of Clark University, 1905-1906, p. 61.
Atlanta: Clark University Press, 1906.

ing.⁹⁰ Thus the part that Thayer Hall was playing in the life of the college was becoming more and more complex and costly.

The question, therefore, was often asked: Was Thayer Hall justifying its existence? The total cost of operating Thayer in the year ending July 31, 1938, a typical year, including salaries of workers at Thayer and Gammon, was \$14,445.18. The home received in "self-help," special gifts, and "sales" a total of \$7,118.92, leaving a balance of \$7,326.26 to be supplied by the Woman's Home Missionary Society, an amount equal to a small fraction over four cents per member for the adult membership of the organization.⁹¹

Against this cost are to be placed the life and services of the women trained in Thayer, such as Martha Drummer, who spent many years in Africa as a worker in the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society of the church and whose life, after her retirement and her coming to live in Atlanta, was a source of much help to Thayer girls. Likewise there was Anna Hall, who also was a missionary to Africa and served until her retirement among a tribe of people who had no written language.⁹² To these two names could be added many others who have become teachers, missionaries, deaconesses, nurses, physicians, wives, and mothers. Among the more recent of these workers is Rosie A. Cobb. After finishing high school in Kentucky, her birthplace and home, she worked for a time and

⁹⁰ Such students were under the direction of Constance Arnold. The project was supported by the Woman's Home Missionary Society.

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Anna L. Zook, op. cit., p. 5.

⁹² Ibid., p. 5.

then entered Clark University, where she lived in Thayer Hall. At the end of two years Miss Cobb changed schools and became a member of the Peck Home family in New Orleans while attending New Orleans University, finishing in 1935 with a B. S. degree in home economics. Her statement is that:

It was the support given by the Woman's Home Missionary Society which enabled me to go through college. The training and counsel from conscientious leaders in both Thayer and Peck stimulated a desire to go back to the rural sections and give my time to inspiring and helping youth. It was in 1935 that I began my work with the society. From then to the present, I have taught home economics at Godman School, Sager-Brown Home, Baldwin, Louisiana.⁹³

Summary

The founding of the Woman's Home Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church grew out of a felt need and was not an effort on the part of the women merely to assert themselves or to imitate the activities of the Freedmen's Aid Society. Immigration, strife, suspicion, and the liberation of approximately 6,000,000 slaves were important factors in creating the need for an organization like the society. The women of this organization, with a knowledge of both the treatment of their sex among the Negro race and of the lack of training on the part of the freedwoman for effective home-making, made the home their point of attack. Not only did they labor to meet the needs of the freedwoman, but they were also interested in aiding immigrants, the poor whites of the South, the people who had migrated to the west, and the American

⁹³ Anna Rosie A. Cobb, "Remember In Prayer," Woman's Home Missions, 56 (September, 1939), 13.

Indian. However, by far the greatest field of labor was among the newly emancipated group of Negro women and children of the South.

The underlying premises of the organization were: (1) that the girls could be given the theory and practice of making a Christian home by establishing an industrial home on each college campus; (2) that such training would not only make for the training and protection of the Negro girl, but such a program could be made available to the mothers and housewives of the community; and (3) that only to the extent the home was elevated was there hope for the true functioning of education.

This program of moral, industrial, and social education, as fostered by the Woman's Home Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, may be summarized in terms of the pattern of education found in the homes operated by the society.

1. Purpose: The purpose of the society was to organize the efforts of philanthropic women in meeting the needs of women and children of all races, and to co-operate with other educational and missionary agencies of the Methodist Episcopal Church in a rounded program of education.

2. Policies of Operation and Expansion:

a. The society operated as a distinct body, yet co-operated with the college in promoting a complete curriculum, especially for development of young women, under the supervision of the college officials.

b. Adjustments were made in the program of offerings in keeping with the individual and group needs of the students.

3. Organized Phases of the Work:

a. Kindergartens.

- b. Nursery schools.
- c. Schools (academy and special).
- d. Hospitals.
- e. Dormitories.
- f. College (female).
- g. Department of home economics.

4. Types of Service Rendered:

- a. Preparation of future housewives and mothers.
- b. Education of parents and women of the community through an adult program of education.
- c. Meeting the needs of those specializing in home economics as teachers and special workers.
- d. Training of workers among the women of the local church.
- e. Education of foreign missionaries and deaconesses.

Thayer Home, on the campus of Clark University, was the first home to be established (1880) by the Woman's Home Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church. This home placed stress upon the training of young women in the following phases of the total program fostered by the society: (1) kindergarten, (2) home and home-making, (3) nurse training, (4) missionary service, and (5) teachers and specialists in home economics.

The program of Thayer Home has been as flexible as that of the college, often changing to meet a felt need of the students and the community. It should be noted, however, that these changes have been made in keeping with sound educational principles and procedures. Thus, the Home grew from a service department of the college, meeting the needs

of the women and children of the South Atlanta community, as well as the needs of the students of the school, to a full-fledged department of the college. Although the program has been revised, expanded, and standardized, the original aim of "Christian home making" has found expression in the curriculum activities of the institution.

With the coming of unification and the new Clark College, there has developed a new Thayer Hall. The present activities of the society and its continued program for the development of the young women (and men) of Clark College will be discussed in a subsequent chapter.

CHAPTER VII

EXPANSION OF THE ACADEMIC DEPARTMENT, 1910-1924

Introduction

Immediately following the Civil War, reference to Clark University as a university was incorrect. The term "university" did reflect, however, the type of institution desired and served as a goal for a long-range plan of development. To this end, an attempt from the beginning was made at Clark University to establish a school of theology, which was later supplemented by a school of industrial arts and a college department. These phases of the university were planned as parallel programs, although each received a different degree of emphasis during the life of the institution. The growth of the college department was of necessity slow, since the offerings of the institution were adjusted to the academic achievement and social status of the students served. In this chapter the growth of the college department is traced with respect to the several educational levels: elementary, secondary, normal school, and college.

Elementary Level

Because of the meager academic achievements of those enrolled, Negro colleges were forced at the beginning to stress the learning of the fundamentals and to work on the elementary school level. The number of Negro colleges increased from thirteen in 1880 to twenty-two in 1890. DuBois found the number to be thirty-four in 1900, omitting all institutions that had not graduated at least one student. In his study the

total number of students was distributed, according to levels, as follows: (1) elementary, 4393; (2) secondary, 2979; and (3) college, 706. Lincoln University was the only school with students restricted to the college level. Biddle, Howard, Shaw, and the State College of Delaware had students of only secondary and college levels.¹

Ten years later, 1910, another attempt was made to classify colleges for Negroes in the light of standard requirements for admission, as formulated by the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching. The Carnegie unit, as a standard, represented a year's study in a particular subject, which constituted approximately a quarter of the entire year's work. In applying the Carnegie unit as a basis for classification, only those colleges with an enrollment of twenty students were included.² Freshmen students were those who had finished high school and had enrolled in either the college or normal department. According to such standards, Negro colleges of the first grade and their enrollments were as follows: Howard, 238; Fisk, 117; Atlanta University, 78; Wiley, 50; Leland, 43; Virginia Union, 36; Clark, 35; Knoxville, 29; Spelman, 27; Claflin, 23; and Atlanta Baptist, 22. Colleges of a second grade were: Lincoln, 132; Talladega, 30; and Wilberforce, 19.³

¹ W. E. B. DuBois, Editor, The College-Bred Negro, p. 16. Atlanta: Atlanta University Press, 1900.

² First grade colored colleges were those requiring for admission fourteen or more units and with an enrollment of twenty students or more. Second grade colleges required twelve to fourteen units and had an enrollment of less than twenty students.

³ W. E. B. DuBois and Augustus G. Dill, Editors, The College-Bred Negro American, pp. 11-13. Atlanta: Atlanta University Press, 1910.

The institutions with the highest percentage of college enrollment were those classified as Freedmen's Bureau Schools: Howard, Fisk, and Atlanta Universities. Claflin, which was listed as a Freedmen's Bureau School, Wiley, and Clark were under the control of the M. E. Church and represented three of the strong centers established by the Methodist denomination. These three colleges, although ranking low as to number of college students, had a rank of one, five, and six respectively in total enrollment. Most of the enrollment of these colleges was in the elementary and secondary departments.⁴

Position of the church with respect to the need for the elementary department at Clark University. -- The M. E. Church was greatly interested in higher education, as well as education generally. This interest included not only all the branches and levels of education, but also work that was distinctly Christian or character forming. Its mission was to train men to be efficient and especially to be good. The Bible was the text-book and the religious influences upon the students were deeply evangelical. Such an environment within itself was felt to be an education and essential to the highest development of the students during their formative years.⁵

The society, however, met with several types of criticism on its methods of fostering this elementary phase of the work. Some persons insisted that all elementary work should be given up and turned over to the

⁴ Ibid., p. 13.

⁵ Annual Report of the Freedmen's Aid and Southern Education Society of the M. E. Church, pp. 9-10. Cincinnati: Methodist Book Concern, 1901.

public schools. Had this been done, it would have meant the dismissal of 5,111 pupils during the school year, 1900-1901, from the supervision and influence of the schools operated by the society.⁶

However, the elementary work was necessary at Clark University, primarily because of the inadequacy and weakness of the common schools. The general neglect and degradation of the public schools for Negroes were well-known. The state of Georgia, with about the same number of children of school age in each race, budgeted eighty per cent of the educational fund to the white schools, and only twenty per cent to the colored schools.⁷ Another reason for work upon the elementary level was that opposition to the education of the Negro was strong. This had been true in the past, with public opinion crystallized so solidly by former relations and prejudices that any effort for the general education of the freedmen met with little encouragement, if not with bitter hostility. Moreover, those who came to Atlanta to work toward educating the freedmen were often ostracized and treated with great unkindness. Yet another reason was the need for thorough preparation of students for advanced normal and academic work.⁸

Secondary Level

Secondary education in America has appeared, successively, under three dominant types: the grammar school of the colonial period, the academy of the early republic, and the public high school since the Civil War.

⁶ Ibid., p. 9.

⁷ Ibid., p. 9.

⁸ Ibid., p. 10.

The democratic conception of education that found expression in the common school of the Northern states did not find real acceptance in the South, even in making adequate provision for white pupils, until the beginning of the present century. The Negro, therefore, received little attention in publicly supported schools; and, as was true of the elementary level, the source of secondary education was the colleges and universities established primarily by the different denominations. This need was met on the part of the Methodist Episcopal Church by fostering a group of affiliated and adjunct schools.

The rise of the academy in America. -- The term "academy" came to be applied to any school or place of learning or to any given association of men formed for the pursuit of literary or scientific or artistic investigation.⁹ As to title, the work of the academy has been prosecuted in several types of schools; namely, institute, seminary, collegiate institute, preparatory school, and sometimes college. Indeed, important among the schools of secondary training in the South was the academy. This type of school was so rapidly established that by 1830 there were nearly a thousand such institutions in the United States. Twenty years later, nearly that number were in New England alone, more than 1600 in the Middle Atlantic states, nearly 2700 in the Southern states, and about 750 in the upper Mississippi Valley -- more than 6000 in the entire United States, with 260,000 pupils and more than 12,000 teachers.¹⁰

⁹ Edgar W. Knight, Education in the United States, p. 373. Boston: Ginn and Co., 1941.

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 376.

Many of the earlier academies had their origin as an outgrowth of denominational pride. Some of them grew out of the influence of the Germans, the Quakers, the Baptists, the Methodists, and the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians.¹¹ The educational work of the last group was more significant, perhaps, than that of any other dissenters, because of their high esteem for an educated ministry. Among the many Princeton graduates to spread and promote the "log college" movement was the Negro, John Chavis, of whom it was said:

He was born in Oxford, Granville County, North Carolina in 1763. Making upon his hearers the impression of being unusually gifted, they sent him to Princeton. Under Dr. Witherspoon, he was educated as a Latin and Greek scholar.... His English was remarkably pure, containing no Negroism; his manner was impressive, his explanations clear and concise, and his views, as I then thought and still think, entirely orthodox.... He served the most aristocratic white people of the state in teaching their sons and daughters. In the end he counted among his former students, W. P. Mangum, his brothers, Archibald and John Hendersons, sons of Chief Justice Henderson; Charles Manly, later Governor of that Commonwealth; and Dr. James L. Wortham of Oxford, North Carolina.¹²

The notable thing about the academies, as distinguished from the Latin grammar schools, was that they added subjects to the program of their own free will, regardless of what the colleges were doing.¹³ Sometimes they offered the same subjects as did the colleges; sometimes they offered subjects not in the curriculum of most of the colleges. Perhaps the most significant of these additions were courses in the English language, in history, and in certain branches of natural science. Occasionally, mention was made of the modern foreign languages, and books were studied that

¹¹ Ibid., p. 379.

¹² Carter G. Woodson, The Negro in Our History, pp. 159-160. Washington: The Associated Publishers, 1931.

¹³ Elmer E. Brown, The Making of Our Middle Schools, p. 232. New York: Longman's Green and Co., 1902.

treated of ethics and psychology in some of their practical aspects. At Phillips Exeter Academy a distinction was made between the English and Classical departments, each course of study comprising three years.¹⁴

The influence of the academies in this country was extensive. Through them interest was stimulated in the training of teachers, and some of the academies became the forerunners of normal schools. Some were the nuclei from which many colleges drew, and some served to encourage the education of women. Variants of the academies in this country were the manual-labor schools and military schools.¹⁵

The development of academies in Georgia. -- While the academies were primarily institutions of semi-private or local origin, most of the states insisted on founding and supporting academies. The important development of schools in Georgia at public expense took the form of academies. Beginning as early as 1783, the legislature provided for academies at Sunbury, Augusta, Waynesboro, Louisville, Savannah, and Brunswick, and made a general provision that granted a thousand acres of vacant land for an academy in each county of the state.¹⁶ Also by action of the House on February 14, 1786, commissioners were appointed to establish academies in the different counties and were authorized to sell at public sale any confiscated property or other property of the state within the county, to the amount of a thousand pounds; the whole of this amount to be applied to the sole purpose of instituting such an academy

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 237.

¹⁵ Edgar W. Knight, Twenty Centuries of Education, p. 163. Boston: Ginn and Co., 1940.

¹⁶ Walter G. Cooper, The Story of Georgia, Vol. II, p. 390. New York: American Historical Society, 1938.

as is agreeable to the constitution and charter of the university. The resolution also named the commissioner for ten counties. In 1785, the year after the University of Georgia was founded, an act was passed that placed the university at the head of the state system, and put all public schools supported by public monies in the state under the supervision of the University of Georgia. As early as 1840, there were 394 academies in Georgia, of which 256 were chartered.¹⁷

Secondary schools of the Methodist Episcopal Church. -- The program of the church was in terms of supplying an academy in each conference that could not afford a college or university. Academies among the white people in the South were established within the boundaries of the weaker white conferences. These schools, located long distances apart, were situated in thickly settled centers, without public schools worthy of the name, where the people often struggled with deplorable poverty.¹⁸ These schools were almost entirely self-supporting. The small aid from the society went to supplement the meager salaries of the men and women who conducted the academies. It was believed that, if the condition of the treasury had permitted the contribution of \$10,000 per year to this academic work, the result would have been great and far reaching.¹⁹

U. S. Grant University (for whites), which was formed by the merger of the Chattanooga and Grant Memorial Universities, provided at

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 390.

¹⁸ Annual Report of the Freedmen's Aid and Southern Education Society of the M. E. Church, p. 14. Cincinnati: Methodist Book Concern, 1890.

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 13.

both centers academic departments, including college preparatory, normal, English courses, and departments of music and art. Again, provisions were made for the establishment of affiliated academies, of which there were fifteen located in Tennessee, Alabama, Georgia, North Carolina, and Virginia. These were all of academic grade and served as feeders to the central colleges. The enrollment in these seminaries in 1890 was over fifteen hundred students.²⁰

Adjunct schools of Clark University. -- Clark University, as was true of U. S. Grant University, operated a system of adjunct academies. It was the policy of Clark to secure a large number of adjunct schools throughout its constituent territory. Any regularly graded grammar school or high school could become an adjunct to the university by indicating its desire to do so and by submitting its course of study for approval by the faculty. Special privileges were awarded the graduates from these schools.²¹ The bulletin of the university for the school year, 1905, carried this significant statement:

Principals of high schools, grammar, and district schools will be furnished with catalogues containing our course of study. We invite correspondence with view of making their courses and ours articulate as closely as possible, so that students may enter the university at any time without suffering the disadvantages arising from widely diverging courses of study.

Most of our patronage must come from public schools, but we are especially anxious to cultivate friendly relations with Cookman Institute and Boylan Home, Jacksonville, Florida; Huntsville Normal School, Alabama; LaGrange Academy, Georgia; and Haven Home, Savannah, Georgia. We invite correspondence from the principals of these schools with regard to pupils who may desire to enter advanced classes...²²

²⁰ Ibid., p. 13.

²¹ Annual Catalogue of Clark University, 1901-1902, p. 18.
Atlanta: Clark University, 1902.

²² Annual Catalogue of Clark University, 1904-1905, p. 22.
Atlanta: Clark University, 1905.

Three of the schools mentioned became adjuncts to Clark University. LaGrange Seminary at LaGrange, Georgia, offered a normal course and preparatory course meeting the standards set by Clark. The aim of the course was: "To take up all the studies of the preparatory course of Clark University and prepare its members to enter the collegiate department of the school." Rust Normal Institute at Huntsville, Alabama, and Haven Normal School at Waynesboro, Georgia, advertised two courses, the normal and the preparatory.²³

The preparatory department. -- The preparatory course at Clark University prior to 1896 required three years of study. After 1896 the preparatory and normal departments were extended from three to four years. The poor preparation of the students, the shortness of the school year, and the frequent interruptions on the part of those going to teach rendered the change necessary, in order to conform to the standards fixed by the university senate of the Methodist Church (1896).²⁴ By 1900 two distinct preparatory courses were offered at the university, the classical and the scientific. These courses differed, in as much as those in the classical course took three years of Latin and two years of Greek, while those in the scientific course took two years each of Latin and German. In addition to a year of biology, the scientific students also took a year of chemistry. To both the classical and

²³ Annual Catalogue of Clark University, 1882-1883, p. 18. Atlanta: Clark University, 1883.

