

**Literacy, Literature, and Pedagogy in
Two Nineteenth-Century Alabama Normal Schools**

by

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Abstract

Six of Alabama's eleven state universities began as normal schools during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Florence State Normal School and Tuskegee Normal and Industrial School created empowerment for individual students and teachers, many from families who had no previous access to education. However, these normal schools also reinforced gender, racial, and class hierarchies. This dissertation argues for research into late nineteenth-century Alabama normal schools and provides possible theoretical approaches from archival methods, literacy studies, feminist historiography, and cultural studies. Archival evidence includes examples of student writing, school catalogs, student publications, and advertising for teacher-training institutes and reveals articulations between national, regional, and state structures of culture and power arising from literacy education. The dissertation includes an analysis of a class prophecy written by a young woman from the Class of 1890 at Florence, a study of the rhetoric of normal school pedagogy and the figure of the pedagogue, and a reading of texts listed as subjects of study and pleasure in the unpublished *Minutes of the Tuskegee Woman's Club*. While it is not possible to draw direct analogies to relate to contemporary literacy issues and challenges, understanding the emergence and disappearance of the normal schools provides insight into the ideological uses of the literacies claimed by schooling.

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INTRODUCTION

In the not-so-grand narrative of public education in Alabama, the normal school has been a mere footnote. The institution that first gave women and men of social groups previously cut off from education an opportunity for schooling and for professional credentials disappeared for years into a history that makes of discontinuous events and ideological tensions a seamless trajectory of growth through improvement and reform. Few social movements create the kind of change these schools made possible not just in Alabama but all over the US during the late nineteenth century. The rise of the normal schools includes all the characteristics of other historical literacy campaigns, but because the normals were primarily associated with training teachers for the schooling of young children, a low status occupation associated with young women, their importance was obscured (Arnove 2; Clifford, “Man/Woman/Teacher” 315; Ogren 270, n.2). This lack of prestige historically encouraged many normal school faculties to strive “upward in the college market to become teachers’ colleges and ultimately universities” (Miller 128). Rather than professionalizing the teaching of young children, normal school faculties moved toward producing professional administrators and researchers and began effacing evidence of normal school beginnings, changing institutional names, and striving toward the linear representation of educational progress.¹

In Alabama, six of today’s eleven state universities began in the last twenty-eight years of the nineteenth century as normal schools (Ogren 213; *Encyclopedia of*

¹In *The American State Normal School: “An Instrument of Great Good*, Christine Ogren documents the historical trajectory of normal schools into colleges and universities. Mariolina Rizzi Salvatori’s *Pedagogy 1819 to 1929: Disturbing History* provides excerpts from texts of and about nineteenth-century pedagogy as it moves from a nascent discipline to disappear into college departments of education.

Alabama).² Tuskegee, now Tuskegee University, became a private college in 1892, although in many ways it functioned as a state school through the early twentieth century, as discussed below. This dissertation investigates archival records at two of these state normal schools in Alabama during the period from 1875 to 1915 and argues for a reinterpretation of the function and the importance of those institutions through methodologies drawn from literacy studies. The research sites are Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute, established in 1881 and now Tuskegee University, and the State Normal School at Florence, established in 1873 and now the University of North Alabama.³ The questions that inform this project are as follows: Were the normal schools a positive force for democratic growth and improvement or were they simply a means of reproducing ideologies of race, gender, and class through education? How is literacy—the written or spoken use of language for agency—implicated in the answers to those questions? Any understanding of the cultural role of the normal schools must include the lived experiences of the students, teachers, and administrators as much as they can be accessed and interpreted through archival sources and in the context of local and national political structures. This dissertation is a preliminary effort in that direction.

The six schools and Tuskegee mentioned above were renamed colleges or universities in the first quarter of the twentieth century, and began granting four-year degrees, moves that followed a pattern set across the US. However, where many institutions maintain little archival evidence of their beginnings, both Tuskegee and

² In addition to Florence and Tuskegee, these include Alabama Agricultural and Mechanical University in Huntsville, Alabama State University in Montgomery, Jacksonville State University at Jacksonville, Troy State University at Troy, and the University of West Alabama in Livingston.

³ I have chosen to use the shortened names “Tuskegee” and “Florence” to refer to the research sites. My reasoning is that those titles are convenient, consistent in the face of frequent institutional name changes, equal in their semantic content, and accurate in that both universities are closely identified with their small-town communities.

Florence have retained texts, artifacts, and ephemera alongside official records of their first decades in archival collections available to researchers. This project investigates the June Waites, Wesleyan, and University Collections at Florence and the University Archives Collection at Tuskegee using the practical and theoretical approaches appropriate to literacy studies, composition, and rhetoric research as discussed in the first chapter. Even as increased interest in alternative sites for the study of history in literacy, composition, and rhetoric studies has led to new interest in normal schools, there has yet to be a concerted effort to limn out the complex educational, social, and political implications of the attempts to create parallel systems of training for teachers in Alabama in the post-Reconstruction period, especially as those systems relate to the implications of who will be educated and how. Literacy studies methodologies make it possible to read the remaining textual traces of the material and intellectual lives of students, teachers, and administrators who passed through the teacher training programs at Florence and Tuskegee in the decades surrounding the turn of the century and to reveal “the ways that individual acts of writing are connected to larger cultural, historical, and social and political systems” (Brandt 176). Analyzing the literacy contexts of these schools provides a clearer understanding of their impact even as it reveals complex articulations between literacy and ideology. After background on the normal school movement and a brief summarization of current scholarship in normal schools as a site for literacy studies, this introduction traces the histories of the establishment of both schools, discusses the available archival material, and gives an overview of the chapters.

The term normal school, most sources agree, comes from the French *école normale*, and denotes a school particularly for teachers. The usage is probably based on

the Latin *norma*, which means a rule or model (“Normal”). The term was in general use both in Europe and North American in the early nineteenth century when the leaders of the common school reforms created the first public education system in the US (Cremin, *Transformation* 173; Fraser 114). The normal schools established in the Northeast before the Civil War were an effort to train teachers for basic education in those common schools, the usually rural and public schools attempting to reach all white children (Cremin, *Transformation* 173; Schultz, *Young Composers* 16). The goals of the common school reformers included basic education in the form of the “3 Rs” as well as inculcation into the values of a republican vision of education for citizenship across the country (Cremin, *Transformation* 174; Stevens 99). The common schools and the normal schools that educated teachers for them were intended to replace the haphazard, private, and where immigrant groups were concerned, potentially divisive schools with state systems where curriculum could be tied to building and preserving a particular ethic and an emerging national identity. Individual social mobility was not an important consideration. The extent that education beyond the common school could be undertaken was determined by family social standing; one means to that education was the normal school. Funding for early state normal schools in the Northeast came from both tuition and tax revenues, and curricula, requirements, and hiring of personnel were all overseen by politically positioned members of the respective communities (Ogren 28). After the Civil War, the number of normal schools increased rapidly in the post-Reconstruction drive to educate the freedmen and the displaced agricultural populations in the South. This period—from 1870 to 1920—is considered the “heyday” of the normal school (Ogren 4; Fraser 115). By the late nineteenth century, most normal schools, even in the

Southeast for which these schools were a more recent development, provided what would be considered high school level work, and many provided beyond that to a level roughly commensurate with one or two years of college (Fraser 139). More importantly, the normal schools created actual social change for the children of working- and middle-class families by providing not just education but opportunity for work that often made further education possible. Where women and African American students were concerned, normal school education was often the only viable option for schooling beyond irregular local schools. And while the designers of the normal schools sought a reliable source of teachers for rural and small town schools, normal school students often moved beyond this career, as discussed below.

Normal schools like Florence and Tuskegee played an important role in increasing the numbers of students attending school beyond the elementary levels in the US during the second half of the nineteenth century (Herbst 192; Ogren 4). Historical statistics indicate that the normal school was “largely responsible for the diversification that is often cited as proof that the research university expanded access to underrepresented groups” (Miller 127-8). Colin Burke’s study of collegiate populations in the nineteenth century showed that among all of the students in the US in what is now considered post secondary education, 30 percent were in normal schools in 1900; in 1860 the number was 4 percent (qtd. in Miller 128). Many normal school students were from ethnic or racial groups for whom educational opportunities were scarce or restricted (Ogren 1, 55-6; Fraser 132).

In Alabama during the last quarter of the nineteenth century, normal schools were even more significant than those in the Northeast and Midwest, since all public schools

were inconsistently funded and schools that educated beyond the eighth grade level were virtually nonexistent (Weeks 101-10). Normal schools at Florence and Tuskegee provided the first opportunities for students whose families had little or no access to education beyond the irregular common schools in rural districts, students who were mostly working-class men and women, both black and white. While many normal school students were as young as 15 and had completed whatever education was available to them in their own communities, a significant number were older students who had taught in rural schools without any training for teaching or in other occupations in order to pay for schooling (Ogren 70-1; Burke 244).⁴ Almost all were from families who struggled financially and, while Florence and Tuskegee, like many normals, waived much of the expense of tuition, there were significant costs, not the least of which was the “income forgone while attending school” (Burke 240). Nevertheless, students took advantage of normal schools, committing to teach in their home state for at least a term of several years. The perceived advantages of the normal school outweighed the difficulties of attending. While many normal graduates taught only a few years, the financial and social advantages were apparently worth the sacrifice.

For women, normal schools provided one of the only careers that allowed independence and, in rural areas, a transition to non-farm employment (Fitzgerald, “Rediscovered” 229; Ogren 194-6). When women graduates married, it was usually at an age older than the average for their contemporaries (Ogren 193). The normal school made it possible for some women to remain single and self-sufficient, women whose family

⁴ In the school’s third year, Florence board members fought off the state legislature’s efforts to require the school to admit 13-year-olds because it would discourage its academic students—those who paid tuition and did not plan to teach (*Board of Directors* 9).

background would have not allowed them to attend the few colleges for women operating at this time. Female graduates from Florence became teachers, writers, and professors. For example, Mary Phillipa Jones, who graduated from Florence in 1877, earned a Bachelor of Science in Education at Columbia Teacher's College and returned to Florence to teach after serving as a principle over the Primary Department at Peabody Normal College (Ogren 197). Jones remained in academic work well into her seventies as an associate professor of education at the State Normal School for Women in Farmville, Virginia, according to that institution's *Annual Bulletin* for 1930 (12). Olivia Davidson, who was instrumental in founding Tuskegee, studied at Framingham Normal School in Massachusetts before she came to Alabama (Ogren 195). Cornelia Bowen, a graduate in the first class from Tuskegee, went on to found a community school and a home for juvenile offenders in Mt. Meigs, Alabama, using the influence of her women's club members to get state support (Gates 854). The extracurricular organization of Tuskegee women faculty and spouses of male faculty into women's clubs at and around Tuskegee was crucial to the development of new literacy ideologies that resisted limitations imposed on middle-class African American women (McHenry 189).

While most students in normal schools across the US were women, both schools in this study had significant numbers of male students. Male "normalites" across the US usually taught for a short time before moving on to further education before establishing middle-class careers. If they remained in education work, they usually moved into administrative jobs, sometimes immediately after graduation (Ogren 187-8; P. Mattingly 144). Tuskegee graduate William James Edwards established a school for African American students at Snow Hill in rural Wilcox County, shortly after graduating from

Tuskegee; Hiram Thweatt, a member of the first graduating class, was principal at a Christiansburg, Virginia industrial school in 1895, and at a Georgia high school in 1920 (Anderson 106; *Catalogue of Tuskegee* 1895-96). Graduates from Tuskegee went on to study medicine at Meharry Medical School or to academic careers at schools like Berea, Fisk, and Atlanta University (*Catalogue of Tuskegee* 1895-96).⁵ Thweatt and Edwards, like many graduates of Tuskegee, came from families formerly enslaved in the South, many of whom were farming on shares (Anderson 23).⁶ Florence graduate James B. Cunningham of the class of 1886 had been, by the mid-1890s, “principal of several large schools in Birmingham” and went on to publish articles on education in a number of important periodicals (*Esto Lux* no pag; Ogren 187). Members of the normal class of 1890 at Florence included Webster Duncan, who was principal of an academy and at R. M. Patton School, the first graded elementary school in Florence, and who also served as the principle of the Female Institute at Auburn (*Esto Lux* no pag). His classmate, Charles Mitchell, attended the University of Alabama to become a lawyer after working as a principal at a rural high school in North Alabama (*Esto Lux* no pag). Like many of the graduates of Florence, Cunningham, Mitchell, and Duncan were the offspring of farmers.

Studies of the literacy context at normal schools as revealed in archival records were among the earliest and most productive of projects in the history of in composition and rhetoric, part of the “archival turn” in that they “instantiate” the move from reading [revision]an archive as a *source* to reading an archive as a *subject* (Schultz, Foreword vii). Scholarly discussions of such research “highlighted assumptions about power,

⁵ Catalogues from the first decade at Tuskegee featured a list of alumni by class year and with occupations or further education noted.

⁶ In the case of Tuskegee, however, increasing restrictions on the academic content of the curricula in favor of the “industrial” subjects favored by conservative Southern supporters and industrial philanthropists reduced many of the options for students as the turn of the century neared.

knowledge, and struggle that are embedded in every construction of history” and investigated the need for creative and adaptive methodologies, approaches to evidence, and to implications of subjectivities and research goals (Agnew 109). Histories of normal schools were “local, contested, and marginalized,” but when moved to the theoretical “center,” revealed “rich intellectual, methodological, and intellectual implications for the study of composition history” (Agnew 110; Fitzgerald, “Rediscovering” 226).

Research into the history of composition and rhetoric in normal schools also provided links to late eighteenth- and nineteenth-century European pedagogies of natural human intellectual development. Kathryn Fitzgerald documented teacher-created learning activities that began with what students knew and moved toward building new knowledge. Such an approach sidesteps, to some extent, the highly class- and race-based assumptions about groups of learners and makes possible a world-view that posits some “linguistic competence” possessed by students (Fitzgerald, “Rediscovering” 226). Normal school studies also revealed important histories of women and non-traditional students who were given access to rhetorical skills and agency not available at more “elite schools on which historians [of male and female education] have focused so far” (Fitzgerald 225).⁷ Conference papers, school catalogues, faculty memoranda, student publications, and classroom writing, though far from widely available, yield evidence of consistent effort to involve normal school students—men and women, white and black--

⁷ For example, Beth Rothenmel’s article on women at a Massachusetts normal school in the mid-nineteenth century shows that, while rhetorical education for public speaking differed at times for male and female students, nevertheless, significant effort was extended toward creating effective and confident female rhetors. Susan Bordelon’s article on California State Normal School late in the century revealed that women were debating directly with men in co-educational literary societies and were expected to become active in civic and educational settings beyond the school

in public rhetoric. However, not all scholars concur that the normal school environment was more inclusive or democratic. Some studies of normal schools show the clear presence of “institutional support of professional credentialism, militaristic rigor, and fixation on correctness dominat[ing] the educational experience” of the students training to teach in elementary and secondary schools in the Midwest during the Civil War (Lindblom, Banks, and Quay 95). Certainly the rise of professionalism and the efforts to create a discipline for pedagogical expertise in normal education led to re/creating real or imagined standards based on traditional academic practices, particularly since there was not a ready “tradition” for these schools in place. In addition, as this project will indicate, normal schools’ efforts to educate non-traditional students often reproduced cultural patterns of inequality, often to the point of discouraging non-traditional students or limiting their access to liberal arts or professional education beyond being fitted for teaching young children.

Finally, in the early years of the twentieth century, the interest in efficiency for all institutions led to restrictive curricula for the normal schools, which were seen as competition for the newly established high schools and the more regulated colleges. Of course, there is no consistent position across all normal schools; they vary widely depending of a number of factors, including local community needs and traditions. Just as importantly, normal schools’ roles as places of liberal education versus professional or vocation training change over time (Gold, “Accidental” 17). However, it becomes clear that normal schools were contested sites in the struggle over who should receive education and what that education should be.

To some extent, the study is a local one and is limited to two schools, but their centrality in the educational discourse of Alabama during this period is undeniable. Tuskegee became synonymous with the controversial movement for industrial education for African Americans even it provided an early example of a setting where students could work to defray the costs of attending school. Tuskegee's influence in the education of African Americans in Alabama is clear in the numerous smaller normal schools Tuskegee men and women established across the state and in the practice of holding conferences and institutes on improving teacher education. In the first several decades after its founding, Tuskegee became increasingly associated with a limited form of industrial education; nevertheless, a careful reading of archival materials reveals clear evidence of the presence of significant efforts at building a curriculum that included liberal education and the development of a significant pedagogy program. These efforts and the resistance to limits on the kinds of education available can be seen in the literacy context. The history of the normal school at Florence includes a liberal arts curriculum alongside the normal program, and there is no overt mention of industrial training until after the turn of the century. Examining the literacy context at Florence also reveals class and gender stratification both resisted and reinforced by literacy education. Florence claims the distinction of being the first normal school in the state to educate men and women in the same program for teachers and the first in the state to allow poor students to waive tuition by agreeing to teach in the state common schools (*A Brief Look* 2). Both schools were important sources of pedagogical training for regular and summer programs for teachers across Alabama (Robert 4; *Annual Reports to the Superintendent* 1886, 26). The study is not a comparison, nor is it an attempt to posit one school as the norm for

teacher training at this point in history. Rather, it reveals the way in which national and regional literacy contexts intersect with local practices, particularly when education in language use is studied from the “inside” out—that is from the perspective of the students, teachers, and administrators of the institution.

THE NORMAL SCHOOLS AT FLORENCE AND TUSKEGEE: THE BEGINNINGS

The State Normal School at Florence and Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute were among the nation’s approximately 180 state-funded normal schools that were part of the response to a perceived literacy crisis that followed the Civil War and Reconstruction (Fraser 116). That crisis that grew out of a national controversy over the best way—or whether—to provide universal education for the formerly enslaved African Americans and poor whites living mainly in the Southeast . The participants in the controversy ranged from black and white education reformers in the North and South, philanthropists, religious organizations, the remnants of the southern planter class who were gradually recovering political power, and increasingly as the twentieth century drew near, leading industrialists whose interests in a docile and capable workforce prompted their financial and political support for educational programs based in ideology. Moreover, even as these two schools were part of a national movement, they were located in a Deep South state where public education had previously been all but non-existent and where an impoverished and politically dependent State Board of Education would

attempt to “operate two systems of public education on funds inadequate for one” (Rogers, Ward, Atkins, and Flynt 256).

Given the fact that more money was supplied to Tuskegee from philanthropic organizations than from the state’s budgets for education, it may seem strange to designate the institution a state normal school for the purposes of this study. However, there are at least four reasons for including Tuskegee in the category. First, the state appropriation for Tuskegee was ongoing throughout these years, even increasing in some years, though it did not equal the sum provided for white normal schools. In fact, if the definition of state school is based on financial support alone, then few if any schools in this period would clearly be denoted as such. The fiscal category of state school is blurred by the presence of other sources of funding. State schools for white teachers that were also funded yearly and at higher amounts by the state of Alabama sought and received significant funds from other sources, often from the same philanthropic sources as did Tuskegee. The financial supporters for both white and black schools had many of the same social and political motives—public altruism along with the desire to influence school curricula and educational policy.⁸ Both those motives had impacts on literacy training in fundamental ways. Secondly, the definition of both Florence and Tuskegee as state schools is not ahistorical or “presentist,” since publications about education during

⁸ For example, when state appropriations for the establishment of a white Normal School at Troy, Alabama fell short in 1887, the city of Troy provided assistance; administrators at Jacksonville claimed their right by law to “maintain, in connection with their normal school, departments for ordinary scholastic instruction; and the character of the material that came into their hands made it necessary that [their] Faculty should devote most of their attention to this scholastic instruction” and presumably to collect tuition from those students who were more numerous than those few who had presented themselves for normal training (Clark 257). The school would, they trusted, allow the normal program to “more and more predominate as the school advances” (Clark 257). Normal schools for African American students at Huntsville and Marion also received state funding even earlier than Tuskegee and Florence. In 1870, the Normal School at Marion was funded by the state of Alabama, the Freedman’ Bureau, and the American Missionary Association jointly, with the state’s contribution the smallest portion (Encyclopedia of Alabama).

the last decades of the nineteenth century and the first decades of the twentieth century mention both schools as examples of state educational institutions in Alabama, including reports for state and federal officials (see Clark, various *Annual Reports to the Superintendent*).

A third reason for considering Tuskegee as a state school is a simple recognition of the reality of the times for African Americans in Alabama. The legend of the establishment of Tuskegee Normal School as quid pro quo for continued conservative control over the county may overstate the influence of two members of the legislature and of Lewis Adams, a local African American businessman who led a group of education promoters, but a complex political situation was significant to the founding (Norrell 17). White desires for a peaceful community and for the economic benefit of a school in their county, their fears over blacks migrating out of Macon County, and a tradition of “paternalistic benevolence” toward local African Americans all contributed to overcoming the reluctance of many whites for establishing schools for African Americans (Norrell 14-5). Neither Tuskegee nor any other school for African Americans could have continued and grown without local and state concessions to long-standing prejudices; these decades the rise of Jim Crow and lynch law. The state imprimatur to conduct school at Tuskegee meant more than funding; it meant the possibility for existence and the admission from at least some whites that blacks could “rise above the status of peon (Norrell 17)

The fourth reason for thinking about both Tuskegee and Florence as state schools comes from the understanding of literacy as “ideological” in the sense that it is a social practice “embedded in socially constructed epistemological principles” and “rooted in a

particular world view” (Street 78). In any literacy context, there is the all-but-invisible assumption that these literate practices are natural and right and will lead to well-being for individuals who perform them in an accepted manner. The link between schooling—increasingly the responsibility of the state—and literacy as the key to social, economic, and political empowerment is naturalized in the nineteenth century (Street 78, Miller 15). However, through controversies over race, gender, and education, literacy also becomes restricted. Literacy for students, teachers, and administrators of the normal schools cannot be separated from social and political or “state” contexts. To take a research stance that considers both Tuskegee and Florence as “state” schools works to “denaturalize” the role of the state and the school as the source of literacy that is accessible to all according to his or her gifts for learning. It also reveals the myth of literacy as a means of agency or equality for all individuals. Obviously this is not a revelation in itself, but it allows the researcher to step into the archives of both these schools and question the material and textual artifacts available for analysis.

The State Normal School at Florence

The State Normal School at Florence, Alabama, was chartered in 1873. In order to get their school, prominent citizens of Florence had gone to the state capital in 1870, and although they failed to get the agricultural and mechanical college for which they had

hoped,⁹ they secured promises for a normal school “for the education of white male and female teachers” (Rogers, Ward, Atkins, and Flynt 257; Burleson 13). One advantage Florence had over other sites was the town’s willingness to provide a building from the former Florence Wesleyan University for men, a school which dated from 1855. The building had survived the Civil War, but the college itself could not be revived in the economic climate of the 1870s, so the Methodist denomination that owned the property transferred it to the Board of Education in Florence who in turn offered it to the state. Beginning in 1872, the state provided an annual maintenance appropriation of \$5000 and named the institution the State Normal School (Burleson 12). As noted above, Florence could advertise the double distinction of being the “first state-supported Normal School south of the Ohio River” (1872) and the first coeducational teacher-training institute in the US (1874) (*A Brief Look* 5).

The state’s designation of the school as a strictly “normal school upon the most approved plan” of the Board was not followed to the letter, as early catalogs indicate. While there are statements of purpose in the catalogs for a number of years encouraging only those seeking certification to teach in the common schools to attend Florence, a separate academic or “literary” department and curriculum was maintained in which male students and later, all students who did not intend to teach could prepare for college entry. As noted above, the State Normal School at Florence had the distinction of being the first normal school in the South to offer tuition waivers to students who agreed to teach in the state’s common schools—in this case, the mostly rural and isolated schools—for two years. In 1882, Florence began receiving support from the Peabody Education

⁹ The Agricultural and Mechanical College would be established in the east central town of Auburn, less than thirty miles from Tuskegee.

Fund, or PEF, a philanthropic organization that supported post-Reconstruction education in the South (Weeks 157). That year the \$2000 in funds would support 16 scholarships for “worthy young men and women desiring to avail themselves of the school” (Burleson 16). Funds from PEF for secondary education were often earmarked for students of normal or teacher training curricula, and later the PEF would mount a major effort to hold summer institutes for all teachers in connection with established normal schools, as discussed in chapter three (Weeks 158).

In addition to admitting students from poor families, Florence admitted women, at first only to the normal program, but within several years, to the literary or academic programs as well. Women were also employed as teachers in both the normal and literary or academic departments as early as 1878 (Burleson 16). The presence of “lady members” is noted in the minutes of the spring meeting of 1882 when they began not just to attend the faculty meetings but to also to vote on faculty decisions (Burleson 16). Women teachers taught and supervised both male and female normal students in the classroom and in the model school setting where student teachers practiced teaching groups of elementary-level students who came from the Florence area.

An 1889 report to the Federal Bureau of Education on the history of education in Alabama called the year at Florence “unusually prosperous,” with more than half the 189 enrolled students in the normal, or teacher training, program, with “twenty graduates receiving diplomas and five receiving certificates of proficiency in one or more areas” for teaching (Clark 256). Summer institutes were organized and funded by the PEF and conferences such as the one held in 1884 on corporal punishment in the schools drew

white teachers from all over Alabama (*Peabody Summer Institute* n pag; *Proceedings of the Alabama Teachers* 3).

During this same decade many students attended Florence but chose the academic curriculum rather than the normal, though they often taught for one or two years. The tension between the liberal arts curriculum and the normal or teacher preparation curriculum is evident from the first years of the school. As noted above, Florence maintained a separate literary curriculum from its beginnings. Changes in the descriptions of the school's *raison d'être* as given in the annual bulletin—a document similar to but not exactly like contemporary course catalogs—indicate periodic changes in the school administration's efforts to attract only normal students or to encourage the student preparing for college to attend as well. The maintenance of a liberal arts curriculum separate from the normal school also indicates the ambivalence toward teacher education as vocational training or as preparation for a profession. Finally, the increased interest at Florence in “simplified” pedagogy for rural and small-town schools, and the industrial and manual training for all students, as recorded in the minutes of board and alumni meetings, demonstrates the school's participation in national educational reform movements as well as the interest in filling the needs of industry for capable workers. For example, after the turn of the century, Florence “required manual training for males and domestic science for females” adding a requirement that each senior woman would make her own graduation dress, “spending no more than five dollars for materials” (Ogren 204). Alumni records show that the alumni society defunded a music program in order to begin a form of manual education called Sloyd Training as well as urging the addition of industrial classes in order to take advantage of the Southern Education Board's

philanthropy for such curricula (*Secretary's Book* 58). How this movement toward industrialism plays out at both schools and how it impacts literacy education is discussed throughout this dissertation in terms of gender, class, and race.

Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute

Tuskegee's first thirty students arrived in 1881, met for the first year in a converted shack, and held assemblies in a local church while students boarded with local families (BTW Papers I:76). Booker T. Washington, the school's first president, was recruited by a group of citizens led by Lewis Adams, the businessman discussed above, who had been enslaved near Tuskegee and who had promoted the idea of a school in Tuskegee. Adams convinced two Democratic legislators to sponsor an appropriation of \$2000, and although the funds were restricted to the payment of teachers, Lewis and the newly appointed board of trustees for the school convinced Washington to establish an institution along the lines of General George Armstrong's Hampton Institute (Anderson 71). Modeling the new school on Hampton meant placing greater emphasis on training for labor on farms and in trades or even service work while inculcating students with ideologies that made accepting a status less than full citizenship. Anderson suggests the main mission of the school at Tuskegee was the production of a corps of teachers "trained in academic skills presupposed by common labor occupations" (75). For Tuskegee students, normal training included proving their willingness to labor and to evince standards of behavior that would be a positive influence in their communities; that is, their sphere of influence would recreate values associated with the white middle class yet

within black-only settings. However, based on archival evidence in catalogues, department of education reports, and other sources, the literacy and pedagogy curriculums at Tuskegee in the first decade included more liberal and pedagogical education than previously noted.

Teachers at Tuskegee often came from normal schools or normal programs within colleges, some of which had programs in which industrial training would have been absent or would have been considered only one part of a useful education. Women teachers came from normal schools across the northwest, including the State Normal School at Framingham, Massachusetts, where Olivia Davidson studied before coming to Tuskegee as its first Lady Principal (*BTW Papers* 2:138), or from colleges such as Fisk University (De Gregory 1).¹⁰ Many of the earliest male teachers came from Hampton or were local men, particularly for the agricultural and manual courses, but as chapter three discusses, the first Head Teacher for Academic Work was a graduate of Oberlin College (Booker T Washington Papers 2: 145; Holland 33). The pressure to conceal and even repress this more liberal education developed as the twentieth century approached and the articulation between pedagogy and liberal arts underwent changes as the school grew in size and in national reputation, a subject discussed in the third and fourth chapters.

While all the students in the first several classes at Tuskegee were from local families or from several counties in East Central Alabama, within six years Tuskegee's

¹⁰ Davidson, Booker T. Washington's second wife, died in 1888. Margaret Murray Washington married Booker T Washington in 1893. Like Davidson, she also served as Lady Principal and traveled widely, promoting Tuskegee and raising funds as well as working in African American communities to improve conditions for mothers and children. While both women spoke and wrote from the middle-class point-of-view about the need for "civilizing" the working classes of African Americans, their examples as women with agency and the ability to employ rhetoric and public opinion have made them objects of study. Both women were able to have an important role in the school's affairs not just because they were married to Washington, but because they were talented, hard-working women and capable rhetors.

enrollment included students from across the southeastern US and from the Indian Territory (*Catalog of Tuskegee* 1887 10). Nearer to the turn of the century, the student body would include students from Cuba and Puerto Rico as the US began imperialist ventures in those countries (*BTW Papers* 2:118; Guridy 18, 47). By their second year, the school at Tuskegee had expanded to renovated farm buildings—a stable and a chicken house—on property secured through Northern philanthropy (*BTW Papers* 2: 188). The state of Alabama repealed its appropriation for this year and until 1892, when Tuskegee became independent. The PEF supplied \$500 for the school in 1882, and according to Washington’s autobiography, more than \$10,000 came from both Northern and Southern philanthropy each of the school’s first several years, much of it in small donations. Philanthropic organizations, including the PEF Foundation, the John F. Slater Fund and the Anna Jeanes Foundation, would assist Washington and his promoters in keeping Tuskegee in the forefront of African American education during controversy over the industrial ideology promoted there (Anderson 247).

It is not simple to judge how effective the normal schools of Alabama were during the late nineteenth century and the early twentieth century. Historically, normal schools are represented as either “Instrument[s] of Great Good” or as boondoggles providing free education to the unworthy (Ogren 5). In general histories of education, normal schools are mentioned only in passing as a necessary stage in the development of the public common school; that is, when they are even represented at all. Some recent histories, including those published by the institutions, represent the normal schools as a means of producing better-equipped teachers for the burgeoning numbers of rural schools across the state and creating new opportunities for “non-traditional” students, older men,

women, and African Americans (Ogren 4). Other histories show that these teacher-training programs had little effect beyond turning out barely competent teachers of basic skills who usually taught for a short time until better and more socially valued opportunities came along (Herbst 77, Ogren 28). In the case of Tuskegee, some historical views are often even bleaker.

According to James D. Anderson's history of African American education in the southern states, Tuskegee's main focus from its inception was the production of teachers who would embody and propagate a social philosophy of African American inferiority that dictated less than full citizenship rights until some future date when time and instruction would make them able to participate fully in the republic (73). While educators and reformers within the African American population had debated the best means of education from the early years of the republic and certainly during Reconstruction, by the turn of the century, the "Tuskegee Idea" would gain influence with policy makers not just in Alabama but all over the US. Of course, not all African Americans and supporters of African American education embraced Booker T. Washington's widely known curriculum. Anderson and others demonstrate the resistance to industrial training based on the model of Hampton's General Samuel Armstrong and transplanted to Tuskegee by Washington (77). However, other historical accounts complicate the view of Tuskegee as a mere reflection of Hampton and of Washington as strictly accommodationist in his leadership of Tuskegee. Robert Norrell's work reveals the complex mixture of attitudes, many extreme, toward African American education in the South and the manner in which Washington's realization that any hope of putting forward opportunities for blacks would require the cooperation of the whites in power. Early on,

Washington saw that “success at Tuskegee Institute depended on his keeping the fears of white conservatives assuaged” (Norrell 17). Examining the literacy context at Tuskegee enhances this more nuanced understanding of the struggle underlying the creation of Tuskegee as an agent of “fundamental change in the nature of race relations” not just in Macon County, Alabama but across the nation (Norrell 18).

Booker T. Washington, and later, what would be called the Tuskegee Machine , were sponsors of literacy for hundreds of poor African Americans. Though common school education, literary societies, and the presence of reading rooms to create a print-rich environment and through the school’s strong tradition of rhetorical performances, Tuskegee equipped students to work, write, and speak in public and, in its early years, educated teachers for independent work. often in the poorest of schools. The same entities are known for restricting—or publicly trying to restrict—certain kinds of literacies. Especially after 1896, Washington’s strong management methods at the school directly curtailed components of the literacy curriculum, as discussed in chapter 3. In fact, whether acting as sponsor or restrictor of literacy, the normal schools in this study illuminate clearly the nature of literacy to effect change and, conversely, to create no agency against ideology outside the literacy context.

OVERVIEW OF CHAPTERS

Chapter one argues for research into the archival record of Alabama normal schools and provides possible theoretical approaches from literacy studies, feminist historiography, and cultural studies, with an overarching use of archival methods.

Archival evidence of the work and extracurricular activities in normal school communities provides specific links to the evolving national culture of literature and popular reading as well as to professional texts about normal school pedagogies. At both Florence and Tuskegee, archived examples of student writing, teacher evaluations, school bulletins, course catalogs, student publications, and advertising for teacher-training institutes reveal articulations between national, regional, and state structures of culture and power associated with education. The study of the way in which these structures affected the training of literacy teachers quickly becomes a complex undertaking, particularly since much of the needed research information is fragmentary, sometimes concealed, and sometimes absent. After all, writing produced by teachers and their students is seldom valued in a way that leads to preservation (Fitzgerald, “Rediscovering” 273, Moon 2). Chapter one explains a means of reconstructing in a limited but useful way the literacy context as it related directly to the lives of those students, teachers, and administrators for whom the policies and pedagogies were essential.

