

## Appendix A

### Other Strategic Locations for Cooperation among Black Institutions

The Atlanta University System was not the only location the GEB focused its attention on regarding black institutions affiliating or merging. Since most philanthropists regarded Fisk University in Nashville, Tennessee, as the “capstone” of black higher education, the GEB directed its early efforts toward building up higher education for blacks there. Fisk opened only a few months after the end of the Civil War and was the first US institution to offer liberal arts education to former slaves.<sup>1</sup>

However, there were philanthropists who privately preferred industrial education to liberal arts and implied that black colleges and universities should reflect such a curriculum. Julius Rosenwald, for example, wrote a letter to Abraham Flexner in 1917 and expressed his displeasure of Fisk students’ demeanor and the institution’s liberal arts curricular focus. “There seemed to be an air of superiority among [students],” as Rosenwald commented, “and a desire to take on the spirit of the whole university rather than the spirit which has always impressed me so at Tuskegee.”<sup>2</sup> In response, Flexner acknowledged Rosenwald’s concern and stated he felt assured, “with proper support Dr. McKenzie [would] transform the institution and make it what the colored race so badly needs—an institution where sound academic training can be obtained.”<sup>3</sup>

Because the GEB was convinced that Fayette McKenzie, Fisk’s white president, was sympathetic enough to the board’s policy, they selected McKenzie and Fisk as a model for black

higher education. By 1914, the GEB had given Fisk \$70,000<sup>4</sup>; six years later, the GEB pledged \$500,000 toward a \$1 million endowment drive, the first of its kind.<sup>5</sup> Within five years, Fisk successfully completed the campaign with additional pledges from other philanthropists, the board of trustees, blacks, and other citizens in the community.<sup>6</sup>

During the midst of the campaign, blacks had begun in large force the “Great Black Migration,” moving from the “rural South to the industrial North.” This migration, as Du Bois’s biographer David Levering Lewis pointed out, produced “the metropolitan dynamism undergirding the [Harlem] Renaissance.”<sup>7</sup> The Harlem Renaissance existed from 1917 through 1935, and as Lewis explained:

The Talented Tenth formulated and propagated a new ideology of racial assertiveness that was to be embraced by the physicians, dentists, educators, preachers, businesspeople, lawyers, and morticians who comprised the bulk of the African American affluent and influential—some ten thousand men and women out of the total population in 1929 of more than ten million.<sup>8</sup>

The Talented Tenth was a minority of the population who used organizations such as the NAACP and the National Urban League as vehicles to disseminate material.<sup>9</sup> Blacks felt that art, in its various genres, “was the means to change society in order to be accepted into it.”<sup>10</sup> In describing the essence of the Harlem Renaissance, John Hope Franklin wrote:

The literature of the Harlem Renaissance was for the most part, the work of a race-conscious group. Through poetry, prose, and song, the writers cried out against social and economic wrongs. They protested against segregation and lynching. They demanded higher wages, shorter hours, and better conditions of work. They stood for full equality and first-class citizenship.<sup>11</sup>

The height of the Renaissance was in 1924 when Charles Spurgeon Johnson, a premier sociologist and then editor of *Opportunity* magazine, “sent invitations to some dozen young and mostly unknown” black “poets and writers to attend a celebration at

Manhattan's Civic Club of the sudden outpouring of 'Negro' writings." Because of this event, the "Renaissance shifted into high gear."<sup>12</sup> There is little doubt the Harlem Renaissance's spirit transcended the world of academe.

As the 1920s progressed, blacks in the United States and in colleges changed; no longer would students accept being voiceless. College campuses became more liberal and allowed students to express their individuality and to influence campus policy. The nationalist tendency of the New Negro Movement manifested itself in a push for black studies and, in some cases, there was a desire for increased black control of institutions than those currently headed by whites.<sup>13</sup> Fisk University and its students were no exception to this movement.

Fayette McKenzie, Fisk's president, attempted to thwart and discourage students' principles of equalitarianism. He disbanded "the student government association, forbade dissent, and suspended the *Fisk Herald*," the students' publication.<sup>14</sup> Consequently, the alumni and students, led by W. E. B. Du Bois, attacked McKenzie's administration; and in 1925, Fisk's students protested and rioted on the campus. In a telegram to Wallace Buttrick, McKenzie briefly explained this event:

Have just wired Mr. Cravath that Dr. Du Bois tonight bitterly attacked practically every policy of the University without largely substantial support[.] My usefulness will be largely gone.... Sixteen years ago a similar attack led to the resignation of President Merrill[.] I have done my best[.] My only personal concern is for the support of my family[.] I am not a quitter[.]<sup>15</sup>

Evidently, McKenzie was trying to convince himself more so than Buttrick in his telegram, because not less than a year later, he resigned.<sup>16</sup> Some scholars maintained that after this upheaval, philanthropists were only comfortable with "Hampton, Tuskegee, and similar industrial normal schools."<sup>17</sup> Leroy Davis, John Hope's biographer, noted, "this uncontrolled behavior on black campuses frightened the philanthropic societies and [that philanthropists] labeled such behavior 'radical' or 'militant' and expected college presidents to keep their students in check."<sup>18</sup>

As evidence of this, the trustees accepted McKenzie's resignation and informed members of the GEB of his decision.<sup>19</sup>

Another attempt to elevate Fisk's status was with an affiliation with Meharry Medical College in 1928. The GEB, the Julius Rosenwald Fund, and others appropriated more than \$1.5 million toward the cost of a new place across from Fisk. However, the hopes of the two institutions coming together in a closer degree of cooperation and giving each greater educational stature never materialized. Meharry's faculty perceived the science teaching at Fisk was inadequate; Fisk's trustees were weary of carrying an extra financial burden.<sup>20</sup> However, Fisk finally received its first black president years later with the appointment of Charles Spurgeon Johnson.

During the second half of the 1920s, students at Howard University also protested and were "more violent and less pious than students in the mission colleges." Students' demands included "the appointment of a [black] president, more emphasis in classes on the 'Negro experience,' fewer religious services, and relaxation of the rigid rules and strict discipline." One result of the protest was the appointment of Mordecai Johnson, a Morehouse alumni, as Howard's first black president. For some, the removal of white presidents at Fisk and Howard, and the appointment of black presidents, "epitomized the New Negro militancy" on black college campuses.<sup>21</sup>

Regarding another possible center for higher education, the GEB had not given much thought to Howard University's academic needs because it was a federally funded institution. As such, the GEB decided to take "no step that would weaken the responsibility of the federal government to support the institution."<sup>22</sup> Howard's administrators also felt that "Congress would be less inclined to rally to its support," if private foundations assumed any interest.<sup>23</sup> Despite this, during a capital campaign in the 1920s, Howard secured \$80,000 from the GEB for construction of a new medical school building.<sup>24</sup>

The GEB's other attempt was prompted by Thomas Jesse Jones's suggestion to merge Straight University and New Orleans University in his 1916 study, though it did not happen until years later. By the 1920s, "the buildings and equipment

of the two colleges were cramped and antiquated, and so was the hospital” at New Orleans University.<sup>25</sup> The two institutions were both struggling to survive and plans for a merger ensued in 1929. This was the GEB’s only successful full-merger of black colleges and universities. In 1930, Straight University and New Orleans University officially formed Dillard University. Xavier University, a private Catholic institution, was also in the area; thus, having Dillard and Xavier secured higher education for blacks in New Orleans.<sup>26</sup>

## Appendix B

### Letter: John Hope to Edwin Embree (Hope's Six-Year Plan)

February 22, 1930

Mr. Edwin Embree  
President  
Julius Rosenwald Fund  
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Mr. Embree:

Your letter of February 18 and your secretary's letter of February 18 enclosing a copy of your letter to Mr. Jerome (missent to Nashville) reached me Thursday. I have read most carefully your letter of February 12 to Mr. Jerome, and again the letter of December 7, which you wrote me after our conversation in Chicago.

2. In my recommendations for the next six years I have had in mind what Spelman College and Morehouse College are able to bring to this University venture, and I have had in mind a plan that begins with what we have and is capable of expansion and development as fast as, but not faster than, resources become available.

3. I am asking you therefore patiently to consider with me the whole situation as if you had never heard my previous discussion.

4. We have to begin with, three institutions which have for years been in the forefront of colleges for Negroes. Their traditions are wholesome and their standards for scholarship and character have been honest.