²⁴ Annual Catalogue of Clark University, 1895, p. 17. Atlanta: Clark University, 1895.

scientific courses there was added by 1904 manual training or printing for each year.²⁵

Again, in order to meet the needs of those served, the church was forced to carry on a program of education below the college level. As late as 1917, there was in Georgia only one public high school for colored pupils. This school, located at Athens, Georgia, shared its building with a large elementary school. The Columbus Industrial School enrolled a few pupils in secondary subjects, and the Cuyler Street School in Savannah had a good industrial program, with plans to include some secondary training.²⁶

In 1916, of the 2,278 secondary colored pupils in Georgia, 2,119 were in thirty-two private schools, wherein four-year courses were maintained for seventeen schools, with an enrollment of 1,847 students. While the five private colleges were offering college courses, in addition to their elementary and secondary classes, the total number of college students in all these schools was only 127, or six per cent of the total enrollment. The college enrollment for the year at Clark was thirty-two, or twenty-two per cent of its total enrollment. At Atlanta University, Clark University, and Morehouse College the majority of the students were pursuing the preparatory course.²⁷

By 1907 the terms "preparatory course" and "preparatory school" were used interchangeably at Clark University, giving the im-

²⁵ Ibid., p. 17.

²⁶ Thomas Jessie Jones, Negro Education, p. 190. Office of Education Bulletin No. 39, Vol. II. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1917.

²⁷ Ibid., p. 190.

pression that this phase of the work was something of an adjunct to the program of studies of the university. This distinction is further revealed by the use of the term "academy." In the academy the work developed to become a separate unit with its own principal and corps of teachers. With the rise of the normal department and the department of education of the college, the academy unit served as a means for practice teaching until it was abolished in 1935.

The Professional Training of Teachers

Before the establishment of the normal school, the professional training of teachers was practically unknown. The preparation of the common school teacher was poor everywhere, and that of teachers of the Latin Grammar school and academies was only slightly better. The academic preparation of the typical common school teacher included little more than nominal mastery of the elementary school subjects.²⁸

One of the earliest proposals for teacher-training was made by Reverend Thomas H. Gallaudet in 1825. He proposed a school supported by the liberality of the public, including an extensive library and an experimental school for practice teaching.²⁹ One of the earliest attempts to train teachers in the United States was made by Samuel McCorkle in his academy called "Zion Parnassus" in North Carolina as early as 1785, but little is known of his work.³⁰ The school opened in 1823 by Samuel

²⁸ Rachel S. Sutton, The Education of Teachers for the Elementary Schools of Georgia, p. 130. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1941.

²⁹ Edgar W. Knight, Education in the United States, p. 314. Boston: Ginn and Co., 1941.

³⁰ Edgar W. Knight, Twenty Centuries of Education, p. 272. Boston: Ginn and Co., 1940.

R. Hall in Vermont, for the training of teachers, offered a three-year course consisting of a review of courses taught in the common schools and training in the art of teaching. The students gained practice by teaching in the rural schools during the winter. The experiments of McCorkle and Hall were similar, in that the feature of training teachers was added to the regular work of the academy.³¹

In the normal department of the colleges, elementary-school teachers were prepared by normal-school methods and through normal-school courses; these offerings were never held in high esteem by the regular college faculties. The curriculum was similar to that of the normal school, and it was not long before model schools were established. The existence of the normal departments was sporadic, often interrupted, and eventually discontinued or evolved into regular collegiate departments of pedagogy and education.³²

During the period following the close of the Civil War to 1890, new states were being settled rapidly throughout the West, and the growth of cities was spectacular. The number of school children increased correspondingly during the period and the preparation of teachers became more important, but the number of normal graduates continued to be inadequate, despite the fact that there had been established by 1890 ninety-two normal schools for whites.³³

The training of Negro teachers. -- The lack of such educa-

³¹ Edgar W. Knight, op. cit., p. 316.

³² Rachel S. Sutton, op. cit., p. 136.

³³ Ibid., p. 136.

tional opportunities for Negroes, save those provided primarily by church schools, placed upon private institutions the responsibility for training teachers. The Methodist Episcopal Church through its agency, The Freedmen's Aid Society, took the position that: "The elevation of the race depended to a large extent upon the sending forth of a well prepared group of young people as teachers. To educate teachers gave tone to the present and determined the character of the future." The underlying philosophy was one of "self-help." It was thought that "the permanent prosperity among the freedmen had to be connected with those possessing an identity of interest and destiny, for they only would be able to get access to their hearts, share their burdens, and awaken them to high purpose and noble deeds."³⁴

The Methodist Church had prepared ministers and teachers from the beginning. However, because of the social and economic conditions growing out of Reconstruction, stress was also placed upon industrial training. As late as 1914 a neglect of the professional classes, because of an absorbing interest in the industrial movement and program, was pointed out:

For some time to come the Negro will need the preacher and the teacher more than any other of the professional classes. Perhaps not too much emphasis has been put upon industrial training, but certainly the eyes of those who "look for a sign" of development and growth have been directed to industrial training to such an extent that the need of the academy and the normal school for the training of teachers and students in that which they use daily, and by which they are judged, has been very largely lost sight of. Our task must be to focus anew the eyes of our people upon the need of the teacher who can give a thorough training in English. Hence more, not less, attention

³⁴ Twentieth Annual Report of the Freedmen's Aid Society of the M. E. Church, p. 8. Cincinnati: Methodist Book Concern, 1887.

is to be paid to this feature of our work.³⁵

Development of the normal department of Clark University. --

Almost from its beginning, Clark University offered a normal course for the preparation of teachers. This normal course was equivalent to the preparatory course and to the eclectic course, which was comprised of subjects from the normal and preparatory courses. The curriculum of the normal course, however, differed from that of the preparatory in its inclusion of natural science and miscellaneous subjects, instead of Latin and Greek. The natural science course included natural philosophy, geology, botany, astronomy, and physiology. Courses listed under the miscellaneous subjects were: business instruction, normal exercises, lectures on teaching, free-hand drawing, and civil government.³⁶ For the period represented, the admission requirements to the normal department may be considered exacting. Applicants for admission to the preparatory or normal departments had to furnish evidence of having done the required work in the elementary grades. Students who did not come from graded grammar schools were required to take an examination. Those who had met the requirements as to number of years were admitted without an entrance examination. However, students were re-examined periodically and were often reclassified. Moreover, they were required to show proficiency in the subjects of the English course; namely, reading, elocution, spelling, penmanship, composition, English grammar,

³⁵ Annual Report of the Board of Managers of the Freedmen's Aid Society of the M. E. Church, p. 13. Cincinnati: Methodist Book Concern, 1914.

³⁶ Annual Catalogue of Clark University, 1878-1879, p. 14. Atlanta: Clark University, 1879.

arithmetic, geography, and United States history.

The normal course and its requirements at Clark University were in keeping with the general course in schools operated by the church prior to 1896. As was true of the preparatory course, the normal course after 1896 was extended to include four instead of three years, to conform with requirements set by the university senate of the Methodist Episcopal Church. With this addition of a year and with certain changes in subject matter, special stress was placed upon the art of teaching. Members of the senior normal class, for example, were required to teach several hours each day during the entire school year.

The first two years of the normal course were the same as for the preparatory course, but the languages were eliminated from the last two years of the normal course, with pedagogy and the sciences added. The normal subjects were more like those prescribed for the scientific preparatory course than the subjects of the classical preparatory course. By the turn of the century, 1900, the work had again taken the form of a three-year preparatory course, classical and scientific; a normal course of four years; and a higher normal course of two years, designated as freshman and senior years.³⁷

By 1906 students were permitted to enter the preparatory or normal departments only after finishing the English or grammar course. The status of the normal course was one year above a three-year high school course or equivalent to four years of high-school work. The higher normal course, organized to fill demands upon the university for

³⁷ Annual Catalogue of Clark University, 1901-1902, pp. 39-40. Atlanta: Clark University Press, 1902.

teachers to take positions in academies, high schools, and city systems, provided for two years of additional training in English, science, and pedagogy, after completion of the college preparatory course.

At this time an attempt was made to group courses. In the past they had been designated as pedagogy I, II, III, etc.; now the following classification was used: (1) educational psychology, (2) methods, (3) practice teaching and criticism, (4) review-arithmetic, grammar, geography, and general reviews. Also, during the fall term moral science was offered; in the winter and spring terms, history of pedagogy.³⁸ A more definite statement of aims and a more elaborate classification of courses were formulated in 1916. The aim of the department was "to prepare young women for the business of teaching. In the proper preparation for teaching, three principal elements were conceived; namely, broad and accurate scholarship, professional knowledge, and skill in the practice of teaching." The courses offered were: educational psychology, history of education, methods (general and specific), school and class management and administration, observation - lesson planning - practice teaching, reading courses and current educational literature, conferences and theses, school law, and common school review courses.³⁹

By 1927 the academic work of the college was organized by departments. The normal course, distinct from that of the high school, was equivalent to two years of college work. Because of the trends of

³⁸ Annual Catalogue of Clark University, 1906-1907, pp. 40-41.
Atlanta: Clark University, 1907.

³⁹ Annual Catalogue of Clark University, 1916-1917, p. 45.
Atlanta: Clark University, 1917.

the times and the expansion of the department of education of the college, now offering a major and minor, the normal course was discontinued in 1938-1939.⁴⁰

College Level

The Negro and higher education. -- The importance and place of education in America were established in the founding of Harvard College by men whose burning desire was to open wide the door of intellectual opportunity. As to the education of the Negro, however, the question of extent and quality was paramount. Some thought that the Negro should not be educated; others were set strongly toward the opinion of giving him elementary and industrial education to the exclusion of higher education. Still others thought that the Negro should be educated to the extent of his ability, since the very existence of any level of education depended on higher education; and common schools were possible only to the extent teachers were trained in higher institutions of learning. In the interest of pure industrialism, higher education was demanded for the Negro. He needed it to fit him for the inevitable era of strenuous competition that was coming in the South. The great task was to supply competent teachers for primary and elementary schools. This was done by establishing a few first-class colleges, and more preparatory and normal schools with thorough training in English.⁴¹

⁴⁰ Annual Catalogue of Clark University, 1938-1939, p. 60.
Atlanta: Clark University, 1939.

⁴¹ W. P. Thirkield, "How Far Shall the Higher Education Be Attempted," Proceedings of the First Capon Springs Conference for Christian Education in the South, p. 17. Capon, West Virginia, 1898.

Certain practical values to be derived from a college education by colored students were summarized by President Bumstead of Atlanta University as follows:

(1) All education is practical which can be turned to some use and made productive of some desired end. The Negro is in a condition to receive a much greater variety of education than many people have supposed; (2) A very practical service which a college education renders to the individual is to teach him to think; (3) Incidentally to this, a very practical advantage which comes to the individual Negro through a college education is the discovery of how large a part of the world's work is performed by the world's thinker; (4) A college education is necessary for leaders and professional men.⁴²

Higher education in colleges of the M. E. Church. -- The growth of higher education for the Negro was a slow process. The church realized that a sound foundation was necessary for the development of higher education. In this respect it was in substantial agreement with the educational policy of the Northern states, which at an early date had taxed themselves for the support of a public school system. Because of the economic status and attitude of the South toward public education, the Negro was forced to receive his education through the efforts of private institutions, in which the elementary department fed the secondary level, which in turn served as a feeder for the normal and college departments. Thus, each school was to carry itself forward through its own educational units.

Organization and expansion of the college curriculum. -- The college department of the university was established in 1879-1880, ten years after the institution was founded. The college course required

⁴² Horace Bumstead, "The Practical Value of the Higher Education of the Negro," Proceedings of the Third Capon Springs Conference for Christian Education in the South, pp. 37-38. Capon, West Virginia, 1900.

four years of study after the completion of the preparatory department. The curriculum was composed primarily of the classics, Latin and Greek being required for each year excluding the senior year. Substitutes were permitted, and a student could take French or German for three terms instead of political and natural sciences.⁴³

The enrollment in the college department, of course, was small at first. There is no record available of the number of students entering the first college class, but in 1883, four years after the beginning of the course, the following classification of students was reported: senior, 1; junior, 1; sophomores, 2; and freshmen, 5. By 1883, the time at which the first class was graduated, the course had changed but slightly. The courses listed under political science and miscellaneous were grouped under rhetoric.⁴⁴ A real placement of courses as to terms of the school year did not occur until 1885.⁴⁵

During the first decade in the life of the school, many phases of internal organization characteristic of a university were applied. There were three colleges: the college of liberal arts, business college, and the college of music.⁴⁶ The pioneer in the work in business at Clark University was Reverend C. J. Brown, who carried the title of principal.

⁴³ Annual Catalogue of Clark University, 1879-1880, p. 15.
Atlanta: Clark University, 1880.

⁴⁴ Annual Catalogue of Clark University, 1882-1883, p. 7.
Atlanta: Clark University, 1883.

⁴⁵ Annual Catalogue of Clark University, 1884-1885, pp. 19-21.
Atlanta: Clark University, 1885.

⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 28.

The course was organized as junior, middle, and senior years, the first two years of work being the same as those of the academic course, with stress placed upon commercial law, bookkeeping, commercial calculation, banks and banking, telegraphy, and phonography.⁴⁷

The course emphasized the practical phase of the work, and during the senior year each student was given bookkeeping experience in the college supply store. This work offered in the business college led to the degree of B. C. S. (Bachelor of Commercial Science).

The work of the college of music was highly professional. The term "college," as applied to this and other colleges of the university, was due to the highly specialized professional and vocational emphasis. The music course was for a period of four years, with its aim as follows:

The department of instruction has been organized for those who wish to acquire a thorough knowledge of music, and it is under the care of a teacher whose exclusive attention is devoted to it. The aim is to teach pupils how to study music and the course of instruction has been arranged with a view to enable⁴⁸ the student to become a competent teacher and an intelligent performer.

Scope of the program of studies, and degrees granted. -- The general scope of the work offered is indicated roughly by the types of degrees granted. By 1896 the university had ceased to give the B. C. S. degree upon completing the commercial or business course. There were, however, three full collegiate courses of study leading to appropriate degrees; namely, the classical, the scientific, and the mechanical. These courses furnished a wide field for elective studies and gave an

⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 28.

⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 29.

opportunity to specialize according to the ability, taste, and aspiration of the student. Those taking a trade received a certificate upon graduation, unless pursuing the complete course in mechanical engineering. Students in the engineering course received the B. M. E. degree, which was intended to rank with the other collegiate degrees. This practice was followed until the trade school was abolished. The degrees of A. M. and M. S. were provided for; but few, if any, students saw fit to avail themselves of this opportunity.⁴⁹

With the abolishment of the trade department and the rise of teacher training, the college offered the following courses: classical, scientific, literary, and the higher normal. Graduates from the classical course received the B. A. degree; from the scientific course the B. S. degree; from the literary course the B. L. degree; and from the higher normal course the B. Ped. degree.⁵⁰

As to hours required, twenty recitations per week, or their equivalent, for four years were required for the B. A., B. S., and B. L. degrees. Twenty recitations per week, or their equivalent, for two years were required for the B. Ped. degree. The expression "one hour" meant one recitation per week throughout one term or quarter. Twenty recitations per week for one term were thus called "twenty hours." Since there were three terms in the year, sixty hours constituted a full year's work. The four-year course at Clark embraced 249 hours and the

⁴⁹ Annual Catalogue of Clark University, 1895-1896, p. 17.
Atlanta: Clark University, 1896.

⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 17.

two-year course included 120 hours of work. Students who received the B. Ped. degree could, by completing an additional 120 hours of college work, receive the B. A., B. S., or B. L. degree.⁵¹

Curriculum proposal of the Association of College Presidents of the Freedmen's Aid Society. -- At the meeting of the Association of College Presidents in Nashville, Tennessee, March 4-9, 1910, a new college course was provided: "The purpose in making this course is to provide for uniformity in the plan of instruction among our schools, and to secure the twofold purpose of education: first, to acquire knowledge, and second, to train the mind to think."⁵²

In making a comparison between the new course and the one already in operation at Clark University, the conferees found the new to contain little that was essentially different except the arrangement of the studies. The actual requirements were about the same. However, a credit system was established along with the new curriculum. The classical college course contained 152 credits, the preparatory course 190 credits, and the normal course 200 credits. By "credit" was meant the number of recitations per week in a single subject. The 190 credits for the preparatory course and the 152 credits for the college course made a total of 342 necessary for graduation in the classical course, and 200 in the normal course.⁵³

At the third annual meeting of the presidents of the schools

⁵¹ Ibid., p. 18.

⁵² Annual Catalogue of Clark University, 1910-1911, p. 24.
Atlanta: Clark University, 1911.

⁵³ Ibid., p. 53.

of the Freedmen's Aid Society, held at Rust University, Holy Springs, Mississippi, February 26, 27, and 28, 1913, the conferees discussed practical steps and methods to improve the grade^s/work done by all the schools, to reduce unnecessary competition, and, if possible, to provide some method of systematic co-operation, looking to a wiser division of work and territory. These men also discussed the value of a scientific survey of the work of all schools for Negroes in the Southern states, a survey fostered by the United States Government in co-operation with representatives of the Phelps-Stokes, Jeanes, and Slater Funds.⁵⁴

Standardization of the curriculum. -- By 1912 there had developed at Clark University a standardized college curriculum of four years. The college from an early period had realized the need for, and offered a specialized curriculum leading to, the B. S. and other degrees that did not require an intense study of the classics. Nevertheless, most of the college students were enrolled in the classical course. In fact, the first forty-five years in the development of the college department at Clark University were basically classical. DuBois⁵⁵ in 1910 found this condition typical of some of the best Negro colleges. On the basis of the total time (i.e., the total recitation time of a full college course) devoted by eighteen colleges, Clark University ranked first as to time spent in study of the ancient languages

⁵⁴ Annual Report of the Board of Managers of the Freedmen's Aid Society, p. 13. Cincinnati: Methodist Book Concern, 1913.