Chapter two takes a single artifact and uses texts inside the archive alongside texts and databases beyond it to analyze the way in which a literacy act by a single individual is also “a cultural production, subject to the constraints of the sociopolitical arenas in which such use acquires meaning and purpose” (Royster 43). This particular text, a class prophecy written as an assignment by a young woman member of the Class of 1890 at Florence, seems to verify the idea that normal schools provided some of the first opportunities for working and middle-class white women in the South to work outside the home. However, the text also reveals ways in which hegemonies of gender and class are actually negotiated as new paradigms emerge. Chapter two argues that the

literacy context of the Alabama normal school is the site of cultural productions that are unique and that produce a historical narrative omitted from and potentially in tension with current histories of literacy education in Alabama.

While the second chapter two uses a single text as an artifact in context, chapter three uses many texts in order to understand how the rhetoric of pedagogy and the figure of the pedagogue—a teacher of teachers—at both Florence and Tuskegee led to limited empowerment for individual teachers and students and how it was used to reinforce familiar gender, racial, and class hierarchies. Chapter three argues that, while we cannot draw direct analogies to relate to contemporary educational issues and challenges, understanding the emergence and disappearance of the rhetoric of pedagogy denominated by terms from late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, a rhetoric that was centered in creating autonomous teachers with professional expertise, has implications for understanding ideological controls on the literacies claimed by schooling.

Chapter four examines the literary texts listed as subjects of study and pleasure in the unpublished *Minutes of the Tuskegee Woman's Club*. The *Minutes* provides a glimpse into what Anne Ruggles Gere calls the *extracurriculum* in the literacy context of an institution (“Kitchen Tables” 75). The TWC, made up exclusively of Tuskegee faculty and the spouses of faculty, operated simultaneously in two traditions. Like the nineteenth-century literary society, its members took part in self-improvement activities through the study and enjoyment of literature from traditional sources and from current events. However, the TWC is also deeply involved in the national rise of women’s clubs for creating reform and for bettering the poor. Although the TWC was clearly linked to the industrial education ideal that allowed Tuskegee to rise to national prominence in the

period, it was also a source of ongoing discussion about the value of liberal education. Moreover, even the brief records of discussion in Club meetings reveal tensions over class and gender. The chapter looks at some ways the women at Tuskegee used literate activities to achieve success and to resist some of the expectations others had for them. In addition, the analysis of “what *literature* is understood to represent” in the lives of these teachers informs the way in which the activities of the TWC may have been misinterpreted or overlooked in histories of the Women’s Club movement (Miller ix; emphasis added).

ARCHIVAL RESEARCH

The archival research for this study took place both in the physical sites where documents and artifacts are maintained at each school and with materials available in libraries and on-line. I visited the archives at Collier Library at Florence, now the University of North Alabama, a total of six days during three trips in 2011 and 2012. In addition, some of the surviving catalogues from the early years at Florence are available in the archives at Auburn University’s Ralph Brown Draughon library, both in print in the Alabama Collection and on microfilm as a result of Auburn’s collaboration with The US Agriculture Information Network (USAIN Website <http://usain.org/index.html>). The enthusiastic archivist at the University of North Alabama’s Collier Library provided copies of important texts and helped me deduce the identity of the young woman who wrote the prophecy that is discussed in the second chapter. Many of the textbooks mentioned in the annual catalogues of both schools, including two written by Florence’s

first professor of pedagogy, were available through reprint services and or on internet as Google Books, and several early nineteenth-century treatises on pedagogy and an important late-nineteenth-century bibliography are part of the collection at Auburn.¹¹

Trips to Tuskegee included nine days in the archives there, along with several visits during revision. In addition, the delightful faculty and staff of the archives have provided internet access to helpful files listing teachers at Tuskegee from 1885 through 1935 as well as the complete *Annual Catalogue* from 1896. Librarians and archivists from the University of Southern Maine, established as Gorham Normal School in 1878, and from Framingham University, established in 1839 as The Normal School at Lexington, provided copies of school catalogues for specific years. Microfilm publications of the 1885 through 1905 reports to the State Department of Education for normal schools and for summer institutes were also invaluable, as were the papers of Booker T. Washington collected by Louis Harlan, and there was the serendipitous discovery of a draft of an unpublished dissertation by a good friend's grandfather, a 1936 graduate of George Peabody College for Teachers. I had read over the dissertation abstract in my research but had little idea of its wealth of information about the summer institutes, travelling pedagogues, and the crucial role of the Peabody and Slater philanthropies in the full text until my friend offered it, along with several other books, from her family's library. Chapter one gives more information on the sources of information used for research in this project and on the approaches used, but contacts with the actual archival materials from Tuskegee and Florence dating from the late

¹¹ How a text in a circulating library can be considered "archival" is discussed in Chapter 1, but briefly the approach is that such texts can move from being support for understanding grand narratives or received history, to texts that, when reexamined in context with historiographic research, provide insight into that context.

nineteenth and early twentieth century coupled with an understanding of the archive as a place where knowledge is “produced” rather than merely “retrieved” provided the impetus and the set of questions for my research (Stoler 87, 90; quoted in Schultz, Foreword).

**CHAPTER ONE: ASSEMBLING AN ARCHIVE: LITERACY
CONTEXTS AT FLORENCE AND TUSKEGEE**

In her work on the archival turn in modern history writing, Carolyn Steedman metaphorically describes her craft as “conjur[ing] a social system from a nutmeg grater” (18). Her description of the onset of *mal d’ archiv* or archive fever evokes the difficulty of research travel, the specter not of the masses of texts and “things” produced by the people she studies, but of the specific large files in the specific records office where she is at work. Steedman anticipates the dull headache of exhaustion and the anxiety of knowing there will not be time for completion (19). She never questions the value of the nutmeg grater. This project goes into the archives of Florence and Tuskegee in the hope of conjuring, not a social system, but a system of literacy interactions that confers agency even as it often replicates a dominant culture. Instead of nutmeg graters, it struggles with copies of pamphlets on summer institutes for literacy workers, a student’s commencement prophecy, a sparse set of minutes recording in parliamentary procedure the choices of texts denoted as literature by a middle-class African American women’s club in the last decade of the nineteenth century. The value of an understanding of the literacy context of these institutions is a given; the goals of the project focus on providing, if not a comprehensive record of the individuals, institutions, and circumstances which regulated literacy in this period, at least a beginning framework and a movement toward useful questions. The chapter argues that an understanding of archival methodology, of feminist historiography, and of specific cultural studies approaches provides a “physically dispersed but intellectually integrated archive” that is

adequate and ethical in scope and purpose for understanding the ideological uses of normal school literacies (Schultz, Foreword viii).

After a brief consideration of the Archive as metonym, the following sections describe the collections at Florence and Tuskegee and the way in which related texts are linked to texts beyond their physical boundaries. The first section looks at possible rhetorical purposes of the annual catalogues and the ways in which they relate to the literacy context of each school and to the larger setting of the post-Reconstruction South. The second section deals with representations of teachers in the popular texts on normal school pedagogies. The final section takes the partial biographies of individuals—often only traces in the archival records—and the possibilities and impossibilities of hearing these individuals in any significant way. The purpose of each of these sections is to make more visible the literacy sponsors, the “agents, local or distant, concrete or abstract, who enable, support, teach, and model, as well as recruit, regulate, suppress, or withhold” the various literacies present or potentially present in the normal school context (Brandt 92). Another good way to envision the literacy context is through an understanding of normal school rhetorics as “specialized collections of symbols and languages used by institutions to control human beings,” as well as “opposing set[s] of symbols and languages used by individuals and groups to negotiate or resist institutional pressures” (Duffy 18). The normal school in Alabama at the end of the nineteenth century was a site where ideologies of gender, class, and race were contested, constructed, and re-constructed in the name of education and where even members of the dominant culture of Southern-style democracy could not agree on the correct uses of literacy. That complex intersection of power relationships and social change can be discerned to a useful extent by working

in the archives. The first step consists of general, even “common-sense” considerations of an archive for the project.

DUST AND “MAD FRAGMENTS”: THE ARCHIVE AS METONYM

The noun *archive* functions metonymically, signifying simultaneously the place and its contents. The word originates in “the Greek *arche*, whose principal meanings are: beginning, origin; and first place or power, sovereignty” (Moon 1). Its early Greek usage denotes the “magisterial residence [or] public office” (“Archive”). The word *Archive*, with its capital A, comes to mean not just that officially sanctioned place to list and store the “laws and decrees and elections,” but also the records and results of those official acts, “the judgments, sentences, tax assessments, rosters—and these are things that matter” (Moon 2). Whether applied to the historical materials of a nation or to the records of a school or a discipline, the definition of Archive functions the same way. College archives preserve “official records of enrollment, curriculum, and achievement” (Moon 3). But there is more to be found there; all metonyms in their usefulness tend to elide some components of that which they signify. Some entity lives in that “magisterial residence”; some aspect of unquestioned power judges that which matters. It is useful to think of that power as ideology, for archives are intrinsically ideological. Like Gramscii’s understanding of common sense, it happens that the works of the winners or reformers, if you will, remain to be studied while the works of the conquered and the reformed become exemplified by samples, judged either authentic or inauthentic. Thus, in the archives of a university that was once a college that was once a normal school, the

catalogues and minutes and records of recognition within the larger discourse are preserved while the traces of discourse transgressors and those whose work signifies little more than an example of that which was reformed are less in evidence, though they do sometimes exist as traces.

Therefore the Archive is formed of place and content and ideology, yet it is still more. The ideology, or more accurately, the ideologies that influence the Archive are not omniscient nor is their product complete. Steedman reminds us that “the Archive is not potentially made up of everything, as is human memory; and it is not the fathomless and timeless place in which nothing goes away that is the unconscious” (68). With its shared etymology, the Archive may seem *archetypal*; it is the dwelling of the Wise Man or scholar, that storehouse of knowledge, that location of origin. But the Archive is, in actuality, “*made* from selected and consciously chosen documentation from the past and also from the mad fragments that no one intended to preserve and that just ended up there” (Steedman 68; emphasis added). Moreover, the researcher must take into account the availability and interpretation of artifacts, and at times, something as basic as past or present available space (Schultz, Foreword viii). Nor is the physical archive in any way excluded from the forces of nature, from foxing, fire, and flood. In a very real way, the researcher constructs the archive through the interpretation and choice of materials just as the archive’s previous creators/curators constructed it (Schultz, Foreword vii). The Archive—any archive—is as constructed as the narratives of history are constructed; yet it is no less valuable and perhaps more useful to illuminate the past and its echoes and silences in the present. Archival work is historical work, “provisional, partial—fragments we shore against our ruin;” the product is “a construction . . . it is always tottering

(Connors, “Dreams” 31). The following section begins to suggest texts for this specific constructed archive.

**“PHYSICALLY DISPERSED BUT INTELLECTUALLY INTEGRATED”: CONSTRUCTING THE
ARCHIVE FOR NORMAL SCHOOL RESEARCH**

Among the types of texts retained in the archives at both Tuskegee and Florence, the first group and a familiar one for literacy research is the annual catalogue.¹² As noted in the introduction, the collections at Tuskegee and Florence include almost complete sets of copies of annual catalogues in readable condition and in clear chronological order. Normal school catalogues for both of these schools and for most normals describe the institutional stances on education, albeit often idealized, as well as descriptions of curricula and teaching approaches. They list textbooks and treatises that support a particular vision of the uses of literacy, and they reveal the presence of authorities in the field, often by name and in a context that shows the value placed on their expertise. Early catalogues at Florence and Tuskegee list students enrolled for a given academic year, their home county or state, if they are not from Alabama. Tuskegee lists alumni and their whereabouts and jobs, when that information is available. Information in annual catalogues, along with reports, minutes of meetings, and alumni materials reveal articulations among social and cultural forces both local and national. Analyzing the

¹² Important articles that rely on catalogues to set a starting point for interrogating the normal school literacy context in the nineteenth and early twentieth century include David Gold’s “Accidental Archivist: Embracing Chance and Confusion in Historical Scholarship,” Beth Ann Rothermel’s “Our Life’s Work:” Rhetorical Preparation and Teacher Training at a Massachusetts State Normal School, 1839-1929,” and Susan Bordelon’s “Participating on an ‘Equal Footing’: The Rhetorical Significance of California State Normal School in the Late Nineteenth Century.”

imagined multiple audiences for the normal school catalogues provides intellectual triangulation for creating the literacy context. In the creation of catalogues, agents of these institutions considered not only what students needed to know, but how their representations of the school and its teachers, students, and faculties would be received by their communities, by state oversight entities, and by sources of funding, including the philanthropic organizations which were increasingly more important in determining the nature of education in the nation. Comparing the catalogues year by year reveals many changes, rewordings, and rhetorical devices that can be understood through the ideological use of literacy. The following paragraphs outline one approach to reconstructing the literacy context at Florence and Tuskegee beginning with annual catalogues.

Catalogues at the State Normal School at Florence

As noted above, catalogues from normal schools describe the institution's official stance on issues relating to literacy and this idealized description is particularly helpful in understanding both the local context and the larger state and regional contexts. For example, at Florence the admission of women into the normal program, something that was taking place and had been in states in the northeast and Midwest, was contested. When the normal school was opened in 1873, women were allowed to enroll, but none did so. In 1874, when the *First Annual Catalogue* was published, the opening statement described "the prime object in the establishment of this school [as] the more thorough preparation of young MEN for teaching in the Public Schools of the State" (8). That

introduction is followed by the explanation that it was “at the last session of the Board of Education [of the state], the Charter of the School was so amended as to extend like privileges to young LADIES WHO MAY WISH TO BECOME TEACHERS” (8; emphasis by uppercase original). This statement both distances the local officials from the decision to admit women and delimits the areas of study to which they have access. The catalogue also advises potential students that there is both a “Preparatory Department, in which those not sufficiently advanced may be fitted to enter the Normal Class,” and also “an Academic Department, in which young *men*, who do not wish to make teaching their vocation, may receive a liberal education” (*First Annual Catalogue* 8; emphasis added). Like many normal schools across the US, Florence had previously been a college for men, and as noted in the introduction, the citizens there tried to acquire a state-supported replacement for that all-male institution. Admission of women was discouraged, no doubt, but the limitation of their access to only those courses pertaining to teaching probably functioned as a compromise. By 1878, when the *Fifth Annual Catalogue* is published, one line is added to the description of the object of the institution, noting that the academic department has become available to “young ladies” (10). In the following several years, women are appointed to teach in the normal program, and by 1882, women faculty members are allowed to speak in faculty meetings (*A Brief Look* 5, Burlerson 16).

While it is no surprise that resistance to cultural change accompanied the creation of schools that allowed women to be admitted and to take part in coeducational classes, it is easy to miss the literacy implications of the policies described in these catalogues. The limitations on women students and faculty to the normal program reinforce the link

between teaching, especially at the elementary level, since that is the goal of the normal school, and women. Moreover, these policies are further indication of the disarticulation between teaching—and thus women—and academic or liberal education. This disarticulation is evident in the fact that those students who needed to be “fitted” for education could be admitted to the Preparatory Department,” but were limited to the normal program (*First Annual Catalogue* 8). Clearly the earliest sponsors of literacy for the normal school at Florence envisioned two distinct classes of students differentiated by gender and, to some extent, by their earlier educational opportunities.

Other gender distinctions and articulations become visible with careful reading across a decade of the annual catalogs. Women comprised more 40 percent of the student body on average from 1880 to 1905 (Ogren 66). However, as discussed in chapter two, the literary societies at Florence did not admit women to their meetings or to their reading rooms, and women’s presence in student publications was nonexistent. Women established their own literary society in 1889 (*A Brief Look* 6). More importantly, it must be noted that cultural norms made it unlikely that women would work rather than marry, nor did many women in this social class work beyond marriage. Most women taught only for several years, while most men graduating from the normal courses went on to further academic education or, if they remained in teaching, became administrators (Ogren 187). More research is needed to determine specific percentages of Florence women who remained in teaching or went on for further education, but tracking the names of a single class of 22 members listed in the catalogue for 1889-90 using census reports and alumni publications as reported in chapter two of this dissertation revealed only one woman who taught longer than 5 years. Teaching for several years prior to marriage is common in

[revision] normal schools across the US during the years under study (Ogren 192). Unpacking these elements of early catalogues from Florence gives the researcher evidence both of its significance as a source of agency through literacy for women and of its imbrications in a system of literacy restriction, since normal school certification did not assure gender equality or class mobility.

Catalogues at Tuskegee Normal and Industrial School

Read alongside Florence's catalogues and those from other normal schools across the US, Tuskegee's catalogues reveal that, for its first decade, students and their experiences were similar to most schools for teachers (Fraser 99, Zimmerman 53). Like other normal school students in Alabama and across the southeastern states, the hundreds who attended Tuskegee Normal School—the first of many name changes added “And Industrial” to the catalogues in 1887—were older and less educated than students attending high schools and colleges in northern states and most were seeking some sort of professional education (Fraser 99). During Tuskegee's early years, the public purpose of teaching an “industrial” curriculum to African American students meant that “work is required of all [students] for the purpose of discipline and instruction and of teaching the dignity of labor” as well as for paying their expenses other than tuition, which was not required. Otherwise, curricula for those years include academic subjects and pedagogy courses, with particular emphasis on what a teacher and a supporter of the school called a thorough course “in English lessons, composition and reading with studies in literature” (W. Logan 20). That description reveals the importance of promoting the school's

approach to standard literacy for students perceived as lacking in language skills, but it also echoes the common use of the phrase “English course of study” to refer to curricula for the preparation of common school teachers. The course is “English” because foreign languages—specifically the Latin and Greek that would be expected in most colleges in the preparation of doctors, lawyers, and other professionals—are omitted, a common practice in normal schools all over the US (Ogren 88). In 1894, the catalogue included the information that “Agricultural and Mechanical work is carried on in connection with a four years’ course of academic work, designed to give a thorough *English education*” (*Catalogue of Tuskegee* 1894-95; emphasis added). Studies in composition, rhetoric, and literature underscore the fact that Tuskegee’s students encountered what normal school students at any school might have expected.

The study of composition, both oral and written, is listed as a student requirement and a course in rhetoric is usually listed for the senior year. The 1884 catalogue advises students to prepare for oral presentations of “items of current news every morning,” and monthly “rhetoricals”—public performances—are given not just for students but also for residents of the town and surrounding county (*Catalogue of Tuskegee* 1884-5, 1895-6). Practices in composition and rhetoric at Tuskegee are in line with normal schools all across the US, as are the choices of textbooks. By 1891, senior students of rhetoric and composition use Albert N. Raub’s *Practical Rhetoric and Composition*, a textbook generally for colleges (*Catalogue of Tuskegee* 1891 2; J. Carr, S. Carr, and Schultz 69). Grammar study was from *Kellogg and Reed’s Higher Lessons in English*, a textbook advertised as an “advanced high school and college . . . work in which the science of Language is made tributary to the art of expression” and which introduced a system of

sentence diagramming used well into the second half of the twentieth century (Reed 4, Kitzhaber 194, *Catalogue of Tuskegee* 1890-91). In addition to studies in writing and speaking, the work described as part of the “English education”—the basic education in the common school branches—included emphasis on certain kinds of reading.

In the first six years of the school, the library holdings increase from “nearly 300 volumes” to 3000 volumes, according to the catalogues, and popular magazines and newspapers are available to the literary societies for both men and women in reading rooms (*Catalogues of Tuskegee* 1884-1889). As for literature studies, most catalogues before 1896 list American and British “classics” for students in their last two years. When particular writers are mentioned, American authors Bryant, Lowell, Longfellow, Holmes, and Whittier are listed and British authors Scott, Macaulay, Lamb, and Tennyson appear; in addition, in 1894-95, Shakespeare, Milton, Ruskin, and Bacon are added (*Catalogues of Tuskegee* 1884 - 1895). Student literary societies meet to discuss and debate in parliamentary procedure their readings of texts approved by the dominant society, but also of texts in current events. In short, the curriculum for reading, writing, and for the teaching of these and other common school skills at Tuskegee Normal School was not unlike normal schools elsewhere, even though the industrial component was strongly featured in representations of the school.

In 1896, there is a sea change in the Tuskegee *Annual Catalogs*. That year there is no academic section given in the catalogue. After two pages listing alumni from the first ten years of the school and their jobs and locations, and after twenty pages listing current students by class standing, there appears three-quarters of a page given to a list of textbooks and to the three main principles of pedagogy taught at the school. The only

textbook for older students of composition and rhetoric is Chittenden's *Elements of English Composition*. Subtitled *A Preparation for Rhetoric*, this textbook is described by its author as a book "for the lower grades of the high school" (iii; J. Carr, S. Carr and Schultz 197). Other than the school readers used in the preparatory classes, no other textbooks are given, and no description of composition, history, or other coursework in the common branches is evident except for the continued practice of public rhetorical performance, which is mentioned in some detail. Students at the various levels must exhibit "memory work in the form of recitations and declamations," and senior students are required to submit oral and written opinions on important topics" (*Catalogue of Tuskegee 1895-96*).¹³ The catalogue does retain the description of the library as a means of encouraging the "habit of reading," but older students do not appear to study literature, either American or British (40).

The next twenty pages give descriptions of the curricula in the "Industrial Department," moving from agriculture to brick masonry to mechanics, and for women, cooking, millinery, and nurse training. The required work for students in the first years at Tuskegee was a means to create an ethic of work presumed absent in African Americans, to attract philanthropists who did not object to academic work as long as students appeared to receive middle-class virtues simultaneously, and to help defray the cost of schooling. The details in the industrial section of the 1895 catalogue seem by their very

¹³ By 1900, language about "opinions" is dropped from the catalogues and topics for older students are advertised in the catalogues in the form of prompts for a contest held by a Trinity Church in Boston, which offers \$25 for the best essay on "Belief in God as Related to Morality," "Industry as Related to Character," "Education as Related to Civic Prosperity," "The Patriotism of Lincoln," "Agriculture, a Factor in Civilization," "The Advantage of Service," "The Survival of the Fittest," "What Industrial Education is Doing for the Negro," or "Uses of Cow Peas."

volume to propose instead the actual training for work beyond the school and moving from basic to journeyman skills in low-wage jobs. However, as discussed above, most historians agree that the most important work of Tuskegee was the creation of teachers who would promulgate the Hampton-Tuskegee industrial philosophy of education. It is difficult to tease apart the significances of the information in this catalogue and the important omissions there; nevertheless, those omissions and changes that relate to the provisions and restrictions of specific literacies.

The changes at Tuskegee as the twentieth century neared came about as a result of pressures for limits on the education of African Americans in order to reinforce social relationships in the South and, it can be argued, all across the US. It is outside the parameters of this study to recount all the efforts by states and philanthropies to create schools like Hampton and Tuskegee and to wrest control of higher education even from non-state schools run by religious denominations, schools that made liberal education for African Americans possible before Tuskegee came on the scene. Volumes have been written on this subject and on the subsequent battles over the “talented tenth” versus “industrial” or vocational education for African Americans. Taking into consideration this larger perspective, archival work to understand annual catalogues shows how Tuskegee and its charismatic leader became central to the contested role of African American education in the years leading up to the Du Bois-Washington debate and how that controlled literacy activities.

In the 1880s and -90s, philanthropists and other supporters of African American education were increasingly requiring at least lip service to industrial programs, and while some schools added industrial programs in reality and on paper to attract funding,

most schools and colleges and their leaders, black and white, resisted the ideal of purely industrial curricula (Anderson 72-4). In 1895, however, Booker T. Washington gave the famous “Atlanta Compromise” speech, and while he did not specifically mention education, his reassurance to whites in the South and across the US that African Americans would tolerate disfranchisement and not seek social equality struck such a favorable chord with the dominant class that Tuskegee became for many the hope of the nation (Anderson 73; Holland 56). It would be gross oversimplification to assume that this one speech was the only reason for the increased pressure on Tuskegee faculty and administration to showcase industrial forms to the detriment of liberal or academic studies. Conferences such as the one at Mohonk five years earlier, a meeting which failed to include any African American educators in order to appease the Southern whites invited for the deliberations, promoted industrial training over academic work (Anderson 70, Fraser 99). Moreover, the death of Frederick Douglas left a void that led to Washington’s increasing role as the spokesperson for African Americans (McHenry 144). In addition, important philanthropic sources of funding for local and normal schools and for the summer institutes that reached teachers who were not able to get additional training in other ways began to promote industrial education more than they had previously (Anderson 71, Robert 89). Clearly the discourse of industrial training over academic work was in the ascendant, but after the Atlanta speech, the audience for the catalogues and the consumers of other representations of Tuskegee increased and their scrutiny was particularly focused on literacy.

The catalogues as archival sources provide access to rhetorical efforts to effect those changes toward industrialism at the level of teachers and students. The same

catalogues, however, point researchers to other texts that reveal ways in which the discourses of literacy and normal school pedagogy both resisted and complicated early efforts to circumscribe education for African Americans. For example, the partial biography of the first pedagogue at Tuskegee delineates tensions at the school, as discussed in chapter three. In addition, other archival texts indicate continued coursework and activity related to liberal education.

Information in Tuskegee's annual catalogues does not reflect the entire range of activities taking place on the campus either before or after the changes that exacerbated the debate over industrial education for African Americans. It is reasonable to suggest the existence of certain assumptions about the literacy skills that normal schools and their preparatory schools would teach and those familiar lessons would have continued without being noted in the catalogue, perhaps until specifically discouraged by school officials. Catalogues are idealized prospectuses created for the multiple audiences as noted above; they provide a baseline against which to compare other contemporaneous texts. One such text can be seen in a Montgomery, Alabama, newspaper's account of the period praising the writings and other classroom work of students in an exhibit in that city. Washington and other members of the faculty at Tuskegee began publishing a monthly newsletter in 1894. Called the *Southern Letter*, the periodical featured mentions of successful alumni, listed the school's needs, propagandized in favor of industrial education, and set out prominent information on how to contribute to the school financially, including a recurring form for adding Tuskegee to legacies and wills. Given that audience, it is interesting that in the November 1895 issue, the editors printed excerpts from an article in the *Montgomery Daily Advertiser* praising the collections of student writings, science

activities, and mathematics projects on exhibit at the Cotton States and International Exposition .(*Southern Letter* 44). The writer does mention industrial training later in the article, but the writer clearly is praising the future teachers from Tuskegee and their great likelihood of success in conveying academic or liberal components of the common school education to African American children. Interestingly, this newspaper article is published and then republished in the *Southern Letter* just as Washington’s speech at that same exhibition begins drawing more attention to industrial education and presumably increasing the pressure for Washington’s direct control of school curricula.

While it would be informative to see some of the student papers mentioned in this article, thus far none have been located. In fact, it must be said that examples of student writing are difficult to locate from this period. Hundreds of young African American students spent time at Tuskegee. Many left after only a few weeks, others remained to complete part or all of the programs offered there, but with very few exceptions, they remain voiceless to the searching scholar.¹⁴ The numerous teachers who passed through Tuskegee in these years have left more responses to the school’s changing policies. Shortly after the turn of the century, Oberlin graduate and Tuskegee English teacher Ruth Anna Fisher was fired when she declined to use the pedagogy of “dovetailing” English studies with industrial courses (*BTW Papers* 9:125).¹⁵ The approach, described by Washington several years earlier in his contentious dealings with the first academic Head Teacher, Nathan Young, required students to visit “the brick yard and write compositions about the manner of making brick or harnessing horses” with the

¹⁴ One exception is Frank Andre Guridy’s study of Cuban students who attended Tuskegee at the turn of the century.

¹⁵ Fisher went on to teach at other schools and colleges before doing advanced academic and archival work for the Carnegie Institution and the Library of Congress (*BTW Papers* 9:126).

goal of linking all academic work to industrial training activities (*BTW Papers* 4:68-9). More than ten years later, Washington would write to his next Head Teacher about curtailing certain kinds of rhetorical studies, saying he saw little need for teaching definitions and figures of speech from “the average book on rhetoric . . . before the student has actually earned to express himself or write in a simple and direct way” (*BTW Papers* 10:188). His solution was to “have students write in simple language descriptions of what is going on about Tuskegee, about their own observations, their travels, etc.” (*BTW Papers* 10:189). Washington’s conflict with Young, Fisher, and others illustrates the level at which literacy activities came under increasing scrutiny at Tuskegee. It also illustrates that, over at least ten years, the effort to make all literacy coursework industrial, or “practical,” as it was often described, is less than fully successful.

The examples from catalogues from Florence and Tuskegee and from the related materials—examples of textbooks, Washington’s papers, and the microfilmed *Southern Letter*—are part of the archive from which this project draws in its attempt to produce a better understanding of these normal schools and of their importance to contemporary literacy studies. However, none of these items are so exclusive or difficult to acquire as to render them arcane, and reading them in concert with an eye to finding literacy sponsors may be regarded simply as careful reading with historical awareness. However, the archive that this project constructs moves into at least two other groups of texts to further illuminate the literacy context of the normal school. Partial biographies of normal school students make up one such group and will be discussed later. The other group—popular texts about teaching—provides important representations of normal school students and teachers. While it is beyond the limits of this project to discuss all or even most of the

popular texts in circulation at the high point of the normal schools under consideration, three such texts lend themselves to analysis.

POPULAR TEXTBOOKS AND EDUCATION AS “THE COMMON PROPERTY OF THE NATION”

That texts on teaching may be considered *popular* may sound strange, but the definition of such a text is one that becomes “the common property of the nation” and “foster[s] widely shared cultures of literacy” (J. Carr, S. Carr, and Schultz xiii). The cultural work of books makes it possible to widen the archive by understanding the practices these texts delineate and the expertise they signify. By the nineteenth century, the print culture in the US was well-established; the use of printed media linked both to the Protestant traditions of reform and the “presence of rhetorical studies in the classical liberal curriculum,” made books central to education in the home and schools (Stevens 103, J. Carr, S. Carr, and Schultz 5). Teachers and would-be teachers alike read and studied books about teaching while they worked to get jobs as teachers; normal school students encountered some of these same books in the classroom. Three such texts discussed below show up again and again, not just within the physical archives at Tuskegee and Florence, but in the catalogues and in other works by authorities of the period at normal schools all over the US. As popular texts linked by these references and in some cases, by their authors’ connections to Tuskegee and Florence, these books help form the “intellectually integrated” archive desired (Schultz, Foreword viii). One way

these texts help is with crucial or contested terminology such as the complex use of the term *method* or *methods*.

During the height of the normal school movement, the term *method* was generally used to denote the application of teaching principles in a classroom setting. W. H. Payne, president of the Peabody College for Teachers, defined the term as “as a mode of procedure based on some principle or law,” but he warned that method “divorced from the principle which justifies it” becomes merely a rule, “and rules are the bane of teaching” (32-3). Payne’s definition and warning summarize the controversies about the teaching of methods in normal education, controversies that found their way into catalogues and textbook introductions. Normal school faculty members stressed the importance of understanding the theory behind classroom methods. At Florence, general work in method included “the aim of education and of instruction, the principles of self activity and unity in instruction, a study of analysis, synthesis, induction and deduction, formal steps of instruction, and an inductive study of questioning as a means of awakening and directing mental activity” (*Annual Catalogues* 1899-1900 29; quoted in Ogren 127). Critics of the normal schools claimed their simplistic approaches to teaching centered on tricks and shortcuts that were of little value. To further complicate the theory/method dichotomy, some authors used *method* to indicate both the science and the art of teaching. In the first educational psychology textbook listed at Tuskegee, the author makes a further distinction between *method*, which is “that body of principles, drawn from a sound psychology, which are applicable to all teaching,” and *methods*, “which are to be understood [as] the special plans and devices to be used in teaching a particular branch or subject” (Roark 267; *Tuskegee Catalogue* 1895-96). Will Seymour Monroe’s

Bibliography of Education, published in 1897, reflects this widespread confusion in the bewildering array of publications about methods published during the 1880s and early 1890s.¹⁶

Monroe's *Bibliography* is 179 pages long, 31 pages of which are given over to publications that are about the use of general or particular methods in the classroom. Subdivided into elementary and secondary and further divided by general and specific common school subjects, the list for texts on methods includes 507 items, including an entry for yearly transactions from the MLA from 1888 to 1894, with pertinent articles noted (42-74; 59). This large number of bibliographic items contrasts with a mere 5 pages and 42 items on the theory of education from the Greeks to the more modern translations of Pestalozzi. Of the 507 items listed under methods, 357 or more than 70 % date from 1880 to 1895. The latter date is the ending point for Monroe's assembling of the bibliography. In his preface to Monroe's bibliography, William Torrey Harris, the US Commissioner on Education from 1889 until 1906, praises Monroe's choices of books and notes that Monroe omitted some books solely designated as classroom textbooks, which indicates there are more texts along these lines. It is interesting to note that the books on pedagogy and the nascent educational psychology used at Florence and Tuskegee from 1880 to 1895 do appear in this bibliography. If we understand Monroe's bibliography as in any way a comprehensive source for education at the turn of the century—and the editor of a 1968 reprint edition of the bibliography says it is just that—then what these figures indicate is the burst of activity during these years on the part of writers providing books for teachers to help them understand and acquire new methods or

¹⁶ The figures from these pages are drawn from a facsimile of the 1897 edition of Monroe's *Bibliography*.

successfully use older methods (Cordasco i). Most of these writers were themselves teachers in normal schools and colleges, the pedagogues discussed in chapter Three. For these individuals, the definition of and practices indicated by popular texts on teaching methods determined their interactions with students, community members, and other professionals.

While it is beyond the scope of this project to in any way settle the contentious discussion of the nature and role of classroom method in education, a consideration of the presence of so many pedagogues in this late nineteenth century debate is productive. Clearly many of them were seen as knowledgeable in theory and in the practice of education and they add authoritative texts to its discourse. The textbook developed by the first professor of pedagogy at Florence is listed in the Methods section of Monroe's *Bibliography*.¹⁷ Two more texts build on this identity for normal school principals and teachers. Before an analysis of these two texts, it is helpful to consider the larger context of nineteenth-century epistemologies.