5. Simply to take account of “stock on hand,” your attention is called to the figures below taken from the printed Reference List of the John F. Slater Fund—1929—(Occasional Papers No. 20):

	<i>Teachers</i>		<i>College Students</i>	<i>Boarders</i>	<i>Teachers Salaries</i>	<i>Total Salaries</i>
Morehouse	25	Men	391	288	36,760	49,725
*Spelman	38	Women	145	235	58,560	94,145
	63		536	523	95,320	143,870
Atlanta U.	18	Men	221	177	26,289	50,303
Fisk	38	Women	533	320	63,655	104,740
Talladega	40	”	254	240	69,000	89,800
Wiley	32	”	404	325	27,095	38,836

\*The salary items for Spelman include both high school and college teachers but they are left as they indicate resources—available funds—of the institution.

6. When it comes to endowment resources, if we count on the successful conclusion of the present campaigns of Spelman and Morehouse—which would have been carried through if the affiliation had not occurred and which will still be completed regardless of the University scheme—we should have, before entering upon a University campaign, endowment as follows:

Morehouse College	920,000
Spelman College	3,062,000
Atlanta University	321,000
	4,303,000

7. Fortunately, we already have also a large tract of land comprising approximately 90 acres. We have some excellent buildings and equipment, and we have a library assured with maintenance, probably to be ready for use within two years.

8. For all practical purposes, these resources will be pooled in the effort to establish the University with its colleges. The

exchange of students and teachers in the junior and senior college years as well as the availability of teachers for giving University courses equalizes whatever advantage Spelman would have by making the resources of each institution contribute to the whole enterprise.

9. We begin then with an effort to strengthen all courses in the colleges. Why not? I believe it to be distinctly in the range of possibility to do this through of course it would never be possible to have every course at the top notch at one time. Practically, however, we assume they can all be improved, and we shall endeavor to improve them. In fact, this is in line with the suggestion in your letter of December 7,—“If you do agree to this (amalgamation) as a goal, then the problem is simply to provide courses in addition to those now offered at Morehouse and Spelman and to strengthen existing departments in order to make the entire Atlanta unit more serviceable.”

10. We have in the affiliation the machinery necessary for developing, in the course of time, a University in the real sense, with graduate and professional schools. Our plan for the first six years includes as the immediate objective the beginning of a Graduate Department of Arts and Sciences, a Department of Education (not a Teacher’s College) and a Department of Business Administration. It includes also as the expression of a desire and hope, the possibility of having a Department of Music and Fine Arts; and a Schools of Social Work on the assumption that logically the Atlanta School would become part of the University.

11. Graduate Department of Arts and Science. With the college curricula strengthened, with three or four new full-time appointments to the University faculty, and with professors of Morehouse and Spelman available also to offer University courses, it would be feasible to offer in 1930–31 graduate courses in English, History, Economics, and probably in Biology, chemistry, French and Mathematics. It is not a pretentious program to propose to offer in the next six years courses leading to the Master’s degree in eight or ten departments.

12. Department of Education. It is not our idea to develop a Teachers’ College along traditional lines, We purpose to have a



Practice School or Demonstration School which will be an object lesson in good and measurements, and, for training administrators, courses in supervision and administration. Our aim in this Department as set forth in the statement sent you (page 21) is as follows:

“...graduate students who are teachers or who expect to teach would be advised to take their Master’s degree not in Education but in the subject they expect to teach. In other words, in the subject-matter,—the so-called content course,—not in the method of teaching. On the other hand, the Demonstration School would offer such students an object lesson in good teaching and the Graduate Department of Education would provide instruction in principles of teaching and teaching method. The main emphasis would be on knowing something to teach and the secondary emphasis on learning how to teach it. A Master’s degree in Education would be offered for persons desiring training for administrative positions in education, or for students interested mainly in research.”

13. Department of Economics and Business Administration. You are more or less familiar with the foundation for work in business and economics. It is proposed for 1930–31 that Mr. Milton of the Morehouse faculty and Mrs. Warburton of the Spelman faculty offer graduate courses amounting roughly to the work of one full-time professor. It is proposed to develop and expand this department by the appointment of additional professors from year to year and to make this department one of the special features of the University. It is a field in which training for Negroes is greatly needed.

14. If the work in music now being done in the colleges can be expanded and some courses in fine arts begun on an undergraduate basis, it is our dream that in the not too distant future some benefactor would provide for a School of Music and Fine Arts.

15. The School of Social Work seems a reasonable expectation and I still lean to the view shared by you and me last December that this would come eventually into the University program. The School of Social Work is not financed separately and provision for its financing by the University would need to

be made separately in the same fashion on the basis of annual grants and endowment.

16. Funds. A University program requires money. There is no getting around that fact. When the three institutions went into combined enterprise, they took the venture on faith, to be sure, but they expected that the Boards interested in Negro education and Negro welfare generally would give liberally. The Board of Trustees of Atlanta University is willing to face the prospect. When the Executive Committee approved the program that I recommended for the six-year period, they did so with a full realization that even for the modest development proposed, several million dollars would be required. They have faith, and I have faith, that the program proposed justifies financial support.

17. Now, Mr. Embree, I know you will pardon me for saying that I wish you might have given the Atlanta situation more of your presence and time. You have visited Atlanta several times, but never (it seems to me) have you remained long enough and been sufficiently free from hurry to come into sympathetic understanding of what has already been achieved and what is now going on. In no other city have we had five colleges for Negroes. These five colleges in Atlanta, each with its own constituency with their inevitable rivalries, have yet maintained such friendly relationship and mutual respect that within a few weeks after affiliation was first broached three colleges became legally related, and cooperative activity immediately began. And all of this was done in such an admirable way that the other institutions in Atlanta, and even one in another city, are showing a disposition to relate themselves to this cooperative enterprise. This is an outcome more significant than a mere agreement of three boards of trustees. It is a generous understanding on the part of the Negro constituencies of these institutions.

18. Furthermore, as this affiliation relates to students and teachers, we have already this first year students of the three institutions associating with one another in everyday work on the three campuses. There has been a weaving together in actual practice which I think would surprise you. See Appendix A.

19. As I have said above, the three institutions in the affiliation have for years been in the forefront of colleges for Negroes.

Their record is fine in the scholarship and character of the men and women who have gone out from these institutions. Until recent years, we have not had University work among the Negro institutions except in the professions of Law, Medicine, and Theology. The work done has been definitely undergraduate work leading to the bachelor's degree, and in that field, Atlanta University, Spelman College and Morehouse College compare favorably with the best of other colleges for Negroes and Southern colleges for white people. The physical condition of Atlanta University and Morehouse College has not been what might be desired and the salaries paid have been sadly inadequate, but the teachers have remained and carried on with such devotion and loyalty that the scholarship and character of these institutions have been maintained. This fact might be accepted as a promise to expect more favorable conditions.

20. When you look well into all this, I believe your faith in the building of Atlanta University will be so great as to prevent further misgivings and hesitation on your part to give it your support. We will guide against mistakes. But if there is danger of making them, to me that is all the more reason why you should come definitely to our support at this time, assisting by your counsel and by a grant of funds from your Board.

Sincerely yours  
(signed)  
John Hope  
JH:C

**Appendix A**  
**Exchange of Students and Teachers**  
**1929–30**  
**First Semester**

Section 1.01 Undergraduate Courses

1	S. C.	teacher	giving	A course	at	A. U.
2	S. C.	"s	"	courses	"	M. C.
2	M. C.	"	"	"	"	S. C.
1	A. U.	teacher	"	A course	"	M. C.
12	M. C.	students	taking	courses	at	A. U.
30	M. C.	"	"	"	"	S. C.
37	S. C.	"	"	"	"	M. C.
27	A. U.	"	"	"	"	M. C.
27	A. U.	"	"	"	"	S. C.

Section 1.02 Senior-graduate Courses of Atlanta University

<i>Courses</i>	<i>Teachers</i>	<i>Graduate</i>	<i>Enrollment Undergraduate</i>
Biology			
Histology	S. C.	1	7
Neurology	M. C.	1	3
Chemistry	M. C.		10
Economics			
Corp. Finance	M. C.		8
Econ. History	S. C.		17
Education	A. U.	2	5
English			
Shakespeare	M. C.	1	17
British Poets	S. C.	1	16
French Negro Lit.	S. C.	5	5
History	M. C.		13
Latin	S. C.	5	4
Mathematics			
Proj. Geometry	M. C.		2
Diff. Equations	S. C.		5
Sociology	M. C.		9
		16	121

*Source:* John Hope to Edwin Embree, February 22, 1930, Atlanta University Presidential Records—John Hope Records, Atlanta University Center Robert W. Woodruff Library.

## Appendix C

### Notable Atlanta University System/Center Alumnus(ae)

The critical purpose for strengthening the Atlanta institutions was to provide an avenue from which black leaders would emerge. Below is a list (not exhaustive) of notable Atlanta University System/Center alumnus(ae), in various fields, from the late 1800s to the present.