⁵⁵ W. E. B. DuBois and Augustus G. Dill, Editors, The College-Bred American, p. 19. Atlanta: Atlanta University Press, 1910.

and third as to offerings in modern languages. The emphasis on languages in the curriculum of Clark University probably was due to the training and influence of William H. Crogman, who served as teacher and president for forty-five years.

Work of the Presidents, 1876-1921

William H. Crogman. -- Many presidents, through their work, philosophy, and contributions, have played a significant part in the evolution and development of the college department of Clark University. One of these, a Negro, was William H. Crogman. To talk with students who attended the university during the life of Dr. Crogman is to learn not only of his keen interest in and understanding of the classics, but also of his conscientious efforts to create a highly intellectual milieu for the campus. Crogman was born on the Island of St. Martin's, May 5, 1841. In 1855 he went to sea on a vessel on which B. L. Bonner was mate. Upon the suggestion of Bonner, that an academic education would make him more useful, young Crogman, then at the age of twenty-five, began to earn means to attend an academy. Two years later he entered Pierce Academy in Middleborough, Massachusetts. He remained there two years, taking an English course together with French and bookkeeping, and distinguishing himself academically. J. W. P. Jenks of Brown University, who was then the principal of the academy, said of him:

Beginning with me in the elementary English branches, I may say, in them all he accomplished in one quarter as much as the average student did in two, mastering almost intuitively, and with equal facility, both mathematical and linguistical principles. I formed him into a class of one, lest he should be hindered by the dullness of others. In the third quarter he commenced French, and, as I have often said, surpassed every one of the hundreds of students, in both rapidity of advancement and accuracy of scholarship. I need say no more, except

that his record since leaving the academy, taking all the extenuating circumstances into the account, has reflected greater honor upon me as his principal, and his almost sole instructor while connected with it, than any other alumnus.⁵⁶

In order to gain a knowledge of Greek and Latin (on the latter he had begun study by himself), he entered Atlanta University in the fall of 1873, where he completed the full classical course in a period of three years. Immediately after his graduation from Atlanta University, he was called to a position on the faculty of Clark University, where he served the university for thirty-eight years as professor of Greek and Latin and for seven years as its first Negro president. During this period there developed on the campus the concept that the "good education" could be found only in a study of the classics. From this attitude, one should not infer that President Crogman objected to the industrial program (closed during his administration) of Clark University. He did object, however, to the amount of money spent for this phase of the program, to the comparative neglect of the academic or college department of the university. Speaking at the anniversary of the Freedmen's Aid Society at Ocean Grove, New Jersey, in 1883, Crogman made this statement relative to the Negro and industrial education:

The tendency in the schools of the freedmen is toward the establishment of industrial departments in connection with them. Some have already established them and more are doing so.... The wisdom and foresight exercised in the establishment of these industrial departments are apparent. We cannot all be teachers and preachers and lawyers and doctors. This has never been the condition of any people, and the colored people are no exception. There must be somewhere among us a strong, intelligent, virtuous middle class, the salt of society in all ages. Moreover, the demand for skilled labor becomes more imperative,

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W. H. Crogman, Talks of the Times, "Biographical Sketch of W. H. Crogman" by E. L. Parks, p. X. Cincinnati: Jennings and Pye, 1896.

and, unless the ranks of the colored mechanics and artisans can be recruited from these schools, or some other schools, if you please, with workmen of a higher intelligence, the South will be flooded with foreigners to meet the demand.⁵⁷

Crogman, the speaker, writer, scholar, teacher, and lover of students, radiated an influence, not only at the university, but throughout the country, especially in the area of race relations. Through his activities, moreover, the work accomplished at Clark was kept before the church and the public. At the 1921 commencement season Crogman retired from active teaching. The Carnegie Foundation granted him a pension for life.

Election of S. E. Idleman as President of Clark University and of Gammon Theological Seminary . -- Another man whose election to the presidency of Clark resulted in further developments was S. E. Idleman (white). He was elected in 1910 to serve as president of both Clark and Gammon, a new adventure on the part of the M. E. Church in the administration of her schools. (Gammon had its beginning as a department of Clark University and remained as such until 1883, when it was endowed as a separate institution with its own president, faculty, and board of trustees). However, the two schools, although now (1910) under the administration of one president, remained separate and distinct as before.

Under this new arrangement, Professor Crogman, formerly president of Clark University, took the chair of Latin and Greek, which he had held before his election to the presidency; and J. W. E. Bowen, who was the president of Gammon Theological Seminary, retained the chair of

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Ibid., pp. 110-111.

historical theology, which he had held before and during his term as president of the seminary.⁵⁸

The election of Idleman to this difficult position was not precipitous, for the matter had received careful and serious consideration during a number of meetings throughout the summer. Idleman was felt by many to be the man for the position, as the following testimony indicates:

I am as clear as I ever was on any question that Dr. Idleman has had sufficient experience in teaching. He is pre-eminently a fine administrator. He will give himself absolutely to his job. It is my judgment that for an administrative office in relation to these two institutions it would be impossible to find a man better equipped by natural gift, temperament, training, and habit of mind. It is his custom to achieve mastery of details. He is thorough going and business-like in every particular.⁵⁹

The advantage of having one president for the two institutions was thought to be twofold: first, it would unify the work of the two institutions; and, second, it would be economical. The possibilities of these two Atlanta schools were immense and their growth steady. Clark University had a valuation of \$221,000 in grounds and buildings, and during the previous year an enrollment of over five hundred students. Gammon Theological Seminary had \$125,000 represented in its plant, \$525,000 in its endowment, and over one hundred theological students. With these two institutions brought under one management, great would be the opportunity and responsibility of Idleman for the development of

⁵⁸ Annual Catalogue of Gammon Theological Seminary, 1912-1913, p. 4. Atlanta: Clark University, 1913.

⁵⁹ Ibid., p. 4.

a program of higher education for Negroes in the city of Atlanta.⁶⁰

His plan was to spend half of the day at each institution. After a period of one year, however, it was decided by the board of trustees of Gammon that there was need for more administrative leadership, if the seminary was to progress. Thus, on June 26, 1912, Idleman was nominated president of Gammon Theological Seminary, and the board at Cincinnati was requested to provide a president for Clark University as soon as possible.⁶¹

Presidents W. W. Foster, H. A. King, and J. W. Simmons, 1912-1923. -- Elected to succeed S. E. Idleman, in 1912, W. W. Foster, Jr. (white) served as president of the institution for two years. Foster was followed by H. A. King (white), who served as president for six years, 1915 to 1921. During King's administration Leete Hall was erected, and other improvements were made in the physical plant. The new Leete Hall at Clark University was among the large items by way of capital outlay. The building was of the "H" type with offices for administration, classrooms, laboratories, libraries, gymnasium, and Crogman Chapel, all under one roof. The cost was estimated to have been about \$225,000; the building was the largest and most expensive structure in the entire Methodist system of Negro schools.⁶² The educational significance of such a physical outlay was stated as follows:

⁶⁰ Ibid., p. 4.

⁶¹ "Minutes of the Board of Trustees of Gammon Theological Seminary, June 26, 1912," p. 259.

⁶² "Annual Report of the Board of Education for Negroes," Christian Educator, 35 (November, 1924), 1.

"With its magnificent new building and added equipment and prestige, Clark University will be second to no institution of its kind in the schools for the education of the Negro."⁶³

Dr. King, developer of the physical plant of Clark, was succeeded in 1921 by Professor J. W. Simmons (white), who for several years had served as dean of the Christian education department of Southwestern College, Winfield, Kansas. Simmons remained at Clark University until 1923. In 1923-1924 M. S. Davage was elected president and became the second Negro to serve Clark University in this capacity. Of Davage more will be said in the next chapter.

Summary

The program fostered by the Methodist Episcopal Church through its agency, the Freedmen's Aid Society, started with the needs of the people, that is, with the fundamentals of learning and living. The first emphasis was given to elementary education and no attempt was made to relinquish activities at this level until the state had provided common schools. A similar policy was followed in developing a program of secondary education.

Under the influence of this policy at Clark, the elementary course dominated the academic phase of the program as late as 1912-1913. The secondary program of the university can be considered as involving three steps of development: (1) the offering of two preparatory courses (classical and scientific); (2) the integration of a group of adjunct

⁶³ "Changes In Presidents," Christian Educator, 33 (November, 1922), 4.

academies with the work of the university; and (3) the operation of an academy at the seat of the university, which became totally distinct and later served as a practice school for the normal department.

The normal department had as its primary objective the training of teachers. The course was at first equivalent to high school graduation and did not reflect a superior type of standards until 1927.

Standards were then carefully worked out in terms of objectives, with the purpose of making the work of the normal department equivalent to the first two years of college.

The growth of the different programs (elementary, secondary, normal, and college) was parallel, although the college work had to wait upon the development of the earlier levels of work to supply students. This was due in a large measure to the slow growth of the public school system in the South and to the emphasis placed upon a program of normal and industrial education for Negroes. The type of classical curriculum in vogue at Clark University until about 1924 was in keeping with that offered by other Negro colleges and universities of the nation. It was, indeed, a direct reflection of the culture and background of administrators and teachers. William H. Crogman radiated a great influence in favor of classical education during his forty-five years of service as teacher and president of the university, and, while he did not object to industrial education or to the program offered at Clark University, he did believe that industrial training ought not be emphasized to the detriment of the college curriculum. It was during his administration that the college curriculum was stressed.

Crogman was succeeded by S. E. Idleman, who served for one

year as president of both Clark and Gammon, a new venture on the part of the M. E. Church. Under this arrangement Crogman retained his chair as professor of Latin and Greek, and Bowen, who had been president of Gammon, took his former position as professor of historical theology. Idleman's successor was W. W. Foster, who served as president of Clark University for two years, to be followed by W. H. King, under whose administration the new Leete Hall was constructed. King, after serving for six years, resigned; and J. W. Simmons was elected and served as president for two years, to be succeeded by M. S. Davage in 1924.

CHAPTER VIII

ADMINISTRATION OF PRESIDENT DAVAGE AND RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN CLARK COLLEGE, 1924-1941

Introduction

The election of M. S. Davage in 1924 as president of Clark University was heartily accepted by the students, the alumni, the colored constituency of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and the church officials. The students rejoiced in the fact that, from what was said about the new president, they would have a leader who was sociable, personable, and sympathetic. To the alumni, Davage was acceptable especially for his efficiency as an organizer, as one who could be instrumental in organizing the alumni into an effective body, both loyal and enterprising. The colored constituency of the M. E. Church was naturally pleased to have again another Negro at the head of Clark. To the members of the board of education of the M. E. Church, Davage, because of his previous experiences as an educator, builder, and layman, was acceptable as one who could develop the institution into a real, modern college. Thus, the election of Davage was one accompanied by a mixture of emotions and anticipations, both social and educational. To him fell the task of further reorganizing the university, in the light of changing emphasis in higher education for Negroes, to the point of accreditation by the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools. It was also during his administration that the idea of the new Clark College was conceived and the final plans completed.

Davage's Fitness for the Presidency of Clark

The experience and prestige of Davage as an educator did not over-shadow his activity and influence as a churchman. In fact, he was literally brought up in and by the M. E. Church. His father was a Methodist minister, and Davage himself had been a lay member of six general conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church. For twelve years in this connection he had served as a member of the "book committee" of the general conference. Attendance at these conferences had given him valuable associations with the legislative body of the church and an opportunity to participate in the enactment of educational regulations, particularly those relating to the education of the Negro.

Davage was a graduate of New Orleans University, which the Freedmen's Aid Society chose as one of the centers for Negroes. After his graduation in 1900, and further study at the University of Chicago, he was appointed as a teacher in the department of mathematics at New Orleans University. In 1905 Davage was elected by the general conference as business manager of the Southwestern Christian Advocate. The responsibilities of this position necessitated attendance at all the Negro annual conferences, thereby causing him to know the colored ministers and laymen throughout the constituency. After serving as president of four church schools, Davage came to serve as president of Clark University, knowing in advance the general problems of this type of institution.

Clark University in 1916

To recognize the extent of the development of Clark during the

administration of President Davage requires a knowledge of the status of the institution prior to 1924, the year of the election of Davage. The first attempt to survey institutions of higher learning for Negroes on a national scale was in 1916. In the section of this survey dealing with Clark University, the school was characterized as one of secondary grade, with a few students engaged in college studies and a large enrollment of elementary pupils. The total enrollment was 304: elementary, 128; secondary, 144; college, 32; male, 110; and female, 194. Of those reporting home addresses, 117 were from Atlanta, 57 from other places in Georgia, and 49 from other states. There were about 100 boarders and 23 from farm homes.¹

The course of study was still largely a copy of the program prepared by the Freedmen's Aid Society. The elementary work covered the four upper grades, and there were two secondary courses, the college preparatory and the normal. The college course consisted of these offerings: science, four and one half years; English, two; mathematics, one and one half; psychology, one; Bible, one; civics, one; and sociology, one. The total number of teachers employed was insufficient to handle even the limited college course. Moreover, with but few exceptions, they did not have the educational preparation for instruction in college.²

The organization of the university reflected an uncertainty of policy that was believed to have resulted from the frequent changes

¹ Thomas Jessie Jones, Negro Education, Vol. II, p. 215. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1917.

² Ibid., p. 216.

of administrative officers.³ However, the "Home School" for girls maintained by the Woman's Home Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church was considered well organized and managed, but not so the other branches of the school. Therefore, in the interest of effective reorganization, the members of the survey staff made the following recommendations in 1916 for the future development of Clark University:

1. That in view of the important geographical position of Clark University, its large physical equipment, its proximity to Gammon with its large endowment and Thayer Home with its efficient management, the Freedmen's Board continue its effort to reorganize the school as to its administration, teachers, and equipment.

2. That close cooperation be developed between Clark and Gammon so that the workers and equipment may be mutually helpful.

3. That such useful subjects as physiology, psychology, and agriculture be included in the college preparatory course as well as in the normal course.

4. That the extensive acreage of land and the dairy equipment be used to prepare teachers and workers for a Negro population 81 per cent rural.

5. That the work at Thayer Home be encouraged in every way possible.⁴

The College Department in 1924

Over a period of eight years a marked change and development had taken place in the college department as a definite statement of policies governing entrance requirements, graduation, and internal organization of the academic work.

Entrance requirements. -- In 1924 the university required

³ Ibid., p. 217.

⁴ Ibid., pp. 216-217.

fifteen units for admission to the college department, as was true when DuBois made his study in 1900. However, students were now permitted to enter with fourteen units, with the privilege of making up a unit during the first semester of college work. Such students were admitted conditionally with the understanding that such deficiencies must be removed before permission would be granted to begin the work of the following year. All applicants for admission to any of the advanced departments were required either to present a qualifying certificate from an accredited high school, or to pass an entrance examination.⁵

The university was careful in its admission of advanced students from other schools. No credit was given for work in other institutions unless the student passed an examination, or unless creditable work had been done in an approved school. Such students were recommended for a Bachelor's degree only after credit had been obtained for at least one full year of residence at Clark University.⁶

Student load and marking. -- The normal load of a student was considered as fifteen semester hours. No student could carry more than seventeen semester hours of work, with a minimum of 120 semester hours required for graduation from the four-year course of the college department. A point marking system, in terms of quality of work done, was used. Work of average quality was marked "A" (average) and earned the student two points for every semester hour of work completed. For work above average, yet not perfect, a mark "S" (superior) was used, earning

⁵ Annual Catalogue of Clark University, 1923-1924, p. 20.
Atlanta: Clark University, 1924.

⁶ Ibid., p. 20.

the student three points per semester hour. Work approximating perfection was marked "E" (excellent), and carried four points per semester hour. On the other hand, work regarded as somewhat below average was marked "I" (inferior), and yielded no point value. A mark of "D" indicated complete failure and, if made in a required subject, the course had to be repeated. However, if the subject failed was an elective, another course could be substituted.⁷

Organization of the college department. -- In the light of present-day practice, the organization of the college department at Clark was unusual. The senior college was composed of the senior and junior years, whereas the junior college included four years, comprising the first two years of college and the last two years of high school. The four years of the junior college were designated as senior, junior, sophomore, and freshman. This scheme did not provide for a senior high school, and the junior high school included four grades; namely, tenth, ninth, eighth, and seventh. Other students of the university not classified under the preceding categories were designated as "specials" or listed among those in the practice school.⁸

Clark College as Davage Found It

The casual observer, in looking at the classified summary of students for the school year, 1923-1924, might get the impression from the enrollment of eighteen in the senior college and of 199 in the

⁷ Ibid., p. 21.

⁸ Ibid., pp. 23-25.

junior college that there were 217 college students above the high school level. The fact is that only 117 were of college status, including the students taking the two-year normal and commercial courses. Only eighteen of the students of college rank were enrolled in the junior and senior classes.⁹ With respect to faculty personnel, little improvement had been made since 1916, for there were only two members with the Master's degree and eleven with the Bachelor's degree. The faculty was a single unit; that is, there was no separate faculty for the college, for the high school, or for any of the other divisions of the university.¹⁰

Because of the obvious weakness and awkwardness of this plan of organization, it was believed that Clark University was without the atmosphere of a real university or college. It was not until 1923-1924 that President Simmons injected new life into the school by employing four new faculty members (Negroes), who became known as the "four horsemen."¹¹ These men agreed among themselves to adhere to certain principles and standards that they believed should characterize a modern university or college. One alumnus of the university stated that "the year 1923-1924 meant the passing of the missionary school and the beginning of a real university with a collegiate atmosphere."¹²

Another act that won much favor with the students who had been in attendance at Clark during the school year, 1923-1924, was

⁹ Ibid., p. 56.

¹⁰ Ibid., pp. 8-9.

¹¹ These individuals were E. L. Brookes, J. P. Murchison, Pritchett H. Willard, and George D. Wilson.

¹² Interview between the writer and R. E. Cureton, alumnus of Clark University, November 21, 1943.

Davage's writing of an important letter in the summer of 1924 to every Clark student. In this letter he briefly outlined the program he intended to follow and clearly stated his views on the higher education of the Negro. This move, together with the changes made the year previously, was a strategic forerunner for the beginning of Davage's administration in the fall of 1924.