The pedagogies for normal schools developed in an age when the fundamental understanding of the human intellect was undergoing important change. For the early common school reformers, faculty psychology taught that knowledge consisted of internally representing the external world through language and via faculties possessed by individuals as result of their relationship to the Divine. This world-view can be seen in the insistence on analytical modes that produced complex taxonomies of natural, mental, and moral philosophies. Knowledge was gained inductively from experience, according to eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century writers on education, and took place through

¹⁷ Charles Benjamin Van Wie's *Development Helps* was published in 1891 and is discussed in chapter 3.

the engagement of divinely created mental faculties or structures present in all humans. However, by the late nineteenth century, when the normal schools in the South were being established, faculty psychology was gradually giving way to Darwinian ideas of individual difference and of the complex physiological nature of the human mind (Kitzhaber 4-5).¹⁸

The “new education” of the mid-1890s, which combined research into the physiology of learning and the Herbartian principles that demonstrated the need to guide students from the known to the new or unfamiliar generally was slower in coming to the normal schools, but was clearly present at Tuskegee and Florence by the 1890s, often alongside teachings in the mental and moral discipline of faculty psychology. The language of epistemology in these two normal schools is fascinating in that it draws from seemingly incompatible views of the human mind. One place this incompatibility becomes evident is in representations of the figure of the pedagogue, the teacher of teachers. The following paragraphs discuss two texts used at Tuskegee and Florence, and at many other normal schools and colleges, as examples of the complex structures of feeling surrounding the pedagogue. The first is a philosophical treatise by philosopher Johann Karl Friedrich Rosenkranz, whose work “made an epoch in the treatment of educational theory in Germany” by bringing “the broadest philosophy” of the late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century to bear on the radical reformers who influenced the European and American school reforms of the mid-nineteenth century (Harris vi). The second is a purely American text written in 1848 by teacher and normal school principal David Page and reprinted at least 30 times in the century after its first

¹⁸ Kitzhaber’s excellent discussion of the end of moral and mental philosophy as a guide to college curricula and method is helpful, but it is important to note that change was slower in the normal schools.

publication and read in normal schools, reading circles, and teacher institutes throughout the last half of the century and well into the twentieth.

Rosenkranz's *Philosophy of Education*

Rosenkranz's work, originally titled *Paedagogik als System, or Pedagogics as a System*, when it was first published in 1848, was first translated from German into English for publication in the *Journal of Speculative Philosophy* in three issues from 1872-1874. Its translator, Anna Callender Brackett, undertook the work because of a need for "information on the subject of Teaching as a Science" and because the work of German educators have, "more than any either county, endeavored to found (education) on universal truths" (Rosenkranz, *Pedagogics* 143). In response to demand for reprinted issues of the text, Brackett re-translated the work in "more simple prose," and it was re-titled *The Philosophy of Education* and published in 1887 with extensive commentary and interpretation as the first text in the International Education Series. The commentary and interpretation for the 1887 edition of *The Philosophy of Education* was written by William Torrey Harris, the US Commissioner on Education mentioned above, who was the series editor (Harris, Introduction v; Salvatori 162). While Monroe annotated very few of the entries in his Bibliography, he noted that Rosenkranz had produced "the most profound and thoughtful book on the philosophy of education" (36).

Like other treatises on mental and moral philosophy, Rosenkranz presents a detailed taxonomy of faculty psychology, but unlike other works on faculty psychology, *Pedagogics as a System* relates the scheme of philosophical classification specifically to

education, drawing examples and analogies from teacher and student interactions, school settings, and historical and national forms of education. Rosenkranz addresses the more radical reformers of the European common school movement—“Ratich, Comenius, Rousseau, Pestalozzi, and their followers”—and claims as truth a middle ground “lying partly on the territory of the established order and partly on the territory of the reformers,” in this case the common school advocates in Europe and particularly in Prussia in the early nineteenth century (Harris, Introduction vi). The text is divided into three parts, the first of which covers the general idea of education in its forms and limits, the second of which covers the education of the body, the intellect, and the will, including the “inborn theoretical and practical reason of man,” intellectual stages, and the five crucial forms of education in the home, the school, for work, for citizenship, and finally from the Church (Rosenkranz, *Philosophy of Education* 57). The third section presents the history of education as it relates to Hegel’s philosophy of history, an approach valuable to educators “who desire to see in a condensed form, the essential outcome of human history” (Harris, Introduction ix).

Rosenkranz’s work defines the study of pedagogy in detail, explaining that “the Science of Pedagogics cannot be derived from a simple principle with such exactness as Logic and Ethics” (Rosenkranz, *Pedagogics* 144). Instead, since the field covers both the art and science of education, Rosenkranz compares it to Medicine, adding that like Medicine, Pedagogy “must make a distinction between a sound and an unhealthy system of education, and must devise means to prevent or to cure the latter (Rosenkranz, *Pedagogics* 144). Pedagogics as a science, Rosenkranz explains, “busies itself with developing *a priori* the idea of Education in the universality and necessity of that idea,

but as an art it is the concrete individualizing of this abstract idea in any given case” (Rosenkranz, *Pedagogics* 145). For Rosenkranz, as for many of the pedagogues, the importance of teaching is connected with both these aspects. The “universal aims and ends” determined through science can only be conveyed through the art of “pedagogical tact” through which “the peculiarities of the person who is to be educated and all the previously existing circumstances” can be mediated by the teacher (Rosenkranz, *Philosophy* 105). The word *art* is applied to teaching “in the same way as it used when we say, the art of war, the art of government, and [so on]; and rightly, for we are talking about the realization of the idea” (Rosenkranz, *Pedagogics* 145). Rosenkranz’s representation of the teacher is one who is both knowledgeable in method but who is “truly ingenious in varying method according to the ever-varying needs” and who “is free from any superstitious belief in any one procedure as a sure specific which he follows always in a monotonous bondage” (Rosenkranz, *Philosophy* 105). The teacher as an autonomous expert or professional reliant on his or her own deep understanding of the principles that guide practice in the classroom is an important aspect of the identity of the pedagogue and of teachers in general and is discussed in more detail in chapter three.

Rosenkranz’s treatise is designed to reveal the philosophical underpinnings of the work of teaching and to construct a continuing field of study founded in theory and driving classroom practice, and to assist in creating a class of professionals capable in both. The pedagogue, then, is a scholar and a reflexive practitioner engaged in ongoing work (Ogren 129, Salvatori 62). Brackett’s 1887 translation of Rosenkranz is listed for use at Florence in the 1895 catalogue and long passages are recommended in the first pedagogy textbook listed for students at Tuskegee (*Twenty-third Annual Catalogue* 31,

Tuskegee Catalogue 1895). In addition to appearing in Monroe's *Bibliography of Education*, the text shows up on normal school lists from California to Michigan and continued to be used as a history reference in the first decade of the twentieth century (*Fifteenth Annual Catalogue of the State Normal School at Los Angeles for the School Year 1892-93* 27; *Catalogue of the Library* 33). If Brackett's translations of Rosenkranz were well-regarded and widely read by teachers and professors of pedagogy, then another text on teaching is even more revered and almost ubiquitous. David Perkins Page's *Theory and Practice of Teaching: or, the Motives and Methods of Good School-Keeping*, published in 1847, was arguably the most popular book on teaching published in the US ("Page, David P." 594). *Theory and Practice* was reprinted at least 26 times in its first 20 years, and three new editions came out the year its copyright expired ("Page, David P." 594). Page was an influential promoter of the first normal schools in New York and worked closely with Horace Mann in his efforts to fight off legislative curtailment of teacher training (H. Barnard 471). Page's biographer documents his rise from the son of a farmer and a virtual autodidact to tireless advocate for state-financed normal education in New York (H. Barnard 470). At his death Page was eulogized as America's Thomas Arnold, a reference to the renowned founder of Rugby School in Great Britain and important education reformer of the mid-nineteenth century (H. Barnard 471.)

Page's *Theory and Practice of Teaching*

Page's small book predates English editions of Rosenkranz's *Philosophy* by 25 years; nevertheless, it was still being recommended to young teachers at the turn of the

century (W. Monroe 39, Salvatori 67, Ogren 34). In antebellum Alabama, state school superintendent W. F. Perry recommended the book to teachers and published long excerpts from it in the 1857 edition of the short-lived *Alabama Education Journal* (44; Weeks 67; Knight, *Public School Education in the South* 272). During Reconstruction when several Northern publishers contributed barrels of books to schools across the South in 1870, copies of Page's book were included (Knight, *Public School Education in North Carolina* 278). *Theory and Practice* is included on normal school textbook lists and is referenced often in other textbooks as recommended reading at Florence, Tuskegee, and at another Alabama normal school at Jacksonville (*Seventeenth Annual Catalogue* 12; Putnam 198; *Annual Announcement for the State Normal School at Jacksonville, Alabama* 24). The reading circles developed to supplement teacher education in Alabama in 1890s also used Page's *Theory and Practice* for home reading (Weeks 125). What is there about this small volume that made it the "classic" American book on teaching and "the one book the young teacher would most profit by," as Monroe's *Bibliography of Education* claimed (39)?

Page's guidance for teachers is varied in its subject matter. He advocates intellectual preparation of teachers through extensive literary education, and he gives advice on dress, punctuality, and community involvement for professional success. He also advocates pedagogical study, and like Rosenkranz, likens the profession of teaching to medicine (11, 121). Page renders Rosenkranz's art of "pedagogical tact" as the "aptness to teach" (75). While he acknowledges that some individuals seem better suited to the role of teaching, he questions the common assumption that teaching ability is a "native endowment" or an "instinct" that cannot be improved by study and training (75).

As a result, Page claims, teachers should “study carefully the *rationale* of their processes, and to rely rather on sound and philosophical principles in their teaching rather than on doubtful intuition” (75-6; emphasis original). The rationale for pedagogical processes, then, is dependent on an understanding of mental processes. However, Page’s work says little else about theory beyond encouraging the teacher to remember the “mental processes he (sic) went through in order to comprehend” his own early learning experiences, and to “put himself in the place of the child he is teaching” (105, Salvatori 62). Where Rosenkranz details the mental faculties as they relate to teaching and learning, Page’s work focuses much more on the practical means of teaching and its spiritual rewards.

In representing the teacher as a practical problem solver, Page proposes a focus on the student as an active learner in his or her local context. In the central and most quoted chapter, Page warns teachers against creating students who are “passive recipients” who, like “two gallon jugs” take in what is given out daily but who retain little of the facts teachers bring before them. Page calls this the “pouring in” process and it resembles Friere’s banking analogy (Salvatori 67). The ‘pouring-in process’ merely “lecture[s] children into imbecility,” and the natural result is that evaluation becomes a process of “drawing out” or asking leading questions to the extent that students can offer only partial responses and are dependent on help from the teacher (79-83).¹⁹ Page’s “more excellent

¹⁹ Salvatori mistakenly asserts that Page would substitute the “drawing out” process for the “pouring in” process, perhaps misunderstanding the terms “drawing out” as related to pedagogical practices designed to interest and involve students (Salvatori 67). Instead Page’s term “drawing out” refers to leading questions given by the teacher that do not require the student to exhibit more than superficial knowledge. Page’s cure for both of these “prominent and prevalent faults” in schoolrooms is the substitution of student motivation and independence made possible by teacher practices he called the “waking up of the mind,” as illustrated in the included anecdote of the seed corn. Salvatori is, however, in good company in her error. Henry

way” for teachers to help pupils by is requiring them to help themselves by a process he calls “waking up mind” (86). He explains that this requires neither answering students’ questions directly nor finding fault with their errors, but instead discussing “the principles involved in the question . . . the principles which [they] have before learned . . . or to perhaps call attention to some rule of explanation” that allows the students to discover for themselves the answer and to “achieve the victory” (85). Page illustrates this practical application of “waking up mind” in the following anecdote.

Page relates deciding on the spur of the moment to bring an ear of corn to a school-wide assembly held each day in part give students a break from studies and in part to engage younger children who cannot yet read (87). Page tells the students that he will soon be bringing something of interest before them, especially for the younger students. When all the students are assembled, he shows them the ear of corn and calls on the younger group and then the next older group until someone can give him the answer he seeks. “What is this ear of corn for?” is his question and the students respond with the expected answers—food for man and animal. The teacher has the school wait, saying they will be allowed to try again the following day, and the scholars leave school buzzing about what their teacher can mean. Even parents and neighbors are queried by the children in Page’s narrative, and when the teacher assembles the students again, he explains that, while all their answers are true to a point, the corn’s purpose is actually as seed for the subsequent generation of corn. Of course, this leads to opportunities to discuss, research, and investigate other seeds in the plant kingdoms around the school.

Barnard, one of the original common school reformers, reveals the same misunderstanding of Page’s terms for his pedagogical processes, as is revealed in Barnard’s 1859 memoir of Page (471).

“Let it be your object to excite inquiry by a question they cannot answer without thought and observation,” Page advises, and make “question[s] as they would deem it disgraceful not to be able to answer” (102). In this parable, the teacher “wakes up mind” by creating an atmosphere of inquisitive exploration in the school and community. He also uses that which is directly available to the school, a professional performance of the “aptness to teach.”

Above all, Page constructs the teacher as unlike any other professional in that he or she has a spiritual calling, and as such, he or she “seeks not alone pecuniary emolument, but desires to be in the highest degree useful to those who are to be taught.” Page documents improvements in teacher pay over the last several years and sets out the actions required to further demonstrate to the taxpayer the value of state-supported teacher education, actions incumbent on the teachers themselves (48). He commiserates with women teachers who must spend more on their clothing because “in order to be more respectable, [she] “must be much more expensively dressed than the domestic in the family where she boards” and must “consume most of her receipts upon her wardrobe” (Page 335). However, he returns again and again to the idea of the true spirit of the teacher as one that “looks upon gold as the contemptible dross of earth, when compared with that imperishable gem which is to be polished and brought out into heaven’s light to shine forever” (31). It is this spirit that will “recognize and reverence the handiwork of God in every child . . . and without it the highest talent cannot make him truly excellent in his profession” (32). Page lists the rewards of teaching as intellectual growth, moral growth, the reward of seeing improvement in the teacher’s art and in his or her pupils, the

reward of being remembered kindly by the community, and “the consciousness of being engaged in a useful and honorable calling” (336-40).

Of course, Page is not alone in representing the figure of the teacher as somehow above other professionals in his or her closeness to the Divine and thus compensated in ways other than money. Essentializing the teacher in this fashion was one of the means by which early common school advocates overcame objections to women teachers. Horace Mann called for school officials to recognize the “superior” quality of women as teachers based on their innate and “obvious, constitutional difference of temperament” and to allow women to take their places in this new “serene and blessed sphere of duty” in the school (74; emphasis original). That women would receive less pay was understood.²⁰ It is not overly cynical to see how praising the true calling of teachers and their inherent, almost ministerial role in the society deflects the profession from requiring adequate pay, since to cavil about the “earthly dross” of money in the presence of the “handiwork of God in every child” would be distasteful. Page’s popularity across time may well be as result of his usefulness to literacy sponsors unable or unwilling to pay teachers adequately rather than as a result of his guides and suggestions for teachers. Nevertheless, Page’s teacher is at least admirable in his or her intellectual accomplishments and in his or her limited autonomy in the classroom setting.

While as discussed above, there are scores of popular books on normal education during the period under study, the representations in the three texts discussed here make it possible to see the normal school teacher or Pedagogue as a paragon of virtue, a

²⁰ Common School reformers Catherine Beecher and Horace Mann and others supported their employment of women teachers with “a rationale of frugality,” since women could afford to teach for less since they supported only themselves (Grumet 38-9).

practical problem solver, and a would-be philosopher. These popular texts, like those textbooks chosen and discarded at Tuskegee or even the custom created handbook for practice teachers at Florence, are not physically present in the archives. Nevertheless, they are as important to the constructed literacy context as the very specific records in the form of catalogues, alumni records, and minutes from administrators. Popular texts in education may suggest intellectual trends, but they also function like literary texts to reveal the residual, dominant, and emergent structures of feeling in the culture, to use Raymond Williams's terminology, and local texts and artifacts provide examples of each. The residual language of eighteenth-century mental and moral philosophy and faculty psychology is present throughout even as Froebelian and Herbartian theories of childhood development create terms such as *self-activity* and *development* for use as categories of criticism in evaluating student teachers (Critic Teacher's Notebook 1904-5 n pag). Detailed records for G. Stanley Hall's project in child study are kept at Tuskegee even as the preeminent authority on normal education at the Peabody College for Teachers says pedagogy has long known what Hall purports to discover (*Tuskegee Catalogue* 1901-2; Payne 105). Language in turn-of-the-century catalogues at Florence explains that students create and carry out original research into physiological and psychological aspects of teaching even as the new head of the renamed Pedagogy and Methods Department, Miss Franc Witter, rejects some of the so-called 'new methods,' which she claims are "as old as Plato and Socrates and Aristotle" (*Twenty-seventh and Twenty-eighth Annual Catalogues*). The pedagogue as paragon, problem-solver, and philosopher as represented in normal school texts was an active agent and was evolving, albeit slowly, in a changing literacy environment.

Books on pedagogy and school catalogues alike say little about issues of race during this period, even as the rest of the nation speaks of little else. Even the catalogues at Tuskegee say little beyond justifying industrial requirements, at least until 1896 when industrialism is given center stage by literacy sponsors. At Florence the topic of race is entirely absent in that same way Toni Morrison describes “the significant and underscored omissions” of African Americans in the body of American literature (6). In all the materials examined from Florence there were two mentions of African Americans, and these were tangential in nature. One was a prompt for descriptive writing which featured a “Negro” child en route to a fishing hole, a suggested assignment in Van Wie’s second textbook, *Methods in the Common Branches*. In the *Twenty-third Annual Catalogue* for Florence, a lecture course is announced featuring Thomas Nelson Page, a writer of idealized plantation stories that include popularized notions of African American dialect. Obviously these mentions are connected to stereotypical representations; it is possible that to expect otherwise is to exhibit a presentist lack of understanding. Similarly there is little discussion of gender, unless distinction is made in the requirements for teaching physical activities. Of course, separate curricula are a given, but they are not rationalized or even addressed then they are listed. It is reasonable to assume that the topics of race and gender simply do not arise in an educational setting, certainly not in the texts from the early half of the century. Even so, as noted above and as chapter three will demonstrate, certain pedagogies, especially those related to literacies—will become problematic for the dominant classes when students and teachers from marginalized groups are concerned.

Finally, there is another group of texts indispensable to understanding the role of literacy in the rise and fall of normal schools like Tuskegee and Florence, that of the texts and the partial biographies of individual literacy workers. In one sense, archival study is the recovery of voices that have been rendered silent by circumstance. Feminist historiography, particularly in the service of the history of rhetoric, has shown the way to recovering voices and to restoring them to a more complete accounting of tradition. For the last twenty-five years, scholars in the history of rhetoric and composition have sought out primary sources for understanding the role of women and other traditionally marginalized social groups in these fields, including not just the “civic, agonistic discourse” dominated in received history by men, but also the rhetorical practices of women in “social space, rather than private or public space (Enos 65; Royster and Kirsch 101).²¹ For this project, three single texts by students preserved in the June Waites collection at Florence were examined. Two were Senior Essay contest winners and the third a class prophecy. Written as occasional pieces, these essays can be analyzed both rhetorically and as “acts of literacy . . . identifiable as subjective [because] language use even in a singular set of hands is still a cultural production, subject to the constraints of the sociopolitical arenas in which such use acquires meaning and purpose” (Royster 42). The following chapter takes one of those texts—a class prophecy from 1890—and examines the way in which the young woman’s humorous performance of “normal school graduate” reveals not just the constraints of sociopolitical arenas but also possible resistances to those constraints. Attention to Moore’s prophecy *in situ*, to use a term from archaeology, reveals articulations to state, regional, and national forces for changes in the

²¹ While such studies are too numerous to mention, those by articles by Fitzgerald and Rothermel and books by Royster, Carr, Gere, and Schultz provide a good set of examples with which to begin.

control of education, as well as articulations to the gender and class ideologies of an evolving industrial and imperial dominance in the South and across the US.

PROPHECY OF CHANGE: A NINETEENTH-CENTURY

NORMAL SCHOOL SENIOR ESSAY

Janie Moore's 1890 senior essay titled "Class Prophecy" is preserved in the archives at Collier Library on the campus of the University of North Alabama, formerly the State Normal School in Florence, Alabama. On 30 yellowed 6" by 8" leaves of lined paper, the author has written on one side in a rather bold hand, though the lines of ink from the pen are thin and faded at some margins. The brittle pages are identified only by the initials "J.W.L." on the reverse of the final page, initials that reflect Moore's married name. How this text came to be in the archive of the State Normal School's collection is unknown—there are few examples of student writing in the archives—but the presence of the names of classmates make it possible to identify the writer and her graduating class through the school's annual catalogue and the alumni society's publication thirty years hence (*Eighteenth Annual Catalogue* 32, "Register of Graduates" 5). The context makes it clear that the eighteen-year-old Moore has been chosen to write the class prophecy for the graduation ceremonies soon to come.

Moore's imaginary future twenty years after graduation is revealed to her by a pair of magic blue goggles.²² In the world of 1910 these magic goggles reveal, almost all of the women in the class of 1890 are working outside their homes, even those who are married, although that was unusual for women in this social class. Several of Moore's classmates, male and female, are professors, but none work in the common schools, the

²² Moore's source of blue goggles for a fortune-telling role may be a character who pretends to be a fortune teller in Mark Twain's short story "The Dying Man's Confession," which was published in 1884 in his collection, *Life on the Mississippi*. Twain is mentioned later in Moore's essay.

vocation for which the normal school education ostensibly prepared them. Suffrage for women is assumed in this future time. Although women in Alabama do not get the vote until 1919, almost a decade after the future world in Moore's prophecy, in her story women are not only voting but holding political office as well; among her classmates is a candidate for the "Governess of Alabama" and the new "Educational Commissioner to the Alaska territory," appointed to that job by the vice-president of the US Frances Willard, the important suffrage and temperance leader, who in Moore's future was elected to national office in 1904 (10). Not one of the women is described as an angel in the house nor does there seem as clear a separation of the spheres of work and influence as one might expect in a late Victorian text, even a satirical one. In fact, home management is mentioned only in reference to three friends who have put their "principals of pedagogy" to use on their husbands and households so they can attend women's committee meetings, a circumstance explored in more detail later in the chapter (19). Moore's male classmates are also pictured in some unexpected roles, since most men attending normal school were sons of laborers, farmers, and small-town merchants, not just in Alabama but across the US (Gold 122; Ogren 4, 56). One of Moore's male classmates is the rector of a cathedral, another is an internationally known artist, and another is so well-known for his humorous writing that his fame eclipses that of Mark Twain. Moore's essay is a surprise in its context. What do we make of this prophecy as a significant text produced in an institution that was created to control social change by educating the children of working class families aspiring to move up into the middle class and middle-class families hoping to secure their places in society for their children?

Normal schools in the late nineteenth century would logically be considered conservative by most researchers, but Moore's prophecy seems to explore controversial areas.

Moore's prophecy is the only example of any senior essay from the twenty members of the graduating class of 1890 in the Collier Library Archives' University and June Waites Collections. There are, in fact, only a few other samples of student or teacher writing from any of the early class groups still available to contemporary researchers, including several senior essays from later years, commencement programs, student teacher critiques recorded by faculty in the model school, and a small number of articles and brief notes in a student-run periodical published for three years. Any of Moore's later writings, if they exist, are so far inaccessible. Nevertheless, Moore's essay exists in a matrix of other texts and traces of social and political histories; it is possible to see Moore's prophecy not just as an isolated artifact but as a useful starting point for reconstructing the literacy context that existed at Florence when the class of 1890 passed through the gates of the school. This chapter argues that the State Normal College at Florence during the late 1880s and -90s was a place where literacy instruction conferred new forms of agency, real and imagined. What is evident is an external imperative to control literacy, not just to withhold it or to make it available, but also to privilege certain ideological views of learning, of students, and of the purposes of schooling. However, the lack of recorded history and the retrenchments in opportunity that took place in the early twentieth century should not obscure the fact that normal school at Florence in the 1880s and 90s was a site of emergent social change for both its female and male students.

The researcher might easily skip over this brief text in its apparent isolation, recognizing the prophecy genre as one associated with yearbooks and class day

celebrations rather than serious applications of rhetorical strategy or evidence of composition pedagogy. Moreover, this prophecy has a humorous intent made clear early on by the preposterous voice of Moore's "blue goggles," and since analyzing humor can be challenging, particularly when there is distance in time, the researcher may not see the usefulness of Moore's prophecy. Moore may be lampooning her classmates cum reformers and national leaders because the real hierarchy of culture provides a contrast that creates humor in its extremity (Bakhtin 403). Perhaps she is motivated to speak ironically or use hyperbole to surprise and amuse her friends and teachers or to use her wit to revenge some earlier slights, although her characterization is, overall, rather mild. She sees no criminal futures, no scandals, or failures for her classmates. If she is serious about her satire and hopes it will be corrective, she cloaks her concerns and desires in light-hearted language. Moore's contemporaries would have insights in the individual personalities depicted and might even have been present in a classroom or social setting when the seeds for an imagined future for the class clown or the shy young women were planted, insights that readers from today can only surmise. However, contemporary readers need not understand Moore's intent or each jibe and joke to find her essay useful and entertaining; they need only consider how prominent the ideas expressed in the prophecy must have been and how the literary context of the normal school at Florence can be discerned in the text. Moore expected her classmates to recognize the various settings and contrived situations of her short narratives, so the topics had to have been part of the context of daily life and language at the normal school. However we receive the humor in Moore's prophecy, the topics are revealing.

MOORE'S PROPHECY: ONE WRITER "AT SCHOOL"

Janie Moore was born about 1870 to Lewis Capit Moore, a farmer who lived in the Mars Hill community near Florence, and his wife, Martha Price, who is listed as "keeping house" (Moore, Rosa Jane; US Federal Census 1880).²³ Lewis Moore owned land, possibly part of his father's large holdings, but his assets listed in the census do not indicate wealth. Both Janie Moore's parents and grandparents are listed on the Federal Census as literate, and Janie Moore and her six siblings are listed as being "at school" in some census years during their childhoods. This information may be significant because school attendance was not compulsory, but it is also possible that they were taught at home as well. It is likely that her family would have been a literacy sponsor in her young life. Census listings of literacy, it should be noted, are self-reported and may only indicate basic skills. The fact that Janie and her siblings attended school somewhere at least part of the time and at that at least one younger sister and one younger brother also attended Florence indicates that the family valued schooling and that within their own community, the children had some opportunities for common school education (Moore, Rosa Jane; US Federal Census 1890; various *Annual Catalogs of the State Normal School*).

Moore probably enrolled at Florence in 1885 or 1886. Her younger sister joined her at the school in Moore's last year, perhaps boarding at the same home, since the school had no dormitories for men or women until 1913 (*Seventeenth Annual Catalog* 19, *A Brief Look* 9). At 15 or 16, Moore would not have been the youngest in the class. At

²³ References to US Federal Census, state marriage, and state death records are given in their entirety in the Works Cited section.

least three of her classmates were born in 1872 or 1873 and may have had to join the class cohort in the second or third year when they had demonstrated sufficient knowledge in the common branches and in basic school management²⁴ (*Seventeenth Annual Catalogue* 1889-90). Several of her classmates were older. At least three of the men in the class and at least two women were 22 years old when they completed the course of study. Like normal schools all over the US, Florence served various levels of students, including many who were already teaching or who had taught when they were as young as 15 and who were returning to become better teachers or perhaps more competitive in the job market with the acquisition of teaching certification. One of Moore's classmates, Annie Lou McIntyre, was already a teacher in Lowndes County when she joined the professional class at Florence for one year, after which she returned to teaching (*Eighteenth Annual Catalog 10, Esto Luxe*).

In fact, it is possible that Janie Moore spent as little as a year at Florence if she had already been teaching in her home community at Mars Hill, but it is unlikely, since she was young. One source says that Moore *returned* to teach at her Mars Hill community school after graduation, but is not clear if she left that school as a student or as a teacher ("*Lucas 12*"). At many normal schools across the US, students could enroll for as little as a term in order to prepare for a certificate by testing or to improve their skills at school management and teaching (Ogren 20). When Moore came to Florence, the other normal schools in Alabama were moving away from such practices, however. Teachers who received certificates and who were listed in the several annual catalogs each year had to remain in school for at least two terms. Instead of encouraging teachers

²⁴ Jones, Ellen; *Alabama Marriage Records 1816-1957*: McIntyre, Annie Lou; US Federal Census 1880: Conner, Joseph; US Federal Census 1880.

to enroll for shorter periods, Florence turned to a form of outreach traditional to the northeastern normal schools by holding summer schools and institutes or brief meetings for teachers desiring to improve professional skills (Curry, 272).²⁵ Students who came to the campus to study for complete teacher certification spent one to three years in what was called the elementary course and in the mid-1880s, a fourth year was added, which will be discussed below (*Annual Reports of the State Normal College* 6; Ogren 88). So it is likely that Moore was a student for three or possibly four years, as is evidenced by references to her “Senior” year in her essay and to the appearance of her name on a list of 20 students recommended to the college’s board of directors as having completed the advanced course and as being recommended for a life state certificate to teach (*Annual Reports of the State Normal College* 7).

When Moore applied to Florence, in addition to a minimum age of 15, young men and women entering the school had to possess a reputation for good character and sober behavior, as well as good health (*Seventeenth Annual Catalog* 20). A high school diploma, largely unavailable at this time in Alabama, or other proof of schooling was not yet required—Florence would require high school diplomas beginning in 1925—but the student had to demonstrate a sufficient knowledge of the common branches to pass “a satisfactory examination in reading, spelling, writing, arithmetic, geography, and

²⁵ Many more teachers had access to these short term opportunities for training either at Florence and Tuskegee or at institutes held in counties across the state. For example, one summer institute at Florence drew so many teacher-students that a tent village grew up on the campus to house the male participants (Brief History 12). Moreover, normal school students and their teachers often conducted institutes and graduates of both Tuskegee and Florence who became principals and administrators were often called on to convene short-term teacher education meetings. More research is needed to determine the extent of normal school involvement in what could be called in-service education for teachers.

grammar” (Ogren 77). These rules had been in place since the state charter for the Florence in 1873 and were similar to rules at the other state normal schools in the state and, in fact, across the US (Ogren 77). The examination questions for admission would be published in annual catalogs after 1900, but during the first two decades of the school, students in Alabama like those in many other states could depend on popular textbooks published for home study or “self-improvement,” the titles of which would likely be known to teachers in local schools or often advertised in periodicals (Carr 5).

Whatever the level of preparation a student demonstrated, decisions about who would be admitted and at what level of study were made by normal school faculty and it was unlikely that a sincere student would be turned away. Especially in their first two decades in existence, normal schools worked hard to draw students in by having flexible admission requirements and by providing access to financial assistance. Like state normal schools all over the US during this period, Florence selected students to receive scholarships from philanthropic organizations; in the Southeast for white students, funds came from the PEF Foundation, which provided as many as 16 scholarships each year, or from the state legislature, whose elected members could provide money for one or two students from their districts yearly. Students had only to submit a letter from a county or city superintendent of education to the President of the school attesting to their potential as public school teachers to be considered (Burlison 16, *Seventeenth Annual Catalog* 20). These scholarships were used to defray the cost of boarding and travel, since Florence waived tuition charges for students who agreed to teach in the public schools of the state for two years at whatever salary the local school board paid. Such practices for attracting students were common across the state and the nation in the 1870s and into the twentieth

century and were partly responsible for the nation-wide increase in the number of successful normal schools during those decades (Ogren 19). However, where Florence is concerned, the low cost and ease of admission highlight further aspects of that school's history, both of which were relevant to Janie Moore in the second half of the 1880s and which are relevant to the contemporary researcher of literacy. As the oldest child of six, Moore's opportunity to attend Florence had economic and social significance.

As discussed in the introduction, normal schools provided some of the first opportunities for women from working- or middle-class families to have secondary schooling or career opportunities. Whatever the economic or class status of her grandfather, Moore's father was a farmer and her brother continued in that tradition (Moore, Albert; USF Census 1910). Moore and her sisters had few options for careers outside of marriage. Census records for the communities from which Janie and her classmates came for the years 1880, 1900, and 1920 use the term "keeping house" if any notation is made under occupation, while unmarried daughters, even of adult age, often have no occupation listed. Occasionally a woman is listed as a dressmaker or a milliner, but by far the most common occupation listed in the census records for the Alabama communities from which the students in Janie Moore's class came is "public school teacher."²⁶

²⁶ This claim is based on a survey of the census records from 1880 through 1930 only in those communities where it is possible to locate one of the twenty members of the State Normal School at Florence Class of 1890. The large numbers of young women who taught school before marriage is noted in other sources, including Ogren and Cremin. However, such evidence does not represent the total population, even of northern Alabama. In African American census communities, women are often listed as cooks, laborers, laundry workers, and by the 1890's, as teachers. Given logical consideration, it is also possible to assert that many women in the homes of sharecropper families, black and white, and in the increasing numbers of mill villages, also worked yet either their husbands or fathers did not list their occupations with the census enumerator or they were missed completely.

The role of teacher is not only available to women in the 1880s in the Southeast, it was also an acceptable role for an unmarried woman and as such, was a route to middle-class standing. Perhaps that is one reason Moore's prophecy strikes even the researcher familiar with normal schools as odd; none of her classmates are teachers, at least at the common school level, in the future she predicts. As noted above, almost all of the women in the class of 1890 are working outside their homes and several hold jobs still considered man's work. Both the women and the men in Moore's prophecy who are associated with education as a career are college professors. But as interesting as these portrayals are, Moore's representations of gender begin even before we meet any of her classmates from the future. The ways in which Moore's persona speaks of gender reveals conflicts in identity that relate to very specific aspects of the literary context at Florence in the 1880s and 1890s.

GENDER IN THE CONTEXT OF MOORE'S PROPHECY

Like any prophecy, Moore's text is much more about understanding the present than about predicting the future. Moore's essay attests to the manner in which women at normal schools were given some of the first opportunities for independent careers through specific literate practices, but it also reveals conflicts between hegemonic understandings of the roles of women and challenges to those roles. Gender and writing are clearly and problematically connected in Moore's prophecy.