#### Clark-Atlanta University Notable Alumni

Henry Ossian Flipper	Former slave; first black graduate of West Point in 1877, earning a commission as a second lieutenant in the US Army
Lucy Craft Laney	Educator, opened the first school for black children in Augusta, Georgia in late nineteenth century
Richard R. Wright	Valedictorian, Atlanta University's first commencement in 1876; first black paymaster in the US Army; first president of Georgia State Industrial College for Colored Youth (later, Savannah State University)
James Weldon Johnson	Educator; lawyer; diplomat; songwriter; author; anthropologist; poet; and civil rights activist
Louis Tompkins Wright	First black surgeon to head the Department of Surgery at Harlem Hospital in New York City, New York
Walter Francis White	NAACP leader; writer and one of the founders of the Harlem Renaissance

Fletcher Henderson	Pianist; bandleader; and composer; played with Louis Armstrong; Bennie Goodman; and recorded with Bessie Smith and Nina Simone
Wayman Carver	Composer; jazz flutist, one of the earliest flute soloists to perform jazz
Grace Towns Hamilton	First African American woman elected to the Georgia General Assembly; former professor and dean at LeMoyne-Owen College; former executive director of Atlanta's Urban League
Alexander Jefferson	Retired US Air Force lieutenant colonel; member of the Tuskegee Airmen, the 332nd Fighter Group
Martha S. Lewis	Former deputy commissioner for the Department of Social Services in the New York State government, in 1970s; she was the highest-ranking black official in any state government
Jo Ann Robinson	Civil rights activist; educator
Horace E. Tate	First black to earn a PhD at the University of Kentucky, doctorate in education in 1960; instrumental in bringing about the desegregation of schools in Georgia; first African American to run for mayor of Atlanta and elected to the Georgia State Senate; appointed to the National Commission on Libraries and Information Science
Horace T. Ward	Judge and first black student to challenge segregation legally at University of Georgia Law School; member of the Georgia State Senate; first black to serve on the Federal bench in Georgia, appointed by President Jimmy Carter to the United States District Court for the Northern District of Georgia
Ralph David Abernathy	Civil rights activist, associate of Martin Luther King Jr.; minister
Mary Frances Early	First black graduate of the University of Georgia; first black president of the Georgia Music Educators Association; music teacher, planning and development coordinator; divisions curriculum specialist; music resource teacher; adjunct professor at Morehouse and Spelman colleges and as a music coordinator and supervisor of Atlanta Public Schools; head of the Music Department at Clark Atlanta University.

Marva Collins	Educator; founder and director of Westside Preparatory School in Chicago, Illinois
Reatha Clark King	Scientist; philanthropist; educator; served as a research chemist for the National Bureau of Standards; chemistry professor and associate dean at York College and City University of New York; former president of Metropolitan State University; former president and executive director of the General Mills Foundation and vice president of General Mills, Inc.; former chairman of the board of trustees for the General Mills Foundation; life trustee for the University of Chicago
Hosea Williams	Civil rights leader; ordained minister; businessman; philanthropist; scientist; and politician; former executive director of Southern Christian Leadership Conference; member of Georgia General Assembly and a DeKalb county commissioner
Benjamin Brown	Civil rights activist and Georgia State Representative
Evelyn G. Lowery	Civil rights activist and leader; founder of SCLC/Women's Organizational Movement for Equality Now, Inc. (W.O.M.E.N.), the sister organization of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference
James A. Hefner	Economist; former president of Tennessee State University and Jackson State University; former provost of Tuskegee Institute; professor of economics at Morehouse College
Marvin S. Arrington Sr.	Politician and jurist; one of the first two black students to take full-time studies at the Emory University School of Law; former judge in the Superior Court of Fulton County, Georgia; and a former politician in the city of Atlanta
Otis Johnson	Two-term mayor of Savannah, Georgia
Morris Stroud	Former professional football player, tight-end for the Kansas City Chiefs
Kenny Leon	Acclaimed theater director and actor
Pernessia C. Seele	Immunologist; founder and CEO of Balm in Gilead, Inc.; recipient of AU's Pathway of Excellence Award, its most outstanding graduates of all time; one of the nation's most prominent voices on issues of HIV/AIDS and other health disparities

Henry C. “Hank” Johnson	US Congressman, Georgia 4th District
Renee Blake	Director, brand strategy at Maritz
Dorothy Yancy	Retired president emeriti of Johnson C. Smith; professor emeriti of Political Science and Business
Amanda Davis	News anchor at WAGA (Fox5) in Atlanta, Georgia
Walt Landers	NFL player, former running-back with Green Bay Packers
Jody Mayfield	Composer; jazz musician; creative director for Evander Holyfield’s record label, Real Deal Records; performed with musical greats such as Dizzy Gillespie, James Lloyd of Pieces of A Dream, Frank Foster, Grover Washington Jr.
Jacque Reid	Journalist; television and radio personality; former news anchor of The BET Nightly News; former co-host of the NBC New York affiliate show called “New York Live”

### Morehouse College Notable Alumni

Mordecai Johnson	Educator; first black president of Howard University, Washington, DC; former professor of economics and history at Morehouse College
James M. Nabrit	Prominent civil rights attorney, argued several important arguments before the US Supreme Court; second black president of Howard University
Howard Thurman	Distinguished theologian, philosopher; civil rights leader; educator; author; former dean of Rankin Chapel at Howard University; first black dean of Marsh Chapel, Boston University
Samuel M. Nabrit	First black to receive the PhD from Brown University; former member, Atomic Energy Commission; former president of Texas Southern University; son of James M. Nabrit
Hugh M. Gloster Sr.	President emeritus, Morehouse College; founder of Association of Teachers of English in Black Colleges, later College Language Association Collective; selected as one of the 100 most effective college presidents in the United States
Thomas Kilgore Jr.	Minister; civil rights leader; pastor emeritus, Second Baptist Church; former minister at Friendship



	Baptist Church, New York; worked closely with Martin Luther King Jr.
Richard I. McKinney	Educator; philosopher; assistant professor and director of religious activities Virginia Union; former dean of the School of Religion; former president, Storer College; chairman, philosophy department, dean of the College of Arts and Sciences, Morgan State University
Nathaniel H. Bronner	Founder of Bronner Brothers Company, beauty cosmetics
Lerone Bennett, Jr.	Former executive editor, <i>Ebony</i> magazine
Samuel DuBois Cook	Educator; founder of Morehouse College's campus chapter of NAACP; taught at Southern University and Atlanta University; first black to hold a regular faculty position at Duke University; former president, Dillard University; former member of the National Council on Humanities; first black president of the Southern Political Science Association
Robert Edward Johnson	Former executive editor and associate publisher, <i>JET</i> magazine; former presidential press corp with President Richard Nixon
Martin Luther King Jr.	Nobel Peace Prize Laureate; civil rights leader; minister; president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference
Charles Vert Willie	Distinguished professor of Education and Urban Studies, Harvard University
George W. Haley	US ambassador to Gambia; former US postal rate commissioner
Henry W. Foster Jr.	Physician; professor emeritus in the Department of Obstetrics and Gynecology at Meharry Medical College, clinical professor of Obstetrics and Gynecology at Vanderbilt University Medical Center; served as US president Bill Clinton's senior advisor on Teen Pregnancy Reduction and Youth Issues; nominee to the post of surgeon general of the United States by Clinton in 1995; past chair of the US Committee for the United Nations Population Fund; past chair of the board of directors for Pathfinder International; served two terms as chair of the board of regents of the United States National Library of Medicine

Louis W. Sullivan	Physician; businessman; founder and former president, Morehouse School of Medicine; former secretary of the US Department of Health and Human Services under President George H. W. Bush
Peter Chatard	Distinguished plastic surgeon; founder of the Chatard Surgery Center and The Aestem Outpatient Surgery Center, Seattle, Washington
Don Clendenon	Former New York Mets outfielder; 1969 World Series MVP
Maynard H. Jackson	Politician; first black mayor of Atlanta; served three terms as mayor
Otis Moss Jr.	Minister, Olivet Institutional Baptist Church, Cleveland, Ohio; chairman, Morehouse College Board of Trustees
Major R. Owens	Retired US Congressman, New York
Lt. Gen. James R. Hall	Retired Lt. General US Army; former vice president for Campus Operations, Morehouse College
Walter E. Massey	Former president, Morehouse College; former director, National Science Foundation; former dean of the College, Brown University; former provost, University of California System
David Satcher	Director, National Center for Primary Care, Morehouse School of Medicine; former US surgeon general; former president, Meharry and the Morehouse School of Medicine
Leroy Keith, Jr.	Former chairman of the board, Carson Products; former president, Morehouse College
Abraham Davis	Author; professor of Political Science, Morehouse College
Donald R. Hopkins Sr.	Vice president, Health Programs of the Carter Center; former deputy director and acting director of the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention; former assistant professor of Tropical Public Health, Harvard School of Public Health
Harold A. Dawson Sr.	Businessman; real estate tycoon; founder of Harold A. Dawson Company
Chester A. Davenport	Businessman; founder and managing partner of Georgetown Partners, an investment firm in Bethesda, Maryland; GTE Consumer Services Corp; first black graduate of University of Georgia's Law School