Appointment of J. P. Brawley as Dean of Instruction

At the beginning, Davage sensed the twofold nature of his task; that is, (1) presenting the cause of the institution to the students, alumni, friends, and constituency of the church; and (2) building up a strong college department through employing an efficient faculty and through instituting a good curriculum. The first of these duties he believed, as president, he could do, but the second seemed a problem for an efficient dean of instruction. Clark University had had three deans previous to the appointment of J. P. Brawley in 1926: Mary J. Chisholm Foster, 1914-1915; John Zelder, 1915; and G. Whitte Jordan, 1925-1926. The permanency and elevation of the position of deanship came with the election of Brawley in the spring of 1926.

Brawley first came to Clark University in the fall of 1925 as professor of education and religious education. In many respects his background and previous training had been similar to that of President Davage. He, too, had been reared in a Methodist family and educated in a Methodist school, Samuel Houston College at Austin, Texas. He had done advanced study at Northwestern University, where he received the M. A. degree in 1925. Therefore, to the position of deanship at Clark,

Brawley brought an understanding of the church and of its policy of operating schools for Negroes, together with an intelligent grasp of recent educational trends and an insight into the nature and solution of the varied problems of colored students.¹³

Status of Clark University in 1928

The year 1928 marked another important period in the development of the Negro college. This year marked the publication of the findings of a survey made by the Federal Bureau of Education, with the financial cooperation of the Phelps-Stokes Fund. Many college administrators had taken seriously the recommendations made in the survey of 1916-1917 and had labored hard to improve their college departments. They believed that another survey would reveal quite a different picture from that of 1916-1917, and that academic acceptance of Negro colleges along with other standard colleges of the nation was now possible.

Therefore, Clark University, having put forth an effort to develop a real college department, welcomed the survey. The new administration was confident that major improvements had been made during the short period of three years. Besides, it was believed that any findings, favorable or otherwise, would aid greatly in directing the future course of the institution. Already that course was being charted by means of carefully made plans for reorganization.

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J. P. Brawley, "The Organization and Administration of Personnel Bureaus in the Negro Colleges of the Methodist Episcopal Church." Unpublished Master's Thesis, Northwestern University, 1925. Pp. 164.

Internal reorganization of the college. -- The new administration from the beginning had gone about the task of effecting a distinct separation of the high school and college courses. The old administration building, Chrisman Hall, was used to house the high school unit and, with the exception of joint use of the laboratories, separate courses and teachers were provided. The high school remained under the supervision of Ada G. Doar as principal and critic teacher.¹⁴ There existed in 1926-1927 only two grades of high school work, with no desire for their elimination. Once more the officials of the university decided that, if the college department was to grow, it must have its own secondary school as a feeder. They believed this was necessary, because of the limited number of public Negro high schools in Georgia. For instance, Atlanta, the largest city in the state, did not provide a public high school for Negroes until 1924.

The Clark University personnel. -- A marked change also had been made in the faculty personnel of the college department since the study of the institution in 1916-1917, and even since the beginning of Davage's administration in 1924. During the year, 1915-1916, there were eight faculty members without any degree; and one with the normal diploma, seven with the Bachelor's degree, and one with the Master's degree. By 1924 there were only four without degrees; and ten Bachelors, two Masters, and one M. D. By 1926-1927, however, the faculty was considered fairly well trained. Within a period of three years, by the processes of stimu-

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Annual Catalogue of Clark University, 1924-1925, p. 7.

Atlanta: Clark University, 1925.

lation and elimination, no teacher on the college faculty held less than a Bachelor's degree. There were five who had the Master's degree, or its equivalent, and four were pursuing studies for their graduate degrees. Of the undergraduate degrees held by members of the faculty in 1926-1927, five were obtained from Northern colleges and eight from Negro institutions, while four of the five higher degrees were secured from Northern universities and one from Howard University. The four college teachers pursuing graduate work were attending Northern universities.¹⁵

Moreover, an attempt was made to group the teaching personnel into two classes, professor and associate professor. This grouping was not significant as to salary earned or teaching load, since eight of the professors received from \$1,500 to \$1,600 per year, while four others received only \$900. Of the two associate professors, one received \$1,600 and the other \$810 annually. The average salary of the faculty was \$1,285. Each member of the staff, however, received a perquisite consisting of board and room.¹⁶

The schedule of the faculty was fairly well arranged as to hours taught per week. Of the thirteen teachers, one taught three hours per week; one, five hours; one, nine hours; one, twelve hours; three, fourteen hours; three, fifteen hours; one, seventeen hours; one, eighteen hours; and one, twenty-one hours. On the basis of fifteen semester hours per week as a normal load, Lawyer Taylor of the department of

¹⁵ Survey of Negro Colleges and Universities, Georgia Section,
pp. 11-12. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1928.

¹⁶ Ibid., pp. 11-12.

mathematics, Fred K. D. Anderson of the language department, and G. L. Griswold of the department of business administration were carrying loads ranging from seventeen to twenty-one hours per week. Excluding these three, the average teaching load was considered reasonable.¹⁷

Curriculum and teaching facilities. -- As to the curriculum, the number of courses offered was narrower in scope than in previous years; yet, it was thought to be too broad when viewed in terms of the number of subjects actually offered and as to students enrolled in the college department. The college listed a four-year liberal arts course leading to the degrees of Bachelor of Arts and Bachelor of Science, a four-year course in business administration leading to the degree of Bachelor of Science in Commerce, and a two-year course in education leading to a diploma and a state teacher's certificate. The three courses covered 118 academic subjects, of which only fifty-nine, or fifty per cent, were actually taught in a given year. The enrollment had increased from eighty-three college students in 1924-1925 to 172 in 1926-1927. This increase of eighty-nine students was not considered adequate to justify the number of courses offered.¹⁸

Some changes of a physical nature had been made to facilitate the learning of those enrolled at the university. One of these improvements was a plan to move the library located in the old Chrisman Hall to Leete Hall. President Davage had been successful in obtaining a fund of \$700 to purchase some much needed books. Another change was the use of

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 12.

¹⁸ Ibid., pp. 7-8.

gas in the laboratories. Previously kerosene lamps had been used, since the city had not extended its mains to the campus.

Moreover, an effort was made to develop a good general collegiate program. Not only was the academic program reorganized, but stress was placed upon recognition of national Greek letter organizations and extra-curricular activities, both non-athletic and athletic in nature.

Despite these changes and improvements, however, the university was still deficient in many significant ways, as the following statement, made in 1928 by a survey committee, reveals:

Clark University, one of the older institutions established in the South for the education of the Negro race, is developing rapidly and has built up an organization capable of doing work of college standard.

The administration of the school is on sound basis, the academic departments have been organized along modern lines, and a well trained faculty has been assembled, which is completely segregated from the high-school department of the institution.

The survey committee found, however, that the college curriculum is deficient in cohesion and that a tendency exists to extend it in too many directions. The result is that the academic program is lacking in concentration and the college is apparently without sufficiently definite educational aim.¹⁹

The following recommendations made by the same committee are important for the light they throw upon the status of the university and its future:

1. That both the two-year and the four-year courses in education be emphasized and be made the central objectives of the institution in the future.

2. That the college discontinue the granting of the bachelor of science degree in commerce, and that the course in business administration be included as a major in the liberal arts curricula.

3. That either the present registrar be relieved from his duties as teacher in the college or a full-time registrar for keeping the

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Ibid., p. 14.

student records be employed.

4. That Thayer Hall, now operated as a separate establishment by the Woman's Home Missionary Society, be made an integral part of Clark University and placed under the direct control of the institution's president.

5. That the salaries of professors and associate professors in the college, amounting to only \$810 and \$900 annually, be substantially increased.

6. That the library be located in better quarters, be re-equipped, and strengthened by the purchase of additional works of collegiate grade.²⁰

Before the committee made its findings known, however, two important changes, later recommended by the committee, had been made. The library had been relocated and strengthened by the purchase of additional books; and Professor Lawyer Taylor of the department of mathematics, whose program was very heavy, was finally relieved of his duties as registrar, after having served in this capacity since 1914.²¹

Clark University During the Depression Period

The depression, often thought of as beginning with the year 1929, came at the time when progress was being made at the university, as indicated by the survey of 1926-1927. The points stressed in the survey necessitated the expenditure of more money. However, the depression meant

²⁰ Ibid., pp. 14-15.

²¹ The life and service of Lawyer Taylor at Clark University are closely associated with that of W. H. Crogman. He served at Clark for twenty-seven years as teacher and registrar, and was a moving spirit in student life and activities upon the campus. Little is known of his activities as a speaker or as a writer. However, much is said of the many letters and notes written by him to his close associates, students, and parents, dealing with the slightest irregularity in connection with his work as registrar or his functions as chairman of the discipline committee.

the cutting off of certain sources from which money had come, as well as a serious curtailment of funds in general. In order to meet the emergency, President Davage approached the conferences supporting the school through special appeals, visited churches throughout the constituency, and worked with M. J. Holmes, educational director of the department of institutions for Negroes of the Methodist Episcopal Church, in making personal contacts with individuals in the interest of the school.

Continued struggle for recognition and accreditation of the college department. -- Although it became necessary during the depression era for the administration to curtail the program of the university, almost all the faculty members were retained. These remained loyal to the institution in spite of financial embarrassment and continued to labor toward perfecting a desirable program. During the depression, with a supplement from the N. Y. A., the college enrollment was greatly increased. For the year, 1929-1930, the total enrollment was 320; and in 1930-1931, 486; 1933-1934, 387; 1935-1936, 455; and 1937-1938, 443, of which 335 were regular college students.²² During the depression, especially in 1931, the work of the school was carried forward under the direction of one of the best faculties in the history of the university. The faculty was composed of fourteen regular Clark teachers and four part-time and associate professors at Gammon Theological Seminary. Three of the fourteen regular college teachers had come

²² Annual Report of the Dean to the President and Board of Trustees of Clark University for the years, 1931, 1934, 1936, and 1938.

to work at Clark for the first time, two of whom held the Master of Arts degree. Of the eleven former teachers who returned, seven had studied during the summer in Northern universities. Three of the Gammon professors offering work at Clark during the school year, 1930-1931, held the Ph. D. degree.²³

Construction of a new gymnasium and the making of physical improvements. -- The physical well-being of the students had been emphasized early in the development of the university in connection with the nurse training department. Plans for a new gymnasium had been considered as early as 1927. One of the most reliable contracting firms in the city estimated that it would cost approximately \$4,000 to change the old gymnasium into a library, and that the sum of \$15,000 would be necessary to build an adequate gymnasium, which because of its location could not be heated by the university heating plant. After careful consideration and consultation with Bishop Richardson and others, President Davage made the following recommendation to T. F. Holgate, treasurer of the board of education of the M. E. Church:

\$15,000 was set aside sometime ago for the building of roads and the beautifying of our grounds. We have spent \$1,000.00 for this purpose. I would recommend that we spend \$4,000.00 for the construction of our athletic field and the beautifying of our grounds and apply the remaining \$10,000.00 on our library. I would guarantee the raising of \$5,000.00 by the students and by the Atlanta conference. This would leave only \$10,000.00 or \$15,000.00 to be secured elsewhere. I am sure that an appeal for \$10,000.00 backed by our Board for the building of a library would secure a more generous response than would such an appeal for the erection of a gymnasium.²⁴

²³ J. P. Brawley, Annual Report of the Dean to the President and Board of Trustees of Clark University, p. 1. Atlanta, Georgia, 1931.

²⁴ Letter to T. F. Holgate, from M. S. Davage, president of Clark University, dated January 29, 1927.

It was finally agreed that a new gymnasium be constructed and that the old gymnasium in Leete Hall, the administration building, be converted into a library. The gymnasium was built by Aiken and Faulkner, two colored contractors, and the keys presented to the chairman of the board of trustees in the fall of 1930. Brawley, in his report for the school year, 1930-1931, referred to the educational advantages of the new gymnasium as follows:

Intra-mural activities have been emphasized in a new way this year. The new gymnasium has made possible class contests which have not heretofore been possible. This new interest points toward a broader and better program of physical education in the future.

So significant are these activities, and so vital is the relation that they sustain to the academic program of the school that they must be considered a vital part of the whole school program and provision for a more effective administration of these extra curricular activities should be made.²⁵

New academic program. -- Another important venture of the university during the depression was the launching of the new academic program for the institution. General and specific aims of the college were stated after much preliminary thinking and planning by administrators, the academic council, the students, and the faculty. The curriculum of the college was divided into two distinct levels: (1) lower level or junior college, and (2) upper level or senior college. On the lower level the courses were general in character and designed to complete the student's general education, and at the same time to lay the foundation for more specialized work on the upper level. The courses on the upper level made possible concentration in one or more fields. This senior college level consisted of four divisions: (1) division of languages and litera-

²⁵ J. P. Brawley, Annual Report of the Dean to the President and Board of Trustees of Clark University, p. 3. Atlanta, Georgia, 1931.

ture , (2) division of natural sciences and mathematics, (3) division of social sciences, and (4) division of the arts. The student selected one of these divisions in which to concentrate at the upper level.²⁶ Other curriculum innovations instituted by the academic council were a system of comprehensive examinations on the lower and upper levels and an extensive program of individual and group guidance.

Educational Recognition and Accreditation

The decade beginning in 1920 was one in which a vigorous effort was made by the officials of most Negro colleges to have their institutions standardized by state departments of education and regional accrediting associations. In 1931 Clark University was placed on the accredited list of four-year "class I" colleges by the state of Texas. The state of North Carolina raised the rating of Clark from "B" to "A" as the result of a visit made for the purpose of inspecting the work. The university then held an "A" rating from nearly all the Southern states and was given "group I" classification by the American Medical Association.

Another step forward came when the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools decided to assume the responsibility for examining and rating the Negro colleges in its area and appointed from its membership a committee for this purpose. After making investigation, Arthur H. Wright, executive agent of the committee, with the aid of other committee members, rated only one school as fully accredited,

²⁶ J. P. Brawley, Annual Report of the Dean to the President and Board of Trustees of Clark University, p. 2. Atlanta, Georgia, 1935.

and submitted a list of "B" class colleges, whose work was of acceptable quality, but failed to meet fully the standards specified by the association. By June, 1933, the number of fully accredited colleges had increased to six, while twenty-two were rated "B" and four were approved as junior colleges.²⁷

Clark University was given a "B" rating by the association in 1934-1935. The major deficiencies of the university were limited support, inadequacy of library books, and small faculty remuneration. Brawley, in his report of 1935, stated: "There is a need now for immediate effort at trying to secure for the institution "A" rating by the Association."²⁸ However, the school did not receive full accreditation by the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools until 1941-1942. The last years of President Davage's administration were spent in making the school financially secure and in perfecting plans for the new Clark College. This phase of the development of the institution is treated in the next chapter.

Summary

The election of M. S. Davage as president of Clark University in 1924 was heartily welcomed by alumni, students, and the constituency of the M. E. Church. He came to this position as president of Clark, after having served as a lay member of six general conferences, as a

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D. W. O. Holmes, The Evolution of the Negro College, p. 215. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1934.

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J. P. Brawley, Annual Report of the Dean to the President and Board of Trustees of Clark University, p. 4. Atlanta, Georgia, 1935.

college teacher, as business manager of the Southwestern Christian Advocate, and as principal and president of four schools operated by the M. E. Church. Thus, he was able to approach the development of the university from each of its major phases of administration.

It became the task of Davage to carry the institution forward, especially as to the development of the college department. When the university was surveyed in 1916 by Thomas Jessie Jones, it was characterized as one of secondary grade, with a few students in college studies and a large enrollment of elementary pupils. At that time, 1916, the organization of the university reflected an uncertainty of policy that was believed the result of frequent changes in administrative officers. However, the "Home School" for girls, conducted by the Woman's Home Missionary Society of the church, was considered well organized and managed.

By 1924, when Davage became president of the university, some progressive changes had been made as to entrance requirements, student load and marking, and internal organization of the college department. Nevertheless, it was thought by some of the students and alumni that the institution was without a real college atmosphere. President Simmons in 1923 injected some new life by employing on the faculty four instructors (Negroes), who determined among themselves to uphold those standards that they believed should characterize a modern university or college.

At the beginning, Davage sensed the twofold nature of his task: (1) presenting the cause of the institution to students, alumni, friends, and constituency of the church, and (2) building up a strong

college department by employing a dean to direct the academic phase of the work. J. P. Brawley was elected to the deanship in 1926.

Another survey of Negro colleges was made in 1927 by the Federal Bureau of Education with the financial cooperation of the Phelps-Stokes Fund. Because of the adjustments and improvements made at the university, it was believed by the survey committee that Clark had built up an organization capable of doing work of college caliber. Recommendations were made by the committee dealing with the objectives of the institution, scope of the curriculum, separate control of Thayer Home, equalization of salaries, library quarters, and faculty personnel. It was during this period that Lawyer Taylor, who had served the institution for approximately twenty-five years as teacher and registrar, relinquished his activities as registrar of the university.

The depression came at a time when progress was being made and when the university was striving for accreditation by state and regional associations. During the depression period, funds were curtailed to the extent that the school barely was able to stay open. In order to meet this emergency, President Davage approached many of the conferences of the M. E. Church through special appeals, visited churches throughout the constituency, and worked with the educational director of the department of institutions for Negroes of the M. E. Church, in making personal contact with individuals in the interest of the school.

During the depression era the faculty remained loyal to the institution, in spite of financial embarrassment, and continued to labor toward perfecting a desirable program. The enrollment showed a marked increase for the years of 1930-1931, 1933-1934, 1935-1936, and 1937-

1938. There was completed in 1930 a new gymnasium, for which plans had been made and funds raised in 1927. This addition made possible the expansion of the program to include physical and social activities. By 1931 Clark University had been placed on the accredited list of colleges in most Southern states. The institution was given a "B" rating by the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools in 1934-1935, which rating was changed to "A" in 1941-1942. The last years of President Davage's administration were spent in raising an endowment for the college and in perfecting plans for the new Clark College as a co-operating institution of the Atlanta University system.