In her first paragraphs when Moore relates how she and her classmates are summoned before faculty to receive their senior essay assignments, she links gender to

writing. Moore's identification as a writer—to imitate her language, a “Writer with a capital W”—is tenuous from the beginning. She first challenges the “little boys” who may think she is “cheeky” for wanting to write an “Essay with a capital E” (2). For Moore, the essay is part of a world of “intrancing (sic) visions of white ribbons, black coats, muslin frills, spectacled divines, bald headed directors, flowers, smiles, palpitations,” as she envisions the commencement celebrations (3). Initially confident that she can take part as a writer in such visions, with their mixture of gendered terms for surface characteristics, she describes the Diplomas, “also spelled with a capital,” as looking like pancakes tied with blue ribbon the way “an aesthetic house wife” might present them (3). Here she seems to draw from both identities, the writer and the accomplished home maker, but she soon realigns herself as someone who is, after all, not able to write.

Moore excuses herself from explaining all the ways she tried to begin her essay in the interest of protecting her audience, saying it would not be appropriate at a celebration to “harrow[] up your souls with my desperate and absolutely futile attempts to discover some ideas in my own head” (4). “I knew that ideas were plentiful,” she continues, saying “I suppose [that] was the reason that I had so rashly aspired to become an essayist; but it came to me like a revelation that with ‘ideas, ideas every where (sic),’ I’d none to write” (5). Moore solves the problem of being both a female and a writer by putting away the instruments of writing and simultaneously creating a “voice” to speak for her. “I collapsed, *wiped my pen, shut up my writing pad,*” she relates, and “was just preparing for a big cry when my blue goggles spoke to me (5; emphasis added). Moore distances

herself from the world of masculine academic achievement that writing an essay implies, then immediately questions the need to do so in her next few lines.

Moore warns her audience not to “look astonished and incredulous” at a woman who is speaking to the future through magic goggles. “If I am not equal to the task of evolving ideas,” she claims, “I suppose I can be trusted to tell exactly what really transpired” (5). The manner in which her language opposes the creation of new thought (“evolving ideas”) to the repetition of cultural materials from the past (“what ... transpired”) accurately sums up an important part of the nineteenth-century debate about women as intellectuals and as rhetors. In the ideology of separate spheres, women were not considered original thinkers, but as imitators and ideally as conveyors of morality. That same tension becomes evident at Florence in something as slight as Moore’s class prophecy. If her audience doubts her account, she rather mockingly warns, they must recall that the ability to convey morality is granted to women. “I didn’t make this up,” she seems to say; “I am just telling the story.” Given this complex tension, it should not surprise the reader that the magic blue goggles, which are never referred to with a gendered pronoun, suggest that Moore is off track in wanting to write about “Pestalozzi, concepts, serebrations (sic), development, nature,” all topics she would have encountered in her methods or pedagogy classes and in which she would have expertise (6). But neither do these talking eyepieces tell Moore to stay with more traditional topics, suggesting in what Moore describes as a “sarcastic” manner that she should ask her teachers to let her write about “Women’s Sphere” or “Gather ye Rosebuds while ye may”

and then laughing at the “schoolgirl trying to perpetrate an essay” (6-7)²⁷. Moore, through the voice of the blue goggles, rejects both the voice the teacher empowered by her education and the voice of the properly feminine student performing traditional values. Either of these alternatives would seem a logical approach and would “fit” into her—and more importantly into her audience’s—worldview comfortably. Instead, she elects to create a vision of a future that includes both female and male accomplishment across the *fin de siècle*. Gender is important in understanding this particular artifact, but there is something more going on here that can best be understood with reference to the literacy context, both by the language Moore uses and by the language of official texts.

The achievements of her classmates as described by Moore are unlikely, but they could not be called bizarre or outrageous; as noted above, the individual predictions are not mean-spirited or scandalous. Class prophecies published at other normal schools during this same time period are often “facetious,” but they also indicate “support for female autonomy, as well as the comfort [classmates] felt in addressing and perhaps joking about gender issues” (Ogren 179).²⁸ This attitude is apparent in Moore’s essay, since as we have seen, she invokes gender from the outset and in an often humorous manner. Moore’s future female governor, educational commissioner, and imaginary world-renowned missionary would have seemed unusual to her audience, as would the

²⁷ It is tempting to see Moore’s use of the verb “perpetrate” in the sense of committing a crime or an inept creative act as humorous or ironic and an example of her wit. The OED records such use in the late nineteenth century and earlier and even draws one example from Charlotte Brontë’s novel *Shirley*, in which the character of Sir Phillip convinces his rather untalented sisters to “perpetrate a duet.” While it is a pleasure to speculate on Moore’s exposure to such writings, even if her choice of the word represents the more straightforward use of the verb, she is characterizing her act of writing an essay (or making a speech) as transgressive behavior from a woman.

²⁸ Christine Ogren does not refer to Moore’s “Class Prophecy” in her discussion of Florence as a state normal school. It is possible that the essay was not included in the collection during the early 2000’s when Ogren visited the Collier Library at the University of North Alabama. The exact provenance of Moore’s essay is unknown.

male classmate whose international diplomacy is rewarded by the British nation with a bride of noble birth. But there are also references in Moore's essay that reflect the standard views of her classmates toward gender, references that would likely go unnoticed when the text was presented aloud in the commencement celebration but which today's readers notice. For example, the marital status of all twelve of the female classmates is remarked upon prominently in their predictions, but is ignored in most of the men's. Marital status goes unremarked for five of the eight male classmates, even as their illustrious careers are described. Of the remaining three, one male classmate remains a "sickening old bachelor," and two are married. Of the two male classmates who are labeled as married, one is a doctor who is assisted in his profession by his wife and the other—the diplomat mentioned above—is married to the daughter of an English earl as a reward for service to queen and country (21, 18). Men, since they are unmarked in gender, may or may not be categorized by marital status; however, if they are noted in that regard, their marital status is not a mere aside but is somehow significant. Among the twelve female classmates, six of the women are married and six are single. Some married female classmates are characterized as having "renounced" their "maiden" name or broken a vow and thus failed to become "shining pedagogical light[s]," while single women, with one exception, are described as famous, accomplished, even "distinguished" in their career fields (12, 18, 24). No woman is predicted to have married while she continued to teach; a career in the field of education, "the grand and noble cause," precludes any other life choice. This is not surprising, since there were cultural prohibitions against women continuing to work after marriage, and while the normal

schools provided some of the earliest opportunities for women to continue in the workplace after marriage, it was unusual (Ogren 194).

PUBLIC SPEAKING AND RHETORICAL PROWESS

In the imagined future Moore creates, the ability to speak before a classroom or an auditorium is important. Three of the women in the class have used their speaking skills along with the knowledge of planning lessons, directing classes, and administering the business of school-keeping. Annie Dove Whitman is president of a normal college at Anniston, Alabama, Josie Reid has been an assistant professor in an unspecified field at a seminary and has recently been made principal at “one of the national schools in Washington,” and Anna Gregory is a professor of science at the University of Kentucky. Moore’s choice of the University of Kentucky for Gregory may reveal how well she knew her classmates’ backgrounds, since Gregory’s mother was born in Kentucky. The presence of women on the normal school faculty would not have been strange to Moore and her peers, since there were at least two women teaching in the “common branches” or the elementary school curriculum at Florence during the years Moore was there. It is unusual that Moore predicts a faculty position in science rather than in education for Anna Gregory and at a University rather than a normal college. Moore’s classmates may have shared a bit of humor if Gregory was particularly inept in science classes or was so shy that it was unlikely she would ever be able to profess science. More importantly, the idea of a classmate teaching at a university in a field usually associated with males could be an indication that roles for women were actually expected to change.

The imaginary political appointment by the national vice president of one of Moore's classmates to the position of the Educational Commissioner of the new territory of Alaska is another indication of imagined change; Moore seems to assume the extension of suffrage to women or to ridicule it, if she is using irony. Moore reports that classmate Rosa Knox was honored by the appointment and "rejoices . . . that she espoused the woman's suffrage movement because she feels that life is filled as it might never have been in the old days" (12). In her prophecy, Moore is off by nine years for women's suffrage in Alabama, and while this prediction may strain credulity in the realistic sense, it is useful to note that women's elevations to positions of power are linked to education, rhetoric, and as we will see, to domesticity, even in this bantering text. It is almost as if it is impossible to imagine, even for amusing effect, women in fields unrelated to school, home, and literacy—almost, but not quite. Of course, Moore and her classmates are studying to be teachers; nevertheless, we might expect to see other occupations, even if the idea of a woman in a career is still rather new, especially in the more traditional South.

One young woman is an interesting reflection of the familiar pattern for women—teaching after normal school for several years before marriage—and an exception to that pattern. Annie Worthington "spent[] five years in teaching school [and then] she became the happy bride of an old widower with twelve sons and a daughter, and is now candidate for Governess of Alabama," Moore reports (21). In this prophecy item, Moore describes the future Worthington as "still devoted to the uplifting of her native state" and "strong in the belief of womans (sic) power" (22). Moore includes the information that Worthington has also proved a talented stepmother, adding that the reward will be guaranteed votes

from her stepchildren and their numerous spouses and sweethearts. In one way, Worthington is a recognizable predecessor to the “have-it-all” superwoman of the late twentieth-century, though the humor rests in the parody of woman as mother and reformer, a trope used several times in the prophecy. The presence of the language of uplift and women’s power is revealing and points to the earlier discussion of the proper rhetorical space for women of virtue. The idealized version of power in political life is the ability to speak and write, power associated with education as virtue. This connection is made again and again in Moore’s prophecy, here in a teacher- mother- maternal leader triangle. In the following prophecy for Mollie White, the connections include religion, virtue, education, and even empire.

Moore’s prophecy for Mollie White places her in Africa as “our missionary;” a phrase that resonates with the ideas of reform and empire alongside, it turns out, the terror of public speaking (26). Moore reveals that, “as a school girl, though . . . intelligent and thorough,” White was at first “too timid to walk across the chapel stage” to speak (26). Just as Moore’s persona struggles with the essay, Molly has had to overcome shyness to be of service in her imaginary role. Again the shared experience is invoked to remind the audience of classmates, teachers, and families of the difficulties faced by the students who were required on a regular basis to speak before the entire student body. During the last two decades of the nineteenth, students at Florence were expected to make one “speech, declamation, or oration” in the chapel each term and were required both to compose and speak as part of the requirements in a term of formal study of Rhetoric as part of the required three terms for English composition. Classes in “Elocution” were added for the years 1887-88 (various *Annual Catalogues*). Notebooks

kept by critic teachers—the faculty members who observed the students in their practice teaching—often document clear speech, expressive presentation, or failure to use standard English. For classmate Loula Agee, whom Moore describes as the “the bright and cheerful schoolgirl [who] used to try to display her elocutionary talent,” standing before an audience has lead her to become “one of the most distinguished elocutionists and actresses on the continent” (24). Moore’s prophecy suggests not all students enjoyed a chance to stand up and speak or conquered their discomfort. Classmate Webster Duncan, is imagined as the future proprietor of a gymnasium near a western university, which Moore says is a good career choice, readers are told, in light of his recent “oratorical performances” and his interest in athletics (26).

Although Moore gives White the title of “missionary,” and portrays her as a capable speaker and teacher, she gives no other indication that there is a religious component to White’s work. Instead, she says that White learned best how to be a missionary in the “the hard lessons learned while under the teaching of Professor Van Wie,” the pedagogy professor at Florence, and that she “not infrequently gets advice from this great educator” (27). Otherwise, we learn only that White’s work takes place in the “field so long ago opened by Mr. Stanley,” a reference to the journalist and imperialist explorer whose controversial expeditions on the continent of Africa were published widely in the US in the last quarter of the nineteenth century (Driver 4). It would appear that Moore is confusing or conflating Stanley with David Livingstone, the Scottish missionary Stanley was famously known to rescue. However, it is interesting to note that in his book for normal students at Florence, Van Wie uses the subject of Stanley’s explorations to illustrate how a teacher may use newspapers, periodicals, and other forms

of reading to teach geography (Van Wie, *Methods* 166). Mollie White is represented as a single woman using her normal school education to work in Africa for a vague religious purpose. Here religion and woman's virtue and education are linked, though the idea of home and of the maternal are not present. Religion as a career field also shows up in the prophecies for two of the eight men in the class of 1890.

Moore uses her prophecy for James Morris to characterize—perhaps jokingly—men as “generally fickle and hard to get along with,” and predicts that Morris will fulfill his teaching requirement of a few years and then try a number of other careers until discovering a “thorough course in the Babtist (sic) University at Florence (24).” When Moore observes him in his future embodiment, he “has just returned home with an A. M. attached to his name,” finding his calling through more education for religious service. Another classmate, Theodore Bliss, found his religious career shortly after leaving Florence, Moore says, “combining his well-known love for oratory” and a “sincere liking for the ‘fellows’ cap and gown” at Sewanee (10). Bliss has gone from this “school of the theologues (sic)” to a position as the “rector of the magnificent church at Riverton,” in 1890, a small Alabama town near Florence (10). Moore's use of the rather archaic term “theologues” is of interest in light of the next prophecy for male classmates, whom she calls *pedogogues* (sic) (10, 18). Evidence of several erasures of the word is clear on the manuscript and reflects her indecision about the word, which is usually spelled *pedagogues*. The version of spelling she leaves is analogous to the earlier term “theologues” or more commonly, theologians, those students of holy texts. Moore may simply be using this as an aid to her spelling, but it is significant, whether of comical

intent or not—that the literate practices of the normal school are linked by Moore to the most sacred of activities.

The two classmates Moore labels former “pedagogues” have become celebrated humorists, one a writer and the other an illustrator of that writing. Moore calls on her classmates to remember Charles Mitchell and Joseph Conners and the way “these two mirth manufacturers . . . played off on their associates in the old school days—seeming always as sedate as two cut and dried pedagogues” (sic) (16-7). Moore accuses Mitchell and Conners of “storing up material” from their shared school days and then using it for fame and fortune (18). So popular is this comedic duo, according to Moore, that Mark Twain and two other popular humorists “retired simultaneously” after reading Mitchell’s work and seeing the accompanying illustrations by Conners (18). Of Mitchell, Moore warns her classmates that his “reserve force” is kept in check and that he as “never dared to be as funny as he can be out of consideration for a public made of flesh and bone instead of steel (17). Moore’s predictions for these classmates involve prodigious language abilities exercised in public and resulting in acclaim, abilities that originate in their shared normal school experience.

The remaining young men in the class are Robert Prince, who has become a doctor, William Gregory, brother of Anna and elsewhere described as a “sickening old bachelor” and Webster Duncan, who as noted above, runs a gymnasium in a western university (26, 27). Duncan is the only male classmate whose career even approaches an academic setting. Gregory has become a farmer, although as Moore adds in her prophecy, he chose that life after he inherited a fortune from the English side of his family (27). While the imagined careers of the female classmates tend to place them in roles related

either to education or to reform, a pattern that both reflects change in the lives of women and yet contains or limits that change to areas of approved endeavors, the careers of the men tend to indicate possibilities for class mobility, and in fact, both of those conditions can be associated with normal school educations during this period, both at Florence and across the US.

LITERACIES AND SMILING WOMEN IN PUBLIC

There is one final gendered category, that of four women who are married but who also have either a career or who take part in reform activities. These four women use literate practices associated with their normal school education in their adult lives in ways that are fundamentally different from those of their peers. The first of these four classmates is Ellen Jones, who, Moore tell us, has “departed from that grand and noble cause” of teaching to become the “wife and assistant partner of one of the most renowned lawyers in [Southern Florida]” (25). Jones’s prophecy is interesting for three reasons. First, her situation points to the importance of marriage as the single most common way for women in the nineteenth century to achieve a more economically secure social standing. The normal school generally was an important location where working class women could acquire the social capital associated with literacy as well as meet mates who would be taking up middle-class occupations, either in the field of education, or as in the case of many male normal school students, who might continue their education

after fulfilling their teaching obligations (Ogren 192). Nor was marriage exactly discouraged by the official policies of the normal school, at least at Florence, but was, instead, an accepted outcome after teaching obligations were completed. In a section on the efficacy of the normal schools in Alabama in a report to the State Board of Education, the writer points out the fact that many of the women who complete their normal school education teach for three, four, or even five years beyond their obligation “before marrying” and presumably leaving their jobs for domestic life (*Annual Report to the Superintendent of Education 1896*). For the class of 1890, single women as faculty members and teachers were becoming familiar, but there were still few married women working in public. It was much more common for women to stay at home after marriage, and of course, the onset of child-bearing in that context often precluded work outside the home, at least for middle-class white women.

Secondly and equally as important in the prophecy is that fact that Ellen Jones is imagined as actively involved in her husband’s law practice, albeit as an assistant. Language skills learned in her academic classes at Florence would have helped her in this work and Moore, herself a writer of at least adequate skills, either assumes her classmate would also be capable of assisting in a profession heavy in writing and language or, if she is parodying Jones as a scholar who is unsuited for this type of work, the prophecy at least points to a situation in which a woman using literacy skills to assist a spouse in his profession is possible and perhaps desirable. This presentation of a world with more equal opportunity for women and men to work together is present in other prophecies, too. One of the male classmates mentioned above, Robert Prince, has become a doctor and “is assisted by his [unnamed] wife Mrs. Dr. Prince,” who is his “patrimonial and

allopathic partner” and who uses her skills in “pedogogy” (sic) to organize their practice (21). Whatever their real or imagined careers beyond their schooling, Moore’s fancies about her classmates’ futures indicate that she believed their exposure to classroom instruction in writing, speaking, reading, and teaching—instruction linked both to the academic and to the professional education provided them at the normal school—would allow them more remunerative as well as more satisfying work.

There is a third reason Ellen Jones’s imaginary literacy narrative is of interest. Moore says Jones “is a lady who ‘keeps abreast with the times’ and who ‘corresponds extensively’ ” with other members of the class. Moore’s setting apart the phrase “keeps abreast with the times” probably indicates that the phrase is a familiar one among her audience members. Normal schools and colleges often encouraged students to be aware of current events through reading newspapers and magazines. At Florence, C. B. Van Wie, the Professor of Pedagogy from about 1885 until 1896, included in one of his miscellaneous essays for his normal students, remarks about the importance of the newspaper for the teacher, both in the classroom and as part of the “intellectual discipline” appropriate to the educator (*Methods* 184-5). Not only are newspapers useful for encouraging students to read regularly, Van Wie claims, they are also part of a teacher’s tools for fitting students for “complete living” in society (*Methods* 185). Van Wie illustrates again the assumed mastery of teachers in his instructions for teachers to “read different papers, to read between the lines, to read one paper that is unbiased and unprejudiced”²⁹ in order to point out to students the “editorials that are written hurriedly .

²⁹ The role of the newspaper and other popular periodicals, as reflected in Van Wie’s optimistic assessment, is a potential area for investigating literacy contexts in the normal schools. Teachers were encouraged to use newspapers in the classroom and school and college catalogs noted the presence of

. . and are dogmatic,” as well as how newspaper writers “present[] views on important questions such as the tariff, intemperance, and election laws without research, proof or reason” (*Methods* 185). These passages illustrate the attitude of at least this one professor that the normal college graduate is equipped to interrogate and to interpret texts of public importance.

In addition to using newspapers in the classroom, male students in the literary societies at Florence published several issues of their own newspaper, *The Normal Gem*. The front page describes the publication as “A Monthly Journal, Devoted to the Interests of Education in Alabama” during the late 1880s when Moore and her classmates were at school (Ogren 143).³⁰ The *Gem* resembled a full-sized newspaper and included advertising for local business and for national educational publishers and producers of school equipment. Articles in an 1889 issue included “Methods of Recitations” and “Objects of Recitation” and a reprinted speech by the Alabama agent for the PEF (*Normal Gem* 2). In addition, there were brief articles about successful teacher institutes held in nearby towns and counties by students and faculty from Florence and even a brief note about socializing between male and female students (*Normal Gem* 3). Whatever Moore’s humorous intent in reporting Ellen Jones’s “keeping abreast with the times,” her audience may assume a graduate of the normal college is equipped for producing public

journals and newspapers in reading rooms. Normal schools advertised in local and state newspapers. Of course, newspapers influence public opinion concerning schools throughout the nineteenth century, with newspapers acting on a vested interest in producing a literate public with an appetite for the papers they produced (Stevens 3).

³⁰ Ogren implies that all three literary societies, discussed below, took part in the *Gem*, but only male students and several male faculty members are listed on the mast head of the paper. Articles are unsigned, or in a few cases are followed by initials that can be traced to a name on the mast head. If any of the women wrote articles, their names are omitted.

information as well as for the job of teaching students to seek out, interpret, and even question information reported in periodicals.

The remainder of the group of women of which Ellen Jones is a part can be discussed simultaneously. Moore's prophecy finds classmates Fanny Boyd, Emma Kelly, and Annie Lou McIntyre at a "rally of feminine politicians at Birmingham," where they are interviewed by a male classmate. The members of this "smiling trio," who had protested while they were in school that they would never marry, have done so. They defend themselves in their "failure to become shining pedagogical lights" by insisting that they have put the education to good use on their husbands, who remain at home. This passage would, no doubt, be amusing to Moore's audience in its reversal of gender roles and is worth reading in its entirety.

[The three women] declared that they were kept busy trying the principles of pedagogy on their husbands and said that they had left their house hold[s] with easy consciences [,] for they had so managed, systematized and methodized the usual state of affairs that their "good men" could carry on the household work with such ease and thoroughness that reflected just as much credit on the old normal pedagogics as fine teaching could do (19).

While humorous, this passage is also risky in its picturing classmates as future female reformers.

Moore's unrepentant representation of these married women at a political rally for unspecified but "feminine" reasons risks evoking images of the reformer or suffragette as

the “manly” wife and the neglectful parent, images common in newspapers, periodicals, and in popular literature in the post bellum period. However, these are not the “unnatural” or “mannish” women in newspaper cartoons, leaving behind them their husbands in aprons holding crying children, nor are they versions of Dickens’s Mrs. Jellyby, with their eyes on the needy inhabitants of the distant Borribooliga instead of on their own communities (Dickens 38). Their education in rhetoric and pedagogy has enabled these three women to keep their own homes running for the comfort of their families even as they take part in reform activities. Moore’s tongue-in-cheek portrayal of the interchangeability of pedagogy as a skill-set equally handy at school or at home may be intended to parody the seriousness of the subject’s teachers and students, but it certainly provides insight into her cohort’s shared understanding and shared questioning of gender roles in the larger cultural setting.

The model for the rally attended by the “feminine politicians” could be a rally for suffrage; another likely imagined cause could be temperance, but whatever the case, the three smiling women are up to something important, something that involves rhetorical performance in the service of women’s issues, performance their classmates would recognize, and performance for which their education has equipped them. A rally would call for speakers and, as established above, students at Florence were exposed to public rhetorical performance. Moore’s representation of a rally about women’s issues also represents the practices associated with student’s extracurricular literary societies. Like many normal schools across the US, students at Florence took part in these organizations modeled after the societies at colleges, academies, and even in cities. Students—initially only men—got together to discuss literature, to debate current issues, and to practice

parliamentary procedure, which was considered important to meetings in civil life (Gold 116, Ogren 109). It is hard to underestimate the importance of literary societies in normal schools; Ogren says these societies were “the most long-lived, popular, and far-reaching student organizations where students worked hardest to refine themselves” (108). At Florence, the two male literary societies, the La Fayette and the Dialectical, were both established in the 1830s among students in the all-male Methodist college that ultimately became the State Normal School at Florence. In the annual catalog from 1877, the following description indicates the literary societies’ importance: “The building in which the School is conducted—formerly the Florence Wesleyan University building—is a large and commodious one [including] six large Lecture rooms, . . . an excellent chapel—convenient for religious and other public exercises, and two elegant Halls for the use of the Literary Societies” (10). Six years later, the annual catalogue advertises the fact that the La Fayette and Dialectical societies have been reorganized and that they both have rooms of their own where they can meet and where their libraries are stored (*Tenth Annual Catalog* 8).

Although women were admitted to Florence in 1874, the first women’s literary society, named for Elizabeth Barrett Browning, was established during in 1888 while Moore and her classmates were at school; a second, the Dixie Literary Society, was formed in 1899 (*A Brief Look* 7).³¹ For the women at Florence in 1888, the significance of a female literary society was at least threefold. In the first place, there was no library at

³¹ Christine Ogren gives 1889 for both the Browning and the Dixie Literary Societies as the date of establishment, but the *A Brief Look* pamphlet gives the 1899 date for Dixie and neither the *Seventeenth* nor *Eighteenth Annual Catalogue* mentions the Dixie Literary Society, although the male societies and Browning are listed. A few pages of minutes for the Dixie group survive, primarily pertaining to poems by Sidney Lanier and to a study of Shakespeare’s *Macbeth* to be undertaken and several social occasions to be held, but there are no minutes or records for the Browning group in the archives.

the normal college other than those volumes held by the Dialectical and the La Fayette until at 1895, so access to books would have been, if not limited, certainly screened by male members of the societies, since women were not allowed in their meeting rooms (*A Brief Look* 7). It is reasonable to assume that the Browning Society allowed its members to have not only space to meet but also to store books and to share their own periodicals, newspapers, and even novels, a practice common in other normal schools (Ogren 109). And although members of the Browning Society were not allowed to hold joint discussions and debates with the male literary societies, simply having an official society, a standard meeting time, and space of their own would have allowed them to meet in order to practice using parliamentary procedure (Ogren 109). Whether or not the members of the class ever took part in the nascent woman's club movement or worked toward reform efforts related to suffrage, temperance, child labor, and other social issues, parliamentary procedure was used in educational settings. For example, an organization called the Alabama Teachers' Association met at Florence in 1884 to debate the practice of corporal punishment, the use of spelling books, and the best means of teaching long division; they conducted their discussions and business meetings using parliamentary form (*Proceedings of the Alabama Teachers' Association 1884*, 5, 9, 14). Even faculty meetings at Florence were conducted by parliamentary form, and the opportunity to learn these important patterns is reflected in the smiles of the three women attending the future political rally in Birmingham. Even if Moore represents the three as humorously transgressive characters or as players in an inside joke, their shared education makes it possible for their normal school audience to identify them as potentially successful participants in some civic or reform activity, using their skills of rhetoric and knowledge

of special protocol efficaciously. Contemporary readers can discern how these three women occupy both the center of normal school discourse as trained speakers and pedagogues and the margins of that discourse as women in places of potential social power.

A SECOND NARRATIVE

Moore's prophecy is a light-hearted example of a genre for memorializing a group of classmates. As such, it provides both a glimpse into the literacy context of the normal school at Florence as well as a group literacy narrative, albeit imaginative. It is useful, however, to consider what the literacy narratives of these individual students might reveal if it were possible to interrogate them over time. Limited information from alumni and census records provides some indication of the significance of normal school education in the lives of the class of 1890.

According to the *Eighteenth Annual Catalogue*, all the members of the class were teaching in their first year after graduation except for two women and one man. Records listed below show that several class members continued to teach for several years, including Moore, who taught at the first city school in Florence. Classmate Charles E. Mitchell, for example, was a principal at a rural high school in North Alabama while he prepared for a law degree from the University of Alabama (*Esto Lux* no pag). However, by 1900, of the nineteen class members who can be located on census records, only two remain in jobs related to education. James Morris, Moore's imaginary a "Babtist" theologian, is listed on the 1900 US Federal Census as both a teacher and a farmer in

Morgan County. The “poorly-spoken” Webster Duncan, Moore’s invented gymnasium owner in a western college, married Julia Garrett and was a principal in Lee County, where he has also graduated from Alabama Polytechnic Institute. He later became a publisher and a textbook company representative (*Esto Lux* no pag).

The female classmates imagined in academic careers are married by 1900, a not-unexpected outcome. Rather than becoming the president of a north Alabama normal college, Annie Dove Whitman married University of Alabama graduate and attorney Arthur Brown in 1891 (Brown, Annie Dove Whitman; US Federal Census 1900; 1910). Since she did not teach for two years, it is likely that she paid back some of her tuition credits, perhaps by contributing to a fund established at the school that same year (*A Brief History* 6). Josie Reid, the principal of “one of the national schools in Washington” in Moore’s prophecy, married farmer James Watts in 1897 (Watts, Mary Josie Reid; US Federal Census 1900). Anna Gregory’s imagined career as a professor of science was in actuality a career as parent to the six children from a previous marriage of farmer T. W. Williams, who she married in 1896 (Williams, Anna Gregory; US Federal Census 1900). Rather than serving as the Educational Commissioner of the Alaska Territory, Rosa Knox married farmer Charles Lazenby, a widower with 5 children, in 1899 (Lazenby, Sara Rosa Lee Knox; US Federal Census 1900). Annie Worthington, Moore’s “superwoman” who parented 12 stepchildren and ran for state office, may indeed have taught an additional five years as Moore prophesied that she would, for she did not marry until 1896, when she wed Alexander Dallas. Dallas, a Jefferson County coroner, died in 1900, and Worthington remarried Jasper merchant Jefferson Phillips in 1907 (Dallas,

Annie Worthington; US. Federal Census 1900; Phillips, Annie W.; US Federal Census 1910).

Among the classmates who Moore pictured in careers that did not center on the academic, was Theodore Bliss, who rather than the rector of a north Alabama cathedral, became a bookkeeper and banker and moved to Pennsylvania with his wife Elvira Mead (Bliss, Theodore; US Federal Census 1910). Joseph Conner, envisioned as an illustrator of remarkable humor, did not teach after leaving Florence, but farmed instead (Conner, Joseph; US Federal Census 1900). He died in 1902 (Conner, Joseph; *Find A Grave*.) The “sickening old bachelor” and rich farmer, William Gregory, became a dentist, and instead of a homeopathic physician, Robert Lee Prince became the owner and manager of a building supply in his north Alabama home town (Prince, Robert Lee; US Federal Census 1930).

Among the women who did not teach in the pretend world of Moore’s prophecy, classmate Loula Agee, pictured in the prophecy as a continental elocutionist and actress, married in 1893 (Brown, Loula Agee; US Federal Census 1900). Other than her presence on a list of students teaching in 1890 and an alumni note that she married and moved to Texas, little is known about imagined missionary Mollie White (*Eighteenth Annual Catalogue* 32; “Register” 5). Rather than assisting a lawyer spouse and keeping abreast of the times, Ellen Jones married banker C. B. McCluskey in 1890. The 1909 directory for Muskogee, Oklahoma lists McCluskey as the president of Oklahoma State Bank and gives Ellen as his wife (Jones, Ellen: *Alabama Marriages; US City Directories*). Finally, the three women at the “rally of feminine politicians at Birmingham,” Fanny Boyd, Emma Kelly, and Annie Lou McIntyre, did marry. Fanny Boyd married A. H. Cotton in

1893. In 1910, Cotton was farming rented land in Jackson, Alabama (Cotton, Fannie Boyd; US Federal Census 1900). By 1920, he is listed as a dry goods merchant in Scottsboro, where he and Fannie own property (Cotton, Fannie Boyd; US Federal Census 1910). Emma Kelly married Alfred Schultz, a merchant, in 1896; in 1930 they were living in Mexia, Texas where they owned a dry goods store (Schultz, Emma Kelly; US Federal Census, 1930). Annie Lou McIntyre “taught for five years in the public schools of Birmingham and Montgomery, also attending summer school at Cook County Normal in Illinois” before she married civil engineer and professor William D. Taylor in 1898 (*Esto Lux* no pag; noted in Ogren 194; “Memoir of William Dana Taylor” 520).

What these spare details of the lives of the class of 1890 can tell us is limited. For example, the median age of marriage for the eleven women for whom marriage age information is available is 24 years at a time when US Census records give the median age of marriage across the US as 22—a figure that points to normal school graduates marrying later—but such a small sample is inconclusive (Elliott, Krivikas, Brault, and Krider 19). As Christine Ogren points out, “normal school alumnae tended to marry members of the middle class” (192). As noted above in the narrative, among the husbands of the class of 1890, occupations include a lawyer, an undertaker, a coroner, a banker, a civil engineer, and several merchants, and farmers. Of these last two occupations, it should be noted that the merchants and farmers represented here were land or property owners. Census records show only one spouse who farmed rented land, and by 1910, he has become a merchant who owns his store.

When land ownership and the practice of a trade or profession are considered for the male members of the class cohort, they occupy similar positions in the middle class.

In fact, the census records cited above also reveal that the fathers of members of this class are almost all either farmers who own their land or merchants, although there are two physicians and one lawyer among them. Whether or not these facts conflict with claims for the normal school as a means of class mobility is worth further consideration, especially where male students are concerned. For one thing, national and regional economic factors late in the century may have influenced family need for the tuition relief Florence provided. The large families that were common to farms may also have increased the value of normal school education and subsequent teaching jobs for sons. Nevertheless, it is possible that the men of the class of 1890 could have acquired enough capital to begin their adult lives by attending more expensive academies or by acquiring teaching jobs and experience without normal training, but it would doubtless have been more difficult. It is easier, in the case of women, to see the significance of the normal school education and of teaching, since little else existed for women at this time. More study is clearly indicated.

Moore's prophecy is a short essay. Transcribed with standard sized fonts, it fills less than ten pages, and yet it does offer the reader an entry into a literacy context of considerable complexity. Moore's references to the "old school days" at Florence, the familiar "normal pedagogics," and the "almost forgotten class of 1890" reveal her identification with that group and her imbrications in the normal school rhetoric. She uses the "symbols and languages" of that rhetoric to envision a future for her classmates (Duffy 18). But like other women in normal schools across the US, even as she "reproduces and contributes" to the "hegemonic perceptions and representations," she contests them with "humor, possibility, and no small amount of bravado" (Fitzgerald,

“Platteville” 277). What stands out when the text of Moore’s prophecy is considered alongside other official texts is the way in which the authority to speak is very tentatively becoming the property of new groups recognizable by gender and class.