Julius Coles	Former president of Africare, the oldest and largest black-led organization, providing aid to Africa; former director of the Andrew Young Center for International Development, Morehouse College; former director of the Ralph J. Bunche International Affairs Center at Howard University
Earl F. Hilliard	Former US Congressman, Alabama
Herman Cain	Author, business executive, radio host, syndicated columnist, and Tea Party activist from Georgia; former presidential candidate; former president and CEO of Godfather's Pizza; former CEO of the National Restaurant Association; former chairman of the Federal Reserve Bank, Kansas City
Robert C. Davidson, Jr.	Retired chairman and chief executive officer of Surface Protection Industries; first black to serve as board chairman, board of trustees of Art Center College of Design; among the first black board leader of a member institution within the Association of Independent Colleges of Art and Design; former director of Children's Hospital of Los Angeles
Reginald C. Lindsay	Judge; former US Federal judge, Massachusetts, nominated by President Bill Clinton, United States District Court for the District of Massachusetts
Sanford D. Bishop Jr.	Politician; former US Representative for Georgia's 2nd Congressional District
Michael L. Lomax	President and CEO, United Negro College Fund; former president, Dillard University; former president, the National Faculty
M. William Howard Jr.	Minister, Bethany Baptist Church, New Jersey; president, New York Theological Seminary; member of the Council on Foreign Relations
Arthur E. Johnson	Sr. vice president Corporate Strategic Development, Lockheed Martin
Howard E. Jeter	Former US ambassador to Nigeria; former US ambassador to Botswana
Maceo K. Sloan	Chairman, president and CEO of Sloan Financial Group, Inc. and chairman, CEO, and CIO of NCM Capital Management Group, Inc.
Calvin O. Butts III	President of State University of New York College at Old Westbury; pastor of Abyssinian Baptist Church in the City of New York, nationally renowned

Samuel L. Jackson	Academy-award nominee; stage and film actor
Roderic I. Pettigrew	Physician; nuclear physicist, National Institutes of Health
Robert R. Jennings	President of Lincoln University; former president of Alabama Agricultural and Mechanical University
Ralph B. Everett, Esq.	President and CEO of the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies
Robert Michael Franklin	Former president, Morehouse College; presidential fellow and professor, Emory University, former president of the Interdenominational Theological Seminary (ITC)
Bill G. Nunn III	Actor
Charles David “C. D.” Moody	President and chief executive officer of C. D. Moody Construction Company, Inc.
Edwin C. Moses	Olympic gold medalist; financial consultant
Jeh Johnson	Civil and criminal attorney; general counsel of the Department of Defense, US Department of Defense
John Silvanus Wilson Jr.	Current president of Morehouse College; former executive director of the White House Initiative on historically black colleges and universities, appointed by President Barack Obama; former director of Massachusetts Institute of Technology’s Foundation Relations; former executive dean of George Washington University’s Virginia campus and former associate professor of higher education in the Graduate School of Education
Shelton “Spike” Lee	Filmmaker and president, 40 Acres & A Mule
Robert L. Mallett	Visiting professor of law, Georgetown University; former executive vice president and general counsel, Public and Senior Markets Group, a division of United Health Group; former senior vice president, Worldwide Policy & Public Affairs, Pfizer Inc; former deputy secretary, US Department of Commerce
Cameron Moody	Director of the White House Office of Administration, executive office of the president, appointed by President Barack Obama; former deputy CEO for operations for the Democratic National Convention (2008, 2004 and 2000) and former deputy director of transportation for the 1996 Democratic National Convention.

- Nelson Bowman III Executive director of development at Prairie View A&M University; author of *Engaging Diverse College Alumni, A Guide to Fundraising at Historically Black Colleges and Universities*, and *Unearthing Promise and Potential: Our Nation's Historically Black Colleges and Universities*, recipient of the John Grenzebach Award for Outstanding Research in Philanthropy for Educational Advancement, presented by Council for the Advancement and Support of Education (CASE)
- Nima A. Warfield First black Rhodes Scholar from a historically black college and university

### Spelman College Notable Alumnae

- Alberta Williams King Mother of Martin Luther King Jr.
- Selena Sloan Butler Founder of first black parent-teacher organization, the National Congress for Colored Parents & Teachers; cofounder the National Parent-Teacher Association
- Blanche Armwood Educator; activist; first black woman in the State of Florida to graduate from an accredited law school; Armwood High School in Tampa, FL, is named in her honor
- Sue Bailey Thurman Founder and first chairperson, National Council of Negro Women's National Library
- Janet Bragg Aviation pioneer; first black female to obtain a commercial pilot license
- Clara Stanton Jones First black president of the American Library Association
- Dovey Johnson Roundtree Trial attorney; military veteran; civil rights pioneer; landmark case, *Sarah Keys v. Carolina Coach Company* (1955)
- Eva Rutland Author, *When We Were Colored: A Mother's Story*; winner of the 2000 Golden Pen Lifetime Achievement Award; author of more than 20 Romance novels
- Mattiwilda Dobbs Opera singer; board of directors for the Metropolitan Opera and the National Endowment for the Arts
- Mary Barksdale Past president, Jack and Jill of America, Inc.
- Christine King Farris Public speaker and educator; teacher at Spelman College; eldest and only living sibling of the late Rev. Martin Luther King Jr.

Ella Gaines Yates	First black director of the Atlanta-Fulton Public Library System
Mary McKinney Edmonds	Former vice provost and dean of student affairs; emeritus at Stanford University
Audrey F. Manley	Former acting surgeon general of the United States; president emeriti of Spelman College
Alexine Clement Jackson	Former national president of the YWCA; former chair, Susan G. Komen for the Cure
Marian Wright Edelman	Founder of the Children's Defense Fund; MacArthur Fellow; Heinz Award; Presidential Medal of Freedom
Ruby Robinson	Former civil rights activist; former executive secretary of Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee
Marcelite J. Harris	First black female to obtain the rank of general in the United States Air Force
Alice Walker	Pulitzer Prize winning novelist, <i>The Color Purple</i>
Aurelia Brazeal	Retired US ambassador to Ethiopia and Kenya; Department of State
Elynor A. Williams	Former vice president of Public Responsibility at Sara Lee Corporation
Beverly Guy-Sheftall	Author; feminist scholar; English professor, Spelman College; founder of the Women's Research and Resource Center at Spelman College; cofounder of <i>SAGE: A Scholarly Journal on Black Women</i> ; former trustee, Dillard University
Ruth A. Davis	24th director general of the United States Foreign Service; former director, Foreign Service Institute and two-time recipient of the President's Award for Distinguished Federal Civilian Service
J. Veronica Biggins	Managing partner of Diversity and Sr. partner, Heidrick & Struggles; former director for AirTran Airway; former director of presidential personnel at the White House for President Bill Clinton
Bernice Johnson Reagon	Founder of Sweet Honey in the Rock; MacArthur Fellow; professor emeritus American University; curator emeritus, Smithsonian Institute National Museum American History; National Humanities Medal; Heinz Award
Yvonne R. Jackson	Former chief human resources officer at three Fortune 500 companies-Pfizer, Inc., Compaq Computer Corporation, and Burger King Corporation