CHAPTER IX

CLARK COLLEGE AS A COOPERATING INSTITUTION OF THE ATLANTA UNIVERSITY SYSTEM

Introduction

Until 1929 there were in Atlanta five undergraduate institutions and two professional schools engaged in providing higher education for Negro youth. Atlanta University, a coeducational institution founded in 1867, was developed under the auspices of the American Missionary Association; Morris Brown College, a coeducational school founded in 1881, operated under the auspices of the African Methodist Episcopal Church; Morehouse College, an institution for men only, was founded in 1867 as a Baptist institution; Spelman College, a school for women only, founded in 1881, originated as a Baptist college; and Clark University, as reported in this study, operated under the auspices of the Methodist Episcopal Church. In addition to these schools, there were the Atlanta School of Social Work for the training of professional social workers and Gammon Theological Seminary, as discussed in this study, which trained ministers for other denominations as well as for the Methodist Church.¹

Throughout the years each institution developed a rather distinct educational philosophy, although realizing that there were points at which some cooperation could be practiced to the advantage of all concerned. In succeeding paragraphs is a brief statement about each

¹ James P. Brawley, "Negro Colleges Unite in Effort," New York Times, 91 (October 4, 1942), 50.

institution (excluding Clark University and Gammon Theological Seminary), together with an account of early ventures in cooperation among these schools. A brief account is given of the Atlanta University system, which now includes Morris Brown College, Gammon Seminary, and the new Clark College as cooperating institutions.

Atlanta University School of Social Work

The first function of the Atlanta School of Social Work, that of training Negroes for social work, grew out of the recognition of the great need for social work among Negroes in the South on the part of a small group of white and colored social workers who attended the National Conference of Social Work at New Orleans in 1920. The second function, that of acting as a center of social welfare work, was largely thrust upon the school. In various ways, however, the school attempted to fill some of the gaps in a social welfare program for the Negro until existing social agencies could be persuaded to provide the necessary facilities, or new agencies could be formed to carry on such activities.²

After the conferees had returned from the National Conference of Social Work at New Orleans in 1920, the delegates from Atlanta who had conceived the idea of the school obtained the sympathetic cooperation of other social workers and of representatives of the five Negro colleges in Atlanta and of Gammon Theological Seminary. With an organi-

² Annual Catalogue of the Atlanta University School of Social Work, 1940-1941, p. 10. Atlanta: Atlanta University School of Social Work, 1941.

zation quickly effected, the school opened on the campus of Morehouse College in September, 1920, with fourteen students. On May 27, 1925, the institution was incorporated under the laws of the state of Georgia, and through an appropriation from the Laura Spelman-Rockefeller Memorial it was able to function as an independent institution.³ E. Franklin Frazier was the first director of the school. The present director, Forrester B. Washington, has served since 1927.

Beginning with the year, 1928-1929, a new program inaugurated at the school consisted of extending the curriculum from one to two years, of raising the entrance requirements to at least two years of college work done at an institution of recognized standing, and of working out a plan of cooperation with the five local Negro colleges. Through this plan seniors majoring in social science in the local colleges could take the first year of the two-year curriculum of the Atlanta School of Social Work as part of the requirements for the A. B. degree in their respective colleges. The school also offered courses dealing with the Negro which were not offered in any other school of social work.⁴

At a meeting of the board of trustees in December, 1934, it was voted that, beginning with the school year, 1935-1936, only persons with a Bachelor's degree from a college of recognized standing would be considered for admission into the school, which in the meantime had been admitted into the American Association of Schools of Social Work. Until 1939 it was the only Negro school listed as a member of the association,

³ Ibid., p. 11.

⁴ Ibid., pp. 11-12.

and it is still the only Negro school of the association offering the full two-year graduate course.⁵ In 1940, on becoming a professional school in the Atlanta University system, its former name, the Atlanta School of Social Work, was changed to that of the Atlanta University School of Social Work.

Morris Brown College

African Methodism had its origin in those conditions developed by race distinctions in American religious life and organization. When organized Christian bodies displayed the racial distinctions found in other avenues of American life, it was then that thoughtful, adventurous, and ambitious Negroes in the several large centers of the country began to manifest their dissatisfaction. As a result of such conditions in the Methodist Episcopal Church, a group of Negro delegates, at a convention in Philadelphia in 1816, established the African Methodist Episcopal Church and elected as its bishop Richard Allen.⁶

At first two rival plans were presented for the purpose of insuring an educated ministry. The first was the organization of an educational association to raise funds to defray the expenses of promising young men who would attend any of the several schools admitting Negro students. The second plan was to found and maintain a collegiate institution for the education of youth, owned and controlled by the church. Both plans were adopted, although the general plan of the de-

⁵ Ibid., p. 12.

⁶ Charles H. Wesley, Richard Allen, p. 152. Washington: Associated Publishers, 1935.

nomination was to place its institutions of higher learning at strategic points in as many states of the South as possible.⁷ The spirit of the A. M. E. Church among Negroes asserted itself in education in Georgia with the establishment of Morris Brown College.

Wesley J. Gaines, presiding elder of the Atlanta district and head of the A. M. E. forces of the Atlanta vicinity, had been asked, along with other church people, about furnishing a room at one of the recently completed buildings of Clark University. At a meeting called at Big Bethel Church to consider the request, it was proposed to start a school of their own. This proposal gained immediate favor, and the matter of furnishing a room at Clark University was tabled. So determined were those present to effect this proposal that in 1881 Morris Brown College was established.⁸ Today the school is considered one of the best colleges of the denomination. The college is governed by a board of trustees. In the interim of meetings the board vests authority in an executive committee, which exercises immediate control of the institution. William H. Fountain, Jr., has served as president of the college since 1928.⁹

In September, 1932, several changes vitally affecting the life of the institution were made, including: (1) the abolition of the preparatory school, (2) the merging of the Williams Business College

⁷ D. W. O. Holmes, The Evolution of the Negro College, p. 141. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1934.

⁸ Annie B. Thomas, Morris Brown College, 1885-1932, pp. 37-38. Atlanta: Morris Brown College Press, 1932.

⁹ Annual Catalogue of Morris Brown College, 1942-1943, p. 16. Atlanta: Morris Brown College, 1943.

with Morris Brown College, and (3) the changing of sites from the corner of Boulevard and Houston Street to West Hunter and Tatnall Streets, the old site of Atlanta University. The change of location placed the institution within walking distance of the other colleges of the system, thereby providing for cooperation on a larger scale.¹⁰

Morehouse College

Morehouse College, as it is known today, was organized in 1867 in the city of Augusta, Georgia, under the name of The Augusta Institute. In 1879, under the presidency of Joseph Thomas Robert (white), it was removed to Atlanta and incorporated as the Atlanta Baptist Seminary. In 1889, since the surroundings of the old location in Atlanta had become unfavorable, a new site was obtained, and in the spring of 1890 the school was removed to its present location.¹¹ It was not until 1897 that amendments to the charter were secured, granting full college powers and changing the name of the institution to the Atlanta Baptist College. In 1906 John Hope became the first of the Negroes who have served successively as president of the college. Having been a member of the faculty since 1898, he was familiar with the traditions of the institution. After the resignation of Hope in 1931, S. H. Archer was elected president, and on his death C. D. Hubert served as acting president until the election of Benjamin Elijah Mays in 1940.¹²

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 16.

¹¹ Benjamin Brawley, History of Morehouse College, p. 1. Atlanta: Morehouse College, 1917.

¹² Annual Catalogue of Morehouse College, 1942-1943, pp. 19-20. Atlanta: Morehouse College, 1943.

Morehouse College, an institution for the education of Negro young men, was operated by the American Baptist Home Mission Society of New York. In 1935 the control was transferred to a board of trustees, but the society still retains a friendly interest and is represented on the board of trustees.¹³

Spelman College

The history of Spelman College is closely associated with that of Morehouse College. The men in charge of Atlanta Baptist Seminary (Morehouse College) soon became interested in a similar school for young women. The matter was constantly in the mind of Reverend Frank Quarles, pastor of Friendship Baptist Church, and in a meeting of January 21, 1881, the members of the local board formally recommended to the American Baptist Home Mission Society the founding of such a school. The executive board, assembled in New York on March 10, 1881, voted as follows:

That the executive board of the American Baptist Home Mission Society be and are hereby recommended to comply with said request and to encourage and authorize the said Missionary Baptist Convention of Georgia to take immediate steps to raise a fund of at least \$5,000.00 to be devoted to the erection of a suitable school building for girls on the grounds of the Atlanta Baptist Seminary.¹⁴

In the meantime the Woman's American Baptist Home Mission Society of New England sent Sophia B. Packard to study conditions among the freedmen of the South. This experience created in her an interest in the status of Negro women. Her illness while in the South brought her friend, Harriet E. Giles, to her bedside. After her recovery the

¹³ Ibid., p. 20.

¹⁴ Benjamin Brawley, op. cit., p. 47.

two women returned to the North determined to do something immediately for Negro women. They made an appeal to the First Baptist Church of Medford, Massachusetts, which gave them one hundred dollars in cash and pledges towards the enterprise. Upon the suggestion of Joseph T. Roberts, president of the Atlanta Baptist Seminary, and on the invitation of Frank Quarles, the first college for Negro women was established in the basement of Friendship Baptist Church in 1881. The school was named the Atlanta Baptist Female Seminary, which was changed in 1884, upon the suggestion of Sophia Packard, to Spelman Seminary after John D. Rockefeller's mother, and later to Spelman College.¹⁵

Atlanta University

Atlanta University, incorporated on October 16, 1867, actually had its beginning in several small schools that started in 1865 and 1866 for the education of the recently emancipated slaves. One of these schools was located in an old railroad box car; another began its work in the Jenkins Street Church; another used a building that was formerly a Confederate commissary, later to be named the Storrs School; while yet another school was established on the grounds of the Washburn Memorial Orphan Asylum. Two Atlanta churches for Negroes, the Friendship Baptist and Bethel African Methodist, were also closely related to the beginnings of the university.¹⁶

¹⁵ Annual Catalogue of Spelman College, 1942-1943, pp. 9-10. Atlanta: Spelman College, 1943.

¹⁶ Rufus E. Clement, "Atlanta University Is Rated Center of Negro Education," Atlanta Constitution, 75 (September 1, 1942), 11-H.

The first president of Atlanta University was Asa Ware (white), a native of Massachusetts and educated principally in Yale College where he was graduated in 1863. He came to Atlanta in 1866, when he entered upon his life work of the proper and liberal education of the colored people of the South; his devotion to this cause has identified him as the educator and benefactor of the race for which he toiled until his death in 1885. He was succeeded by Horace Bunstead (white), who after serving as acting president for a year was elected president in 1888. Edward Twichell Ware, the son of Asa Ware and the second Ware to serve as president of the university, was a native of Atlanta. He had been closely associated with the university, principally as field agent in raising money for the school and later as chaplain of the institution.¹⁷ It was during the administration of Myron N. Adams (white) that the school became affiliated with Morehouse College and Spelman College. It was then that Atlanta University became a graduate school.¹⁸

The major school (Storrs School) that served as a nucleus in the establishment of Atlanta University was conducted by the American Missionary Association. In the beginning the new institution obtained its financial support from the Freedmen's Bureau and the American Missionary Association, which took an active part in the management and support of the university. It was the wish of President Ware from the beginning, however, to have an independent and non-denominational insti-

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Myron W. Adams, A History of Atlanta University, pp. 14-17. Atlanta: Atlanta University Press, 1930.

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Ibid., pp. 48-49.

tution. This wish was not realized until the beginning of the decade of 1870, during which time the school was financed primarily by a system providing for a list of interested annual donors.¹⁹

During the administration of President Bunstead the university became active in fostering a program of educational research dealing with an unprejudiced study of those elements in social life that affected human welfare and, in particular, as far as Atlanta University was concerned, with the welfare of the Negro. This interest took form in the appointment of John H. Hincks (white) to a professorship of history and social science. He was succeeded by W. E. B. DuBois (Negro) in 1897. In connection with this phase of the program of the university, an annual conference was initiated for the study of problems relating to the Negro, especially in the life of the cities. DuBois spent much time in developing the annual conference and its associated studies, of which the last of twenty monographs was published in 1916.²⁰

At an early period in the history of the university, there were some who thought that the school should be relocated or that there should be a closer working relationship with the other institutions of the city. In 1895 the board of trustees of Atlanta University found it impracticable to cooperate with Clark University in placing the industrial instruction of both institutions under one head, as suggested by the trustees of the Slater Fund. However, the following vote was taken by the executive committee of Atlanta University on May 7, 1908:

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 20.

²⁰ Ibid., p. 35.

That President Ware and Mr. Fisk, after conference with Dr. Buttrick, Secretary Sale and Mr. Dickerman, secure as soon as possible a conference between the heads (or some leading representatives) of the institutions now doing any college work for Negroes in Atlanta, with a view to better coordination of the work of such institutions.²¹

As an outcome of this vote, the meeting was held and attended by all the heads of the colleges for Negroes in the city, except those of Clark and Morris Brown. In 1912 the question of a merger with Fisk was considered, but this was thought not advisable. In 1914 Philip Weltner, an Atlanta attorney, taught a course in business law offered to students of Atlanta University and Morehouse College, with sessions of the class alternating between the two campuses and with the financing done by the Phelps-Stokes Fund. In 1922 and 1923 there was considerable discussion of a merger of Atlanta University with Clark University. However, the subject did not come up for formal action by the board of trustees of Atlanta University.²²

Cooperative Summer School

Perhaps the most extensive program of cooperation among the Negro colleges in Atlanta prior to the affiliation in 1929 was the Morehouse-Spelman and Atlanta University summer schools. In 1921 Morehouse College began its summer school especially for public-school teachers of the state. Through the courtesy of Spelman College, the summer school used the home economics building of that institution. There developed a demand from students in attendance for the regular content courses in

²¹ Ibid., p. 67.

²² Ibid., p. 67.

high school and college, as well as for professional courses for teachers who desired to qualify for higher certificates and degrees. To meet the demands, the summer school in 1928 was enlarged and reorganized as the Morehouse-Spelman Summer School, conducted jointly by Morehouse College and Spelman College with the resources and facilities of both institutions at its disposal. In 1928 the independent summer session of Atlanta University, which had been successfully carried on for four years, became affiliated and was followed by the Atlanta School of Social Work in 1929.²³

As expressed in an Atlanta University bulletin, further coordination has been effected: "With the increasing cooperation among the institutions of higher learning in Atlanta, since 1933, the summer school has been conducted by Atlanta University with Morehouse College, Spelman College, The Atlanta University School of Social Work, Clark College, Morris Brown College, and Gammon Theological Seminary affiliating."²⁴

The Toronto Plan

A better understanding of the development of the Atlanta University system can be provided through relating briefly some of the salient points of the University of Toronto plan, after which the Atlanta University system is patterned. The Toronto plan grew out of the

²³ Morehouse-Spelman Summer School Catalogue, 1930, p. 13.
Atlanta: Morehouse and Spelman Colleges, 1930.

²⁴ Atlanta University Summer School, 1943, p. 12. Atlanta: Atlanta University, 1943.

conflict between the state and church as to authority over and financing of higher education in Canada. To Robert Baldwin, Canada owes a declaration of the principles (act of 1849) of state education which, in one form or another, have ever since been influential in defining the status and underlying purpose of the provincial university. Baldwin, who was clear and unprejudiced in his thinking, believed that there was but one course to pursue in dealing with an educational trust intended for all; that is, to make the state university a common ground for all youth of the country irrespective of creed. His proposal was unsuccessful, because the movement for separate colleges had gone too far. His plan also assumed that the separate institutions would abandon their degree-conferring power and group themselves amicably around the state university.²⁵

In Canada the act of 1853 once more asserted the principle of a state university uncontrolled by denominationalism. Its aim was to provide for the affiliation of the denominational colleges, to secure their aid and consent in the creation of a common standard of higher education in the province, and, without exacting the relinquishment of their degree-conferring powers, to induce them to contribute to the gradual upbuilding of a great central university in the administration of which they would share. Like its predecessors, the act of 1853 was unsuccessful in unifying the university system of the province. The

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The University of Toronto and Its Colleges, 1827-1906,
p. 269. Toronto: University of Toronto Library, 1906.

denominational institutions continued to be sustained by the self-sacrificing pride of their respective supporters.²⁶ However, the ground had been broken and the conditions for cooperative operation of the colleges were stated in the act of 1887, known as the Federation Act. Some of the essential points of agreement were:

1. A confederation of colleges in Toronto carrying on work embraced in the Arts curriculum of the Provincial University.
2. Representation of the federated colleges and universities in the Senate.
3. Graduates of the federated universities to be admitted as graduates of the Provincial University (ad eundum gradum).
4. Graduate representation in the Senate of the federated universities, to cease after six years.
5. University College to give instruction in Latin, Greek, etc., and to have the power of instituting additional chairs which do not exist in the university.
6. The organization of a teaching faculty in the university with facilities for adequate instruction in a stated list of subjects free to all students of the university.
7. The state endowment to be applied to the maintenance of the Provincial University, the University Faculty, and University College.²⁷

The adoption of the federation in 1887 caused the University of Toronto to become a teaching body with provision for the grouping of arts colleges around it. However, the system contained many defects and has undergone several major revisions. In the main, the University of Toronto is made up of many diverse elements. There are various faculties: arts, medicine, law, and applied science. In the faculty of

²⁶ Ibid., p. 270.

²⁷ Ibid., p. 272.

arts are various colleges: University College, Victoria College, Trinity College, and the three purely theological colleges of Knox, Wycliffe, and St. Michael's. The organization of this university is not exactly parallel with that of either an American or a British university, but through federation there has been developed a form of organization that is distinctive. It is believed that the system provides a combination of strong personal influence on students with the broad outlook and widened sympathies that come from membership in a great university. The colleges are able to maintain the importance of liberal culture, and they are able to bring the strongest influences to bear upon their own comparatively limited number of students; moreover, they can foster a common life among students free at once from the narrowness of the small university and from the lack of social union of a huge undivided university.²⁸

The state supplies to its youth a complete system of higher education; the denominational colleges avail themselves of the state's provision for scientific training, and add to it their own contribution of the humanities, with such a religious or denominational atmosphere as seems most desirable to themselves.²⁹

The Atlanta University Affiliation

At the April, 1928, meeting of the trustees of Atlanta University one of the members of the board stated that the General Education

²⁸ Ibid., p. 296.

²⁹ Ibid., p. 296.