A FINAL NOTE

Janie Moore did not include a prophecy for herself; appropriately enough. The “blue goggles” did not provide the gazer with her own imaginary story. There are, however, a few traces of her life after Florence. Moore taught school in her home community, as noted above, and then, in 1892, she returned to Florence to be part of the faculty of the first graded elementary school there (“Lucas” 12). Her signature as teacher can be seen on a small report card honoring an elementary school student for excellent deportment in the 1893-4 school year (“Honor Roll Card”). Moore married Horace Pulliam Lucas, a successful merchant, in 1895 and lived the rest of her life near the campus of Florence on an avenue that has since been designated of historical significance (“Lucas” 12; “Walnut Street Historic Marker” n pag). She became a widow in 1939 (“Lucas” 12). She taught Sunday School for fifty years at the historic Wood Avenue Church and, while the pastor says her name is familiar to many retirement age members, her name does not appear in the official history of the congregation (“Lucas” 12; K. Davis n pag). Moore died in 1969 just short of one hundred years old. She is buried in the Florence City Cemetery about one block from the site of the Patton School beside her husband.

The family gravesite was shaded on a recent cold morning in December by a tall cedar so green it looked almost black in the clear air. The plot is bounded by a concrete

curb and evergreen nandinas flank the large rectangular stone with Moore's husband's surname on it. Her footstone reads "Janie Moore Lucas." Someone had cut, as recently as that morning, limbs from the nandinas, perhaps for their brilliant red berries in a holiday vase, and several twigs of green and red had fallen on the polished granite. Behind the large headstone are four small stones engraved with the words "Infant Son" or "Infant Daughter" and dating from 1896 to 1901. Outside the family plot, but still nearby—near enough that the shade from the cedar will reach the headstone in the late afternoon—is the grave of Moore's only surviving child, a daughter, and her husband. Moore's daughter Martha, who was born in 1907, was a teacher (Moore, Martha Jane; US Federal Census 1930).

THE DECADE OF THE PEDAGOGUES: PEDAGOGY, LITERACY, AND IDEOLOGY

The *Catalogue of Tuskegee State Normal and Industrial Institute* for the year 1884-85 names a teacher for a course called “Methods of Teaching” in addition to lectures and discussions on mental and moral philosophy taught by founder and president Booker T. Washington. Even before the *Catalogue* signals the importance of teaching methods, Olivia Davidson, one of three instructors at Tuskegee when the school was established, calls on current and future teachers to learn all they can about pedagogy. In a speech before the Alabama State Teachers’ Association in April of 1886, Davidson encourages teachers to prepare for their crucial work by studying the works of “John Locke, Froebel, Pestalozzi and many others [who] in their writings have made the way so plain” (Davidson 303). One year later, the *1885-1886 Annual Catalog* from Florence lists for the first time courses in “Pedagogics and Psychology” in place of “Moral and Mental Philosophy” lectures given previously by the several past presidents who were either ministers or traditional academics (*A Brief Look* 6, Vaughn 12). In addition, a new president of the school, a man with a background in public school teaching and in conducting teacher institutes, was elected. Two years later, the first Professor of Pedagogy and Psychology was hired at a salary second only to that of the president of the school (*Annual Reports* 8). After 1886, annual catalogues at Florence include a page-long statements of institutional intent to prepare normal students through Pedagogy, described as the methods and principles of teaching drawn from contemporary sciences and traditional philosophies of knowledge. (See for example, *Annual Catalogues* for 1884-1885 and 1889-1890). Tuskegee adds similar statements in 1896, explaining the school’s

focus on “Pedagogy taught in the light of ‘Psychology’” (*Catalogue of Tuskegee* 1896 52). Why would these schools, historically represented as very different, simultaneously begin to use a rhetoric of teacher instruction that was similar to one another, and for that matter, similar to normal schools all over the US?

Recent studies of nineteenth-century Pedagogy explore its relatively brief existence through texts and theorize its links to “the function and status of teachers as *practitioners* in the present or propose pedagogical practices in regional normal schools as early indications of the more democratic and student-centered traditions leading to contemporary composition practices (Salvatori xiii; Fitzgerald, “Rediscovered” 225; emphasis original in Salvatori). Education history scholars investigate the role of Pedagogy as it developed beyond lectures in the taxonomy of mental structures and the uses of the object method to the scientific and ostensibly more objective experiments and reflections on psychology and child study (Ogren 130). Studies by scholars of the history of rhetoric and composition indicate that the practices used to educate teachers in the use of written and spoken language varied by region. Far from monolithic, rhetorical pedagogies varied as a result of the complex interaction of local and national forces in the discourse of education as well as the “productive tension” between pedagogies of the past and more progressive or practical “learning by doing” approaches (Gold 116). Other studies of pedagogies of rhetoric at one of the earliest normal schools in Massachusetts and at a late-nineteenth-century normal school in California demonstrate the faculties’ commitments to oral rhetoric and civic involvement for women and men, while approaches to rhetoric at early teacher training schools in Texas exemplify the means by

which pedagogies met local needs.³² In addition to focusing on the history of rhetoric and composition, these recent studies use archival materials from normal schools to examine hitherto “invisible” writers, readers, and teachers and to account for their position in the larger cultural context of the late nineteenth-century US.

This chapter takes its initial cue from these current studies, but shifts the focus to the content of archival records of Pedagogy, capitalized here to indicate its existence as a discipline, and its practitioners at two specific sites, Florence and Tuskegee. The study applies a set of questions drawn from literacy studies to the context of Tuskegee and Florence, questions designed to discover through the archival and historical texts, the assumptions that informed representations of pedagogues, their students, and their roles in the changing culture of literacy education at the end of the nineteenth century. What becomes visible is the way in which the sponsors and restrictors of literacy both resisted and used normal school pedagogies for ideological reasons. Rather than the pedagogy of rhetoric, this chapter seeks to limn out a rhetoric of Pedagogy by looking at the ways texts and identities are formed in language to accept or to resist cultural expectations associated with learning to read, write, and speak. I argue that that the study of Pedagogy and its attendant identity had an impact on the discourse of education through seemingly opposite means. The rhetoric of Pedagogy undeniably created forms of limited empowerment for individual teachers and students and had, therefore, to be managed because in some cases it threatened the familiar gender, racial, and class hierarchies. Simultaneously, restricting Pedagogy was a means of creating and reinforcing some of those same hierarchies. What follows attempts to tease out the important forces in the

³² (See for example, Rothermel, Bordelon, and Gold, respectively).

literacy context at the height of the normal school years—the decade of the pedagogues-- at Tuskegee and Florence.

“BOTH A SCIENCE AND AN ART”: THE RHETORIC OF NORMAL SCHOOL PEDAGOGY

Studying Pedagogy as a rhetoric brings it into view as a “specialized collection[] of symbols and languages used by institutions to control human beings” (Duffy 18). In this case the institutions were education officials, state governments, agents of industry, and interested philanthropic organizations. That collection of symbols and language included treatises and texts, specialized terms, certifications, and regulations that originated in the common school reforms of the early century. The content of Pedagogy had evolved, of course. By the time Florence and Tuskegee were established, Pedagogy in southern normals had, like normals all over the US, become a field of study with “more sophisticated topics and approaches in . . . teacher training curricula” (Ogren 122). Pedagogy was generally defined as “both the science and the art of teaching” (Ogren 122; Salvatori 27, 40). It is important to use the definition of Pedagogy that would have been familiar in the late nineteenth century to the pedagogues rather than historical or contemporary definitions. Late twentieth-century uses of the word often relate the nineteenth-century term to a simplistic approach to classroom methods “divorced from theory or inadequate to contest or revise it” (Salvatori xiii). Other historical uses of the term for early efforts in the theorization and practices of education often laud Pedagogy as somehow antecedent to modern education, but then assume that it was “always and already in need of remediation” (Salvatori 9). In other words, the Pedagogy of the nineteenth century in most historical representations is interesting and perhaps even quaintly prescient from time to time, but valuable only as a precursor to contemporary

education, which corrected it. This representation reduces Pedagogy from a discipline and field of study to “mere teaching, mere implementation” without supporting theory, an error that renders the actual nature of nineteenth-century Pedagogy invisible and its practitioners non-existent (Salvatori 9). Misunderstanding the discourse of Pedagogy also obscures the role of the state and of various philanthropic efforts to regulate Pedagogy as well as resistance to that regulation. Textual artifacts from Florence and Tuskegee that would have been known and used by normal school instructors, students, and advocates all over the US reveal a complex of authorities, theories, practices and identities of late nineteenth-century Pedagogy which can be best understood where they center on the figure of the pedagogue.

The normal school pedagogues of the late nineteenth century usually came from among the ranks of the normal school students, often returning to the school where they studied after acquiring teaching experience and further education (Ogren 31). Most were born to parents who were working class and would not have been able to afford schooling beyond the local elementary levels, had it not been for the free tuition at the normal school (Ogren 30). The nine pedagogues studied for this project who were directly associated with Florence and Tuskegee during the 1880s and 90s all attended normals and all taught for a time in common schools. The pedagogues with Alabama connections, like those across the US, wrote treatises and textbooks on education or published essays in newspapers, popular magazines, or journals (Ogren 34-6; Salvatori 36). They organized and attended state, regional, and even national conferences, and they traveled great distances to conduct institutes for teachers in areas where normal schools had not been established (Ogren 124-5; *Proceedings of the Alabama Teachers' Association* 17).

The emerging field of Pedagogy created opportunity for work that, if difficult, was respectable, and especially for women, usually as remunerative as most opportunities. In its promotion of methods of development, its call for scholarship, and its construction of teachers as professionals and as sources of important expertise, Pedagogy was a rhetoric of growth and professionalism.

“The Best Methods of Teaching:” The Rise of Pedagogy Curricula

During the 1870s and early 1880s across the US, the normal curriculum paralleled the academic curriculum with a limited number of additional requirements, especially in those normal schools that had existed previously as academies or colleges; in fact, at many normals, students took classes for one to three years in common with the students who did not plan to teach (Ogren 126). The remaining work required of the normal students consisted mainly of attending lectures based on moral and mental philosophy and usually given by the president or principal of the school; in addition, normal school teachers were expected to add information on the best means of teaching the given subject (Ogren 126).³³ This means of introducing students to classroom techniques was in use at Florence the first year normal students were enrolled. According to the *First*

³³ That the practice of combining instruction on classroom practice along with subject knowledge was common is born out in an example from the annual circular for 1880 from Framingham Normal School in Maine:

A review of the common branches is deemed necessary, and is combined with the study of teaching. Thus, if the subject be the fundamental rules of arithmetic, the class, with the subject fresh in their minds, are led to consider what are the best methods of teaching addition, subtraction, multiplication, and division, to children, and are required to give, under the direction of an experienced teacher, a series of lessons in those four rules, adapted to the various schools in which they are taught, beginning with the primary (*Circular 9*).

Framingham Normal was one of the first normal schools in the United States. It is also the school Olivia Davidson, the Tuskegee faculty member quoted above, attended (*BTW Papers* 8:499). Similar statements appear in catalogues and circulars of normal schools across the United States.

Annual Catalogue of the State Normal School for 1873-4, instruction was by “daily recitations from Text books, accompanied by lectures,” and the normal student was provided with “a thorough knowledge of each subject embraced in the course . . . [and] instruction as to the best methods of imparting his information to his (sic) pupils” (9-10). At Tuskegee, all students were expected to teach for some period during their summers and after completing their programs, and toward that end, there were courses in “Methods” listed in the catalogues as early as 1885, though there is no direct discussion of the nature of the coursework for future teachers either in the regular academic courses or in separate classes until 1890 (*Catalogue of Tuskegee 1889-1890*). It is reasonable to assume that the teachers at Tuskegee discussed how best to teach the various branches of common knowledge even as they provided examples in the classroom. It is important to remember that, although the faculty would come to focus more and more on the industrial aspect of their program, Tuskegee was established and maintained for several years primarily as a normal school to meet the needs for African American teachers in the South (Anderson 73; *Proceedings of the John F. Slater Fund* 13, 22; Weeks 171). Many of the teachers at Tuskegee were themselves products of normal schools. Evidence of faculty members’ familiarity with and value for the widespread rhetoric of Pedagogy at both Tuskegee and Florence is discussed below.

Adding normal training to a course that was academic, if rather elementary, quickly became problematic. First, while some normal school students had not mastered the “common branches” of knowledge because of the lack of access to schooling, many were prepared for what can be considered more advanced work. Some students had already taught school (Ogren 71). Moreover, tuition-paying classmates—those students

not receiving free tuition in exchange for an agreement to teach—did not benefit from too elementary a review of the common branches. It is likely that in the schools in which normal students and academic students had classes together, the normal component would undoubtedly receive less attention than the course material. The solution to this problem was two-fold. Preparatory courses were devised and their completion required before students could begin any normal or academic work and courses in teaching were split off from the academic courses. Both Tuskegee and Florence added preparatory schools within the first three years after their founding.

The second part of the solution led to the creation of courses called “Pedagogics” or “Methods” in which normal students could focus on the principles and practices of teaching (Ogren 126).³⁴ By the end of the century, these general methods classes would evolve into courses in the methods appropriate to the specific branches of common school curriculum, a move that would allow for the specialization and certification of teachers in the new high schools, not just in Alabama, but in most states (Ogren 127). The development of separate Methods courses and preparatory classes meant that normal students could study both Pedagogy and academic subjects and acquire an education that would equip them not just to teach for their agreed upon two or three years, but one that could and often did position the student, especially the male student, to attend college to study for teaching in more advanced educational settings or for other professions (Ogren 188, Gold 22). The division of the academic class from the normal coursework

³⁴ Florence’s annual catalogues and reports through 1889 encourage teachers in all classes, both academic and normal, to emphasize the best methods of teaching their subjects because all students were encouraged to teach for a few years, whether they planned a career in teaching or simply needed work for a period of time before undertaking some other profession. It is also likely that the State Department of Education and various philanthropists would have seen this practice as evidence of the school’s commitment to producing teachers.

recognized the existence of and the importance of teaching as a subject of study and also gave impetus to the rise of the profession of the pedagogue or Professor of Pedagogy to teach these classes.

Finally, in the mid 1880s, another historical circumstance, one outside the schools themselves, but very much a part of the educational discourse of the period, increased the need for and the status of the pedagogues. As discussed in the introduction to this dissertation, the PEF, which had already assisted schools in the South with money for teachers and scholarships for students, shifted its focus to the training of teachers by means of the Peabody Institutes. Both Tuskegee and Florence were important to this movement, providing local teachers from their faculties to assist the expert pedagogues in bringing improved teaching methods and theory to teachers who could not attend normal schools. The PEF's focus on Pedagogy and its funding for institutes drew attention to Pedagogy and brought normal school faculty into contact with what J. L. M. Curry, the general agent for the PEF, called "men (sic) of national reputation" in the field of Pedagogy (*Peabody Summer Institute Pamphlet* n pag; Robert 88).

Pedagogy at Tuskegee

As early as 1885, just three years after its establishment, a course in teaching methods is listed in the catalogue at Tuskegee. Its teacher, Adella Hunt, was born in 1860 and went to Atlanta University, at that time a preparatory and normal school, as well as a college. Atlanta University was one of several colleges for African Americans in the South established by the American Missionary Society (Alexander 729) Atlanta had a well-developed Pedagogy curriculum during the years Hunt studied there; she graduated

from the Higher Normal Program in 1881 (*Atlanta University Annual Catalogue* 1880-1, 10). As for the normal program at Tuskegee, there is little direct discussion of Pedagogy in Tuskegee's catalogues during this period, but it would be a mistake to assume that practices consistent with the larger discourse of normal education were not present. First, as acknowledged earlier, the catalogues function to interest potential students and individual donors as well as the state officials and the agents of philanthropies. Early on, there would have been little interest in Pedagogy as theory among several of those audiences. Many students and their parents would have been more interested in the catalogue's information about education for economic opportunity beyond the familiar summer teaching jobs. A second reason for the absence of any discussion of Pedagogy has to do with the audience within the rhetoric of education—leaders at other normal schools, potential teachers, and agents of the philanthropies, many of whom had experience in the field of Pedagogy. The principles of Pedagogy and its methods would have been widespread enough for many to assume that the teachers at Tuskegee, who were themselves products of normal schools, would be proficient. Nor was the early plan for industrial education, already part of the Tuskegee Institute's professed goal, strictly limited to vocational training in manual activities. Tuskegee was, first and foremost a normal school for the training of African American teachers (Anderson 34, 73). Tuskegee's curriculum was based on Samuel Armstrong's Hampton plan for teaching "the dignity of labor" though manual work alongside basic literacy for religious and cultural orthodoxy. During these years both literary or "book studies" and pedagogy in the form of methods courses, were also part of Tuskegee's educational efforts (Fraser 99). The omission of any discussion of pedagogical methods may also have been aimed

at keeping philanthropists and state officials focused on the increasingly desired limitations on education for African Americans. Similar circumstances are discussed below in the section on a specific pedagogue, Nathan Young.

However, if the catalogues at Tuskegee tell us little beyond the presence of a single course in methods and, after several years, about the practical training of student teachers in the model school, other documents indicate the presence of pedagogical rhetoric as it would be understood in normal schools across the US. For example, Olivia Davidson's 1886 call, noted above, for teachers to study the great theorists of learning reveals her implicit belief that these texts are accessible to teachers and that the theories are directly beneficial. A more extensive text is found in Booker T. Washington's 1886 report to the State Department of Education on the work done at two Teacher's Institutes co-funded by the state and the PEF. Washington describes the agenda for the Institute taught by Hunt and by math teacher S. E. Courtney, a native of West Virginia who was educated at Hampton and Westfield Normal School in Massachusetts (*Annual Report to the Superintendent* 1886, 66). During these two one-week Institutes which "served 82 teachers from nine counties," Hunt and Courtney provided instruction on methods in the common branches and by example and discussion, taught the correct pedagogical principles (*Annual Report to the Superintendent* 1886, 66). The "General Principles" given by Hunt and Courtney reflect widespread assumptions about teaching. They are worth repeating in their entirety.

A. Education is a development,[sic] it is in no sense a creation.

- B. There is only one way of developing any human power, viz., by wise use of self-activity.
- C. Self culture is the proper outcome of education; i.e., self-control of the hands, of the head and of the heart.
- D. In all the work of education, the habits that are formed are more important than the knowledge gained.
- E. Human powers develop naturally in a certain order, which should be followed in education.
- F. The primary object of education is the perfection of the individual.
- G. A true scheme of education must aim at three things, viz., knowledge, development, and efficiency (66).

Teachers attending these institutes were encouraged to exercise the active powers of the pupil and to focus early learning experiences on material objects, an admonition that indicates the powerful influence of object training, familiar concepts from Pedagogy (*Annual Report to the Superintendent* 1886, 67).

The view of education as the *development* of potential intellectual and moral structures in the student is a common one in nineteenth-century mental and moral philosophy. By the last quarter of the century, however, the rhetoric of normal school Pedagogy began using the language of these inherent abilities combined with the significant action of external forces—nature, experience, and especially guidance from teachers—to redefine the term as the teacher-led process that brings students from the

known to the related but as yet unknown (Rosenkranz 76-107; Van Wie vii). This change of emphasis on the teacher differs from the traditional view of the nineteenth-century schoolmaster as one who merely presents material and judges recitations based on well-known texts. Moreover, the language of development reveals the evolution of normal school Pedagogy, albeit slowly, toward more psychological or scientific approaches to learning.

Washington's report uses what would have been the familiar language of Pedagogy to characterize the learner as a potentially perfect individual and the teacher as "one who understand[s] laws of mental development" as well as the "relation of subjects" and the proper ends of education; that is, "knowledge, development, and efficiency" (*Annual Report to the Superintendent* 1886, 66-7). Clearly there is no representation of the teacher as one who performs in a rote manner, but as one who applies judgment in choosing and applying methods and as one who has a comprehensive knowledge of the common branches. Moreover, Pedagogy at Tuskegee as it is presented in this report is consistent with Pedagogy in other normal schools in the state and region receiving aid from the PEF. For example, William Paterson, the president of the State Normal School at Marion, Alabama, presents a list of "Principles" that includes the definition of education as "development from within," the central place of material objects in the learning process, and the importance of understanding the "progress of knowledge from the known to the unknown" (*Annual Report to the Superintendent* 1886, 40-1). Paterson, a Scottish minister who established the school for African Americans at Marion which was later funded by the state of Alabama, maintained an all-white faculty and openly called for a liberal arts curriculum along with vocational training during these years

(Brooks n pag). The principles listed for Institute agendas at both schools come from the rhetoric of normal school Pedagogy. While it is possible to see, in Washington's evocation of the "relation of subjects," the emergence of his strict insistence on the correlation of all classroom studies in the future, it is clear that the Pedagogy taught at Tuskegee is consistent with the contemporaneous discourse of normal schooling. Whatever Washington's intention in his description of the role of teachers, the lessons planned for the Institute attendees include the representation of the teacher as well-educated, proficient in classroom skills, and responsible for evaluating student need and planning classroom activity through the use of pedagogical principles. The properly educated teacher is knowledgeable and capable, and by extension of that knowledge and capability, autonomous in the classroom.

That the knowledge of pedagogical principles increased the efficacy of teachers is also an important part of the identity constructed for pedagogues and their students. Because the tradition of common schools and their attendant normal schools was older and more settled in the New England, the Northeast and, by 1890, the Midwest, the state agencies and philanthropies concerned with education in the South sought out teachers from those regions; both Tuskegee and Florence recruited teachers from Maine, Ohio, and New York, respectively. The next teacher of Pedagogy at Tuskegee was Anna Cora Hawley, who was born in Portland, Maine, in 1856, to a scale operator and a home maker. She attended the public high school there and then was graduated from Gorham Normal School in Portland in 1885 after attending for two years in a normal school professional course. She taught at Tuskegee from September of 1888 until 1892, when she was called home to assist her newly widowed sister with the care of three young

children (Walker Email). Timothy Thomas Fortune, an African American lawyer, newspaper editor, and a supporter of Tuskegee, had recommended Hawley “on the basis of her cultivation and disposition,” and Washington visited her family home on a fundraising trip to New England (*BTW Papers* 3: 435, 462). He was confident of her superior education and told Fortune that “there is no end to the amount of good that a thoroughly conscientious teacher can do” at Tuskegee (*BTW Papers* 3: 435). After meeting Hawley, Washington wrote to tell Warren Logan, a teacher and the treasurer at Tuskegee, that he believed Miss Hawley to be “a very fine teacher and we are very fortunate in securing her. She has taught with great success in the white schools here for several years. Her home is a very cultured and refined one, and I feel sure that she is going to make one of the best teachers we have ever had” (*BTW Papers* 3: 462).

In a letter to Hawley, Washington explained that her work would be more than classroom teaching, since “our work is largely of a missionary character” and that she would be expected to teach Sunday Schools and supervise activities for female students (*BTW Papers* 3:435-6). Perhaps more significant is the fact that, although Hawley had a stated preference for teaching history and geography, Washington added to her teaching load courses in Methods, which she taught until she resigned. Hawley’s second year as a teacher at Tuskegee was paid for by the American Missionary Association, who also paid her traveling expenses by train to and from Maine (*BTW Papers* 3: 68). This seemingly insignificant fact indicates that Hawley’s work was seen by the AMA, a group that consistently worked for liberal education as well as industrial education, regarded Hawley’s work as important. That same year, Hawley was named to a committee along with Margaret James Murray, the Lady Principal, and Warren Logan, the school

[revision]treasurer, to revise the Course of Study, probably for the model school (*BTW Papers* 3: 132). She also represented the school when dignitaries and potential donors visited. Although Hawley had returned to the North by 1892, Emily Howland, an important philanthropist who contributed to Tuskegee and had visited there, asked to be remembered to her in an 1893 letter (*BTW* 3: 376). According to family lore shared by one of Hawley's great nieces, Hawley enjoyed her time at Tuskegee and would have stayed if family obligations had not intervened. Hawley represents the tendency to see expertise in the states where normal education was more established, a tendency based at least in part on her normal school education and perceived knowledge of Pedagogy.

Hunt, Courtney, and Hawley were all significant in the growth of Tuskegee and in the establishment of a curriculum that included Pedagogy between 1885 and 1892. However, none of these three teachers taught Pedagogy exclusively and none made a career of leadership in the field. The next pedagogue at Tuskegee, Nathan Young, conforms more closely to the constructions of the figure. Unlike Hawley, Young was born in the South, but he was educated at Oberlin College in Ohio, and unlike most of the pedagogues discussed here, Young's long career has been explored in a scholarly biography. Young was born in 1862 in Newbern, Alabama, where his mother Susan was enslaved; his father's identity is unknown (Holland 2). Although Young's mother worked hard to allow him to attend school, his early education was limited to a few periods interrupted by ill-health and by the need to work (Holland 10). However, in 1880, he was able to attend Talladega College, enrolling in the normal school program and remaining in school for three years, paying his way in part by teaching each summer in rural schools in Alabama and Mississippi (Holland 14-6). Talladega College may have

been more of a preparatory school when Young entered, possibly equivalent in its curriculum to a high school in 1880, but it did have a normal program (Holland 12, Anderson 243). Founded by the American Missionary Association and run by Henry Lee De Forest, who had been an instructor at Yale until his enlistment in the Union Army, Talladega only began advertising a college level curriculum in its catalogues in 1890 (Holland 12). Nevertheless, Young's education at Talladega allowed him three important opportunities: preparation for true college-level work, exposure to the ideas of common school and Pedagogy advocates such as De Forest and A. D. Mayo, and acquaintance with influential members of the Slater Fund, including two of its directors, Atticus G. Haywood and J. L. M. Curry (Holland 13-5) (Curry was also the General Agent of the PEF. Young received a loan, which he repaid in 1892, from the Slater Fund to help with his education (Holland 15).

As he completed his work at Talladega College, Young deliberated on a choice of a college and a career. He considered the ministry, medicine, and law but decided on teaching "as his life's work" (Holland 23). He chose Oberlin College in Ohio over Yale, though his mentor De Forest was disappointed (Holland 24). Oberlin was a very traditional school in many ways. Courses in the ancient languages and in mental and moral philosophies founded on Christianity were central to the curriculum (J. Barnard 3). However, the college adhered to an "evangelical spirit" of reform, admitting African Americans and women and sending out preachers for the causes of abolition and, later, temperance (J. Barnard 3, Holland 20). At Oberlin, Young received an education in the classical requirements of Greek, Latin, mathematics, religion, and science. During his junior and senior years, he was allowed more choice in his coursework and particularly

the courses new to Oberlin, including the new psychology studies (Holland 22). An Oberlin historian characterized this period as an “awakening” to “an enthusiastic spirit of scholarship” marked by improved teaching methods and higher academic standards (J. Barnard 68). Young’s education in the normal school program at Talladega and his subsequent years at Oberlin allowed him to develop an understanding of the educational needs of African Americans for all forms of education, including industrial, academic, and very specifically, for a form of education he believed central to the success of the Southern states, a professional course in Pedagogy. Throughout his career, his work and his writings reflect this understanding.

Young received his Bachelor of Arts in Classical Studies from Oberlin in 1888 and his Master of Arts in 1891 (Holland 36). He taught for one year in Shelby, Alabama, and then became principal at the General G. L. Thomas School in Birmingham, a school in one of the “more advanced and enlightened school systems in the South” (Holland 37). Booker T. Washington heard Young speak at a meeting of the Alabama State Teachers’ Association, an organization for African American teachers and administrators. Washington was impressed with Young’s speaking skills and recruited Young for Tuskegee. Young began teaching English and history in August of 1892 (Holland 42). Soon Washington had appointed Young to supervise all the teachers in the Academic Program and to lead a committee on improving teaching at the school even as Young continued to teach three or more courses each semester (Holland 50). Like other teachers at Tuskegee, Young had to garden, raise chickens, and tend to the maintenance and cleaning of school facilities. Young also wrote and published articles about the school at Washington’s request and helped plan for conferences and exhibitions (Holland

45, 56). By the time Young joined the faculty, Tuskegee had 38 teachers and 600 students; as head teacher, Young had responsibility for scheduling courses, hiring teachers, and overseeing their work, as well as planning and conducting visits from guest speakers (Holland 44-50). Especially difficult were efforts to assess and reassign teachers whose classes could be observed by students in the junior year of the Pedagogy program (Holland 50).

Young and Washington were in agreement about many aspects of education, particularly in the first several years they worked together at Tuskegee. Both were “adamant about expressions of religious piety and were concerned about moral earnestness in the students and the teachers” (Holland 62). When Washington expressed concern about teachers not attending evening prayers, Young helped develop a plan to make it more convenient for teachers to attend immediately after the dinner period and he reported the names of teachers who were consistently failing to show up for prayer. Young claimed he was not opposed to an industrial curriculum as long as it was balanced by a literary curriculum (Holland 63). There is, however, a third component in education that brought the two educators into conflict, a set of circumstances that is widely misunderstood by historical narratives that take into account even at this early juncture, only the liberal arts versus industrial education dichotomy.

The conflict grew out of Young’s role as the Head Teacher for the Academic Department and was the result of Young’s own understandings of Pedagogy and professional standards. Washington’s correspondence with Young reveals problems over scheduling teachers in both the academic and industrial programs without allowing enough time for preparations for their classes, disagreements over teachers “being

overburdened by other campus duties” such as trunk inspections and prayer meetings, and disputes over the practice of allowing teachers who worked all day long to then teach night classes (Holland 51-2, *BTW Papers* 3:54). Young refused to prepare a list of teachers for Washington to fire and he would not agree to remain in a particular classroom with a teacher for several days or even a week “to get that teacher in the right track and [to] correct defects” in his or her teaching (Holland 52, *BTW Papers* 3: 134). Young’s reply to Washington was a strong statement of his own philosophy of his role in the “delicate piece of work” of supervising teachers in such a way as to avoid asserting his own personality into an individual teacher’s work (Holland 55). Rather than “the minutiae of showing a teacher how to grade examination papers, how to conduct this or that recitation and each question of detail,” Young preferred to hold teachers “responsible for results, going on the presumption that the teacher has sufficient teaching ability to direct the details of her (sic) work, and to take and apply the suggestions offered in private conversations and in teachers’ meetings or institutes; only if the teacher is “so obtuse, or so conceited as not to take suggestions,” then would he recommend after consideration the removal of said teacher” (Holland 53). Interestingly, Young’s biographer Holland describes this conflict as primarily over what he calls “academic freedom,” and while that term may apply, the disagreement between Young and Washington is more accurately described as one relating to pedagogical proficiency. Academic freedom usually refers to the content of teaching as well as the method, and may actually apply less to the late nineteenth-century, when the content of each of the common branches of knowledge was little contested. It is a subtle difference, but what Young hopes to promote is the idea of autonomous and professional teachers.

Another example of conflict between Washington and Young—and probably a more important one—involved Washington’s increasing efforts to manage individual subject classrooms in both the Academic and Industrial programs. In a letter to Young, he reiterates his desire to have students of “denominate numbers measure an actual acre or furlong, or pile one cord of wood, and weigh an ounce, and keep on hand the vessels for measuring a gill, etc.” (*BTW Papers* Vol. 4, 146). He further complains that none of the teachers have followed his instruction and that he expects all literary or academic work, especially composition, to be correlated to the industrial component. He suggests that the teacher take students to the brickyard and then write of the processes used there (*BTW Papers* 4:147). In addition, Washington accuses Young of ridiculing Washington’s use of the term “dovetail” in reference to this correlation (*BTW Papers* 4:146). Young’s biographer sees this increasing control desired by Washington, a desire necessitated by the pressure of the prominence in which he was catapulted after the 1895 Atlanta Exposition Address, as the ultimate cause of Young’s resignation (Holland 69). Certainly there were pressures on Tuskegee and especially on Washington and his faculty to exhibit a careful adherence to the industrial curriculum by the mid-1890’s and to avoid any public focus on literary training. However, the role of Pedagogy in these tensions and in the continuing debate over academic versus industrial education, not just at Tuskegee but across the state and region, is a bit more difficult to tease out.

On the one hand, Pedagogy becomes linked to the literary or academic because it is a school subject that involves mental rather than manual labor. In addition, the rhetoric of empowered teachers and their skills in creating effective classroom practice and custom curricula appeared to stand in the way of Washington’s desire to impose the use

of correlation in all academic and industrial work. In a personal memorandum to Young, Washington advised him that the normal school teacher should carry out the “will and policy of the Principal” at all times, “even in the remotest corner of the school” (*BTW Papers* 4:145-9, quoted in Holland 66). The autonomous teacher did not exist in such a plan, nor did the possibility for the careful development of the individual student.

On the other hand, Pedagogy as teacher training was, if not industrial, at least more closely identified vocational training. Anderson and Harlan have convincingly argued that the real purpose of African American normal schools was not to create scholars but to replicate the industrial ideology by training teachers into compliance. Tuskegee’s program produced teachers who often went out to teach after as little as one term at the school and certainly before any advanced normal course work or practical experience in the model school. Teaching was less prestigious than professional careers, especially for young men, and as the South became less and less willing to tolerate African American doctors, lawyers, and other more middle-class workers, teaching may have been seen as an unavoidable fallback job. It is important to recall that the qualifications for teaching jobs were often slight, so great was the need for teachers, especially in rural areas. Even representations of teachers in the larger culture tended to link teaching to lower status work. The young schoolteacher—black or white—in the impoverished rural school became a familiar trope in popular fictional and nonfictional texts of the period. Almost without exception, these young schoolteachers—both real and fictional—are not scholars but are only working in schools until they can do better, either by returning to school or by acquiring work of a higher status. In this atmosphere, the pedagogues who represented the expertise from other locales, the professors of

Pedagogy, could be viewed as working counter to the identity of the teacher as a compliant community exemplar. It is not surprising that, as the end of the century neared, academic and pedagogic content was more and more subordinated to the industrial content at Tuskegee.