LaTanya Richardson	Actress, <i>U. S. Marshalls</i> , <i>The Fighting Temptations</i> ; wife of actor Samuel L. Jackson, Morehouse College alumni
Pearl Cleage	Novelist, playwright, poet, essayist, and journalist
Tina McElroy Ansa	Author, <i>Baby of the Family</i> , <i>Ugly Ways</i> , <i>The Hand I Fan With</i> , and <i>You Know Better</i>
Kathleen McGee-Anderson	Television producer and playwright, <i>Soul Food</i> , <i>Lincoln Heights</i> , <i>Touched by An Angel</i> , <i>Any Day Now</i>
Sheryl Riley Gripper	Four-time Emmy Award winner and founder of the Black Women Film Network
Varnette Honeywood	Painter, author and businesswoman; creator of the Little Bill character
Virginia Davis Floyd	Vice president of PROMETRA International, and executive director of PROMETRA USA; former director of Human Development & Reproductive Health for the Ford Foundation
Deborah Prothrow-Stith	First female commissioner of Public Health for the Commonwealth of Massachusetts; associate dean and professor of Public Health Practice at the Harvard School of Public Health
Evelynn M. Hammonds	Dean of Harvard College; professor of the History of Science and of African and Black Studies at Harvard University; founding director of the Center for the Study of Diversity in Science, Technology and Medicine at Massachusetts Institute of Technology
Sibyl Avery Jackson	Award-winning author; screenwriter; executive producer; former PR spokesperson for one of the nation's leading wireless companies; former researcher/editor in the Oral History Program at the Lyndon Baines Johnson Library
Jerri DeVard	Advisor for Nokia; former chief marketing officer, Nokia; served as the chief marketing officer, executive vice president and member of Nokia Leadership Team of Nokia Corporation; former chief marketing officer at Citigroup
Brenda V. Smith	Professor at the Washington College of Law at American University; project director for the United States Department of Justice, National Institute of Corrections Cooperative Agreement

	on Addressing Prison Rape; appointed to the National Prison Rape Elimination Commission by the United States House of Representatives Minority Leader, Nancy Pelosi (D-Calif.)
Rolonda Watts	Journalist, actress; author; former talk show host
Kimberly B. Davis	Managing director of Global Philanthropy, president of the JPMorgan Chase Foundation, and a member of the executive committee
Linda Goode Bryant	Documentary filmmaker, <i>Flag Wars</i> ; Peabody Award winner and 2004 Guggenheim Fellow
Tanya Walton Pratt	First black judge in Indiana's history, United States District Court appointed by President Barack Obama
Rosalind Gates Brewer	First black female chief executive officer and president of Sam's Club Segment at Wal-Mart Stores; <i>Forbes's</i> #50 Most Powerful Women in the World; former executive vice president, Walmart Stores, Inc. and president Walmart Stores South, USA; chair—board of directors, Spelman College; board of directors, Lockheed Martin
Traci S. Jackson	Global Client Relationship Manager of Orange Business Services, a global IT and communications services provider, with services available in 220 countries and a local presence in 166.
Jacqueline Calhoun Marshall	First black and female VP Strategic Accounts K-12 Technology Group/Solutions with Pearson Education, the world's leading education publishing and technology company
Shaun Robinson	Co-anchor, Access Hollywood; former host, TV One Access; contributing reporter to The Today Show, MSNBC, CNN and NBC's Nightly News; award-winning journalist, author, <i>Just As I Am</i>
Renee Chube Washington	Chief operating officer of USA Track & Field; past president of the Junior League of Indianapolis; former deputy associate general counsel and acting associate general counsel, US Department of Labor
Bernice King	Minister; former resident, SCLC; daughter of Martin Luther King Jr.
Mary A. Gordon	Vice president of manufacturing US Smokeless Tobacco Company; former VP of Manufacturing, Philip Morris



Noliwe Rooks	Author; associate professor at Cornell University; professor, associate director of the Center for Black Studies at Princeton University and the founding coordinator of the Center's Urban Education Reform Initiative
Adrienne-Joi Johnson	Actress; choreographer; fitness coach
Cassi Davis	Actress, <i>House of Payne</i>
Renita Barge Clark, M.D.	Notable physician in Detroit, MI; founder and president, Cotillion Society of Detroit
Sharmell Sullivan	Professional wrestling valet and occasional wrestler; wife of professional wrestler Booker T; Miss Black America, 1991
Traci Lynn Blackwell	Vice president of Current Programming, the CW Television Network
Tayari Jones	Author, <i>Leaving Atlanta</i> and <i>The Untelling</i>
Angela M. Banks	Professor of Law, William & Mary Law School, noted Immigration Law expert; former editor of the <i>Harvard Law Review</i> and the <i>Harvard International Law Journal</i>
Tanika Ray	Actress; television personality
Celeste Watkins-Hayes	Associate professor of Sociology and Black Studies at Northwestern University and chair of the Department of Black Studies
Tia Fuller	Jazz saxophonist; composer; educator; member of Beyoncé's all-female band
Danica Tisdale	Fellowships coordinator, Center for Global Education at Claremont McKenna College; first black Miss Georgia, 2004
Keshia Knight Pulliam	Actress, <i>The Cosby Show</i> , <i>House of Payne</i>
Kristen Jarvis	Special assistant for scheduling and traveling aide to First Lady Michelle Obama
Phire Dawson	Actress; model; "Barker's Beauty" on <i>The Price Is Right</i>
Betty Davis	Former meteorologist, The Weather Channel
Dazon Dixon Diallo	Founder and CEO SisterLove, Inc.

## Notes

### Introduction

1. Leroy Davis, *A Clashing of the Soul: John Hope and the Dilemma of African American Leadership and Black Higher Education in the Early Twentieth Century*, with a foreword by John Hope Franklin (Athens, Georgia: University of Georgia Press, 1998), 297.
2. Atlanta University Trustees Minutes, February 25, 26, 1929, box 89, folder 2, John Hope Records, Atlanta University Center Robert W. Woodruff Library, Atlanta, Georgia. (Hereafter designated as Hope Records and AUC).
3. "Atlanta University: Affiliation in University Plan," box 96, folder 6, Hope Papers, AUC; "Charter of Atlanta University," State of Georgia, April 1, 1929, box 89, folder 1, *ibid.*
4. Clifford M. Kuhn, Harlon E. Joye, and E. Bernard West, *Living Atlanta: An Oral History of the City, 1914–1948*, foreword by Michael Lomax (Athens, Georgia: University of Georgia Press, 1990), 158, 166; Clarence A. Bacote, *The Story of Atlanta University: A Century of Service, 1865–1965* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1969), 245–249; and Florence M. Read, *The Story of Spelman College* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1961), 206–208.
5. David Levering Lewis, *W. E. B. Du Bois: Biography of a Race, 1868–1919* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1993), 241; William H. Watkins, *The White Architects of Black Education: Ideology and Power in America, 1865–1954* (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 2001), 23.
6. James D. Anderson, *The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860–1935* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988), 238. Industrial philanthropy refers to foundations such as the Peabody Educational Fund, the Slater Fund, Anna T. Jeanes Foundation, Phelps-Stokes Fund, Carnegie Foundation, Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial Fund, Julius Rosenwald Fund, and the General Education Board. W. E. B. Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folks*, with an introduction by Herb

- Boyd (New York: Modern Library, Modern Library Edition, 1996), 53, 58; Carter G. Woodson, *The Mis-Education of the Negro*, with an introduction by H. Khalif Khalifah (Newport News, Virginia: United Brothers & Sisters Graphics & Printing, 1992), 27. This is the complete text as published in 1933. Du Bois argued that industrialists were interested in keeping blacks ignorant and disfranchised by providing only industrial education. Du Bois further maintained that the “money-makers” wished to use blacks as laborers. Similarly, Woodson argued that the system by which blacks were educated was one that perpetuated enslavement. The system Woodson referred to was one totally dominated by whites (e.g., funds, teachers, college presidents, etc.). *Ibid.*, 276. It is noteworthy to mention Anderson supplied examples of blacks having agency on the K-12 educational level; blacks assisted in establishing schools and school systems for their own. See Anderson, *Education of Blacks in the South*, 148, Chap. 1, “Ex-Slaves and the Rise of Universal Education in the South, 1860–1880,” and Chap. 5, “Common Schools for Black Children, 1900–1935.” For this book, I define agency as “the assumed ability for individuals to shape the condition of their lives.” Meredith D. Gall, Walter R. Borg, and Joyce P. Gall, *Educational Research: An Introduction*, 6th ed. (White Plains, New York: Longman, 1996), 610.
7. Merle Curti and Roderick Nash, *Philanthropy in the Shaping of American Higher Education* (New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1965), 168, 185; Dwight Oliver Wendell Holmes, *The Evolution of the Negro College* (New York: Arno and The New York Times, 1969), 7; and Horace Mann Bond, *The Education of the Negro in the American Social Order* (New York: Octagon Books, 1970), 150.
  8. Marybeth Gasman and Katherine Sedgwick, *Uplifting a People. Essays on African American Philanthropy and Education* (New York: Peter Lang, 2005). Particularly, See Chap. 1–3.
  9. Edward A. Jones, *A Candle in the Dark: A History of Morehouse College* (Valley Forge, Pennsylvania: Judson, 1967), 121.
  10. *Ibid.*, 85; Davis, *Clashing of the Soul*, 186.
  11. Rayford Logan, *The Dictionary of American Negro Biography*, ed. Rayford Logan and Michael R. Winston (New York: W. W. Norton, 1982), 323. See Davis, *Clashing of the Soul*, 256–263; Kuhn, Joye, and West, *Living Atlanta*, 131. Booker T. Washington High School in Atlanta, Georgia, was established in 1924 as Atlanta’s first public high school for blacks.
  12. Davis, *Clashing of the Soul*, 260, 314; Logan, “John Hope,” *Dictionary of American Negro Biography*, 323.
  13. Davis, *Clashing of the Soul*, 266,
  14. Eric Anderson and Alfred A. Moss Jr., *Dangerous Donations: Northern Philanthropy and Southern Black Education, 1902–1930*, foreword by Louis R. Harlan (Missouri: University of Missouri Press, 1990), 214.