Board had in mind a proposition which would be of benefit to all the Negro institutions of Atlanta. This proposal later proved to be a plan for a union library. The board of Atlanta University at once appointed a committee to consider both the library and a successor to President Adams, whose resignation had been in the hands of the trustees for some time. Because of the size of the first committee, a sub-committee was appointed. To aid the work of this committee, President Adams made a request to the boards of Morehouse College and Spelman College to designate similar committees. With this done, the three committees held four sessions at which a general plan, later to be accepted in the form of a contract of affiliation by the boards of the three colleges, was evolved and adopted with the unanimous consent of all present. On April 1, 1929, an agreement, providing for the affiliation of the three institutions in a university plan,³⁰ was signed by the presidents of Atlanta University, Morehouse College, and Spelman College, acting under authorization of their respective boards of trustees.

Some of the agreements of the affiliation were:

1. That Spelman College and Morehouse College should retain their own boards of trustees, officers, and management.
2. That the Atlanta University board should include nine members, three nominated by each of the two affiliated colleges and three by the university.
3. That the president of Atlanta University should be an ex-officio member of the board of trustees of both Spelman College and Morehouse College.
4. That the graduate courses offered by the graduate faculty might be supplemented by graduate courses offered by members of the college faculties.

³⁰ Myron Adams, op. cit., pp. 68-69.

5. That the university board should be charged with the responsibility for developing common facilities which should be available for the various units.

6. That Morehouse and Spelman Colleges should not offer graduate and professional instruction, but might maintain courses in pre-professional work acceptable toward a Bachelor's degree.³¹

The purposes of the affiliation were the elimination of unnecessary duplication of effort and overlapping of courses, reduction of administrative and teaching cost, and the consequent strengthening of each of the constituent institutions.

The combined strength of these three institutions brought early results. When the application for accreditation to the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools was made during the fall of 1933, the resources of the three institutions were presented in one statement. The three parts of the system made up the total, and Class "A" rating was given to Atlanta University with Spelman and Morehouse as affiliated colleges.³²

Atlanta University as a graduate school has had two presidents: John Hope (Negro), former president of Morehouse College (1929-1936), and Rufus E. Clement (Negro), his successor since 1937. In 1936-1937, President Florence M. Read of Spelman College served as acting president. During the fifteen years as a graduate university, the institution has passed through two distinct yet overlapping stages of development: (1) the relocation of the school and the initiation of graduate work, and (2) the

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John Hope, "The Atlanta University Affiliation," Bulletin of the Association of American Colleges, 19 (May, 1933), 3-6.

32

Ibid., p. 5.

internal organization of the university and the inclusion of a group of cooperating institutions.

Atlanta University System

By some people the terms "affiliation" and "system" are used interchangeably in referring to the affiliated colleges of Atlanta University. Others have employed the term "system" in referring to the affiliated institutions, to describe the different levels of education, or to embrace an educational ladder extending from the nursery-kindergarten school to the degrees of Master of Arts, Master of Science, or Master of Social Work. Still others have restricted the use of the term "system," employing it only when referring to the federated efforts of the affiliated and cooperating institutions. ³³

The Atlanta University system is now composed of Atlanta University, a graduate institution, and its professional school of library science; the affiliated institutions of Atlanta University, Morehouse College, Spelman College, and the Atlanta University School of Social Work; and the cooperating colleges of Morris Brown, Clark College, and Gammon Theological Seminary. As adjuncts of the university and colleges, the Oglethorpe Elementary School and the Spelman Nursery are fostered in connection with the academic phase of the general program.

As cooperating institutions, Morris Brown and Clark Colleges are federated members of the Atlanta University system. Their status

³³ The term "system" is used hereafter in referring to the affiliated and cooperating institutions. The average semester enrollment of the system is approximately 3,000 students.

differs from that of the affiliated colleges, in that the cooperating colleges are not so highly integrated into the system. However, the cooperating colleges have an agreement with the university as to the use of physical facilities and the scope of curriculum offerings. The institutions of the system function through a council composed of the presidents of all the schools. The purposes of the system are the same as those stated for the affiliation.

As part of a cooperative program, the following accomplishments have resulted among the seven institutions in Atlanta: (1) conferences of presidents, (2) academic departmental meetings, (3) exchange of teachers and students, (4) joint engagement of some teachers, (5) mutual use of buildings and grounds, (6) reciprocal use of equipment and teaching materials, (7) common use of the university library, (8) all-university convocations and assemblies, (9) summer school with all seven institutions affiliated, (10) a common physics laboratory, and (11) the same academic calendar.³⁴

Besides these gains, there are areas of cooperation primarily among the affiliated institutions: (1) academic staff, (2) joint baccalaureate service, (3) purchasing department, (4) people's college, (5) student employment, (6) dramatic and musical organizations, and (7) infirmary and health service.³⁵

³⁴

A University Center for the Higher Education of Negroes.
Atlanta: Atlanta University System, 1943, Pp. 7.

³⁵

Ibid.

The New Clark College

The affiliation and cooperation of the Atlanta colleges for Negroes are in keeping with the general policy of the board of education of the Methodist Episcopal Church in dealing with its educational institutions. In 1931 a committee was appointed by the board to make a study of ten of the institutions operated by the church for Negroes, including Clark University. The recommendations concerning the university, as made by the committee, centered around a closer cooperation with Gammon, Atlanta University, and the other colleges of the city. The committee went so far as to recommend that Gammon Theological Seminary be developed as a union theological school. The general attitude of the church was expressed in the statement made by Miron A. Morrill:

A dream of Christian educators in Atlanta, Georgia, has long been the establishment of a university for the American Negro, with cooperating colleges. It is a dream already realized in the completion, in 1929, of an arrangement between Atlanta University, Morehouse College, and Spelman College for the affiliation of the three institutions in a university plan. Since then there has been increasingly close cooperation between the three affiliated institutions, Morris Brown College, and Clark University.³⁶

President Davage, too, was anxious to see some type of closer relationship effected between Clark University and the other schools of the city. Empowered by his local board and with the endorsement of the board of education of the M. E. Church, he made several attempts, together with a special committee in conference with administrative officers of Atlanta University, to outline certain working agreements. These early attempts were of little or no functional value. However, a real

³⁶ Miron A. Morrill, "Clark's New Destiny," The Mentor, 18 (April, 1940), 3.

force in closer cooperation among the colleges had been generated by constructing a union library on the campus of Atlanta University. Clark University, in order to share the benefits of the library, of the modern heating plant, and of the educational advantages of a closer relationship, had to be relocated, as had been true of the Atlanta University School of Social Work and of Morris Brown College. Therefore, when President Davage on February 28, 1937, released to the Atlanta newspapers an announcement of the plans to relocate Clark and to make the school a cooperating institution with Atlanta University, many responsible and far-sighted people were pleased. The Atlanta Constitution carried the following statement:

Gifts aggregating more than a million dollars to enable Clark University, local institution for the higher education of Negroes, to cooperate more fully in the development in Atlanta of the greatest center of Negro higher education in the world was announced Thursday by Dr. M. S. Davage, President of the university, at the annual founders' day celebration.

In announcing plans for the change President Davage stated that the new relationship will be in the nature of a closely-knit federation, rather than a merger, and that Clark will continue to function under its own board as a four-year liberal arts college. At the same time the two institutions will co-operate as fully as possible through interchange of professorships and classes. Joint library facilities and otherwise....

The contemplated move of Clark University will bring the sixth institution into the federation, making it complete with the exception of Gammon Theological Seminary, in which no change is contemplated at this time.³⁷

The relocation of the school had been made possible by a conditional gift of \$750,000 from the General Education Board. In order to claim this gift, the university had to raise \$500,000 more. This sum was received in the amounts of \$100,000 from the Rosenwald Foundation, and

37

"Clark University Gets Million," Atlanta Constitution,
70 (February 28, 1939), 1.

\$400,000 from Mrs. Henry C. Pfeiffer of New York. Part of the site was deeded to the university by Atlanta University, and President Davage assumed the task of raising the balance needed to complete the new building program.³⁸

Election of President Davage to a National Church Office

Out of the unification of three groups of Methodism in 1939 came significant changes and the creation of new offices. Unanimously elected to serve as executive secretary of Negro schools of the Methodist Church was President Davage of Clark University. He was the first Negro to be elected to the position since the board of education for Negroes was merged with the general board of education of the Methodist Church. This office headed the departments of the church having official relations with the following institutions: Meharry Medical College, Dillard University, Flint-Goodrich Hospital, Bennett College, Claflin College, Philander Smith College, Wiley College, Paine College, Bethune-Cookman College, and Clark University. Thus, acceptance of this new position did not entirely sever his relationship with Clark University, the institution which he had served as president for seventeen years, and for which he had effected the final plans for the new Clark College. It was thought in electing Davage to this new position of responsibility, second only to the bishopric, that no one in the church knew better than he the departments of the church, the accrediting and standardizing agencies of the country, and the various boards and foundations through

38

Ibid., p. 1.

which philanthropists had aided Negro colleges.³⁹

Election of Brawley as President of Clark College

Elected to succeed Davage was J. P. Brawley, who had served as dean of instruction for fifteen years.⁴⁰ Prior to his election as president on March 19, 1941, he had served as administrative dean for a period of six years.⁴¹ The faculty and student body looked upon him as a man of integrity and ability. The year, 1941, marked the acquisition of two other honors by Brawley; namely, the earning of the degree, Doctor of Philosophy, from Northwestern University and the receiving of the honorary degree of Doctor of Science in education from his alma mater, Samuel Houston College.

Laying of Cornerstone

Another chapter in the development of the new Clark College was written Sunday, April 6, 1941, when at formal ceremonies the cornerstone was laid on the administration building at the new site facing Atlanta University on Chestnut Street. A program that preceded the laying of the cornerstone was held in the Warren Memorial Church. The meeting was called to order by Col. Willis M. Everett, chairman of the Clark College board of trustees, and Bishop Lorenzo H. King, resident bishop

³⁹ The faculty of Clark College honored President and Mrs. Davage with a banquet in Thayer Hall, Tuesday evening, November 19, 1941. The complimentary gesture was tendered in recognition of his recent appointment to the new work.

⁴⁰ Alphonso A. McPheeters of the department of education was elected in June, 1941, to succeed Brawley as dean of instruction.

⁴¹ "J. P. Brawley Elected Clark University President," Atlanta Daily World, 15 (March 20, 1941), 1.

of the Atlantic coast area, presided. Harvey W. Cox, president of Emory University, delivered the principal address on "Atlanta as a University Center." Others appearing on the program were: Harry W. McPherson, Rufus E. Clement, J. R. McCain, W. R. Wilkes, Louie D. Newton, Willis J. King, Edward G. Mackay, W. A. Fountain, Sr., J. F. Demery, and J. W. Thomas.⁴²

An outstanding feature of the program was the presence of the school's guest of honor, Mrs. Henry W. Pfeiffer, widow of Henry W. Pfeiffer, manufacturer and philanthropist of New York City. It was Mrs. Pfeiffer's liberal contribution that greatly aided Clark in matching the offer of the General Education Board. After former President Davage paid a personal tribute to Mrs. Pfeiffer, to which she made a response, President Brawley, in his closing remarks, spoke of the traditions of the college and the possibilities of a bright future. The students of Clark College presented to Mrs. Pfeiffer a bouquet of red roses and a Bible.

Six articles were placed in the copper container that was sealed up in the cornerstone. Included were a copy of the Bible, a copy of the program at the laying of the cornerstone, minutes of the 1941 trustees' meeting, a copy of the 1940-1941 catalogue, and a copy of the April 6, 1941, issue of the Atlanta Daily World.

New Physical Plant

To house Clark College on Chestnut Street, four new buildings:

⁴² Stella Brewer Brookes, "The Clark College of Yesterday and Today," Atlanta Daily World, 15 (April 6, 1941), 1.

were constructed and completed by September 13, 1941. The latest architectural ideas in college design were embodied in the construction of each building.

Warren-Haven Hall. -- The administration building was named after Bishops Warren and Haven. In it are housed the administrative offices and the chapel or auditorium with a seating capacity of about seven hundred persons and ample facilities for little theatre productions. Provisions are also made in the administration building for an art suite, music studio for choral and band practice, six practice rooms for music students, classrooms, a large audio-visual room, faculty offices, a co-operative shop store, offices for the deans of men and women, and a post office.⁴³

Thayer Hall. -- Thayer Hall is advanced in college building design. The three-story building was planned in such a way that it houses three separate but related activities of college life. On the ground floor is a large student center to accommodate about four hundred persons, providing for the cultivation of wholesome aspects of the social life of the students living on and off the campus. The second floor is devoted to an enlarged home economics department. On this floor are a spacious foods laboratory with modern facilities for the analysis of food, classrooms, handicraft room, reception room, clothing department, and offices. On the third floor are a modern kitchen and a dining room designed to provide banquet service or cafeteria style for over three hundred people.

⁴³ Cliff Mackey, "Clark College Gets Ready to Begin New Eventful Chapter," Atlanta Daily World, 15 (September 13, 1941), 8.

Dormitories. -- Pfeiffer Hall for men and Merner Hall for women, named after Henry Pfeiffer and Annie Merner Pfeiffer respectively, are identically constructed. In addition to sleeping quarters for students, each building contains a living room or lounge, hospital rooms, six guest suites, and a suite for the dean of men or dean of women, so as the case may be. The equipment of these buildings is new also.

To many of the students and friends of the college the opportunity to begin college life in a new plant was a rare experience. President Brawley envisaged the physical plant in terms of its added opportunities for realizing the aims of the college, when he spoke of the purposes of the college and the significance of its relocation:

The relocation of the college on a new site and the beginning of the school year 1941-1942 in a new plant mark the beginning of a new era in the life of this historic institution. In this new era is envisaged the continuity of the nobleness of purposes of this institution in the years passed. Undergirding its program are the aims of making men and women who will be clean and liberal in their thinking, unselfish in their motives, Christians in their outlooks, courageous in their undertaking, and uncompromising in their stand for the right, the highest, and best.

As the college looks to the future with hopefulness, it recognizes its obligation to those whose labors, sacrifices and contributions, both material and spiritual, have made this era possible. In attempting to meet its obligation to the Methodist Church and to the youth of the Negro race it will inevitably become a greater Clark College.⁴⁴

Inauguration of Brawley as President of Clark College

While presidents and representatives from more than fifty colleges looked on, J. P. Brawley was inaugurated as the seventeenth presi-

⁴⁴ "Brawley to Be Inaugurated as Clark Prexy," Atlanta Daily World, 14 (April 10, 1942), 1.

dent of Clark College on Friday afternoon, April 10, 1942. The inauguration was part of a three-day program at the college, during which the modern new buildings were dedicated and the seventy-third annual Founders' Day observed.⁴⁵

Willis M. Everett, president of the board of trustees of Clark College, presided over the inaugural ceremony. Those participating on the program were: Stanley E. Grannum, E. M. Hurley, Stella B. Brookes, John W. Haywood, H. W. McPherson, J. A. Baxter, M. S. Davage, M. W. Dogan, J. P. Brawley, and Mrs. Henry Pfeiffer.

The principal address was delivered by President John W. Haywood of Morristown College, Tennessee, who developed the theme of "The Role of the Christian College in After-War Reconstruction." He extended a challenge to church-supported schools to produce the new social technicians who would be so greatly needed in the after-war era. These people, he held, must be experts in the realm of human relationships and must be imbued with a new sense of social stewardship.

The charge to the new president was delivered by H. W. McPherson, executive secretary of the Methodist Board of Education. Brawley, in response to the charge, pledged himself to do everything possible to meet the great challenge that faces not only Clark but all Christian colleges. To him the challenge was for development of Christian men and women to lead the world out of the chaos in which it is now enveloped. In accomplishing this task, Brawley expressed the belief that the col-

45 "Brawley to Be Inaugurated as Clark Prexy," Atlanta Daily World, 14 (April 10, 1942), 1.

leges of Atlanta had an opportunity, unlike that afforded in any other community, to show what can be done through cooperation. In fact, the future of the institutions depended upon such cooperation.

The music for these occasions was furnished by the Clark Philharmonic Society under the direction of J. deKoven Killingsworth. Mrs. Henry Pfeiffer, one of the great benefactors of the college, was present at 8:00 o'clock in the evening at a special dinner given in her honor by the faculty and student body of Clark College.

Dedication of the New Clark College

The founders' day exercises were held on Sunday morning, April 12, 1942, with Bishop R. E. Jones delivering the address. The dedication of the new plant was on Sunday afternoon, April 12, at which time the address was delivered by Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam of Boston. Others appearing on the program were W. J. King, D. H. Stanton, Rufus E. Clement, Mrs. Henry Pfeiffer, David D. Jones, Mrs. F. C. Reynolds, M. S. Davage, and M. J. Holmes.

College executives who had arrived by Tuesday, April 10, for the ceremonies were Mrs. Mary Bethune, J. F. Drake, M. W. Dogan, J. M. Gandy, J. W. Haywood, W. P. Tolley, A. W. Dent, S. E. Grannum, M. D. Jones, W. J. Trent, E. H. Fitchett, H. M. Bond, and E. C. Peters; and from the Atlanta schools there were W. A. Fountain, B. E. Mays, F. B. Washington, Miss F. M. Read, and R. E. Clement.⁴⁶

⁴⁶ "Clark Dedication to Open Tomorrow," Atlanta Daily World, 14 (April 9, 1942), 1.

Clark College and the War

With the declaration of war between the United States and the Axis nations in 1941, the academic council of Clark College at once sensed the repercussions of such a conflict upon the students and life of the college. During this period of world conflict the college has been engaged in the following activities and readjustments: (1) establishment of civilian defense corps, (2) appointment of morale committee, (3) participation of students and faculty in community defense activities, (4) offering of new credit and non-credit war courses, (5) acceleration of the program by means of a double session in summer school, and (6) rethinking the aims of the college in the light of the present emergency and of the post-war world.

The physics department, which was equipped at a cost of approximately \$50,000, is meeting the special war need for training in electricity, audio-visual work, light, heat, photography, and radio repair. In the home economics department, students have the opportunity of taking specialized courses adapted to the needs of a country at war, in foods, clothing, child care, day nursery, and consumer education. The secretarial-science phase of the business department also has expanded to cooperate in the war effort.