In 1897 Young left Tuskegee to become the Director of Pedagogy at Georgia State Industrial College. He moved at Florida Agricultural and Industrial College as president in 1901. His efforts there to add Pedagogy, modern social sciences, “the psychology of childhood,” and school management courses to the curriculum met with some success, as did his subsequent work in other schools and colleges across the Southeast and Midwest (Holland 82). Young’s biographer records an incident that occurred at Georgia State Industrial College that prompted Young to write an essay about the needs of African American education. White school board members at a graduation ceremony were critical when graduating students walked on stage in gowns to receive diplomas. The students were told to “get . . . back into working clothes as ‘quickly as possible’” (Holland 81). Young was humiliated, Holland claims, and wrote that regardless of “ability and ambition,” African Americans “would have no say in their own education” as long as they were seen as “ward[s], educationally, politically and economically” (Holland 81-4). He believed the problem of limited education could be corrected with a “three-fold mission—a Normal School, an Agricultural program, and a Mechanical program,” and for some years he was successful in all three areas (Holland 101-5). In addition to this essay, Young also wrote an article that was published in a New England journal for educators while he was at Georgia State Industrial College. In this article, Young outlined his plan for improving education for African Americans in the

South (Young 360-3), an article not mentioned in his biography. Holland's efforts at the Florida school give insight into the tensions between normal, academic, and industrial education at Tuskegee in these years.

Young calls for the rejection of the sole emphasis on industrial training. His argument is courageous; he acknowledges that it will be "unpopular" in the face of the recent reports from the National Education Association that speak approvingly only of the industrial approach to education in African American schools in the South (Young 360). Those same articles, he reports, call for African Americans to become "leaders in all progress, intellectual and economic" in order to solve for themselves their unique and local problems, but he tactfully stops short of pointing out how limiting African Americans to industrial training would make that progress unattainable (Young 360). Even more dangerous is the fact that he disagrees with the policies of the new Southern Education Board, which was even then developing strong controls over important philanthropies, including the PEF and the Slater Fund, agencies he was likely to encounter in his work as at Georgia, as soon thereafter, as president of Florida Agricultural and Industrial College (Holland 93).

Young capably defuses some of the criticism his article is likely to engender in the South with three rhetorical moves. First he praises the past role of the PEF in establishing African American education. Secondly, he claims that the current "general educational revival now sweeping over the South" can only be beneficial to African American schools and colleges. He specifically welcomes the higher standards of licensure for teachers, since that will give advantage to the "normal-trained" applicant for teaching jobs. Finally, he indicates that much that is wrong with African American

schools where liberal arts are taught is a result of “the pompous reign of the ubiquitous Negro ‘Professor’” whose ignorance and mercenary interests will be cancelled out by the new policies (Young 361). In putting some blame on the African American educational community, Young meets his potential critic and disarms the likely censure.

Young’s central argument in the article calls for reorganizing normal schools to create a more definite emphasis on Pedagogy, to establish chairs or departments of Pedagogy at African American institutions of higher learning, and to create a normal college for African Americans in the South equal to the Normal College at Nashville, Tennessee (Young 362). Young says that the “sporadic” institutes held across the South have been useful, but that “the same amounts of money used for a normal college would inspire the Negro teacher by giving him that deep educational insight he so much needs” (363). That African American teachers could simply attend the professional normal schools like Peabody—whether the idea occurred to Young or not—was not put forward as the logical solution. Young’s faith is clearly in a professional and scholarly understanding of Pedagogy that could correct the most serious defect in teachers, the tendency to become “method-mongers” who follow “‘copy’ doled out” without the pedagogical knowledge to be “artist[s], rather than merely artisan[s]” (364).

It goes without saying that Young’s plan—a plan that would create a larger corps of professional pedagogues from among members of a class and race widely restricted from professional education—was not put into effect during the increasingly divided Jim Crow years in the South. The influence of Tuskegee and Hampton grew and Pedagogy as a third component of African American education did not receive emphasis and, in fact, is mostly omitted from historical narratives about the period. The following section

discusses how this same call for teachers with true pedagogical knowledge rather than traditional or haphazard approaches to teaching was very much a part of the decade of the pedagogue across the state at the State Normal School at Florence.

Pedagogy at Florence

Unlike Tuskegee, Florence did not list separate courses in Pedagogy or Methods in their catalogues until 1886 (*Fourteenth Annual Catalogue* 13). However, that year—the year following the first Peabody Summer Institutes in Alabama—the catalogue lists courses in the “History and Science of Education, the Art of Teaching, School Law, and Psychology under the heading “Professional” (13) and names the first Professor of Pedagogy. During the next several years, changes in the curricula become apparent in the catalogues, and the focus shifts toward normal instruction and the addition of Pedagogy as a new science. This shift of focus is clear in the following passage.

The normal school at Florence’s purpose is to furnish young men and women, wishing to qualify themselves for teaching, such facilities as will enable them to obtain a complete mastery over all the branches taught in the public schools of the state, and at the same time afford them opportunities for acquiring such a knowledge of the science of education, and such skill in the art of teaching, as will enable them to render all their acquirements effective in the school-room (*Seventeenth Annual Catalogue* 14).

At this point, Florence's faculty intends to meet the three aspects of Pedagogy discussed above by turning out teachers who are knowledgeable in subject matter, conversant in the theory of education, and practiced in applying both in the classroom setting; the optimistic language of the prose states the professional ideal of the teacher.

The increased emphasis on Pedagogy that transformed the normal school at Florence in the mid-1880s was triggered at least in part by the PEF's support. Institute conductor T. J. Mitchell, who came to Alabama in 1885 to run several summer institutes, was listed among the "men of national reputation" sent out by the PEF to run summer institutes.³⁵ Little is known about Mitchell outside of his work in the schools in Charlotte, North Carolina, where he was the superintendent of education (1884 *Annual Report of the Superintendent* 1886, 145). Mitchell had been the superintendent of education in Mt. Gilead, Ohio, for an unspecified number of years when he moved to Charlotte, North Carolina, to be that city system's first superintendent ("Editorial" 89; *Peabody Summer Institute*). After working with some of the faculty at Florence and with Solomon Palmer, the State Superintendent of Education, Mitchell was chosen as president of Florence when Dr. James Heard resigned. In his annual report to the state, Palmer described Mitchell's work with the summer institutes as a "phenomenal success" (78). Palmer's praise for Mitchell's first year at Florence was unequivocal.

³⁵ While brochures and historical articles refer to the institute conductors as men, a number of them were women, including Matilda Ross, of Cook County Normal School in Illinois. Ross, a leader in kindergarten training, held institutes on teaching in kindergarten and early elementary common schools in eight Alabama cities. Also an agent in the PEF Summer Institutes was David L. Earnest, who became a science professor around 1886 to 1890 at the new Jacksonville State Normal School at Jacksonville, now Jacksonville University. Earnest moved to a new normal school in Athens, Georgia that would eventually merge with the University there (Robert 89, *Annual Reports* 1890, "Editorial" 93).

He has established a strictly professional department to give those who have received an academic or college education a course of reading, practice, and training that will prepare them for teaching; and has instilled such a spirit of life, growth, and happiness into all the work of the institution as to attract the attention of the whole state” (78).

Mitchell may have impressed Palmer, but the same state report reveals that there were tensions over the changes taking place in Florence; Mitchell was president for only one year.

It is impossible to know exactly why Mitchell remained at Florence for only one year, or even to find many details of the changes he instigated there. The catalogue for 1885-86 is not available in the archives and there is some evidence that a catalogue was not published at all that year. A possible source of tension can be found in what is known about normal schools in general at this juncture and what is known specifically about Florence. First of all, there is the familiar conflict between a normal school curriculum that includes general or literary education and a normal program that teaches only those subjects related to Pedagogy with an emphasis on the narrower definition of method to include mainly classroom practice. While the former had been used at Florence and fairly successfully, the latter may have been preferred by the members of the PEF and by state officials trying to increase the number of trained teachers without the delays of remedial work or the funding of advanced curricula. The emphasis on the funding of summer institutes that lasted only weeks and were admiringly described as “locomotive normal schools” may indicate a belief that teaching ability could be transmitted quickly or at

least be introduced with enough efficacy to improve both the numbers and the quality of the state's teachers (Curry 12). A possible and decidedly local component points to this conflict as well.

Until Mitchell's arrival, Florence's presidents and much of its faculty were local and some had connections with the Wesleyan College that preceded the State Normal (*A Brief Look* 6). The Florence faculties worked to include the normal curricula—state funding for the entire school was predicated upon it—but as noted in the introduction to this dissertation, the survival of an academic program was always important, as well. Academic students paid tuition that supplemented funds from the state and from the PEF. Shortly after the school was established, its board fended off a state proposal that they admit 14-year-olds to the program on the grounds that to do so would discourage almost all their tuition-paying male students who expected an education at least equivalent to a high school or academy (*Board of Directors Minutes* 11). It is understandable that the tuition paid the school, the normal school funding that allowed normal students to come to Florence without paying tuition, and the philanthropy of the PEF were all three essential if the school was to maintain both a normal and an academic program. Shifting the program away from the academic or literary coursework would have lessened the school's attractiveness to young men who could teach for several years before moving into some other field. That some disapproved is made clear in Mitchell's own report to the state after his year at Florence.

One of the difficulties, in the past, with which the College has had to contend, is the erroneous idea that it ought to be a free local academy rather than a State Normal College for the training of teachers. There has

been a feeling in the mind of some that the College belonged to the community rather than to the State, which had contributed over ten times as much as the former to its support. This feeling has been antagonistic to the employment of any but local teachers, and has frequently interfered with the management of its affairs. The excellence of the work done by those teachers who have been harassed by these circumstances, can hardly be understood or fully appreciated (*Annual Report to the Superintendent 1887 77*).

Clearly there is a power struggle described here and one that puts the efforts toward a purely professional—or more perhaps more accurately, a *vocational*—training program at odds with and in competition with a literary education. The student who could acquire a literary education to the extent that he could attend a college would, presumably, also acquire class mobility, since it would allow him (and rarely her) to get the increasingly desirable bachelor's degree.

Further evidence of efforts to move Florence away from the academic to the professional is also noted in this same Annual Report to the Superintendent when Mitchell warns that those “who would use [teaching] as a stepping stone to something else, or are endeavoring through it to make a little money for some especial purpose, are finding their footing very insecure” (58). This is a rhetorical move to forestall the criticism of this very behavior common to most normal schools. Finally, the report notes changes in the faculty that reveal the discontinuation of the Modern Languages chair and the hiring of a teacher for the preparatory school who is described as an “expert primary teacher from New York” (58). The loss of Modern Languages would be to those students

planning to attend college and may also have frustrated the desire of those who hoped to make Florence a four-year academic college. The pattern of seeking expertise from elsewhere is clear in the selection of a teacher from New York. What the report does not indicate is that classes in Latin and Greek continue for the academic students well into the twentieth century. Throughout these years, there are efforts at Florence both to live up to the requirements of the normal school and to retain the identity of the academy or college.

One year later, language appears in the *Annual Catalogue* that at first seems to indicate that the professional program is gaining ascendancy. That year a statement appears that explains the “object of the school is to train teachers for the public schools of the State” (11). The description of the curricula for all students at Florence reads as follows:

[The] course of study is arranged *solely* with this end in view. Because of the strict adherence to this plan, no effort is made to secure students for the academic work alone, and though such are admitted as tuition students, no impression is allowed to prevail that it is not strictly a *teachers’ training school*; and, as such, desires to attract the graduates of high schools and academies rather than to burden itself with the academic education of those pupils who can be properly instructed elsewhere” (11; emphasis original).

How the school at Florence would find students who had already “received an academic or college education,” to quote Palmer, is puzzling, since a teacher with an academic

education and certainly with a college degree would have little motivation for attending a normal program with a group of students that included fifteen-year-olds and older students who had taught in one-room country schools for as little as one session. Improving the program at Florence to attract such students to a short—one year, probably—course in Pedagogy was one answer and some students the faculty judged as qualified did come to back to Florence after an Advanced Normal course was advertised (*Seventeenth Annual Catalog* 17). However, there were no requirements for normal training in place across the state to give any advantage to the teacher with normal school certification. In fact, a number of Florence graduates left the state to teach (Ogren 197-8). In the absence of legal requirements for teacher certification, only an enlightened county superintendent would have preferred the normal school graduate over the literary scholar or well-connected community member; enlightenment was not a requirement for the offices of County Superintendents.

Of course, attempting to emphasize a professional if truncated version of pedagogical training for normal students who qualified by virtue of their academic education might appear to have economic advantages, as mentioned above, especially if it resulted in increased numbers of qualified teachers, but in terms of the uses of literacy, it could be interpreted as an effort to manage what kinds of students had access to education and to a vocation as a teacher. A purely professional school for teachers would indicate that only those who can afford to go to school are desired. As for the role of Pedagogy as an academic discipline, the effort to separate teacher training from academic work could have hastened its eventual marginalization. However, at Florence, local concerns for continuing academic education prevailed. For several years, along with

advertising the college's mission to produce teachers, Florence's catalogues inform potential students that the University of Alabama as well as the "Polytechnic College at Auburn" will admit them at sophomore level without examination after they have completed two years at Florence and will also allow them to take examinations for the junior level (See for example, the *Seventeenth and Eighteenth Annual Catalogues*). The articulations between Pedagogy and liberal education at Florence are further revealed in the following paragraph published during those years.

The experience of all normal schools is that they must do academic work. Teachers, consciously or not, imitate their instructors. This is especially true if they have been educated in schools where no particular attention is paid to methods of imparting knowledge. They come forth with no awakened thought upon the importance of correct methods and with their attention fixed upon the matter to be taught; consequently they repeat what they have seen, both as to the art of instruction and the management of the school. . . . Theoretically, it may be desirable to confine the work of the Normal College to strictly professional subjects, but, practically, it is not yet possible" (*Seventeenth Annual Catalogue*16).

The institution's identity as a provider of academic status remained even as a new emphasis on a professional Pedagogy curriculum brought the symbols, treatises, and texts of late nineteenth-century educational thought to the northern Alabama normal school.

As we have seen in the representations of Pedagogy at Tuskegee and Florence, the texts related to individual pedagogues are central. The pedagogue functions as the

repository of expertise and disciplinary language, carrying out the work of teaching the future teachers. The pedagogue reflects and sometimes shapes thought as to the nature of teachers and students, not just in the normal school but also in the school's community, even across the state or region. While the catalogues from Tuskegee were mostly silent on the presence and content of Pedagogy there during the decade under discussion, the catalogues at Florence deploy the language of Pedagogy in several ways and for a number of educational and probably political and financial purposes. And like Tuskegee's "General Principles" for the 1886 Peabody Institute, other texts at Florence are available which describe the normal school's actual curricula and reveal attitudes about the nature of education and its proper outcome, as well as representations of teachers and students. Two such sources are the textbooks published in 1888 and 1890, textbooks composed for the normal students at Florence by the first Professor of Pedagogy at Florence, Charles Van Wie.

Little specific biographical information is available about Van Wie, though he is in many ways the ultimate pedagogue by the criteria for this study. He was born in 1856 in Cobleskill, a community in Schoharie County, New York (Van Wie, Charles; US Federal Census 1860). Van Wie's father Peter was a blacksmith, according to census records for 1860. His mother's occupation is not listed. Census records from 1880 show Van Wie was boarding with a farm family near Cortlandville Normal School in New York, along with three other young men, all of whom were listed as students (Van Wie, Charles; US Federal Census 1880). After his graduation from the normal school and by 1884, Van Wie was the principal of the Academic Department at the Union School in Holland Patent, New York ("Register of the Twenty-second Convocation" 20). He

received a bachelor's degree from Illinois Wesleyan College before he came to Florence in 1888 ("Van Wie" 12; *Secretary's Book* 1901). Van Wie's role at Florence and the increased importance of the study of Pedagogy is clearly visible in the official texts from the 1889 until 1898.

Both the *Annual Catalogue* and the *Annual Report to the Superintendent* list Van Wie as the head of the department of Pedagogy, but the *Annual Catalogue* makes it clear that the head of each department is still responsible for highlighting the best methods of teaching in his or her branch. "The Professor of Pedagogy," it is explained, "gives instruction of a professional character only," and is left free "to devote his time and attention exclusively to school management, the history of educational thought, and kindred subjects" (*Annual Catalogue* 1889-90, 21). One of those kindred subjects is the creation of two textbooks for Florence's normal student, textbooks that were used for almost ten years.³⁶ Those texts provide an informative look at the rhetoric of the state normal school in its local, regional, and even national context.

In the preface to *Development Helps*, Van Wie's explains that the textbook is for the students at Florence and at other schools "if readers find it helpful" (vii). His goal is to "cover the first year's work of a three-year course in pedagogics," he explains in the preface. Van Wie uses the term *development* to refer both to the growth of the mind like a "seed planted in moist, fertile soil" and in the more familiar sense of a "process by which pupils are led through the use of the related known to know what has hitherto been to unknown" (*Development* vii). The textbook is divided into two almost equal chapters,

³⁶ A prominent line in the "Language" section of the announcement pamphlet for the Peabody State Normal Institute in Florence in 1892 and 1893 requests that students who own Van Wie's textbooks bring them to the sessions (*Peabody Summer Institute* n pag).

one entitled “The Learner” and one entitled “The Lessons.” In the section entitled “The Learner,” Van Wie uses language both modest and expert. He begins by saying he is hardly qualified to describe what is known of the human mind, but that he will undertake to do so for his beginning students. Van Wie then uses the familiar tripartite division of mental function and faculties, shortening the complex taxonomy found in Rosenkranz and others to areas he considers important to the classroom. He includes the presentative, representative, and reflective faculties to be cultivated by sensation, attention, memory, and imagination, of which the latter is the “highest and most creative aspect” of human mind (Van Wie, *Development* 31). He covers inductive and deductive teaching, explaining that inductive methods are preferred (Van Wie, *Development* 31). Normal students are encouraged to kindness and exemplary behavior toward their students as well as reasonable standards. Most of all, according to Van Wie, future teachers should remember at all times that “the laws of self-activity say that the student should do most of the work, [thus allowing for] proper learning and self-mastery,” and in order to free the teacher’s “energies for directing, devising, suggesting, and above all keeping in mind the pupil more completely, thereby discovering and correcting his deficiencies” (56-7).

According to Van Wie, the goal of education is self-culture, the development of mental habits that allow the individual to become “self-supporting, earning and saving; preserving bodily and mental powers” and becoming a true citizen within the context of his or her family, community, nation, and as part of humanity (57). Like the admonition in Tuskegee’s principles for the Peabody Institute for teachers to help their students develop of self-control of the hands, the head and the heart, Van Wie’s goal is education of the complete individual (57).

The second half of *Development Helps* gives “General Directions” on how “pupil-teachers” will fold their papers, turn in prepared lessons on specific days, prepare a lesson for their peers, and act a part appropriate to age level of the pupil-teacher’s prepared lesson (45). Instructions are also given on how “to evaluate others by specific criteria,” but even in these rather specific instructions, assumptions about students and teachers are clear (44). Students are to judge their fellow “pupil-teachers” on their work in terms of the three “Ms”—Matter, Method, and Manner” (45, 59). *Matter* refers to the content of the course drawn from the common school curriculum. Except for examples, *Development Helps* does not include any content information which indicates that the student teacher’s content knowledge is expected to be sufficient. *Method* is defined by Van Wie as “the means or devices, or systems by which the pupil teacher leads students to gain strength and power” (45). It is important not to overlook the implications of Van Wie’s definition of *Method* as creating “strength and power” in the student, since it assumes the teacher’s knowledge of the pedagogical techniques and principles that enable self-culture in the student. *Manner* is the peculiar way the teacher executes the understood method, the teacher’s “subjective . . . unconscious influence [resulting] from personal expression or habit; manner also includes expression in speech, movement, and position” (45). Describing these three criteria in the negative sense, Van Wie says that if a teacher wrote a lesson on the board and omitted a word, that would be an issue of Manner. If, according to Van Wie, “that teacher could not *lead students to discover that error and avoid reproducing it*, the problem would be one of Method (46); emphasis added). Finally, if the teacher did not recognize the error himself or herself, the problem would be one of Matter, or a lack of knowledge of the common branches (46). Van Wie’s

construction of the student is as a potential citizen; his teacher is the “facile” mind, comprehensive, embracing the individualities of different pupils, the self, *and the matter that serves as a means of instruction*”(46, italics original).³⁷

Van Wie’s second text for the students at Florence, entitled *Methods in the Common Branches*, is much longer and can be considered a general methods textbook. By the mid-1890s, the normal curriculum had expanded to provide not just a general course in Pedagogy and Methods, but also more specialized courses called “Methods in Arithmetic, Methods in Language, and Methods in Geography” (Ogren 126). It is beyond the scope of this project to analyze the presence of Pedagogy in *Methods*, but several characteristics are worth noting. First of all, Van Wie represents the teacher as one who uses materials on hand to create unique lessons (Van Wie, *Methods* 107, 120, 135, 177). As discussed in a previous chapter, the newspaper as course material and even as a project for student writers is suggested, as are rhetorical performances (Van Wie, *Methods* 185). These activities both underscore the role of the teacher as autonomous in the classroom where choosing methods are concerned. Secondly, Van Wie models teacher cooperation, explaining the value of a particular teacher’s hand-made apparatus for modeling geological characteristics, and explaining how that teacher contributed to his text (142). Thirdly, Van Wie outlines the numerous ways teachers can conduct “recitations,” redefining that term to include teacher observation during activities and even more conversational exchanges with students rather than the familiar “stand and recite” for the teacher’s evaluation. Van Wie says his “underlying purpose is to make it

³⁷ It may be confusing to consider *matter* as that which serves as a means of teaching, but it is important to remember that the content of a lesson is primarily a means of engaging the mental faculties of the student in order to prepare them for the next level of intellectual effort.

impossible for the teacher with book in hand to become a mechanical follower, [but to] make it possible for him (sic) to become a conscious creator” (46). He calls the insistence by Charles De Garmo, a well-known advocate of what was then being called “the new education,” that students study from approved and ordered lists unwise and “sententious,” advocating that teachers create their own outlines of subjects both to benefit their students and themselves by becoming “method-evolutionists” in their classroom practice. In short, even as the curriculum for teacher preparation becomes more complex, Van Wie’s approach, like that of Nathan Young, placed the ability of the knowledgeable, well-prepared, and autonomous teacher as central to the successful creation of an educated populace.

Van Wie left Florence in 1899, replaced by Mary Franc Witter, about whom little is known. In that year, the textbooks chosen did not include Van Wie’s, but instead a book for “for teachers and normal school superintendents,” *The New Psychology* by James Pancoast Gordy, along with Charles De Garmo’s 1892 *Essentials of Method*, the text in which De Garmo makes “method-wholes” explicit for teachers (Gordy ii, *Twentieth Annual Catalogue* 23, De Garmo 129). The term *Pedagogy* disappears from the catalogues at Florence in the early twentieth century, even as courses in industrial, manual, and domestic training are added to the normal requirements. For several years in the 1910s, the women at Florence were required to sew their graduation dresses using material purchased with a specific amount of money (Ogren 204). In 1900, students who do not desire to teach were, once again, “excused from the professional requirements” and, according to the *Annual Catalogues* for those years, many academic students who have graduated were achieving distinction in the state’s colleges. The articulation of

teacher-training with the industrial and increasingly, with the rural, does not stop with these changes.

In 1912, the name of the school was changed from State Normal College back to State Normal School when, as the superintendent's annual report explained, the normal "gave up the effort to compete with high schools, colleges, and universities and limited themselves to preparing teachers for elementary schools," primarily the rural and ungraded ones. Teachers with normal school training did get the advantage of required state certification in 1914. The state's focus on the normals working to educate young women and a few men to teach in the rural common schools was part of a pattern common all over the US. Teachers for the small but increasing numbers of high schools would come from colleges with education departments, colleges that rarely offered free tuition to potential teachers (Ogren 202). While it is beyond the scope of this study to analyze the many changes in the rhetoric employed in these reports, they reveal a move away from the traditional normal school pedagogies which had conservatively continued to use the language of the early nineteenth century, as is discussed in the conclusion to this dissertation.

Little is known about Van Wie's further career after he left Florence in 1899. Alumni records indicate that he attended Harvard where he received a degree in Philosophy (*Secretary's Book 1901* 370). He remained in Cambridge, Massachusetts and may have taught a course related to real estate procedure, but the entry on the federal census for 1900 is blurred (Census). In the *Secretary's Book* for his class year, Van Wie describes his work as "caring for his tenants" (370); he does not mention his work as a Professor of Pedagogy. His obituary is particularly revealing. The writer from the

Cambridge Chronicle points out that Van Wie, the son of a blacksmith, was an example of a “self-made man,” having come to Cambridge twenty years back after working as normal school principal (sic) and then buying properties in the city (“Charles Van Wie” 12). The implication is that his work in education allowed him to transcend his father’s social status and thus to become successful, a familiar normal school narrative. At his death in 1914, he was a lifelong bachelor, and a member of a local Baptist church, and the owner of a number of properties in and around the city (“Charles Van Wie” 12).

THE END OF PEDAGOGY

Where Tuskegee is concerned, as long as Pedagogy was represented as vocational training for teachers whose ideological approaches were acceptable, it was supported by the funding sources for normal schools; when Pedagogy was viewed as an academic subject or as a possible professional activity, it was suspect. In a 1915 speech delivered to the National Association of Teachers in Colored Schools, an organization of which he was president, Young once again calls for the establishment of institutions of higher learning for African Americans, for normal schools with actual departments of Pedagogy, and for at least one Normal College in the central South for the education of African American teachers and professors. He criticizes the Peabody Trust board’s failure to take action on this lack when the Trust was dissolved in 1914 and the funds distributed. While he takes pains to explain that current normal school teachers do not lack “*efficiency*” in teaching “the *sub-college courses*” that are “a financial asset” to the school, the problem lies “in the *extent of the work*” (Young, “Upward Departure” n pag; emphasis original). According to Young, proper support for Pedagogy departments would “release a teaching force that could be made to do a standard day’s work in their advanced courses” (332). If

an institution like the Peabody College for Teachers, Young reasoned, devoted to advanced college course work and research in teaching African Americans were added, the “duplicate” African American education system would be equal to the white system, a circumstance which would “allow a thorough-going academic preparation for the common American life” (330).

It would be oversimplifying this partial biography of Young to cast it only as a heroic individual struggle against industrial education and in favor of liberal education and Pedagogy; he developed and promoted industrial courses at each institution where he worked. Moreover, later in his life he admitted a certain lack of “political finesse” and an “undiplomatic attitude” in regard to his convictions that led to the conflict that would damage his career. Nor is Young an antagonist or opposite to Booker T. Washington, who spoke at Young’s schools on a number of occasions and who invited Young to speak at Tuskegee through the years. When he eulogized Washington, Young characterized Washington’s “crusade” as heroic and his “mental acumen unexcelled by any great leader” (Holland 317-8). But important lessons can be learned from Young’s struggle to develop a balanced system of education for African Americans. The political and ideological uses of Pedagogy provided access to knowledge and status for some African American pedagogues and for many of their students for a time. However, the restriction of pedagogical literacies based on race to a single curriculum with little or no choice grounded in the complex setting of the classroom facilitated the dual and unequal educational system as surely as did the dichotomy of liberal arts versus industrial or vocational training.

One final lesson in Young's story is the "disappearance" of Pedagogy from it. Young's biography was Holland's dissertation and was originally published in 1984. The eulogy for Booker T. Washington and the 1915 speech to the National Association of Teachers in Colored Schools, referenced here, were appended. Although he records Young's efforts to develop the field of Pedagogy during his career, Holland actually says little about Pedagogy as it impacts the controversy over African American education. However, attention to the literacy context of normal schools makes it possible to discover the residual importance of Pedagogy in Holland's work through the narrative detail and in contemporaneous texts. Unfortunately, in the edition of the biography published in 2004, the appendices have been dropped and a chapter titled "Summation of a Life" is added at the end. In that chapter, Young's considerable contribution to African American education is characterized as the work of a man who was "an advocate of liberal arts education for blacks" and who fought against "powerful forces that saw elementary agricultural and industrial education as best for African American Americans" (Holland, 2004, 208). The only mention of teaching in the new last chapter is the description of these forces as working to limit the "curricula of publicly supported black educational institutions in the South and Midwest to basic training in agriculture, industry, and *teaching*" (Holland, 2004, 208; emphasis added). Rather than the third important component of balanced education Young advocated during his career, Pedagogy becomes articulated to "agriculture, industry, and teaching." Young's biographer ends with Young's deserved accolades for his role in preserving a "vision of bringing about the first-class standard institutions of higher learning," but there are no normal colleges in sight.

It would be disingenuous to claim a sudden end to Pedagogy that would have been sensed by its practitioners or that the terminological shift from *pedagogy* to *education* to denote teacher programs indicated overnight change. For one thing, the development of specializations in teaching made it necessary for teachers to limit the scope of their content knowledge. Nevertheless, it is possible to see how the increased stratification of education reduced the role of the teacher, limited the access to education the normal schools had provided, and relocated expertise to the education chairs and departments of colleges, a relocation that brought education into a new and arguably closer contact with the ideologies of power.

READING WITH THE TUSKEGEE WOMAN'S CLUB

On March 2, 1895, thirteen women met in a reading room on the campus of Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute “to discuss the necessity of having an organization here for the higher mental development of our women” (*Minutes* 3). A constitution and a set of by-laws were drawn up. Within the first month, literature teacher and wife of the school’s founder, Margaret Murray Washington, was elected president, grammar teacher Elizabeth Lane was named recording secretary, and a debate over which of the two most common rules of order would be adopted was settled with the choice of Cushings over Roberts (*Minutes* 4). A commitment to set aside a number of the twice-monthly meetings to study the rules of order and drills was made. At the second meeting of the club, Secretary Lane read a letter from Susan B. Anthony and friends commending the woman’s club movement at Tuskegee and “giving pleasant expression of their impressions and hopes for our people” (*Minutes* 7). Within that same month, the women had received invitations from two long established women’s clubs offering affiliation with them. By accepting the invitation from the Brooklyn Literary Union, the Tuskegee club would be obliged to adopt that group’s name (*Minutes* 7). If they accepted the invitation of the Woman’s League of Washington, they would be obliged to adopt that group’s “aims and constitution only” (*Minutes* 7). Lady Principal and Rhetoric and Household Economy teacher Leonora Chapman moved to consider these invitations along with their own ideas. Along with most of the members, Critic Teacher and Principal of the Training School Susan Porter favored a name that reflected the club’s unique circumstances and suggested calling the group the Tuskegee Women’s Club. Algebra teacher Josephine Turpin Washington, no relation to Booker T. Washington,

amended the motion, suggesting Tuskegee *Woman's* Club, perhaps in solidarity with other clubs for whom the singular and possessive noun indicated inclusion for all members of the gender (*Minutes 7, Catalogue of Tuskegee 1895-96*).³⁸ The revised motion passed. From their very beginning, women of the Tuskegee club acknowledged their connections to other women's clubs and yet decisively set themselves apart because of their unique position at the school that, even in 1895, was becoming nationally known as simultaneously exemplary and controversial in the discourse of education and race.

In the coming decades after the founding of the TWC, its members would play a major role in the national club movement for women, becoming a charter member club in the National Association of Colored Women (McHenry 300; White 18). The TWC would host visiting women leaders from all over the US and from Great Britain, and would found and lead smaller organizations made up of local women and students to provide shelter, clothing, education, and their own version of moral training to their community (Logan 171). Like other women's clubs across the US, the women at Tuskegee worked to better themselves and their sisters. Histories of the women's club movement document the ways in which diverse groups including African American women, white middle-class women, Jewish, Mormon, and white working-class women all over the US acquired rhetorical competence as they promoted temperance, education, better health, and suffrage in the last quarter of the nineteenth century and into the twentieth century (Gere 3).³⁹ Women gained skills in organizing and communicating as their clubs took on

³⁸ Gere suggests that in the naming woman's clubs, the choice of *women* or *woman* instead of the more prestigious or upper class "*ladies*" echoed the term "*new woman*, which connoted social change" (7). The use of *woman's* by the preeminent temperance organization, the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, may also have been an influence.

³⁹ Jacqueline Jones Royster's *Traces of a Stream* documents the importance of these clubs in her landmark study of a group of nineteenth-century African American essayists and their "deliberate use of written

community improvement through fundraising for education and print materials, guiding the sexual behavior of young women, providing shelter for the elderly, and giving assistance to the less fortunate. At Tuskegee and in many places, even the movement to protect animals from abuse was promoted among members of women's clubs (*Minutes* 155-7; Buettinger 857). In addition to reform and education activities—in fact, as an integral part of them—women in clubs also read. The *Minutes* of the TWC reveal that its members read fiction and nonfiction and other genres as wide-ranging as the novel, short stories, plays, investigative journalism, and literary essays. They read and discussed and responded in writing to texts chosen for their status, for information, for pleasure, or to promote specific writers or causes. For the women of the TWC, reading was central to their work, their pleasure, and their identity.

As Elizabeth McHenry has pointed out, gendered representations of reading and polite discussion in women's clubs, as opposed to the writing and speaking historically highlighted in discussions of male literary societies, can obscure the way in which “reading was an integral component of African American clubwomen's conception of literary work as a strategy of resistance” (225). McHenry identifies two “impulses” toward reading and the choice of texts in these clubs in the years surrounding the turn of the century; club members studied and discussed texts traditionally considered “high culture” alongside texts by African American writers, both male and female (McHenry 225). The following paragraphs explore both of these types of reading as undertaken by the TWC. In addition, a third impulse toward reading is considered that further emphasizes the ideological role of literacies associated with the African American

language to meet sociopolitical purposes” (Royster 43). *Well-Tempered Women*, Carol Mattingly's work on women in the temperance movement, reveals the role of clubs in the temperance movement.

teacher in the context of the Southern normal school. Readers in the TWC sought out literature of their immediate circumstances as a means of understanding and even acquiring some agency in those circumstances. The chapter argues that club members responses to and their representations in literary fiction and nonfiction provides the contemporary reader with a means of re-envisioning the tensions of race, class, and gender at Tuskegee and specifically in the club's activities and reveals a more nuanced understanding of the role of that tension in the emergent and complex identity of the Tuskegee Woman.