15. For other examples of works using a single event as a departure to discuss cultural or historic events, see Clifford Geertz, "Deep Play on the Balinese Cockfights," *Daedalus* 101 (Winter 1972), 1–37; Simon Schama, *Dead Certainties: Unwarranted Speculations* (New York: Vintage Books, 1991), and Mark Bauerlein, *Negrophobia, A Race Riot in Atlanta, 1906* (San Francisco: Encounter Books, 2001).
16. Jacques Barzun and Henry F. Graff, *The Modern Researcher* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1992), 253–254.
17. Andrew Carnegie, "Wealth," *North American Review*, June 1889 [journal on-line], Cornell University Library, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, accessed April 11, 2001, <http://cdi.library.cornell.edu>; John D. Rockefeller Sr., *Random Reminiscences of Men and Events* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, Page & Company, 1913).
18. John Hope, "Autobiographical Sketch," July 22, 1934, box 65, folder 3, Hope Records AUC. Hope stated his only purpose for writing this sketch was so his two sons "might know him better." However, he admitted that he probably would not tell everything.
19. Ron Chernow, *Titan: The Life of John D. Rockefeller, Sr.* (New York: Random House, 1998); Ridgely Torrence, *The Story of John Hope*, with an introduction by Rayford Logan (New York: Macmillan, 1948; reprint, New York: Arno and The New York Times, 1969); and Davis, *Clashing of the Soul*.
20. James D. Anderson, "Philanthropic Control over Private Black Higher Education," in *Philanthropy and Cultural Imperialism*, ed. Robert F. Arnove (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1980), 152; Anderson, *Education of Blacks in the South*; Anderson and Moss Jr., *Dangerous Donations*; Curti and Nash, *Philanthropy in the Shaping of American Higher Education*; and Raymond B. Fosdick, Henry F. Pringle, and Katherine Douglas Pringle, *Adventures in Giving: The Story of the General Education Board* (New York: Harper & Row, 1962).
21. Bond, *Education of the Negro in the American Social Order*; John Hope Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom: A History of American Negroes*, 2nd ed. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1964); Kuhn, Joye, and West, *Living Atlanta*; Lewis, W. E. B. Du Bois.
22. Bacote, *Story of Atlanta University*; Benjamin Brawley, *The History of Morehouse College* (Atlanta, Georgia: Morehouse College, 1917); Jones, *Candle in the Dark*; and Read, *Story of Spelman College*.

## I Historical Backdrop

1. Cornel West, *Race Matters* (Boston: Beacon, 1993), 3.
2. John D. Rockefeller Sr., for example, founded the Standard Oil Trust in 1863 and built it up through 1868, the same year as John

- Hope's birth, to become the largest oil refinery in the world. In 1870, the same year Georgia became the last Confederate state readmitted to the Union, Rockefeller renamed his trust to Standard Oil Company. By the late 1870s, Rockefeller's wealth was worth more than "\$5 million" and his "Standard Oil stock alone was by then worth \$18 million." Ron Chernow, *Titan: The Life of John D. Rockefeller, Sr.* (New York: Random House, 1998), 217.
3. Chernow, *Titan*, 9.
  4. John D. Rockefeller Sr., *Random Reminiscences of Men and Events* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, Page & Company, 1913), 33, 35.
  5. *Ibid.*, 77, 87; Chernow, *Titan*, 17.
  6. Rockefeller Sr., *Random Reminiscences*, 34.
  7. Chernow, *Titan*, 19.
  8. Rockefeller Sr., *Random Reminiscences*, 146.
  9. Merle Curti, "The History of American Philanthropy as a Field of Research," *American Historical Review* 62 (1957), 353.
  10. Rockefeller Sr., *Random Reminiscences*, 146; Chernow, *Titan*, 177.
  11. Rockefeller Sr., *Random Reminiscences*, 142.
  12. Julian B. Roebuck and Komanduri S. Murty, *Historically Black Colleges and Universities: Their Place in American Higher Education* (Westport, Connecticut: Praeger, an imprint of Greenwood Publishing Group), 23.
  13. Willard Range, *The Rise and Progress of Negro Colleges in Georgia, 1865–1949* (Athens, Georgia: University of Georgia, 1951), 19.
  14. John Hope Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom: A History of American Negroes*, 2nd ed. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1964), 538.
  15. Vernon L. Wharton, "Jim Crow Laws and Miscegenation," in *The Origins of Segregation: Problems in American Civilization*, ed. Joel Williamson (Boston: D. C. Heath, 1968), 14.
  16. John H. Stanfield, *Philanthropy and Jim Crow in American Social Science* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood, 1985), 8.
  17. *Ibid.* Stanfield explained that Jim Crow was a "variant of apartheid which emphasized legal and psychological separation of the races; prohibition of interracial marriages, separate health, transportation, and educational facilities; racially defined occupations; highly ritualized racial etiquette in public spheres; and violent treatment and usurpation of the civil rights of racial minorities." Bennett explained the term Jim Crow had "become a part of the American language by 1838 and was used [derogatorily] as a synonym for Negro—a noun, a verb, and adjective, a 'comic' way of life." Lerone Bennett, *Before the Mayflower: A History of Black America*, 4th ed. (Chicago: Johnson, 1969), 221.
  18. C. Vann Woodward, "Why Negroes Were Segregated in the South," in *The Origins of Segregation: Problems in American Civilization*, ed. Joel Williamson (Boston: D. C. Heath, 1968), 53.

19. C. Vann Woodward, "Folkways, Stateways, and Racism," in *The Segregation Era, 1863–1954*, ed. Allen Weinstein and Frank Otto Gatell (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), 79–80. This was abridged from C. Vann Woodward, *The Strange Career of Jim Crow*, 2nd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1966).
20. W. E. B. Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folks*, with an introduction by Herb Boyd (New York: Modern Library, Modern Library Edition, 1996), 5.
21. Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks*, trans. Charles Lam Markmann (New York: Grove, 1967), 211.
22. Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, trans. Constance Farrington (New York: Grove, 1963), 250; David P. Ausubel, "Ego Development Among Segregated Negro Children," *Mental Health and Segregation*, ed. Martin M. Grossack (New York: Springer, 1963), 35. Ausubel found in his study of black children that a black child "inherits caste status and almost inevitably acquires the negative self-esteem that is the realistic ego reflection of such status." Furthermore, he concluded unpleasant contacts with whites and with institutionalized symbols of cast inferiority and more directly through mass media, individuals gradually become aware of the social significance of racial membership.
23. Gunnar Myrdal, *An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy*, vol. 2, with a new introduction by Sissela Bok (New York: Harper & Row, 1944, 1962; reprint, New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 1996), 689 (page citations are to the reprinted edition).
24. Woodward, "Why Negroes Were Segregated in the New South," 51.
25. Martin Grossack, "Introduction: Segregation and Its Meaning," in *Mental Health and Segregation*, ed. Martin M. Grossack (New York: Springer, 1963), 1; Herbert Aptheker, *Afro-American History, the Modern Era: A Pioneering Chronicle of the Black People in Twentieth-Century America* (Secacus, New Jersey: Citadel, 1971), 35.
26. Mark Bauerlein, *Negrophobia, A Race Riot in Atlanta, 1906* (San Francisco: Encounter Books, 2001), 31–32. See also, Clifford M. Kuhn, Harlon E. Joye, and E. Bernard West, *Living Atlanta: An Oral History of the City, 1914–1948*, foreword by Michael Lomax (Athens, Georgia: University of Georgia Press, 1990).
27. For a lengthy discussion of segregational practices in the South, see Bauerlein, *Negrophobia*, 289; Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom*; Charlayne Hunter-Gault, *In My Place* (New York: Farrar Straus Giroux, 1992); and Myrdal, *American Dilemma*.
28. Because it is the purpose of this book to highlight John Hope's involvement and accomplishments related to the affiliation of the Atlanta institutions and not to produce another biography, I only use relevant information.