On the campus of Atlanta University from January 2 through June 30, 1943, Branch No. 7 of the Army Administration Schools trained enlisted men of the Army Air Forces in basic administration. The course of study was similar to that offered in seven other universities and lasted for a period of eight weeks for each class. All university dormitories were vacated and made ready for the soldiers, with the faculty

and students finding accommodations at Clark, Spelman, and Morris Brown Colleges. Classes were held on the campuses of Morehouse and Spelman Colleges, and Clark College furnished additional boarding facilities.

From the college enrollment more than 200 men and women have been called to or have enlisted in the different branches of the military forces. Many of the young women have the rank of first and second lieutenants in the WACS, while the young men are serving as privates, and as non-commissioned and commissioned officers.

Seventy-fifth Anniversary and the Status of the College

After a period of seventy-five years, 1869-1944, the college celebrated its seventy-fifth anniversary on February 24-25, 1944. The visionary university of 1869 is today a small liberal arts college. Recent changes characterizing the new Clark College are pertinent to the administration and future development of the institution:

1. The name of the institution has been changed from "Clark University" to "Clark College."
2. The aim of the college has been defined within the sphere of a good functional liberal arts college, dealing with the total development of the student.
3. The institution has been housed in a new plant with many advantages for carrying forward such a program.
4. The local board of trustees has been granted autonomy.
5. The dual system of administration that existed on the old campus of Clark University has been abolished.
6. The composition of the local board has been changed to include more representatives of the Woman's Society of Christian Service.
7. The college has assumed its responsibility as a cooperating institution of the Atlanta University system.

Summary

Until 1929 there were in Atlanta seven institutions for the higher education of Negroes; namely, Atlanta University, Morris Brown, Morehouse, and Spelman Colleges, Atlanta School of Social Work, Clark University, and Gammon Theological Seminary. Throughout the years each of these institutions had developed a distinct educational philosophy, yet each realized that much could be gained from cooperative participation.

The most extensive program of cooperation among the Negro colleges in Atlanta prior to 1929 was the Morehouse-Spelman and Atlanta University summer school. In 1929 the Atlanta School of Social Work became a part of the summer school. Since 1933 the summer school has been conducted by Atlanta University, with the affiliation of Morehouse College, Spelman College, the Atlanta University school of social work, Clark College, Morris Brown College, and Gammon Theological Seminary.

The Atlanta University system is patterned after the Toronto plan, which grew out of the conflict between the state and church as to authority and financing of higher education in Canada. Robert Balwin thought there was only one course to pursue in dealing with an educational trust intended for all; that is, to make the state university a common ground for all youth of the country, irrespective of creed. His plan assumed that the separate institutions would abandon their degree-conferring power and group themselves amicably around the state university. Balwin's proposal was unsuccessful, because the movement for separate colleges had gone too far. However, the ground had been broken and the conditions for cooperative operation of the colleges were stated in the act of 1887, known as the Federation Act. This act of federation

caused the University of Toronto to become a teaching body, with provision for the grouping of arts colleges around it. It was believed that such a system provided a combination of strong personal influence on students, with a broad outlook and widened sympathies, as well as a common life among students, free from the narrowness of the small university and from the lack of social union of a large undivided university.

The Atlanta University system is composed of two groups of schools; namely, affiliated and cooperating institutions. In 1928 the trustees of Atlanta University appointed a committee to consider a proposal of interest to all the colleges of Atlanta; later a committee was appointed from Morehouse and Spelman Colleges. The joint committee from the three colleges, after studying the proposal, drew up a plan that was accepted in the form of a contract of affiliation by the boards of the three colleges. On April 1, 1929, an agreement was signed by the presidents of Atlanta University, Morehouse College, and Spelman College, acting under authorization of their respective boards of trustees. The agreement provided for a board of trustees for each institution, composition of the Atlanta University board, scope of curriculum, and physical facilities. The purposes of the affiliation were the elimination of unnecessary duplication of effort and overlapping of the courses, reduction of administrative and teaching cost, and the consequent strengthening of each of the constituents. The cooperating institutions of the Atlanta University system are Morris Brown, Clark College, and Gammon Theological Seminary. Oglethorpe Elementary Schools and Spelman Nursery School are fostered in connection with the academic program of the university. The status of the cooperating colleges differs from that of the affiliated colleges, in that the former are not so highly integrated

as a part of the unit. However, the cooperating colleges have an agreement with the university as to the use of physical facilities and scope of curriculum offerings.

Clark University, in order to share the benefits of the library, modern heating plant, and the educational advantages of a closer relationship, had to be relocated. This was made possible by a gift of \$750,000 from the General Education Board, \$100,000 from the Rosenwald Foundation, and \$400,000 from Mrs. Henry C. Pfeiffer of New York City. A part of the site was deeded to Clark by Atlanta University.

The final plans for constructing the new Clark College were perfected by President Davage. In the midst of the construction of the new plant in 1941, Davage was elected as executive secretary of Negro schools of the M. E. Church. He was succeeded as president of Clark College by J. P. Brawley, who had served as teacher and dean for fifteen years at Clark.

The new physical plant of the college was occupied for the first time at the beginning of the fall term of the school year, 1941-1942. The four new buildings (Warren-Haven, Thayer, Pfeiffer, and Annie Merner) embodied the latest in architectural design. These buildings were dedicated on April 12, 1942.

Before the college could become well adjusted to its new physical plant and environment, the faculty was forced to make curriculum adjustments in the light of the nation's present conflict with the Axis nations. The college has worked assiduously with a limited faculty and staff, in meeting the needs of its students through a program adjusted to the tempo of the war emergency. In addition to program adjustments,

the college cooperated with Atlanta University in providing boarding facilities for approximately 300 soldiers attending Branch No. 7 of the Army Administration School. From the college enrollment more than 200 men and women have been called to or have enlisted in the different branches of the military forces.

Since 1940 significant changes have been made in the administration of the college, as it has assumed the role of a cooperating institution in the Atlanta University system.

CHAPTER X

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The Problem

The general purpose of this study is to trace the origin and development of Clark University and Gammon Theological Seminary as institutions for the higher education of Negroes. The specific objectives are: (1) to examine briefly the agencies of the Methodist Episcopal Church that played a part in the founding and administration of Clark and Gammon; (2) to show the extent to which the proposals and support of these agencies influenced the development of the programs of Clark and Gammon; (3) to trace the growth of Gammon as a department of Clark University and as a separately endowed and administered theological seminary; (4) to reveal the distinctive features of each institution in its program of development; (5) to survey the present status and to predict the probable future of Clark College as a cooperating institution of the Atlanta University system of higher education for Negroes; (6) to provide a clear understanding of Clark College in terms of its purpose, program, and place in American education; and (7) to forge a needed link in the history of Negro education in the United States.

Sources of Data

Information for this study has been obtained from the annual reports of the Freedmen's Aid Society, annual reports of the Woman's Home Missionary Society, periodic reports of the president to the board

of managers of the Freedmen's Aid Society, reports of the dean to the president and local board of trustees, departmental reports of Clark University, reports of special committees of the faculty of Clark University, surveys of Negro education, minutes of the board of trustees of Gammon Theological Seminary, minutes of the faculty of Clark University, and journals of the general conference of the M. E. Church. Additional sources that provided important data dealing with the historical development of the institutions were: student publications, original letters from alumni and interested individuals, catalogues, bulletins, addresses of school officials and visitors, newspapers, magazines, scrapbooks, and historical volumes dealing with phases of the problem. Information of great value has been secured from personal interviews with former and present officials of the university, alumni, faculty members, and old citizens of the community. The author's own experiences as a member of the M. E. Church for more than twenty-five years and as a teacher at Clark for approximately fourteen years have been drawn upon in the selection and evaluation of the data used.

Plan and Procedure

1. As a background for interpreting the origin and development of Clark and Gammon, a brief study was made of the origin, purposes, and activities of each agency of the Methodist Episcopal Church in administering its system of schools for Negroes.

2. Different stages in the development of the institution, with emphasis upon program adjustments and level of education, were analyzed in the light of individual and racial needs, church and local

administration, and important educational movements.

3. The general activities of the Woman's Home Missionary Society were treated, together with its program for the education of Negro girls on the campus of Clark University and Gammon Seminary.

4. The Atlanta University system, with its affiliated and co-operating groups of institutions, was discussed as a basis for identifying the role of the new Clark College as a cooperating institution.

5. Important changes in the organization and administration of Clark since 1940 have been traced, together with their implications for the future development of the college.

Relationship to the M. E. Church

The origin and development of Clark University and Gammon Theological Seminary were conditioned by the purposes and activities of the different agencies of the Methodist Episcopal Church engaged in administering its system of schools for Negroes. The first of these agencies was the Freedmen's Aid Society, organized in 1866, with its object that of labor for the relief and education of the freedmen and others. Starting as a missionary endeavor, this society became a permanent organization of the church in 1872, and its program expanded to include the spiritual, intellectual, physical, and social development of the individual. The general conference of the M. E. Church saw fit in 1880 to authorize the society to expand its program to include schools for whites in the South. It was made clear to the ministers and constituency of the church that some of the money raised for this cause would be used for the education of white students, but not to the embarrass-

ment of the work among Negroes.

Parralleling the efforts made to harmonize and enlarge the work was the problem of the type of education to be offered. The society believed that people conditioned as were the Negro and many of the Southern whites should have an opportunity for advancing themselves economically through a program of industrial education. To this end there were established seven centers, where elaborate programs were executed. Industrial courses were taught in all the schools operated for Negroes.

The change of name of The Freedmen's Aid Society in 1920 to Board of Education for Negroes implied a new emphasis, since the general church was interested in effecting a closer and more intimate relationship between the work of education for Negroes and that of the board of education, especially with respect to academic standards. This unification of the program for the two races culminated in 1928, when the work for Negroes was placed under the board of education. Provisions were also made by the general conference in 1928 for a survey committee to study the scope and type of work in Negro schools, in order that the contribution made might be as valuable as possible in meeting changing needs. Despite the financial difficulties of the depression period, this step forward on the part of the church led to a greater interest in the development of real colleges for Negroes under the supervision of the church. With the unification of Methodism in 1939, the educational program for Negroes remained under the board of education of the Methodist Church.

Organization and Administration of the Clark University Units

The organization of Clark University. -- The organization of

the Clark University units until 1941 was a loose, informal arrangement, whereby four phases of the general program of the church (Clark University, Gammon Theological Seminary, The Stewart Missionary Foundation to Africa, and Thayer Home) were fostered on the adjoining campuses of Clark University and Gammon Theological Seminary under separate administrations.

Clark University was established in 1869 as a missionary venture following the Civil War, aiming at the elevation of the freedmen and freedwomen by means of a program of Christian education. The growth of the institution during its early period of development was predicated upon the idea that the "three R's" were the basis for learning and that the race could best be elevated by the development of racial leaders in the persons of trained teachers and preachers. The society was interested only in elementary education, because of the limited educational opportunities of the freedmen. In keeping with the policy of the society, Clark sold its Summer Hill school house to the city of Atlanta as a public school for Negroes and attempted to establish a theological seminary on Whitehall Street in 1872. The school was relocated in South Atlanta in 1880, and it was then that the university took form with emphasis upon ministerial, industrial, teacher-training, and college work.

The renewed emphasis on ministerial training after the apparent failure to establish a seminary in 1872 led to the establishment of the Gammon School of Theology of Clark University in 1883. The school remained as a department of Clark until chartered as a separately endowed school in 1888. The charter was amended in 1889, changing the name to "Gammon Theological Seminary." Important in the evolution of Gammon was the zeal of W. F. Stewart for the redemption of Africa. His effort led

to the establishment of the Stewart Missionary Foundation to Africa in connection with Gammon. The foundation operated as a separate agency, serving as a bureau of information and as a means of training students of Clark and Gammon as missionaries and church workers.

It was E. O. Thayer (white), later president of Clark University, who had advocated the need for a program of education among the freedwomen. His challenge to the women of the church was accepted and the first "model home," Thayer Hall, for the elevation of Negro girls was established in 1883 on the campus of Clark University by the Woman's Home Missionary Society, an independently organized and operated body. Thus, there existed a four-unit school arrangement on the adjoining campuses of Clark and Gammon.

Administration of Clark University. -- Contributing to the complexity of the organization of the university was a dual board of control. The institution was administered by the board of the church agency and by a board of trustees. The constitution of the Freedmen's Aid Society provided for a board that delegated its business to an executive committee composed of the bishop or bishops of the church in charge of mission-work and of not fewer than fifteen members elected by the board. Also, provision was made for a corresponding secretary and for a general field superintendent, who were ex-officio members of the committee. The treasurer, corresponding secretary, and general field agent were required to make annual reports to the board of managers, and the Freedmen's Aid Society in turn made a quadrennial report to the general conference of the M. E. Church.

Clark University was incorporated in 1877, with a charter

that provided for self-government on the part of the trustees. However, many of the functions delegated to the local authorities, as mentioned in the charter, were performed by the board of managers of the Freedmen's Aid Society or by the board of the agency operating schools for Negroes. Perhaps this arrangement existed because of one or all of the following reasons: (1) the property or physical plant of Clark was purchased in the name of the board of managers or of the existing church agency; (2) a belief that the local board could not adequately administer the affairs of the university; (3) the board of managers was responsible for the financing of the university; and (4) the local board was conceived by the society as a body that worked with the executive committee composed of the bishop or bishops. The last condition was perhaps the major reason for the overlapping of functions. The action of this committee, however, was subject to the final approval of the board of managers or trustees of the church agency. The granting of local autonomy and the abolishing of the dual system of administration between Clark and Thayer Home have come since 1940 within the era of the new Clark College.

The executive tripartite. -- The field superintendent, bishop, and president of the university made for an executive tripartite. That Clark University, during the seventy-five years of its existence, has had thirteen presidents with the three longest periods of tenure being for eight, nine, and seventeen years respectively, is somewhat indicative of the type of supervision given by the field agent of the society, or church agency, and by the Episcopal head of the area in directing the destiny of the institution. Because of the frequent turnover in the executive office of the university, Clark as late as 1923 was often with-

out an institutional philosophy or program, save that provided by the field agent and resident bishop. Beginning with the year 1924, a new policy was initiated in the selection of a president for the university. The person chosen at that time was not a minister but an educator, yet one who was deeply interested in the general and educational program of the church. Also, during the twenties the church realized to a much greater degree than before that the leadership of the Negro race must be by Negroes. Therefore, since 1924 the two presidents chosen have been Negroes. This change as to type of administrator in a large measure has created a college with a real collegiate atmosphere.

Special Courses

Closely associated with the problem of adequate housing and physical facilities was the providing of a program of studies in keeping with the needs of those served. When Clark University moved to Whitehall Street in 1872, an attempt was made to change the institution to a theological seminary. Again, in 1880, when the school was relocated in South Atlanta, ministerial training was reemphasized and an elaborate program of industrial training was projected side by side with the development of the academic department. The purposes of these developments were to provide intelligent teachers and preachers, and to raise the economic status of the Negro by developing skilled workers.

Expansion of ministerial training. -- The development of Gammon Theological Seminary may be regarded as an expansion of the early program of Clark University for the training of ministers and Christian workers; the school operated from 1883 to 1888 as a department of Clark University.

Its aim was to do practical work to help men toward success in the ministry, and its course of study and methods of instruction were suited to the culture and capacity of the students who sought its advantages. In pursuing these aims and ideals, the administration integrated its program with that of the collegiate department of Clark.

E. H. Gammon, after whom the school was named, studied the situation of the seminary and became convinced that, in order for the school to fulfill its largest usefulness, it should be independent in its organization and government, and thus sustain the same relationship to each school in the entire system of educational institutions of the Freedmen's Aid and Southern Education Society. This plan would make the Gammon school the school of theology for the M. E. Church of the whole South. To this end, the school was chartered as a separate institution in 1888. The charter was amended in 1889, changing the name to "Gammon Theological Seminary."

Of singular significance in the history of Clark and Gammon was the appointment in 1910 of one man as president of the two institutions. This arrangement, however, was short-lived; one year later a new president was elected for Clark University, and S. E. Idleman (white) was retained as president of Gammon. Throughout the years there was co-operation between the two institutions, which manifested itself in the joint use of teachers, in the exchange of students, and in co-operation of Clark and Gammon in making possible activities for the intellectual and cultural development of students, faculty, and university community. The seminary also has enriched its program through co-operative relationships with other institutions of the city and community agencies.

Industrial education for the male students of Clark University. --

the of the
People of North and South came to believe after the Civil War that economic security and respectability for the South could be regained only through an adequate program of industrial and technical education. Among the many beliefs as to the best course for the Negro was that held by the Methodist Episcopal Church, to the effect that industrial training was an essential part of Christian training, and, therefore, should be a part of the church's work in the education of white and colored persons in the South. However, the development of the industrial curriculum of Clark University to the point of national recognition, because of limited funds for maintenance and expansion, was a slow and painstaking process. Nevertheless, the university succeeded over a period of sixteen years in expanding its offerings in two fields (carpentry and agriculture) to twelve different areas. The period of industrial expansion may be regarded as extending from 1880 to the time the university was forced, because of lack of funds, to close the department of industrial training in 1896.

With the closing of the industrial department as such, the university became interested in a program of manual training. The transition was at first very slow, and manual training did not really characterize the work until as late as 1904. Even after this date, printing as a vocation continued to be taught principally because this department was self-supporting.

The third and last phase of the industrial program at Clark University was that of scientific farming. The purpose of the work was to fit students to teach agriculture and to investigate agricultural problems of value to the South by effecting a close co-operation with the science

departments of the university. In connection with the work, a farmers' institute, similar to that at Tuskegee, was conducted for the education of farmers. Because of insufficient funds, the university about 1910 was forced to relinquish this phase of the curriculum. This was the last attempt on the part of the officials of Clark to establish an industrial unit as a part of Clark University.