The chapter is divided into two parts; the first part is primarily an effort to “read about” the TWC. The first half focuses on studies of the TWC as part of the club movement and what those studies have revealed about literary/literacy work among its members. Examples of ways in which rhetorics of literacy education common the normal schools are included. The significance of the club members' common reading is underscored in terms of representations of the TWC as an “exclusive” literary society whose membership was made up of the teachers and the spouses of teachers (White 28). The second part of the chapter presents an effort to “read with” the TWC, not by appropriating an identity or operating from a specific point of expertise, but by reading and considering the texts the club members read—especially those popular texts not discussed in previous studies—and by considering the literature-related activities club members undertook in an openly speculative and contemplative manner. By considering the *Minutes* as an archive of rhetorical performance, albeit a fragmented and limited one, the chapter seeks to report the “multiple voices, viewpoints, experiences, and interpretive possibilities . . . embedded within a fully textured sociohistorical context” of women

reading and discussing literature (Royster and Kirsch 87). The chapter explores some of the dominant tropes in the literacy context of turn-of-the-century Tuskegee and confronts the received portrayal of the TWC to suggest not correction but recognition of the multiplicity inherent in the rhetorical performance of literature study in this literacy context. First, though, a brief description of club protocols related to literary study and discussion follows.

ORGANIZING FOR “HIGHER MENTAL DEVELOPMENT:” CLUB NIGHTS AT TUSKEGEE

Club meetings generally followed an agenda that called for careful attention to parliamentary procedures, as the entry concerning Cushing’s text above indicates. The executive committee planned the subjects for club meetings and for literature nights, usually for a calendar quarter, and assigned club members to research and prepare in order to present a paper, take part in a debate, or to at least respond to the topic (McHenry 188; Gere 34). In addition, the club was organized into sub-groups or “departments” whose functions were to organize for reform among the female students and the local women, departments with titles such as the Minister’s Wives Club, the Town and Country Woman’s Conference, the Social Purity Club for young women in the community outside the campus, the Vesta Club, the Current History Club, the Dorcas Club for assisting the elderly and those in extreme poverty, and the TWC chapter of the Woman’s Christian Temperance Union (*Minutes* 14). Time was allowed in most meetings for reports on the reform and organizational efforts of these smaller groups.

There were occasional social evenings, but most meetings brought the members together to present papers they had written, discuss the planned subject, and review their work in the community. Meetings were given over to plans for intervening in the negative representations of African Americans, and especially Southern African American women. Club members wrote letters and sought to intervene in plans for a “bar room in Negro Building at the 1895 Exposition,” a plan that would bring “lasting disgrace that it will reflect upon the whole race,” as the secretary recorded TWC president Margaret Murray Washington’s words (*Minutes* 14). During the club’s first ten years, other topics for discussion and debate included the mortality rate among African Americans, the “education of Negro girls,” “self-culture for motherhood,” and “race suicide” (*Minutes* 35, 18, 33, 177). Another topic that generated interest for club members was suffrage.

While Margaret Murray Washington’s comment that “Suffrage never keeps me up at night” is widely known, and while club members were discouraged from working in favor of the vote for women, suffrage was the recorded topic of discussion at least three times in meetings (3, 37, 60). For example, the club selected the works of Ida Husted Harper, a suffrage proponent who with Susan B. Anthony, wrote a history of the suffrage movement and later penned Anthony’s biography (*Minutes* 37). A statement of the club’s official position in favor of woman’s suffrage is appended to the ten-year report to the trustees of Tuskegee and Adele Hunt Logan is identified as the club member most associated with bringing news of the issue before the membership (*BTW Papers* 4:374). Margaret Murray Washington’s fame and her conservative influence were a factor in the TWC’s activities, but it would be a mistake to assume any single and consistent viewpoint. Club president Margaret Murray Washington, like her husband, traveled a

great deal, and club business and discussion was often conducted by other officers and members in her absence. Moreover, the membership of the club, like the faculty of the school, was made up of many teachers and their spouses, many of whom would pass through Tuskegee in a matter of years, so there is little indication that a single viewpoint prevailed. Instead, it is much more likely that the women of the club discussed suffrage and other issues from various points of view.

It is impossible to read the *Minutes* without an awareness of the historical context. Club members discuss the role of the African American soldier in the Spanish-American War, they consider ways to combat the separate railroad car practices, they reschedule meetings in order to welcome a visiting poet and a president, and they consider publication of a pamphlet in response to race riots in Atlanta (75, 42, 121, 79). In parliamentary practice, they stage mock debates, including one affirming their right to the “use of bloomers . . . and the disuse of the corset” (39). Club programs on how to instill the middle-class values of the teachers, most of whom were educated in normal schools or normal programs in colleges, into the rural communities surrounding Tuskegee are frequent (*Minutes* 13, 90). As might be expected, some club meetings are given over to presentations and discussions of strictly educational issues, including “child study,” the role of heredity in learning, arrangements for Cuban teachers to study at Harvard in a summer normal session, and the new system of Swedish gymnastics (17, 36, 98, 101). However, no other category of topics receives the frequent attention given to the reading and study of literature, which is understood here to mean those texts of fiction or non-fiction which may or may not have direct bearing on a current issue, but are read for pleasure and for their intrinsic cultural value. In the 15 years following the founding of

the TWC, the *Minutes* record 28 club events for the presentation and discussion of literature.

“LITERATURE NIGHTS”: AMERICAN AND BRITISH HIGH CULTURE AND THE TWC

The first literature night for the TWC was May 3, 1895, two months after the TWC was founded (*Minutes* 15). In what would become the usual manner for such meetings, the members of the club responded to roll call with quotations from Holmes’s works and a biographical “Sketch of the Life” was presented (15). A club member recited Holmes’s poem, “The Chambered Nautilus,” and a critique of his best known work, *The Autocrat of the Breakfast Table*, was given. The *Minutes* are spare when it comes to details about the club members’ responses to the literature as presented; in fact, the recording secretary often notes only the author or authors’ names and the name of the club member responsible for each part of the program. Presentations took the form of papers given and suggestions are made and noted from time to time that a paper should be published to a larger audience. Unfortunately, with some exceptions, few of the papers for any of the club meetings survive. However, the choices of literature are nevertheless of interest as are the brief comments in the *Minutes*.

There are several reasons the club at Tuskegee would include works by well-known authors like Holmes in their programs. Women’s clubs often choose for “literature nights” those “texts that had traditionally been defined as high culture” (McHenry 225). On the one hand, historians suggest that members of the African American women’s clubs chose the literature of the dominant class because they “subscribed to an ideology

that supported their appraisal of it as superior” (McHenry 225; White, “The Cost” 233). As members of a club that could select, based on their knowledge of proper culture, the kinds of texts that would show their own refinement, the members of the TWC may have felt they could acquire the “positive visibility” and “social status associated with the genteel tradition” (Gere 192). They could also choose texts for which value had been assured by the interest among other knowledgeable club women across the US, since club newsletters often listed or discussed authors and works. For example, in its founding issue and throughout its publication, articles about what to read and suggestions for literature programs appeared in the *Women’s Era*, the official organ of the Woman’s Era Club in Boston and later the newsletter for one of the two federations of women’s clubs that joined together to become the National Association of Colored Women.

Published since early 1894, the *Woman’s Era* was widely read among African American clubwomen and played an important role in the organization of national and regional clubs for African American women (McHenry 240). In addition to groundbreaking articles on issues of significance to African American women and men, articles and columns in the *Woman’s Era* frequently addressed the need for African American women to work against isolation from “the great works of art, science and letters” in order to be able to mingle freely with people of culture and learning” (Ruffin 8). This important periodical suggested texts for study for its membership and its subscribers; the TWC had a standing subscription to this publication beginning in 1897, but it is reasonable to suggest that its members read the *Woman’s Era* from the club’s beginning. A regular columnist for *Woman’s Era* suggested club members encourage girls to read Carlyle and Dickens, and in another issue, a correspondent listed Plato, Sir

Thomas Moore, Hardy, Tennyson, and Bulwer-Lytton as authors studied in her reading group for young women (Gould 10; Wilmot 11). The assumption is, of course, that club members themselves were familiar with and valued these works and would transmit that valuation to younger women. The study of literature was part of at least two of the smaller clubs for girls led by members of the TWC. The club's report for 1905 describes activities in the Ednah Cheney Club for Senior Girls designed to allow the young women to "acquaint themselves with the things that women are doing as set forth in the current literature of the day" (BTW Papers 8:478). In that same report, the officers of the Vesta Club for "girls who are from town but who are attending the school" describe their meetings to "read good books and papers and discuss subjects pertaining to home life, such as will aid their progress and culture" (BTW Papers 8:478478). In both of those reports the study of approved texts is important in disciplining the young women of the surrounding area.

As noted above, the TWC's first literary night celebrated Oliver Wendell Holmes. Holmes had died three months before the official first meeting of the TWC and an article eulogizing the "last leaf" among great American poets had appeared in the *Woman's Era* (Gould 19) and that text may have influenced the literary committee of the TWC to choose Holmes. It is equally likely that the works of Holmes were popular enough with the TWC membership to make the choice independent of other clubs. Whatever the case, the recently deceased Holmes was the subject of the inaugural meeting devoted to literature. Oliver Wendell Holmes's works were popular throughout the second half of the nineteenth century, and along with poets Lowell, Whittier, Longfellow, and Tennyson, were often studied in classrooms all over the US (*Minutes* 64, 118, 119;

McHenry 229). In the context of normal school curricula, these poets' works would have been considered excellent examples for teaching as well as enjoying literature. In fact, the *Catalogue of Tuskegee* for 1894-1895 lists these writers, along with William Cullen Bryant, as the authors of texts for study by the "B Middle" or approximately sophomore level students, so the members of TWC would probably have already encountered them in their own reading and some of them in their preparation for teaching.⁴⁰ The TWC's agenda for the study of Holmes includes his collection of essays related by an overarching narrative called *Autocrat of the Breakfast Table*, a text that celebrates conversation, reflection, and eccentric personality and that has as its romantic center, a young schoolteacher.

Reading choices based on the acceptance of an ideological stance that privileged works esteemed by the dominant culture might seem obvious when one considers that the members of the TWC were either teachers or the spouses of teachers on the faculty at Tuskegee. Many of Tuskegee's teachers came from normal schools or normal programs at colleges in the Northwest or Midwest, or from Fisk, or Atlanta University, schools where the curricula included some traditional literature as the proper study of culture. But while one historian has concluded that the TWC was "exclusive" among the charter member clubs in the National Association of Colored Women because of the membership of teachers, the presence and influence of normal school rhetoric is significant among all club women, not just the members of TWC (White 28). The link between the rhetoric of normal Pedagogy and the clubs' approaches to and valuing of cultural texts is especially noticeable in justifications for their study. Charlotte Hawkins Brown, founder of both the

⁴⁰ It is interesting to note that these writers are omitted as subjects of study for several years after the changes to academic curricula of 1896 as discussed in Chapter 3.

North Carolina Federation of Negro Women's Clubs and of Palmer Memorial Institute, an industrial and literary school, claimed that the culture of the "genteel tradition" would benefit the club woman because it led to the moral betterment of persons [by] regulating both mind and morality" (Gere 193). Brown's language echoes tellingly the language of normal school pedagogical discourse in her definition of culture as "the discipline of the mental and moral powers manifest in the ease and grace and poise one exhibits in the performance of one's life" (White 261; Gere 193). Fannie Barrier Williams, a teacher and one of the founders both of the National Association of Colored Women and later the NAACP, used nineteenth-century language as she called for club women to provide to their "daughters capable of education" the "mental discipline and culture that are the most important furnishings of a university education" (Williams 4; qtd in Gere 193). Well after the end of century, influential club women who were educators used the language of mental and moral discipline to refer to the value of literature texts. If the estimation of such texts was in part based on the esteem in which they were held by a dominant class, it was also based on club women's value for the use of the texts in disciplining the mind and providing moral example for its use, a value that can be linked to their normal school education.

Whatever the reasons for the choice of traditional literature texts for club study and pleasure, there is evidence that the texts were not simply received uncritically. Club members who attended the program on Robert Browning presented not just quotations and a biographical sketch, but discussed the popularity and the activities of Browning Clubs in Great Britain (*Minutes* 20). When the last meeting before Christmas in 1899 was devoted to the works of Shakespeare, club members reviewed *Cymbeline* and discussed

female characters in it and in other plays, including Ophelia in *Hamlet* and Juliet in *Romeo and Juliet* (99). Club members determined for themselves the “Greatest Poet” from among Whittier, Longfellow, Tennyson, and Milton, although the *Minutes* do not reveal the club’s choice (*Minutes* 64). Nor did members of the TWC hesitate to use the literature they read for purposes of performance. A social meeting including a masquerade, club members dressed as historical and literary characters, and as will be discussed later in this chapter, the members of TWC performed a popular play (*Minutes* 208). One account of a club literary night featuring the work of “Mr. Rudyard Kipling” tells how members not only answered roll call with quotations, but also set to music some of Kipling’s poems and performed recitations of others (Porter np; quoted in McHenry 240; *Minutes* 85). It is worthwhile to note that this meeting took place at the height of the “Kipling craze” in the US, and only two months since Kipling’s near death from pneumonia during which popular newspapers published bulletins from his bedside and celebrated his recovery with hyperbolic praise of the man in whose hands “the destiny of the world for the next quarter century” lies (Mott 187). This particular choice of texts indicates that TWC members, like many women’s clubs, took part in fads or trends in literature.

Another popular genre, less likely to create hysteria but more likely to be linked with popular performance, was dialect literature, a term that refers not just to the rural African American speech common in minstrel shows and magazine stories but also humor writing about regional or immigrant groups and literature of more serious intent, including texts by “Englishmen writing of India, of Paris, and of Scotland” (Mott 191). The TWC undertook a study of one such dialect writer of the Scottish “Kailyard School”

of local color, “kailyard” being the cabbage patch or kitchen garden pictured as adjacent to a small village cottage (April 16, 1897, 47; Mott 190). The author, Ian McLaren, was best known for his popular novel called *Beside the Bonnie Brier Bush*, which was a best seller in 1895 (Mott 191). The novel tells of life and death in isolated Drumtochty village; the writer reproduces the local dialect in the speech of the characters, though some of the narrative is advanced in more standard language. The dialect renders the prose dense and difficult for the contemporary reader—club members may have been more adept with this condition of language—but the story clearly is one of virtuous men and women who suffer and prevail over poverty and illness with the help of a schoolmaster, a physician, and saintly mothers (MacLaren 3-327). The *Minutes* do not record the club’s response to the texts, nor are there any entries on the club’s reaction to another popular dialect writer, this time a poet named Eugene Fields, known for his rollicking portrayal of white working class characters evincing misunderstandings of vocabulary and effecting learned speech.⁴¹ Whether the club enjoyed or approved of dialect literature is not addressed in the *Minutes*, but their choice to read dialect literature is significant. While it is beyond the scope of this project to consider the use of dialect in representing, exoticizing, or demeaning stereotyped social groups in the fin de siècle period, it is useful briefly to consider the various responses to dialect writing and performance within the African American intellectual community because it reveals yet another layer of complexity in the responses of club readers to literature.

⁴¹ Eugene Fields’s poem, “The Conversazzeony,” appeared in *The Woman’s Era* in August of 1896. The poem is a raucous parody of a male literary club meeting in which a club member speaks fractured French about a dessert called “Charlotte Russe” and is thrown out of the club for disrespect toward this woman Charlotte and by extension, all women (Field 8).

The spectrum of responses among African American intellectuals to the use of representations of African American dialect ranges from acceptance and appreciation of such literary efforts to complete disapproval. In the latter case, short story writer and educator George Marion McClellan said of Paul Lawrence Dunbar's "attempt at the poetic art in Negro dialect," that "to speak the truth . . . it must be said that there is no such thing as a Negro dialect, but . . . bad English called Negro dialect" (McClellan 280).⁴² An editorial in the *Woman's Era* quotes George Washington Cable's advice to African Americans to dress, talk, and write like white men to "hasten on the day when they will be distinguished only as 'Americans,'" but the editors favor the appreciation of dialect literature and suggest that it is one of the "characteristics of the race that [is] worth preserving" (McHenry 235). The literary column in *Woman's Era* also reiterated William Dean Howell's praise of Dunbar's poetry and reprinted his dialect poem, "When De Co'n Pone's Hot" (McHenry 234; *Woman's Era* May 1895, 3). Of course, dialect in novels as diverse as those by Frances Harper, Charles Chesnutt, and Pauline Hopkins is used in varying ways and with varying outcomes even while more "mainstream" writers including Mark Twain use and draw attention to their characters' dialects. The opinions of the members of the TWC are not directly known, but their approach to dialect literature is revealing.

When dialect in popular literature is itself the subject for a literature night, the members of the TWC plan a study of several dialects without focusing on a particular writer's life. For a December meeting in 1902, a program on the "Irish, Scotch (sic), and

⁴² Interestingly, McClellan praises Robert Burns's poetry in the Scots dialect, saying that the poet "has shown how the immortal life of all beautiful things can be handed down for all time in dialect, but it can scarcely be believed by any one that great poetry can ever be clothed in the garb know as negro dialect" (280). McClellan does allow that some dialect is useful to add "pathos and to put the Negro forward at his best in his humorous and good natured character" (280).

Negro dialects” was planned, but the club member presenting on the Scotch dialect was not in attendance, so the reading teacher, Mrs. J. M. (Sarah Peake) Greene, “substituted a selection of the Yankee dialect for the broad Scotch” (147). Sarah Peake Greene, who was born in Virginia and educated in Northampton, Massachusetts and at Hampton Normal and Industrial School, must have felt equal to the task, as we can reason from her voluntary presentation (*Twenty-two Years* 226). Perhaps she drew from the numerous books of dialect humor often advertised in magazines and newspapers or read from popular stories from writers such as Edward Noyes Westcott, whose eponymous protagonist, David Harum, appeared in a best seller (Mott 201). She could also have chosen one of a number of short stories by New England local color writer Mary Wilkins Freeman or others in that genre. We have no direct statement of the club’s pleasure or displeasure in dialect literature, but it is possible to infer in their recognition of vernacular speech as a means of expression in various language groups, a more scholarly interest in the language and an awareness of, if not equality among dialects, certainly a recognition of African American dialect as a linguistic phenomenon among others rather than merely a degraded form of the language of the dominant culture. As is often the case, members of the club together seem to read and to respond as if occupying that middle position between the two groups represented at polar opposites.

Club members recorded in a little more detail their responses to another group of literature texts. McHenry notes that, while club women accepted to a point the authority of authors and literary texts “determined by mainstream academic circles and the dominant cultural tradition to be ‘authors of worth and literary standing,’” club women both “embraced and chafed against standard notions of culture,” and they redefined those

notions to include texts by African Americans deemed worthy of their notice (228). Of the 28 club meetings with literature topics, nine were devoted to study and discussion of African American authors; moreover, entries in the *Minutes* for these nights often include comments on the texts at hand, indicating even more of an interest and awareness of African American writers than the numbers suggest.

“I AM NOT DISCOURAGED”: AFRICAN AMERICAN LITERATURE AND THE TWC

Three months after the founding of the TWC, the membership met to discuss the state of African American literature (*Minutes* 16). The meeting began with the members answering “roll call with quotations from seventeen Afro-Am. (sic) Authors” (*Minutes* 8). Music by African American composers was featured and a poem titled “The Black Hero” by a “Miss Harper” was performed. Since there were no members on the club role named Harper on this date, and since a poem with this title is among the works of Frances E. W. Harper, it is quite likely that the poem was read by an unidentified club member and the recording secretary broke from the usual way of listing topics and speakers. Frances E. W. Harper, a well-known abolitionist, temperance, and suffrage worker and a leader of African American women in the club movement would have been well-known to members of the TWC (*Minutes* 4). In addition to her activism, which spanned from the 1850s to the first decade of the twentieth century, Harper was also a writer, publishing books of poems and novels, including *Iola Leroy*, a 1892 novel about African American life and the “probably the best-selling novel by an African American woman prior to the

twentieth century (Foster xxxvii). The choice of this particular poem reveals several important aspects of the TWC club members' interest in literature identified as African American.

The poem listed here as "The Black Hero" was first published in the early 1890's. Based on an actual event, the poem tells of an explosion and fire on a steamboat on a river in Kentucky. The pilot of the boat abandons the rudder before the boat can be brought to shore and only the courageous sacrifice of an African American worker who dies braving the "fiery path" to steer the boat closer to the shore allows the passengers to survive (Harper, "Our Hero" np). The first published version of the poem is twelve stanzas of alternating rhyme in iambic tetrameter. The second publication of the poem was in 1895 in a collection called *The Sparrow Falls and Other Poems* (Foster 326). At that time, Harper added a stanza that emphasizes the importance of an individual in the survival of the group and she changed the title to the more-inclusive "Our Hero" (Foster 326). The fact that the members of the TWC chose Harper for their first subject of performance and study speaks to her importance. The use of the earlier title of the poem in the *Minutes* may indicate that club members, or at least the planning committee for literature, were familiar with the Harper's work, and as such, they were allied with other readers of African American literature, including women's clubs and, in fact, with many white readers of popular literature (Foster 26).

The program during which the poem was performed also included the presentation of a paper by mathematics teacher and journalist Josephine Turpin Washington. Turpin Washington's paper, "The African American Author," has apparently not survived, in spite of the fact that the *Minutes* record a discussion of ways

to have the paper published.⁴³ Club president Margaret Murray Washington agreed with the club membership's call for the paper to be published, saying Turpin Washington's paper left her "not discouraged" about the state of African American literature. The TWC's recording secretary recorded in the *Minutes* Murray Washington's statement that she "could favorably compare the Afro American (sic) with the whites whom a century [ago] had not time for literary efforts" (May 3, 1895, 8).

Third on the agenda for this meeting was a work listed as "The Woman of the South." Although no recognizable author's name or source is given, at least two texts available to club members have similar titles. Episcopal priest and missionary Alexander Crummell's "The Black Woman of the South; Her Neglects and Needs," published in 1881 as a pamphlet, sold over 500,000 copies and raised money for missionary work (Drake 37). It was republished in Crummell's *Africa and America: Sermons and Discourses* in 1891 (Drake 37). In this sermon, Crummell claims that, while American women have advanced over all women across the globe in "general superiority" of morality and domesticity, the African American woman of the South is an exception, having experienced "degradation in its extremist forms" while in slavery and having had no hand to lift her from ignorance or from the continuing exploitation by white men (5-6). Yet as "depraved" as these Southern women are, Crummell draws from his experience in missionary work in Africa to essentialize the inherent qualities of the African "native female character" (9). He cites her "extraordinary sweetness, gentleness, docility, modesty, and especially those maternal solitudes" in order to argue for the potential of

⁴³ Turpin Washington was a journalist and public speaker educated at Richmond Institute and Howard University, where she graduated in 1886. She published articles in many of the leading African American periodicals of the time and she worked for Frederick Douglass as a copyist for many years (Penn 393). Turpin Washington was married to Samuel H. Washington, a physician. She taught mathematics at Tuskegee from 1894 to 1896 while her husband was the school's physician (*BTW Papers* 12: 251).

this neglected group (9). Of this patronizing attitude toward women, Anna Julia Cooper remarked, “While our men seem thoroughly abreast of the times on every other subject, when they strike the woman question, they drop back into sixteenth-century logic” (Giddings 116).

Crummell was born free in the US and was the first person of African American descent to graduate from the University at Cambridge. He later became one of the founders of the all-male American Negro Academy. He is generally known as an opponent of Booker T. Washington’s suffrage and educational policies. However, the text entitled “The Black Woman of the South” ends with Crummell’s insistence on a form of education for the African American women of the South that closely resembles the industrial education policies of Tuskegee. Crummell sets forth a proposal for “for boarding-schools for the *industrial training* of one hundred and fifty or two hundred of the poorest girls, of the ages of twelve to eighteen years (13; emphasis original). Crummell’s schools would provide two or three years of training, limiting “the *intellectual* training to . . . reading, writing, arithmetic, and geography,” and teaching students “to do accurately all domestic work” as well as to practice the trades of “dressmaking, millinery, strawplating, tailoring for men” . . . and “the art of cooking” (Crummell 13; emphasis original). The girls in these schools would cultivate a small garden and would learn to grow “small fruits, vegetables, and flowers,” thus helping these schools become self-sufficient (Crummell 13). In Crummell’s plan, every girl would become a “missionary of thrift, industry, common sense, and practicality,” transforming “the cabins of the humblest freedmen” into “homes of Christian refinement and of domestic elegance through the influence and the charm of the uplifted and

cultivated black woman of the South!” (Crummell 14). Crummell’s plan differs from Washington’s in one significant way. The outreach of Crummell’s school for women is accomplished by her exemplary work only in the domestic enclosure of home; at Tuskegee, the outreach is focused on the teacher, both female and male. This significant difference points to the possibility that the text studied by the club was not Crummell’s sermon, but was an article by Olive Ruth Jefferson recommended in the 1894 inaugural *Women’s Era* in the Literature column (Gould 19, McHenry 229).

Jefferson’s “The Southern Negro Woman” appeared in the October 1894 issue of *The Chautauquan*. Little is known about Jefferson, a white contributor to the popular periodical that disseminated required reading for participants in summer chautauquas, but her article begins with the call impartially to observe African Americans in the South and particularly the women, without the “pessimism which just now seems to be the fad of a certain voluble class in the South” (91). This impartiality, “unswerved by unfriendly local prejudice and not demoralized by the worship of the ebony idol that figures in the reports of some of the great missionary schools,” will reveal in the “the superior class of southern negro (sic) women” the qualities of the higher order . . . uniformly found in the best women” (91). Jefferson is as essentialist as Crummell in her description of a category of women; she differs in her estimation of African American men. She describes the better class of African American women in the South as hard-working, generous, meek, and in possession of a “genius for good manners that upsets the old Anglo-Saxon law of the number of generations required to make a gentleman” (92). While there exists, Jefferson claims, a “considerable class of lazy, good-for-nothing girls” who would have at least had to work during slavery, and while “many of the men of the race remain . . . ‘low down

animals,’” Jefferson says the future of these women can be seen in their rapid improvement, citing examples of industrial work, nursing, domestic training, and especially teaching. Above all, according to Jefferson, African American women in the South possess the “radical quality that makes a superior woman teacher everywhere the ideal instructor, at least through the period of the elementary education” (94). Jefferson says it is the African American woman’s “generosity of nature, boundless love for childhood, and willingness to work even to the uttermost of sacrifice, which we find the most prominent qualities of the better sort of negro woman;” she continues with the observation that the Plantation “mammy” is “in the new time . . . multiplied a thousand fold in the colored school mistress who is the most hopeful feature in the common school of the race” (94). One historian suggests that Jefferson’s article reveals the “alternative narrative for . . . black women,” a narrative that allows white women to set the “standards of ‘good citizenship’ by which African Americans might overcome the infirmities of their station and enter the respectable middle class” (Riesner np). Clearly the article would only be construed as favorable to African American women in the South in a context of overwhelmingly negative textual representation, but such was the time in which the TWC, like other women’s clubs, set out to resist negative stereotypes and unfair labeling. It is important to note that club members probably did not identify with the teachers to which Jefferson refers. The young women Jefferson cites as evidence of quality in the Southern African American woman would more likely be the club member’s students.

Jefferson’s article’s currency, its recommendation in the Literature column in the *Woman’s Era*, and its treatment of women as teachers and in other jobs outside the home may argue for its identification as the text chosen for the club literature night. The more

accurate title, Crummell's fame as an African American writer, and the clear statement of an extreme version of industrial education may argue for that text, particularly if the executive committee felt the need for reinforcing the principles of practical learning over the liberal arts. It is possible that, although the club topic for the evening was the study of African American literature, this particular text had as its topic all women in the South. In the end, however, either of these texts and a number of others would have been available to the well-read club members. The more important subject is the identity of the Tuskegee clubwoman as a teacher and as an intellectual as it appears—and does not appear—in the multiple languages of the literature they encountered. African American woman are constructed in both of these texts and in many others as subjects of reform using standards set by middle-class male power that is, in some ways, exemplified by a particular class of white women.⁴⁴ The identities created by the ideology of racial uplift, which was the response of educated African Americans to the legal segregation and increasing discrimination of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, were those of a class of reformers (Gaines xiv).⁴⁵ Important within that elite class were its teachers, who were a means of providing access, albeit illusory at times, to the middle-class life. No other group of African Americans during this period had more expected from them by those with whom they identified as racially kin, although of a lesser class, by male uplift reformers, and by the dominant culture, as will be discussed below.

⁴⁴ This is not to say that nineteenth-century reform movements led by women are only expressions of patriarchal power. Rhetorics of abolition, temperance, and suffrage movements included negotiation and resistance.

⁴⁵ In *Uplifting the Race: Black Leadership, Politics, and Culture in the Twentieth Century*, Kevin Gaines demonstrates how racial uplift ideology “sought the cooperation of white political and business elites in the pursuit of race progress,” a strategy that ultimately “functioned as accommodation to . . . non-citizenship status” (14).

To return to the topic of literature nights dedicated to African American authors, listed among those discussed in the TWC's club meetings were poet Paul Lawrence Dunbar and short story writer and novelist Charles Chesnutt. Both these writers were published widely in the late 1890s and both were acclaimed by novelist and critic William Dean Howells, among others.⁴⁶ Elizabeth McHenry suggests that Dunbar, whose publications were celebrated in the literary columns in *Women's Era*, is an example of a African American writer "authenticated" for club members by his connection with and the approval of "those confirmed figures of 'real' literature with which they wished to be associated" (234). The Literature editor of the *Women's Era* cited William Dean Howells's judgment of Dunbar as "a poet of undisputed talent" as evidence of an African American poet's inclusion in "real" literature (McHenry 234). The recognition of African American writers must also have functioned, as McHenry reasonably suggests, to highlight the "absurdity of literary standards that would exclude a man's work from the ranks of 'real' literature because of his 'pure African blood'" (234). As noted above, the widespread acclaim for Dunbar was significant in the literary debate over the use of dialect. The *Minutes* mentions Dunbar in two entries, including reading by the poet that they attended and a literature evening devoted to his works, but beyond that there is no further discussion of his work (*Minutes* 44, 121). In the case of Charles Chesnutt, the TWC's discussion of his newly published novel, *The Marrow of Tradition*, takes place on December 20, 1901, in a meeting for the discussion of current events, a meeting that took

⁴⁶ Both writers visited Tuskegee, Dunbar in and Chesnutt in 1901. Chesnutt wrote an essay on his visit and, although he was critical of Washington's educational philosophy, he does say that "Mr. Washington has discovered the tremendous importance, to a struggling people, of a branch of education which has been sadly neglected, and which will prove a powerful lever for their uplifting" (Chesnutt, "Visit"; *BTW Papers* x). Chesnutt's daughter Ethel taught history at Tuskegee for one year just before her marriage in 1902.

place the same month as William Dean Howells's ambivalent review of the novel in the *North American Review* (Howells 454-6).

Howells was a proponent of Chesnut's earlier writing, publishing one of his short stories in the *Atlantic*, of which he was the editor, and praising *The Conjure Woman*, a collection of short stories in the plantation fiction genre published in 1899 (Howells 454). Howells encouraged Chesnut to use his talent to create a novel "about the color line, and of as actual and immediate an interest as possible" (Howells 454). Chesnut's response was a novelized retelling of the massacre of as many as 100 African Americans and the removal of African American elected city officials in Wilmington, North Carolina in November 1898 (Bentley 4). When the newspapers fomented "hysteria over 'black domination,'" a mob of 2000 white citizens led by twenty-five white businessmen and civic officials marched on a black newspaper office, burning the building and rioting throughout the night. In the ensuing weeks, so much of Wilmington's "black majority population moved or were forced out of town Wilmington soon had a white majority" (Bentley 6). *The Marrow of Tradition* documents the rising tensions in the fictional city of Wellington as an election nears, and relates the tragic events and their consequences for both black and white characters. Although the action and some of the characters are loosely based on the actual killings and the riot, the novel, according to Chesnut, was also written to "throw light upon the vexed moral and sociological problems which grow out of the presence, in our southern states, of two diverse races, in nearly equal numbers" (Chesnut, "Charles Chesnut's Own View" 169-70). In aligning himself with the view of the novel as a medium of moral purpose, Chesnut broke from the realistic ideal for fiction that Howells championed and that, along with what Howells called the "bitter"

truth of the story, made Howells's review of the novel lukewarm, even as he acknowledged Chesnutt's genius as a writer. The novel's moral purpose, however, was part of its appeal to club members.

The club's first discussion of Chesnutt speculates on "the general impression made on the public by Mr. Chesnutt's book" (*Minutes* 138). Since an early chapter receives particular attention, a summary of the action will be helpful. The opening scene takes place as two travelers board a train. One is the young and very accomplished doctor William Miller, who is returning to his home town to build a hospital and a school for nurses (Chesnutt, *Marrow* 77). Miller is light-skinned enough to pass as white, although he identifies himself as African American. He meets with his old friend and mentor, a respected white doctor, on the train and they are seated in the "Whites Only" car to talk of medicine and of Miller's plans when by chance a man from Miller's home town spots him and calls for the conductor to have Miller removed (78). The scene is crucial to the novel in several ways, but for this discussion what is significant is Miller's response to the "colored car." The man who protests Miller's presence in the car for whites enters the car with Miller, ostensibly to smoke a cigar, and he does so somewhat languorously, even after the conductor asks him to move to the smoking car. In what is clearly foreshadowing of the novel's dénouement, this individual is convict labor contractor Captain McBane, one of the ringleaders of the mob that threatens the African American community of Wellington and the only white leader who dies (234). His power over Miller established, he leaves the car (Chesnutt, *Marrow* 82). Throughout the remainder of his trip, Miller observes his fellow passengers—"his people," he calls them—including a "party of farm laborers, fresh from their daily toil" (82). Although at first he enjoys their

music and their “amorous . . . noisy, loquacious, happy, dirty, and malodorous presence” in the train car, he becomes uncomfortable in such close proximity, leaving the car for the platform for fresh air (82). He contemplates his link to this group in the following passage.

For the sake of the democratic ideal, which meant so much to his people, he might have endured the affliction. He could easily imagine that people of refinement, with the power in their hands, might be tempted to strain the democratic ideal in order to avoid such contact; but personally, and apart from the mere matter of racial sympathy, these people were just as offensive to him as to the whites in the other end of the train. Surely, if a classification of passengers on trains was at all desirable, it might be made upon some more logical and considerate basis than a mere arbitrary, tactless, and . . . brutal drawing of a color line (82).