29. John Hope, Autobiographical Sketch, July 22, 1934, box 65, folder 3, Hope Records, AUC.
30. Torrence, *Story of John Hope*, 14.
31. *Ibid.*, 15.
32. *Ibid.*, 17; Davis, *Clashing of the Soul*, 3. Torrence explained how James Hope was vehement about redeeming his father's failure in a cotton mill in Scotland, which was the trigger that sent Hope South "to the very source of cotton." In 1945, Hope and other associates created the Augusta Manufacturing Company, which was a pioneer mill in Augusta and one of the first in the South. Torrence, *Story of John Hope*, 21. Davis added that Augusta was the second largest city in Georgia and cotton dominated its commerce. Davis, *Clashing of the Soul*, 3.
33. Davis, *Clashing of the Soul*, 10.
34. Although literature, even Davis, identified Fanny and John Hope as mulattos, technically they were quadroons, having one-fourth black blood and not half as does a mulatto. One would have to trace back several generations to find a pure black male in this family's history. John Hope describes his mother as a "quadroon." John Hope, Autobiographical Sketch, July 22, 1934, box 65, folder 3, Hope Records, AUC.
35. Torrence, *Story of John Hope*, 6.
36. *Ibid.*, 8.
37. *Ibid.*, 20, 27. Torrence also indicated that this listing "in view of the usual southern refusal to acknowledge the alliance of colored women and a white man" was strikingly extreme. However, Torrence believed that Newton married Fanny in South Carolina where it was legal. Davis also espoused that mulattos during this time "maintained more than cordial relations with their white benefactors." Davis, *Clashing of the Soul*, 8. Lewis asserted that mulattos lived within an enclave and "sometimes lived privileged lives," however, after the Civil War these mulattos were "treated the same as other blacks not unless they passed for white." David Levering Lewis, *W. E. B. Du Bois: Biography of a Race, 1868-1919* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1993), 254.
38. Davis, *Clashing of the Soul*, 8-11; Lewis, *W. E. B. Du Bois*, 253-254; Torrence, *Story of John Hope*, 20-25, 28; and John Hope, Autobiographical Sketch, July 22, 1934, box 65, folder 3, Hope Records, AUC.
39. John Hope, Autobiographical Sketch.
40. Torrence, *Story of John Hope*, 39.
41. Davis, *Clashing of the Soul*, 78.
42. John Hope, Autobiographical Sketch, July 22, 1934, box 65, folder 3, Hope Records, AUC.
43. Davis, *Clashing of the Soul*, 78; Torrence, *Story of John Hope*, 63.
44. Rayford Logan, "John Hope," in *The Dictionary of American Negro Biography*, ed. Rayford Logan and Michael R. Winston

- (New York: W. W. Norton, 1982), 322; John Hope, Autobiographical Sketch, July 22, 1934, box 65, folder 3, Hope Records, AUC; Torrence, *Story of John Hope*, 65–68; and Clarence A. Bacote, *The Story of Atlanta University: A Century of Service, 1865–1965* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1969), 273. It is worthy to note that one of Hope's primary teachers was Lucy Laney, one of the first graduates from Atlanta University's Normal Department. Hope also received help with his schoolwork from his half-sister Georgia (Sissie) Newton when she came home from Atlanta University's Lower Normal Department.
45. Davis, *Clashing of the Soul*, 39; Torrence, *Story of John Hope*, 74. Rev. John Dart, a black Baptist minister in Augusta and friend of Hope's aunt and uncle, encouraged Hope to return to school and to attend Worcester. Dart also assisted him spiritually and financially. Torrence, *Story of John Hope*, 68–69.
  46. Davis, *Clashing of the Soul*, 47; Torrence, *Story of John Hope*, 83. In remembering Edward Solomon's generosity, Hope named his first son Edward in honor of him. Davis, *Clashing of the Soul*, 47, 124.
  47. "A Negro Educator," Interview with John Hope, April 8, 1931, box 65, folder 3, Hope Records, AUC (interviewer is unknown); Davis, *Clashing of the Soul*, 41; and Torrence, *Story of John Hope*, 87. According to Torrence, Hope received a scholarship to Brown obtained by Daniel Webster Abercrombie, principal of Worcester and a trustee of Brown University.
  48. "History: Almost Two and a Half Centuries of History," Brown University, accessed August 18, 2012, <http://www.brown.edu/about/history>.
  49. Davis, *Clashing of the Soul*, 51. Hope used the terms "higher education" and "liberal arts education" interchangeably. Davis explained, liberal arts to Hope meant "training of the mind in the various realms of knowledge," based "first [on] well-grounded principles," 90.
  50. Bacote, *Story of Atlanta University*, 274; Davis, *Clashing of the Soul*, 54, 64; and Torrence, *Story of John Hope*, 97.
  51. Logan, "John Hope," 322; Torrence, *Story of John Hope*, 106. Torrence explained that Hope would have preferred the higher salary offered by Washington, but the fact that he desired to teach the classics and be in Georgia demonstrated Hope was not "one to be moved selfishly." Hope also felt his services were needed more at Roger Williams.
  52. Davis, *Clashing of the Soul*, 66. Daniel W. Phillips established Roger Williams University in 1867 as Nashville Institute. Phillips was a white Baptist minister in Nashville and member of the American Baptist Home Missionary Society. Phillips taught black ministers in his home, but the classes outgrew that space. By 1883, the Institute found a permanent location and was incorporated as Roger Williams University. *Ibid.*, 69–70. Roger Williams University no longer exists. Franklin explained while some of the larger



- philanthropic agencies continued to support black higher education institutions in the twentieth century, the contributions of wealthy philanthropists of the North declined noticeably. Consequently, smaller private institutions either curtailed their programs or closed down altogether (e.g., Walden University and Roger Williams University). Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom*, 538. Also, see Edward A. Jones, *A Candle in the Dark: A History of Morehouse College* (Valley Forge, Pennsylvania: Judson, 1967), 76.
53. Torrence, *Story of John Hope*, 106; “Roger Williams University,” Tennessee State University, Library and Archives [digital], accessed August 16, 2012, [ww2.tnstate.edu/library/digital/roger.htm](http://ww2.tnstate.edu/library/digital/roger.htm).
  54. John Hope, Autobiographical Sketch, July 22, 1934, box 65, folder 3, Hope Records, AUC; John Hope, Biographical Sketch, *ibid*. The AUC archivist believed Torrence wrote the autobiographical sketch and indicated that Hope had the opportunity of working with the *Providence Journal* after he graduated from Brown and further his journalism career. The faculty advisory committee at Brown secured this job for him; however, in taking the position, Hope would have had to pass for white, which he opted not to do. He was adamant about returning to the South and “finding work among the Negro race.” Davis, *Clashing of the Soul*, 64–65.
  55. Davis, *A Clashing of the Soul*, 71.
  56. *Ibid.*, 72.
  57. Torrence, *Story of John Hope*, 111, 114; Bacote, *Story of Atlanta University*, 262. Bacote was not only hired by Hope but was also the first faculty member hired at Atlanta University, in the history department, once the affiliation took place.
  58. John Hope, quoted in Torrence, *Story of John Hope*, 114–115; John Hope, quoted in Davis, *Clashing of the Soul*, 87. See Lewis, *W. E. B. Du Bois*, 255–256.
  59. John Hope, quoted in Torrence, *Story of John Hope*, 115.
  60. Davis, *Clashing of the Soul*, 100; Torrence, *Story of John Hope*, 115, 122.
  61. Davis, *Clashing of the Soul*, 106–107; Jones, *Candle in the Dark*, 74; and Lewis, *W. E. B. Du Bois*, 253.
  62. Davis, *Clashing of the Soul*, 103.
  63. *Ibid.*, 106–109; Torrence, *Story of John Hope*, 130.
  64. Booker T. Washington to William Baldwin Jr., March 28, 1902, box 722, folder 7427, General Education Board Archives, Rockefeller Archive Center, Sleepy Hollow, New York. (Hereafter, designated as GEB and RAC). Washington wanted Baldwin, then president of Long Island Railroad, to know and possibly publish the fact that the distributions of school funds were not as equal between the races as the South tried to indicate it was. Washington gave the following example of difference in Wilcox Co., Alabama: \$600 for 75 white students in one school and \$295 for 290 black students in