Thayer Home and the industrial training of girls. -- The organization of the Woman's Home Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church grew out of a felt need and was not an effort on the part of the women merely to assert themselves, or to imitate the activities of the Freedmen's Aid Society. Interest in the venture was stimulated by the great tide of disconsolate immigrants who came to America and by the moral and social depravity of the freedwomen. In approaching the problem of the different races, especially that of the women of the colored race, the women of the Methodist Episcopal Church caused special homes to be built in connection with the colleges operated by the church. In addition to this, an attempt was made to educate the parents of the school community through a program of adult education.

The first of these homes, "Thayer Home," was established in 1883 on the campus of Clark University. The home placed emphasis upon the training of young women in the following phases of the total program fostered by the society: (1) kindergarden, (2) home and home-making, (3) nurse training, (4) missionary services, and (5) teachers and specialists in home economics. The program has been as flexible as that of the college, often changing to meet a felt need of the students and the community. It is significant to note, however, that these

changes have been made in keeping with sound educational principles and procedures. From a service department of the college, meeting the needs of the women and children of the South Atlanta community, as well as the students of the college, the home has developed into a full fledged home economics department of the college. With the coming of unification and the new Clark College, there has come a new Thayer Hall. However, the original aim of the society, "Christian home making," still finds expression in the curriculum activities of the college, in serving young women and young men.

Development of the Academic Work

The growth of higher education for Negroes was a slow process. The church realized that a sound foundation was necessary for the development of higher education. Because of the economic status and attitude of the South toward public education, the Negro was forced to receive his education through the efforts of private institutions, a plan in which the elementary department fed the secondary, which in turn served as a feeder for the normal and college departments.

The elementary course. -- While adjusting its program to the needs of the students, the university from 1869 to 1880 did very little work beyond the elementary level. Students with an elementary education easily found employment as teachers and accepted appointments as pastors. As late as 1924 approximately one-fifth of the student body was enrolled in the seventh and eighth grades. The society operating the university met with much criticism in terms of its methods of fostering this phase of the work. There were those who believed that all elementary work

should be given up and turned over to the public schools. Had this been done, it would have meant the dismissal of several thousands^{of} pupils each year. The elementary work was necessary at Clark University, because of the inadequacy and weakness of the common schools of Atlanta, Georgia, and of the South. Another reason for work upon the elementary level was that opposition to the education of the Negro was strong, and public opinion had been molded so solidly by former relations and prejudices that any effort for the general education of the freedmen met with little encouragement, if not with bitter hostility. Many of the early teachers (white) who came to work at Clark were ostracized and treated with great unkindness.

Secondary education and its emphasis at Clark University. --

The democratic concept of education that found expression in the common schools of the Northern states did not find real acceptance, even in making adequate provision for white children in the South, until the beginning of the present century. The Negro received little by way of publicly supported schools, and the colleges and universities, as established primarily by the different denominations, became the source of secondary education.

In addition to the preparatory course of the university, Clark operated a system of adjunct academies. As an expression of the principle that each level of the school system must feed the next highest, the institution secured a large number of adjunct schools throughout its patronizing territory. Any regularly graded grammar school or high school could become an adjunct to the university by indicating its desire to do so and by submitting its course of study for approval by the fac-

ulty. Three such schools were the LaGrange Seminary at LaGrange, Georgia; Rust Normal Institute at Huntsville, Alabama; and Haven Normal School at Waynesboro, Georgia. Special privileges were awarded the graduates from these schools.

In 1896 the preparatory course of the university was extended from three to four years, in order to conform to the standards fixed by the university senate of the M. E. Church. By the turn of the century, two distinct preparatory courses were offered at the university, the classical and the scientific. Also, the terms "preparatory course" and "preparatory school" were used interchangeably at Clark University, giving the impression that this phase of the work was somewhat of an adjunct to the program of studies of the university. This distinction is further revealed by the use of the term "academy," in which the work became a separate unit, with its own principal and corps of teachers. With the rise of the normal department and the department of education of the college, this unit served as a means for practice teaching until it was abolished in 1936.

The normal course. -- The lack of educational opportunities for the training of Negro teachers, save those provided primarily by the church schools, placed upon private institutions the responsibility for training teachers. The Methodist Episcopal Church, through the agency of the Freedmen's Aid Society, took the position that "the elevation of the race depended to a large extent upon the sending forth of a well prepared group of young people as teachers. To educate teachers gave tone to the present and determined the character of the future. The underlying philosophy was one of self-help. It was believed that the

permanent prosperity among the freedmen had to be connected with those possessing an identity of interest and destiny, for they only would be able to get access to their hearts, share their burdens, and awaken them to high purpose and noble deeds."¹

Almost from its beginning, Clark University offered the normal course for the preparation of teachers. This normal course was equivalent to the preparatory course and to the eclectic course, which was composed of subjects from normal and preparatory courses. The curriculum of the normal course, however, differed from that of the preparatory in its inclusion of natural science and miscellaneous subjects instead of Latin and Greek. This normal course at Clark was much in keeping with the general course in schools operated by the church prior to 1896. As was true of the preparatory course, the normal course after 1896 was extended to include four instead of three years, to conform with requirements set by the university senate of the M. E. Church. With this addition of a year and with certain changes in subject matter, special stress was placed upon the art of teaching.

It is important to point out, however, that the first two years of the normal course were the same as those of the preparatory course, although languages were eliminated during the last two years of the normal course, and pedagogy and the sciences were added. By 1900 the work again had taken the form of a three-year preparatory course (classical and scientific), a normal course of four years, and a higher normal course of two years, designated as freshman and senior years. The status of the normal

¹ Twentieth Annual Report of the Freedmen's Aid Society of the M. E. Church, p. 8. Cincinnati: Methodist Book Concern, 1887.

course was one year above a three-year high school course or equivalent to four years of high school work. The higher normal course, organized to prepare students to meet demands made upon the university for teachers to take positions in academies, high schools, and city systems, provided two years of additional training in English, science, and pedagogy after completion of the college preparatory course.

After 1926 the academic work of the college was organized by departments. The normal course, distinct from that of the high school, was equivalent to two years of college work. Because of the trends of the time and the growth and expansion of the department of education of the college, the normal course was discontinued in 1938-1939.

Development of the college curriculum. -- The college department of the university, established in 1879 ten years after the institution was founded, required four years of study after the completion of the preparatory department. The curriculum was composed primarily of the classics, Latin and Greek being required for each year except the senior year. The enrollment in the college department was small at first. In 1883 nine students were enrolled in the college department, with one in the graduating class. The course had changed but slightly and a real placement of courses or subjects as to terms of the school year did not occur until 1885.

During the first decade in the life of the university, many phases of internal organization characteristic of a university developed. There were three colleges: the college of liberal arts, the business college, and the college of music. The general scope of the work offered is indicated roughly by the type of degree granted. The university

in 1896 ceased to give the B. C. S. degree upon completing the commercial or business course. There were, however, three full collegiate courses of studies leading to appropriate degrees; namely, the classical, the scientific, and the mechanical. Those taking a trade received a certificate upon graduation, unless pursuing the complete course in mechanical engineering. Students in ^{the} engineering program received the B. M. E. degree, which was intended to rank with the other collegiate degree. This practice was followed until the trade school was abolished. The degrees of A. M. and M. S. were provided for, but few persons, if any, saw fit to avail themselves of graduate work.

With the abolishment of the trade department in 1910 and the rise of teacher-training, the college offered the following courses: classical, scientific, literary, and higher normal. Graduates from the classical course received the B. A. degree; scientific course, the B. S. degree; literary course, the B. L. degree; and higher normal, the B. Ped. degree.

Once the university officials had undertaken the task of developing the college department, the serious mistake was made of expanding its offerings in too many directions, as indicated by the degrees granted. This had been done without a careful consideration of physical facilities, teaching personnel, and number of students taking the different programs. This condition at Clark and at the other schools of the denomination became an issue at the meeting of the Association of College Presidents of the Freedmen's Aid Society in 1910. As late as 1928 there existed the belief that, because of the lack of definite educational objectives, the college curriculum was deficient in cohesion and that

there was a tendency for it to extend in too many directions.

The decade beginning in 1920 was one in which a vigorous effort was made on the part of most officials of Negro colleges to have their institutions standardized by state departments of education and by regional accrediting associations. In 1931 Clark University was placed on the accredited list of four-year class I colleges by the states of Texas and North Carolina, receiving "A" rating with nearly all the Southern states. The institution was also given group I classification by the American Medical Association. Another step forward came when the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools rated the school "B" in 1934-1935. The major deficiencies of the university were limited support, inadequacy of library books, and small faculty remunerations. The university was able to secure "A" rating from the Southern Association in 1941-1942.

Atlanta University System and the New Clark College

Until 1929 there were in Atlanta seven institutions for the higher education of Negroes; namely, Atlanta University, coeducational; Morris Brown, coeducational; Morehouse, male; Spelman College, female; Atlanta School of Social Work, coeducational; Gammon Theological Seminary, male; and Clark University, coeducational. Throughout the years each institution had developed a somewhat distinct educational philosophy and program, yet all realized that much could be gained from cooperative participation.

The most extensive program of cooperation among the Negro colleges in Atlanta prior to 1929 was the Morehouse-Spelman and Atlanta University Summer School. In 1929 the Atlanta School of Social Work became

a part of the summer school. Since 1933 the summer school has been conducted by Atlanta University with Morehouse College, Spelman College, the Atlanta School of Social Work, Clark College, Morris Brown College, and Gammon Theological Seminary affiliated.

The Atlanta University system, which is patterned after the Toronto Plan, is composed of two groups of schools; namely, affiliated colleges and cooperating institutions. On April 1, 1929, an agreement of affiliation was signed by the presidents of Atlanta University, Morehouse College, and Spelman College, acting under authorization of their respective boards of trustees. In 1940 the Atlanta School of Social Work became a professional school in the Atlanta University system and its name was changed to that of the Atlanta University School of Social Work. The purposes of affiliation are elimination of unnecessary duplication of effort^{and} of overlapping of courses, reduction of administrative and teaching costs, and consequent strengthening of each institution. The cooperating institutions of the Atlanta University system are Morris Brown College, Clark College, and Gammon Theological Seminary. Oglethorpe Elementary School and Spelman Nursery School are fostered in connection with the academic program of the affiliation. The status of the cooperating colleges differs from that of the affiliated colleges in that they are not as highly integrated into the system. However, the cooperating colleges have an agreement with the university as to the use of physical facilities and scope of curriculum offerings. The purposes of the cooperative system are the same as those stated for the affiliated plan.

Clark University, in order to share the benefits of the library,

modern heating plant, and the educational advantages of a closer relationship, had to be relocated. This was made possible by a gift of \$750,000 from the General Education Board, \$100,000 from the Rosenwald Foundation, and \$400,000 from Mrs. Henry Pfeiffer of New York City. Part of the site was deeded to the college by Atlanta University. The new physical plant of the college was occupied for the first time at the beginning of the fall term of the school year, 1941-1942. The four new buildings, Warren-Haven, Thayer, Pfeiffer, and Annie Mermer, embody the latest in architectural design.

The term "New Clark College" well characterizes the institution today. Certain changes taking place within the last decade, 1934-1944, and pertinent to the future development of the college are as follows:

1. The name has been changed from "Clark University" to "Clark College."
2. The institution has been relocated and housed in a new plant that offers many advantages for carrying forward the educational program.
3. The aim of the college has been defined within the scope of a good functional liberal arts college, dealing with the total development of the students.
4. The board of trustees has been granted local autonomy.
5. The dual system of administration of Clark and Thayer Home has been abolished.
6. The composition of the local board has been changed to include more representatives of the Woman's Society of Christian Service

(W. H. M. S.).

7. The curriculum of religious education offered by Clark and Gammon has been revised in the light of advanced academic standards.

8. The college has assumed its responsibility as a cooperating institution in the Atlanta University system.

Conclusions

The development of Clark and Gammon is not necessarily unique. Since the establishment of Christianity in the world, the church has played a vital role in perpetuating education. From the day of the monasteries to the founding of Harvard University and beyond, schools have been established, influenced, or financed by the church. This fact is especially true of Negro education in general and of Clark in particular. In the history of the typical private Negro college, two distinct periods are marked: (1) the missionary or parochial period, when the purpose, policy, atmosphere, administration, financial support, and sometimes even the property were either provided by the church or greatly influenced by it; and (2) the transitional present period, when the ecclesiastical and secular interests are in balance with each other, with the secular, however, apparently gaining the ascendancy. This trend is true of Clark, since the time from 1869 to 1924 might well be called the parochial period and from 1924 to 1944 the transitional period, in which the institution was emerging as an educational institution per se.

Although the history of Clark follows the general pattern of development for many other schools, white and colored, a careful study of its history is desirable, since the institution has engaged in the

vital work of education and uplift for a significant but segregated minority group. After the passing of seventy-five years of college life, in this transitional period in the history of Clark, there is a challenge to offer certain interpretations and conclusions:

1. The four-fold school units of Clark University that existed from 1883 to 1940, the dual type of administrative board that came with the chartering of the university in 1877, and the executive tripartite since the election of the first president of the university in 1870 have given to Clark a complex and rather unusual type of organization and administration. There are reasons to believe that in this arrangement certain problems have gone unsolved; however, in no instance have such lapses been greatly detrimental to the steady growth of the university. It is possible that much of the growth of the university, especially during the early period, was due to the keen educational insight and leadership stimulated by a complex system of organization and administration. In addition, the following factors must not be overlooked in considering the growth of the university in its program of cooperation: (1) a general feeling of unity, since all the units were fostered by the same church, which was itself a highly organized body and managed with efficiency; (2) the manager of Thayer had the rank of a department head at Clark University; (3) the professor of missions had faculty rank at Gammon; and (4) each unit realized its interdependence.

2. In the development of higher institutions for Negroes, all the private schools started with the elementary level of education, but gradually abandoned this level of training. The M. E. Church, however, was one of the last to relinquish the elementary phase of the work, es-

pecially at Clark University. The belief of the officials in spreading the training over the sub-college subjects was based upon the following condition and principles, which the college even now must still face: (1) limited public educational opportunities and facilities for Negroes in the South; (2) the importance of a controlled environment in the early development of the child; and (3) the need for thoroughly prepared students for advanced work. This practice of providing education upon each level, entailing additional expense and a shift of emphasis to industrial education, made for the slow development of the college department, which was not fully accredited by the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools until 1941.

3. The college has not been able during any stage of its development to provide more than the basic program of a liberal arts college. This has meant the omission of many desirable activities essential for effective work. However, in the new Clark College, with each of its divisions well equipped, good library facilities, special equipment in audio-visual education, and many advantages offered by Atlanta for field and laboratory work, the academic program of the college should be made more functional and adjusted to the needs of a larger number of the students enrolled. The approach should include better functioning of the divisional organization of the college and greater cooperation with the divisions of the other institutions of the Atlanta University system, as exemplified in the areas of mathematics and student teaching.

4. The financial program of the institution within a period of seventy-five years has gone through a complete cycle. It was expected that as a missionary enterprise the school would be financed primarily

through individual donations. The decade, 1920-1930, was a period of organized giving and sharing through a general fund of the M. E. Church. The amount received by Clark at the turn of the decade was supplemented by donations from organized philanthropy and by large contributions from individuals. Many people today are laboring under a false impression of the financial condition of the college, because it has been housed in a new physical plant and is a cooperating college of the Atlanta University system. To finance adequately the desired program of the college, it will be necessary to increase the annual expenditure to at least \$50,000. The practice followed by the college in recent years (of asking a yearly contribution from alumni, students, faculty, and friends of the college), if continued and implemented, will provide a "living but uncertain endowment." In fact, acquiring an adequate endowment, as is true of most Negro colleges, is one of the greatest problems Clark must fact.

The Future of the New Clark College

Any attempt to predict the future of Clark College in the light of recent changes must be predicated upon the accomplishments of the Atlanta University system, the strength of Clark's foundation and record, and the ability of the institution to meet intelligently the demands and problems of a post-war world. Sober and balanced leadership must continue, if Clark and the other affiliated and cooperating institutions of the Atlanta University system are to survive. Besides a statement of principles of cooperation among the different institutions, there must be clearly stated objectives and a willingness to cooperate for the good of each in-

stitution and of the students served.

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APPENDIX I

TABLE 1

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE FREEDMEN'S AID SOCIETY, CASH AND CLOTHING,
1867-1872*

Year	Contributions		Total
	Cash	Clothing and Books	
Nov. 1 - Oct. 31 1866 - 1867	\$35,420.93	\$1,218.96	\$37,139.89
1867 - 1868	45,040.24	5,127.00	50,167.24
1868 - 1869	85,815.09	7,698.41	93,513.50
1869 - 1870	57,755.49	4,964.00	82,719.49
Nov. 1 - Feb. 1 1870 - 1872	38,060.40	1,500.00	39,560.40

* A summary is given for the first four years in the report of the Freedmen's Aid Society for 1868. The amount for 1870-1872 is given in the report for 1872.

APPENDIX II

TABLE 2

TYPES OF SCHOOLS OPERATED BY THE FREEDMEN'S
AID SOCIETY, 1869 AND 1879*

Institutions	Number	
	1869	1879
University	4	5
College	1	1
Seminary	0	5
Normal school	6	2
Biblical institute	1	3
Medical school	0	1
Institutions not chartered . .	0	10
Others	48	0
Total	60	27

* Data taken from the first and eleventh annual reports of the Freedmen's Aid Society.

APPENDIX III

TABLE 3

NUMBER OF INSTITUTIONS, TEACHERS, AND STUDENTS UNDER THE FREEDMEN'S
AID SOCIETY OF THE M. E. CHURCH, 1885 and 1888

Institutions	1885*			1888 ^z		
	Number	Teachers	Students	Number	Teachers	Students
Chartered	7	50	1944			
Medical and Dental College	1	8	40	2	14	74
Theological School & Biblical Dept.	5	11	266	5	15	112
Not chartered	13	43	2013			
Legal				1	6	6
Industrial				12	59	865
Collegiate				8	103	3158
Seminaries				10	46	1892
Totals	26	112	4263	38	243	6106

* Eighteenth Annual Report of the Freedmen's Aid Society of the M. E. Church, pp. 4-5. Cincinnati: Methodist Book Concern, 1885.

^z Twenty-first Annual Report of the Freedmen's Aid Society of the M. E. Church, p. 14. Cincinnati: Methodist Book Concern, 1888.