Miller contemplates the segregated car practices not as unjust to all passengers identified as “colored,” but as unworkable because they—the segregated cars—do not allow for separation of the classes of passengers. The seriousness of Jim Crow discipline is underscored as Miller considers practices and the manner in which their violation leads to humiliation and even to death, “as the ghastly record in the daily papers gave conclusive evidence,” he says in a reference to lynching practices (82). Miller rouses himself from his reflections as he approaches home, remembering the biblical injunction for meekness, for the meek “shall inherit the earth,” and meekness “seems to be set apart as [the black man’s] portion” (83).

Foreshadowing aside, given the family drama and the violent events that make up the novel, it could seem strange that the train scene draws the attention of the TWC in their discussion of Chesnutt's book and the public's reception of it, but that is clearly part of their evening's agenda, as the discussion below, recorded in usual detail for the *Minutes*, makes clear. However, it is hard to underestimate the significance, real and symbolic, of the railroad's Jim Crow practices in the lives of middle-class African Americans. Fourteen years earlier, Ida B. Wells had won an historic lawsuit against the Chesapeake & Ohio & Southwestern Railroad Company for removing her from a train when she refused to leave a ladies' car. The case was reversed by a higher court. In a letter to the *Woman's Era* in 1896, Mary Margaret Washington had petitioned the National Federation of Women's Clubs to campaign for changes in the Separate Car Law, citing the "matter of forced indiscriminate contact," "the illegality of the extortionate tariff," and the "notoriously filthy, ill-ventilated 'Jim Crow' cars" (*Woman's Era* Feb. 1896, 8-9). The same issue included a story of a club woman put off a train at night in a wooded area when she was discovered to be "colored" (*Woman's Era* Feb. 1896, 8-9). It is beyond the scope of this project to review the history of the resistance to segregated train travel after the Plessy vs. Ferguson ruling by the Supreme Court in 1895, but the issue was very much on the minds of the TWC members as they discussed the novel. The value of literature, especially African American literature, lay at least in part in its potential realistically to represent the identities of readers, and in the case of Chesnutt's novel, the representation is of an educated, even elite group who is unfairly forced into contact with a lower class group; it is an interracial class issue arising in the context of the increasing pressure to strip all African Americans of their citizenship. That Chesnutt's

character Dr. Miller resonates with the TWC's leaders indicates more than Chesnut's importance as a producer of texts approved by the dominant culture, even more than his identification with his African American readers. Chesnut's texts speak in the languages of segregation, stereotyping, and the denial of identity. As such, they function for the club as examples of the literature of immediate circumstance. It is in this use of literature, this interpretation of literary value that an understanding of third impulse becomes useful.

This impulse is not that of an unsophisticated reader who expects a "good book" to be written by a "good man," nor is the issue one of a lack of critical language. For the most part, even as literary art moved from the sentimental to the realistic, many readers still viewed authors as potential friends and moral guides and particularly judged the novel in terms of its purpose (Hochman 13). This view of literature was common across reading clubs and across much of the general population. Club members receive Chesnut's frank portrayal of the ever-present affront of segregated train travel from the point of view of one forced into the "indiscriminate contact" with more than appreciation for its recognition of their abuse. "Mr. Chesnut's book" and the possible response of the reading public is perceived at least as an opportunity for discussion of the problem of travel; the case could be made that the club sees the novel as another impetus for action. Along with the discussion of Chesnut's novel, the *Minutes* record in uncharacteristic detail the discussion of "Pledges prepared by the committee appointed by Southern Federation of Colored Women on public conveyances" encouraging what amounts to a boycott of "steam cars and all travel where restrictions are made because of color" (139). The Dean of Women for Tuskegee, Josephine Beall Wilson Bruce, "objected to signing pledges on the score of the restrictions being local," while Adela Hunt Logan, teacher,

club woman, and suffrage organizer, “defended the effort by saying that even if local the attempted discouragement of patronizing these conveyances might not prove fruitless as the question is constantly coming up” (TWC *Minutes* 139). The recording secretary includes Margaret Murray Washington’s response to the discussion: “The president recounted disagreeable experiences from riding on cars restricted to the use of colored people, and told of the hope she has for improvement in the behavior of certain classes.” In the brief language of the club *Minutes*, the reader can see “multiple voices, viewpoints, experiences, and interpretive possibilities . . . embedded within a fully textured sociohistorical context” of women reading literature (Royster and Kirsch 87). The discussion of Chesnut’s novel reveals calls for activism even as it reiterates the familiar and elitist voice of Tuskegee as a promoter of conservative ideologies of white control of power. What if any action was taken by the members as a result of this club meeting is unknown; it is unlikely that the pledges were signed by many. However, the study of the literature of an immediate reality for the women of the club locates its members in the center of immensely important issues of class, race, and gender even as it gives evidence against a single voice for the women of the club.

THE CURRENT LITERATURE COMMITTEE AT THE FIN DE SIÈCLE

The records of the TWC as it moved into the twentieth century include many examples of choices of literature as well as statements of identity contrary to notorious conservatism of Margaret Murray Washington, especially during the first decade (White 83). The newly organized Current Literature Committee is given responsibility for

choosing texts for literary study and lists a number of new genres for study, including investigative reporting and magazine essays. A literature night in October of 1902 given over to the genre of muckraking journalism brought papers and discussions of Ida Tarbell's investigation into the ethics of the Standard Oil Company's practices and Bessie and Marie Van Vorst's exposé of labor practices in a Pennsylvania shoe factory and in the cotton mills of South Carolina (*Minutes* 167). The latter, entitled *The Woman Who Toils: Being the Experiences of Two Gentlewomen as Factory Girls*, was published in 1902 after originally appearing as a series of magazine articles in *Everyone's Magazine* (Undercover np). Bessie van Vorst and her sister-in-law, Marie Van Vorst disguised themselves as factory workers and obtained jobs in a Pennsylvania shoe factory and in the cotton mills of South Carolina. They wrote about the low pay, long hours, child labor, and ill-treatment from supervisors contrasted with the representations of the happy lives of mill operatives. The exposé does not propose reforms for the factories, but instead divides the female workers they find there into two categories; women who work because circumstances beyond their control have required them to act as breadwinners and women who go into the factories "to be more independent than at home, to exercise their coquetry, and amuse themselves, to make pin money for luxuries" (160). The Van Vorsts determine that it is the latter class—women who work by choice and thus compete with men as well as with women who must work—that is problematic. If they can be trained in some field of work which pays them well and is not "brutalizing machine labour (sic)" then the actual breadwinners will no longer have to compete with these ambitious girls and problems for that "class" will be settled by "just and natural laws" (161). As for people of color, there is little mention in this book and none that places African American

labor abuses in the context. Careful reading reveals African Americans only as “dusky shapes of the black Negro of true Southern blood” who handle bales of cotton at the train station’s freight yard or cook or work in flower beds alongside the mill (Van Vorst 221, 273). One incident the writer views from a distance—the escape of a African American man from a white mob—is commented on by a mill operative Van Vorst notes as unusual, since she disapproves of the mob.

The book, which is rather sensationalist in its prose, is prefaced by a letter from President Theodore Roosevelt written in response to the magazine series. Roosevelt praises the Van Vorsts, saying the value of their work lies in the manner in which it touches on questions “fundamentally infinitely more important than any other question in the country—that is, race suicide” (vii). The phrase refers to the inclination, characterized as selfish and irresponsible by Roosevelt and others, away from marriage and parenting in the culture, especially among young educated white women, and is a buzzword for criticism of the suffrage movement, of women moving outside the domestic sphere, and of potential racial social interactions. While the *Minutes* do not record a particular response from the membership, the subject of “race suicide” is taken up for papers and discussion in a later club meeting that year.

Another presentation to the club suggested by the program committee and carried out the same night as the Van Vorst paper dealt with Ida Tarbell’s investigation of Standard Oil Company. Published initially as a series of articles for *McClure’s Magazine* from 1902 to 1904, Tarbell’s work is one of the earliest and best known examples of investigative journalism (Weinberg x). Through her research into public records, court documents, state and federal reports and newspaper articles, Tarbell revealed not just the

questionable practices of the Standard Oil Company in restricting competition and in controlling the vital railroad lines, but also showed the widespread “corruption in business and the political lawlessness” that became the subject of many other journalists” (“Ida Tarbell” np). Whether or not the TWC judged Tarbell’s work as useful or sensationalist, the fact that their program list included the work is significant. Rockefeller was a well-known philanthropist who sponsored some educational work in the South, but an early partner in Standard Oil and a successful railroad magnate, Henry H. Rogers, gave large contributions to Tuskegee, although these were kept from public knowledge until Rogers’s death in 1909 (*BTW Papers* 2:132). Rogers had inadvertently assisted Tarbell in her investigation, providing interviews and access to the company’s archives in the belief that her article would be complimentary (Weinberg 215). It is reasonable to suggest that this choice of texts indicates that the TWC chose its subject matter independently and without restrictions from either of the Washingtons. That suggestion is given credence by the fact that literature programs about Booker T. Washington’s writings, including his “Atlanta Speech” follow literature nights given over to the writings of suffragist and Susan B. Anthony’s biographer Ida Husted Harper and to one of W. E. B. Du Bois’s works from *The Souls of Black Folk*, the essay entitled “The Passing of the First Born” (*Minutes* 212). It becomes more and more evident that the TWC is willing to grapple with texts that move beyond the categories of literature of the dominant class and even beyond literature denoted as African American. They undertake a play parodying woman’s clubs, stage a round table reading of Shakespeare’s *Julius Caesar*, sponsor a children’s staging of *Hiawatha* performed by children from the local

Children's Home, and listen to a club member's review of prizewinning short story in the popular *Collier's Weekly* (197, 101, 225, 177).

TROUBLESOME READING: "THE RUSHING IN OF FOOLS" STORY RE-EXAMINED

On April 18, 1902, Mrs. J. M. (Sarah Peake) Greene read a story for the club entitled "The Rushing in of Fools." The story was published in a newsletter of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, a white organization, after Josephine St.Pierre, a self-identified woman of mixed race, was refused seating at a club conference because she chose to represent the Woman's Era club. Ruffin was a member of a white club and was active in organizing the new Woman's Era club for middle-class African American women. The obviously contrived story tells of a white clubwoman who befriends a "prosperous colored family" and makes it possible for the "light-skinned" matriarch of the family to become a member of her club. The daughter of the white family falls in love with and marries the son of the "colored" family, a highly educated and successful physician (Wells 271). The story relates how the young man's father, who was "mulatto," is dead, but who with his wife has passed on to his son the "invisible drop" that causes the child of the union to be born "a jet black baby" (Wells 271). The shock is too much for the new mother, who "turns her face to the wall and dies" (Wells 271). Ida Wells Barnett pointed out that the story was published at a time when African American women expected to be recognized "in clubdom" by admission to larger regional white club organizations and had discovered that they were prevented by "subtle evasive changes" in these organizations' constitutions (Wells 270; White 42). Wells recognized the story as mean-spirited propaganda and responded with letters to local newspapers refuting the likelihood of such an occurrence by pointing out how many local and well-positioned

families would have had similar experiences. Club leader and educator Fannie Barrier Williams editorialized against the publication and the General Federation in African-American newspapers and club newsletters. The “Rushing In” incident has been discussed by historians and literary scholars as an illustration of the conflict within the women’s club movement and the related suffrage movement in a number of articles (Wells 270-4, A. Davis 138; White 41).

The TWC’s response to a reading of “The Rushing In of Fools” during a literature night is puzzling to the contemporary reader. As already noted, the *Minutes* of the TWC record little specific information about texts or about members’ responses. However, on this night, the secretary reports that the members present that night “saw truth in [the] climax of [the] story” (*Minutes* 142). The contemporary reader views the story itself with discomfort tempered with historical awareness, but the TWC’s agreement with the manipulative sensationalism strains credulity. Several explanations come to mind. Perhaps club members did not want to criticize the story for fear of appearing to support interracial marriage or other social interactions with whites, Booker T. Washington’s “separate as fingers on a hand” ideal that so captivated the South. However, club meetings and *Minutes* would not likely have been widely followed in the state. Perhaps the club member’s opinions had been solicited by some journalist or other interested entity. It is even possible that an earlier conflict influenced the response. The story was published originally in 1900 when, as noted above, many major women’s club associations either in the South or with Southern membership were “openly antiblack” and were attempting to impose their will on other organizations (White 40). The outspoken Wells, who openly said the offensive short story was aimed at her, had already

come into conflict with Booker T. Washington's educational policies and with his efforts to thwart, in Wells's opinion, the activities of the national Afro-American Council by establishing the Business Men's League in competition (Wells 263-5). The conflict had resulted in newspaper articles critical of Booker T. Washington and suggesting that important groups of his supporters were turning from him (Wells 263). One possibility is that the TWC club members saw their approval of the story as a form of loyalty to Tuskegee and to the Washingtons, but that is somewhat farfetched. Examples of their choices of literature and their clearly stated and recorded interests in suffrage all argue for some independence from the official policies of Tuskegee for club members. However, there is an explanation that draws from intertextual sources to suggest that the club member's response to the story's outcome signifies something quite different from some political loyalty or a conservative disapproval of interracial marriage. The acceptance of the ending of the story may result, at least in part, from confidence in the local expertise of a club member.

One of the leaders in the TWC, Adela Hunt Logan, had presented a speech at the second Atlanta University Conference for the Study of Problems Concerning Negro Life held in 1897, a speech subsequently published in pamphlet form. An alumna of Atlanta University, Logan was known for her outspoken advocacy for suffrage and her promotion of prenatal health (*Minutes* 212; *BTW Papers* 1905; A. Logan 211). Just as the story depicts an infant born with an unexpected characteristic, Logan's speech, entitled "Methods of Restraining Pre-Natal and Hereditary Influence," opens with a child whose family is puzzled by his red hair and later, by his proclivity for "the social sin" (A. Logan 211). Logan explains that no one in the offspring's immediate family has hair that color

and that his father is “upright” and his mother “a model of purity” (A. Logan 211). Clearly both characteristics in the child come from the parents, who “contribute to the possibilities for health, good or bad, and furnish the germs for character creation and development just as surely as they together originate the physical life” (A. Logan 212). However, the red hair and the “vicious character” can also be explained by heredity, since “the progeny of some very good parents are very bad specimens of humanity. . . probably through a long stream of blood, but we must know that neither came as a matter of chance” (A. Logan 212). Both the story and Logan’s speech evince a nineteenth century understanding of the heredity of physical and mental or moral traits. The dark-skinned baby and the red-haired child who grows into a profligate adult each get those characteristics from their parents, through the physical means of “germs” beyond their control, to a point (A. Logan 211). It is also helpful to note that the other problem portrayed in “The Rushing In,” that of the weak and “unnatural” mother who cannot love and save her child, as well as the red hair and by extension, the sexual depravity, could all be connected with the white race. While it is not the representation intended by the writer of the story, only the “jet-black baby” is uncorrupted by the behavior of adults, white or black. While it is beyond the scope of this project to investigate the popular and learned notions of heredity and eugenics in the fin de siècle, Adela Logan’s speech provides important insight into the TWC’s puzzling—to us—response to “The Rushing In of Fools.”

The first insight can be drawn from the familiar discourse of racial uplift in the nineteenth and early twentieth century. In relating Adela Logan’s speech along with a number of other texts descriptive of the racial uplift discourse of the period, Shirley

Wilson Logan reminds us that “black public intellectuals turned inward, partially in the belief that the middle class respectability would eventually make the masses more acceptable to whites” (153). This ameliorism explains why some of the problems of segregated train travel would be the “improvement in the behavior of certain classes” of African Americans, as noted above, rather than equitable policies for railroads (*Minutes* 139). This desire for reforming from within the “race” that had been constructed in the popular mind as inferior “developed out of the belief that through education, economic independence, and sanitary living conditions, black people could thrive” (S. Logan 153). While the assumption that those being “uplifted” “occupied inferior positions” and “needed to be elevated to a more socially acceptable level,” most reformers “acknowledge[d] inferiority only as a direct consequence of slavery, not as an innate and indelible trait” (S. Logan 153). The club members who assent to the possibility of the fictional baby with its unexpectedly dark skin and the baby’s weak white mother may seem to be implying the presence of inherited traits, but not ones that are “innate and indelible,” not at least over time. TWC members are responding, I would argue, from a knowledge base that allows for what I would call “unraced” heredity of weakness and strength in the physical and moral characteristics, a view of what Adela Logan calls the “solemn truths” of the “sacredness of procreation” (211).

Those truths go beyond the simple appearance of traits; in her speech Logan warns that future children are as vulnerable before and during their lives to the drunkenness and gluttony of their parents as they are to traits transmitted across time by “germs,” that pre-natal influences of anger and resentment toward the unborn child are harmful, and that expectant mothers must be treated with care (214-5). Conversely, she

outlines a means of correcting hereditary flaws for any people; “the force of heredity,” she explains, can only be “suspended” when “the human soul has had sufficient development to appreciate responsibilities [and] until it wills to be shaped by this or that force” (212). True to the uplift ideology that places responsibility with the individual, Logan allows for change over time toward moral improvement and perfection. Logan’s statement of perfectibility is given here in the context of exhorting leaders of both races to provide information about heredity to the groups she sees as the ignorant, reinforcing the importance of education. Without a doubt, Logan’s speech is intended for African Americans in “men’s and women’s meetings” where the “creation of a strong public sentiment on these subjects seems to be an imperative necessity” (A. Logan 214).

Efforts at creating this type of public sentiment are widespread, not just in educational settings, but also in popular fiction. For example, in *Contending Forces* by Pauline Hopkins, which was published in early 1900, a character named Mrs. Willis, a widow who is a community leader and organizer, encourages moral behavior and marriage to men and women who have proper Christian standards in order to controvert stereotypes of African American women as passionate and sexually incontinent (Nickel 46; Hopkins 133). Mrs. Willis urges her audience, a women’s sewing circle, to “hasten the transformation of the body by the nobility of the soul” and to “cultivate, while we go about our daily tasks, no matter how inferior they may seem to us, beauty of the soul and mind, which being transmitted to our children by the law of heredity, shall improve the race by eliminating immorality from our midst (Nickel 47; Hopkins 153). Here the language of transformation and of race improvement echoes Logan’s speech. In an essay on eugenics in the works of Pauline Hopkins, John Nickel outlines ways in which the

author's representation of moral women and men as careful selectors of mates who are worthy by virtue of adherence to middle-class morality and ideas of sexual hygiene conform to the popular ideas of writers on eugenics for creating a moral and healthy citizenry. The careful choice of mates as well as proper behavior in the domestic setting and especially in the care of children will, over time, winnow out the negative characteristics created by slavery and by subsequent poverty and deprivation.

Of course there is no direct evidence that club members had read *Contending Forces*, although it is unlikely they would have missed it, given the subject matter and its popularity among educated African American women (Nickel 47). However, Adela Logan's speech and its subsequent publication make it very likely to have been shared by the TWC on one of the nights when the subject was Motherhood, including presentations on the "Self Culture" and "Secularization" of motherhood or several months later when the evening featured a debate entitled "Debate: Environment or Heredity: Which has the Greater Influence?" (*Minutes* 80, 85). The recording secretary notes that Logan was among the members who believed heredity to be of stronger significance. It should be noted that other members came down on the side of environment as the more important force in the life of an individual and that this fact is recorded in the minutes, although the result of the debate is not.

Whatever the reason for the enigmatic acceptance of the "Rushing In" as a truthful representation, certainly the club members' confidence in the research and publication of one of their own is a factor to be considered. Reading with the TWC—in fact, reading texts within any already familiar rhetoric—requires an attempt to completely understand the context and to trouble the received history of that rhetoric. If this chapter

arrives only at the conclusion that the members of the TWC held themselves above the “lower” classes they served and sought to “uplift,” then the chapter has travelled no new road. But if it takes the text of the *Minutes*, spare as it is and limited by its purpose, as a place from which to delve into the complex articulations among constructions of class, race, education, and literature, it may map a starting point toward a hitherto unreachd understanding.

A last vignette from a spring of 1910 meeting of the TWC describes at some length a program and entertainment for members of the TWC. While Margaret Murray Washington was giving a presentation about her travels in Texas and the work and conditions there, she received two “telegrams” and a “phone message” about the imminent arrival of “The Tuskegee Woman.” The character was enacted by Miss Sadie Dorsette, and when she arrived, she was given the “Chautauqua salute” and the pianist played “Home Sweet Home.” The embodied Tuskegee Woman in the person of “Miss Dorsette [told] in her characteristic manner of her trip around the world which all enjoyed listening too” (*Minutes* 255).” Here the education and public-mindedness of the “Tuskegee Woman” is emblemized by the waving handkerchief of the “Chautauqua salute,” her appreciation of the arts by the music that accompanies her arrival and her freedom from restrictive laws by the revelation of travel to all parts of the world. While it would be almost another decade before women could vote and more than fifty years before the Civil Rights movement began to provide long promised freedoms for African Americans in the South, the Tuskegee Woman’s activism, learning, and her courage would become part of the history of the nation.

CONCLUSION: THE END OF NORMAL SCHOOLS IN ALABAMA

As the nineteenth century ended, state normal schools across the US were flourishing; by 1910, 42 of the 46 US had at least one state normal school and most had several (Ogren 201-2). The state normals, which numbered 180 in 1912, had created a “strong professional spirit through teacher-education coursework, observation and practice teaching, and student activities,” and they had added to the discourse of American education statements about the place of teachers and the authority of the classroom practitioner (Ogren 201, Salvatori 69). As we have seen, out of a need to remedy their students’ lack of general liberal education, they provided the only post-elementary schooling that had been available in many states, and they provided it to women and men in social groups not traditionally served by academies and colleges (Ogren 202, Miller 128). Since many normal schools were part of institutions that also provided higher education for students who would go on to colleges either without teaching or after teaching for some period, they offered higher levels of coursework to all students in the school. In addition to providing academic and professional training and the attendant certifications to normal school graduates, these schools allowed their students to encounter literature, art, and music and other extracurricular activities and to become directly involved in social and civic opportunities, and thus “enabling class mobility and flexibility regarding gender roles” as well as contributing to the efforts of African Americans to overcome widespread repression (Ogren 202). The national characteristics of the normal school are all present in Alabama’s schools. However, most of the forces that brought about the end of the normals were also present.

Following the same pattern of many normal schools all over the US, Florence became State Normal College when they added additional years and a broader curriculum in 1889 (*A Brief Look* 4). At this time the “stratification and hierarchy” of higher education had not yet developed, and the purposes and curricula of academies, high schools, and colleges were less exclusive; thus, the state board members would have had fewer concerns about institutional names (Ogren 202). At the turn of the century, higher education became more oriented toward consistent credentials and more schools and colleges competed for support. Categories for types of schools began hardening and requirements for diplomas and certifications were regularized. In addition, public high schools were being established across the state, although slowly, and required teachers with specifically legislated credentials—a plus for the normal-school trained teachers. However, these schools also provided an education without the commitment to teach and thus offered a path to advanced education for some students. Of course, these schools were usually located in towns and cities; rural public schools in Alabama lagged behind in establishment and in local and state support and this isolation and lack of development would have a significant role in the changes coming to the normals. Finally there was the competition with colleges for male students, many of whom took advantage of Florence’s and other state normal schools’ free or inexpensive tuition in exchange for several years of teaching and then completed their education in other fields later (Ogren 203). The president of Troy State Normal School in 1910 said “other institutions were beginning to feel the effects of the competition of the normals for students; and board members . . . were anxious to reduce the competition as much as possible to non-professional students” (Bannon 80; quoted in Ogren 203). The competition with new and more prestigious

colleges and the State's efforts to categorize and control schools for the efficient delivery of education to the various classes resulted in name changes. Normal Colleges at Florence, Troy, and Livingston went from *college* back to *normal* between 1907 and 1912 (Ogren 213; *A Brief Look* 7).⁴⁷ However, the changes at these schools resulted in more than altering letterheads and catalogue title pages.

The State Department of Education established a Normal School Board charged with keeping the normals in line with their new mission "to assure suitable preparation of elementary teachers for service in the rural and small towns of the State" (*Annual Report of the Superintendent* 1912 46). The author of the *Annual Report* for 1912 praised the normal schools of Alabama for having given "most of their time to what might be designated general education" in the years "before . . . county high school[s] and before departments of secondary education were established at our institutions of higher learning" (47). The gap in teacher education is clear in this quote: teachers for high schools will come from secondary education departments in those colleges that grant Bachelor of Science degrees; common school teachers will come from the two- or three-year programs at normal schools. Calling on the expertise of Dr. John W. Cook, President of Western Illinois State Normal Schools and Dr. J. L. McBrien, Specialist in Teacher Training, US Bureau of Education, to evaluate the normals and suggest the best means of

⁴⁷ A few years earlier, the State Normal College for African Americans in Huntsville became the State Agricultural and Mechanical College for Negroes and then was renamed the "State Agricultural and Mechanical Institute for Negroes" in 1919. Similar use of the word *institute* in place of the word *college* began to be used at Tuskegee and at the Agricultural and Mechanical College of Alabama, which became the Alabama Polytechnic Institute. The State Normal School at Troy is now Troy University, the State Normal School at Livingston is now the University of West Alabama, and the State Agricultural and Mechanical College for Negroes is now Alabama Agricultural and Mechanical University. The Alabama Polytechnic Institute is now Auburn University. These earlier name changes are probably related to the designation of these schools as land grant institution but likely also reflect the desire to limit the number of colleges for higher education.

improvement, the Normal School Board moved to eliminate higher math classes as well as foreign and “dead” languages, and to focus on “manual and household arts,” courses that teachers in public schools were increasingly required to teach. All normal school students were required to take these new courses and would, according to the Board of Normals, “go forth from the [normal schools] to teach the lessons of economy, sanitation, agriculture, rural sociology and allied subjects” and “will fashion anew the ideals of work and of citizenship for the commonwealth” (*Annual Report of the Superintendent 1912* 46). The language of the Board of Normals report is clearly directed at rural communities and their citizens and reminiscent of the ideologically driven plans for industrial teachers from Hampton and Tuskegee. The Annual Report acknowledges that the recommended changes “would result in a significant loss of students” in the normals for education other than as teachers, but the plan would ultimately benefit the normal schools by “assuring their usefulness” (47).

On the one hand, it could seem that limiting their function to the production of elementary school teachers would be helpful in insuring the survival of the normal schools, especially if prospective teachers could still receive free tuition. However, the new plan had several drawbacks. The increased requirements for all students to study manual training or domestic science—a common change in normals all across the country—meant students had fewer academic or even content classes and less exposure to the “general intellectual climate” of the normals (Ogren 204; *Annual Report of the Superintendent of Education 1912* 48). The absence of tuition-paying students on campus in curricula other than education would have been an economic hardship for the schools. During these years at Florence there was a faculty journal begun, but no student

publication is in evidence, which may signal a change in perceptions of students as capable of literate acts or may signal less value put on student expression as part of learning. The status of Pedagogy as a subject suffered as well, as will be discussed below. Perhaps the most significant negative change was the clear disarticulation of normal study from the more liberal curriculum. The normal school or college engaged in broadly educating its students in order to benefit not only the schools but also the field of Pedagogy was lost in what is generally considered the *progress* that both minimized the importance of liberal arts and led to “a differentiated and stratified curriculum” where teacher education was concerned rather than to institutions with the single purpose of supporting the profession of teaching (Ogren 203).

To the southeast at Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute, some of these same changes had been underway since about 1896. The focus of “industrialists, middle-class professionals, and school reformers” was the Tuskegee-Hampton model of education and Booker T. Washington’s school was a flagship for those ideologies. Efforts to replace any form of education for African Americans in the South with industrial education continued, and though not all were successful, for a number of years there is less evidence of literary or pedagogical efforts as there had been in the school’s first fifteen years. Students had classes in the content of the common branches, but classes were under the more or less direct control of Washington and others for whom it was politically expedient to avoid any appearance of working to interest students in liberal education. For example, Washington’s Head Teacher from 1902 until 1906, Harvard-educated Roscoe Conkling Bruce, sought to end music classes and scripture study and threatened academic faculty with dismissal if they did not lighten the workload they

expected of students (Zimmerman 54, 180). The texts required for the study of Pedagogy also changed. In 1896, the first year after Nathan Young departed from his position as head teacher, the school began using Daniel Putnam's *Manual of Pedagogics* and Ruric Nevil Roark's *Psychology in Education*. Roark's text praised manual training and hard work for discipline and called for teachers to make students content with their lot in life (7, 31-33; Zimmerman 54). Putnam derided the individualism of Pestalozzi and Rousseau for their "dangerous neglect of 'the interests and legitimate demands of society and state'" (15, 37; quoted in Zimmerman 53-4). More and more, Tuskegee would become a school supported for its efforts to create teachers to inculcate young African Americans with the ideologies of a Christian capitalism that rewarded forbearance, patience, and acceptance of social hierarchies. It is not possible to say how much teachers and students resisted the curricula, but the role of the teacher at Tuskegee in these years was not that of the normal school pedagogue as imagined earlier in the nineteenth century.

To be accurate, the decline of the normals schools in Alabama, like those across the US, was not caused entirely by legislative fiat or ideological wrangling. Normal schools and their evolving Pedagogy suffered from the intrinsic problems of incompatible goals. Charged with creating skilled teachers quickly, the faculties had constantly to balance those elements, which led to simplifying complex theory for young students and to making brief practice school experiences stand in for longer and more carefully planned apprenticeships. W. H. Payne, president of the Peabody College for Teachers, was in general a supporter of normal schools for teacher education, but was critical of practices that "made the main part of [their] professional instruction consist of methods and devices to the neglect of scholarship and science" (32-3). The study of Pedagogy at

Alabama normals was, to a large degree “upside down” in that while students were encouraged to read and study the theory of teaching and learning as part of their professional growth, they were also asked to develop materials and to teach within as little as 18 months of beginning their study. It is reasonable to think that the state’s practice of holding short institutes and reading circles with the normal schools’ help may have led some observers to believe or to at least not question that notion that content knowledge plus a few weeks or even several days of getting classroom methods would be adequate for successful teaching. Moreover, the field of Pedagogy was a conservative one and resisted developments that were believed to be more scientific, but as demonstrated in chapter one, Pedagogy as a discipline was beginning to change with twentieth-century educational discourse.

Unfortunately, as colleges and universities added Departments of Pedagogy or education in order to “advance the ‘liberal’ discovery and production of knowledge,” they cast normal school as “different from and in opposition to” that progress (Salvatori 6). Those representations, the normal school’s close identification with elementary teaching and women’s work, and the fact that “for complex economic, political, and ideological reasons [normals] came to be identified essentially with “pragmatic” and “professional” (a term with a hint of mercenary) goals” meant that to move forward meant to turn aside from the normal school identity (Salvatori 6). Thus normal schools disappeared and the colleges and universities took up the education of teachers. For scholars of literacy and English studies, this legacy is significant in what has historically continued as the distinction between the liberal (with its supposedly exclusive attention to scholarship) and the professional (with its supposedly exclusive attention to teaching), a

distinction that set in opposition departments of English studies and departments of Education (Miller 132-6; Salvatori 7).

While it is beyond the scope of this study to relate the manner in which Florence and Tuskegee, along with other normals schools in the state, struggled to maintain their programs and make progress toward the wider and more prestigious educational category, it is worthwhile to note that all four state normals for white teachers were made four-year colleges in 1927 during the term of Governor Bibb Graves (Kaylor np). After the death of Booker T. Washington and after continued resistance to the industrial model for African American colleges, middle-class African American supporters and faculty gradually returned the liberal arts to Tuskegee, which became a college and then, in 1985, Tuskegee University (Anderson 259; “History of Tuskegee University”). Like most states in the US, there is no institution in Alabama existing for the sole purpose of supporting research and professional development of teachers at all levels of education, especially literacy education.

Why should the fate of the normal schools be of interest in the study of literacy? What is the point of an archive that reconstructs this particular literacy context? After all, the normal school period offers no direct correlative with our own time for our study. Michael Halloran reminds us that history is “always written from probabilistic, and therefore rhetorical points of view” and so it “cannot tell us what we should and should not do in any given set of circumstances.” Halloran continues with a hopeful cautiousness:

[History] cannot even give us the plausible “certainties” provided by statistical analysis. All it can do is tell us stories, stories that may move us to actions but that in themselves cannot guide our actions according to any system. If history were, or could be, systematic, things might be different. But history is not, and never has been, systematic or scientific . . . History is a narrative, and every attempt to create a system to give that narrative a predictive meaning is fraught with peril” (31).

Each story, each history creates if not answers and guides, then at least the possible questions that can be hazarded. For example, the explication of a simple student essay that prophesies progress for her class cohort reminds us that the pleasures of writing for occasion and social celebration are not gendered pleasures. Alternatively, Janie’s story also shows us how little effect schooling can have on the further lives of students when the larger culture is not open to their successes. The effort to create an empathetic and informed reading of the *Minutes* of the Tuskegee Woman’s Club at a crucial juncture in the club movement highlights the need for discovering more sources of texts created by women in complex rhetorical and personal interactions, particularly texts that show multiple points of view among groups often portrayed as heterogeneous in their outlooks.

The study of philanthropy and its role as literacy sponsor prompts us to examine the immense influences of modern philanthropy in the form of technology and entertainment corporations who produce consumer goods for education. Further study of the normal school pedagogues allows a more complex narrative than that of imperfect, naïve, or uneducated practitioners being superseded by more qualified scholars whose theories have yet again been superseded. Moreover, seeing how the links between

pedagogical theory and political ideology resemble the uses of literacy may allow insight into the role of education and educators in problematic hegemonies.

Above all, we need to question historical and contemporary representations of public schools and colleges and the representations of teachers at all levels of education that both create teachers as saviors through magic ideological pedagogy or as destroyers of civilization through incompetency in settings where they are relatively powerless at saving or destroying. Instead, through understanding the structures of feeling and the constructions of power, schools and teachers at all levels can be part of the effort to improve education through multiple and collaborative approaches.

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Each year more and more archival texts become available through digital means. Research is needed into the implications of that availability and related problems. In addition, it is likely an equal or greater number of archival texts are lost through deaccession or through unavoidable material decline. Both these facts have implications for understanding what constitutes the archive of a literacy context and for future research priorities.

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