- three black schools. The point was “whites receive practically \$8 per child and the colored \$1 per child.”
65. Bacote, *Story of Atlanta University*, vii; Kuhn, Joye, and West, *Living Atlanta*, 152; Dwight Oliver Wendell Holmes, *The Evolution of the Negro College* (New York: Arno and The New York Times, 1969), 11; and Roebuck and Murty, *Historically Black Colleges*, 3. Roebuck and Murty define black colleges and universities, more contemporarily referred to as historically black colleges and universities (HBCUs), as “academic institutions established prior to 1964 whose principal mission was, and still is, the education of black Americans.”
  66. James D. Anderson, *The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860–1935* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988); Eric Anderson and Alfred A. Moss Jr., *Dangerous Donations: Northern Philanthropy and Southern Black Education, 1902–1930*, foreword by Louis R. Harlan (Missouri: University of Missouri Press, 1990); Horace Mann Bond, *The Education of the Negro in the American Social Order* (New York: Octagon Books, 1970); Merle Curti and Roderick Nash, *Philanthropy in the Shaping of American Higher Education* (New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1965); Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom*; Roebuck and Murty, *Historically Black Colleges and Universities*; Myrdal, *American Dilemma*; Carter G. Woodson, *The Education of the Negro Prior to 1861: A History of the Education of the Colored People in the United States from the Beginning of Slavery to the Civil War* (Washington, DC: Associated, 1969); and Carter G. Woodson, *The Mis-Education of the Negro*, with an introduction by H. Khalif Khalifah (Newport News, Virginia: United Brothers & Sisters Graphics & Printing, 1992).
  67. Booker T. Washington, W.E. Burghardt DuBois, Charles W. Chesnutt, Wilford H. Smith, H.T. Kealing, Paul Laurence Dunbar, and T. Thomas Fortune, et. al., *The Negro Problem*, with a preface by August Meier (New York: Arno Press and the New York Times, 1969).
  68. W. E. B. Du Bois, “The Hampton Idea,” *The Education of Black People: Ten Critiques, 1906–1960*, ed. Herbert Aptheker (New York: Monthly Review, 2001), 25–26. This was part of the 1906 speech Du Bois gave at a conference at Hampton Institute that focused on “negro education.”
  69. Du Bois, *Souls of Black Folks*, 94.
  70. W. E. B. Du Bois, “The Jubilee of the New South,” *Century Magazine*, January 1896, 470.
  71. Edgar G. Epps, in *College in Black and White: African American Students in Predominantly White and in Historically Black Public Universities*, ed. Walter R. Allen, Edgar G. Epps, and Nesha Z. Haniff, with a foreword by Edgar G. Epps (New York: State University of New York Press, 1991), xiii. Although, at times, I

briefly discuss and mention the ideological differences between providing blacks with either industrial education or classical education, it is not the major focal point here. Many scholars have discussed this in detail. See Anderson, *Education of Blacks in the South*; Bond, *Education of the Negro in American Social Order*; Du Bois, "Of the Training of Men," *Souls of Black Folks*; Du Bois, "The Talented Tenth," *The Negro Problem*, 33–75; Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom*; Lewis, *W. E. B. Du Bois*; Robert C. Morris, *Reading, 'Riting, and Reconstruction: The Education of Freedmen in the South, 1861–1870* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1976, reprinted 1981); Myrdal, *American Dilemma*; Booker T. Washington, "Industrial Education for the Negro," *The Negro Problem*, 7–29; Michael Bieze, *Booker T. Washington and the Art of Self-Representation* (New York: Peter Lang, 2008); and Michael Scott Bieze and Marybeth Gasman, ed., *Booker T. Washington Rediscovered* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 2012).

72. Holmes, *Evolution of the Negro College*, 11–15; Dwight Oliver Wendell Holmes, "The Beginning of the Negro College," *Journal of Negro Education* 3 (April 1934): 168–193.
73. Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom*, 302–303; Roy E. Finkenbine, "Law, Reconstruction, and African American Education," in *Charity, Philanthropy, and Civility in American History*, ed. Lawrence J. Friedman and Mark D. McGarvie (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 162–163, 166.
74. Holmes, *Evolution of the Negro College*, 11–15; James D. Anderson, "Philanthropic Control over Private Black Higher Education," in *Philanthropy and Cultural Imperialism*, ed. Robert F. Arno (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1980), 152; and Anderson, *Education of Blacks in the South*, 241. Missionary philanthropy consisted of the American Missionary Association, the Freedman's Aid Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, the American Baptist Home Mission Society, the Freedmen's Missions of the United Presbyterian Church, the American Church Institute for Negroes of the Protestant Episcopal Church, the United Christian Missionary Society of the Disciples of Christ, and Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament of Pennsylvania of the Roman Catholic Church. Black philanthropy consisted of the African Methodist Episcopal, the African Methodist Episcopal Zion, the Colored Methodist Episcopal Churches, and the Negro Baptist Conventions. Because this book involves Atlanta University (Congregational, later non-denominational), Morehouse College (Baptist), and Spelman College (Baptist), most of the emphasis herein is on the American Missionary Association, the American Baptist Home Mission Society, and the Negro Baptist Conventions. Anderson, "Philanthropic Control over Private Black Higher Education," 152.
75. Finkenbine, "Law, Reconstruction, and African American Education," 164–166.

76. Anderson, *Education of Blacks in the South*, 241. The definition of classical and liberal arts education has changed over time. Generally, liberal education is defined as “the cultivation of the intellect,” according to John Henry Newman, with the object being “intellectual excellence.” John Henry Newman, *The Idea of a University*, edited and with an introduction by Martin J. Svaglic (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1982). Specifically, in the 1880s, as Anderson explained, New England classical, liberal curriculum entailed different courses on different levels. Elementary levels studied reading, spelling, writing, grammar, diction, history, geography, arithmetic, and music. Normal departments studied Standard English curriculum with additional courses in orthography, map drawing, physiology, algebra and geometry, and theory and practice of teaching. The college curriculum varied slightly among institutions, but the classical course leading to a bachelor’s degree usually required Latin, Greek, mathematics, science, philosophy, and, in a few cases, one modern language. Anderson, *Education of Blacks in the South*, 28–29. More contemporarily, the purpose of a liberal arts education, as Christie Farnham explained, is “to discipline and furnish the mind, develop character, and enrich life by encouraging future learning.” Christie Anne Farnham, *The Education of the Southern Belle: Higher Education and Student Socialization in the Antebellum South* (New York: New York University Press, 1994), 69.
77. Morgan to Buttrick, January 31, 1901, box 717, folder 7392, American Baptist Home Mission Society, 1901–1909, GEB, RAC.
78. Atlanta University, October 1929, *Spelman Messenger*, Spelman College Archives; The Atlanta University Affiliation, May 1933, *Bulletin of the Association of American Colleges*, 2–6; Bacote, *Story of Atlanta University*, vii; and Kuhn, Joye, and West, *Living Atlanta*, 152.
79. Thomas J. Morgan to Wallace Buttrick, January 31, 1901, box 717, folder 7392, American Baptist Home Mission Society, 1901–1909, GEB, RAC. These are some of Morgan’s thoughts on “Forty Years’ Work for the Negroes by the Home Mission Society.”
80. Ibid. Also see Frederick Rudolph, *The American College and University: A History* (Athens, Georgia: University of Georgia, 1962); Laurence Veysey, *The Emergence of the American University* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965). These histories of higher education in the United States provided not only details about the creation of colleges and universities in this country but also illustrated the lack of access for blacks to matriculate in higher education.
81. Bacote, *Story of Atlanta University*, 4; Davis, *Clashing of the Soul*, 109.
82. Bacote, *Story of Atlanta University*, vii.
83. Ibid., 4–13.

84. *Ibid.*, 6–8.
85. *Ibid.*, 13.
86. Historical Statement: Atlanta University, box 96, folder 6, Hope Records, AUC.
87. *Ibid.*
88. *Ibid.*, 15.
89. *Ibid.*, 16, 23. Bacote asserted Ware and other members of the Yale University class of 1863 desired a motto “that would reflect the training and inspiration they received from their Alma Mater.” Furthermore, Bacote explained this Yale spirit brought by its graduates would become “for Negro men and women of the South the Atlanta University spirit.”
90. *Ibid.*, 16; Range, *Rise and Progress of Negro Colleges*, 21.
91. Historical Statement: Atlanta University, box 96, folder 6, Hope Records, AUC; Atlanta University, *Spelman Messenger*, October 1929, Spelman College Archives (Hereafter designated as SCA); and Bacote, *Story of Atlanta University*, 64.
92. Bacote, *Story of Atlanta University*, 17, 22, 24.
93. John Mercer Langston, quoted in Bacote, *Story of Atlanta University*, 21.
94. Edmund Asa Ware, quoted in Bacote, *Story of Atlanta University*, 15, 23.
95. Range, *Rise and Progress of Negro Colleges*, 23. Also, see Anderson and Moss Jr., *Dangerous Donations*, 19; Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom*, 378.
96. Range, *Rise and Progress of Negro Colleges*, 23.
97. Historical Statement: Atlanta University, box 96, folder 6, Hope Records, AUC; Atlanta University, *Spelman Messenger*, October 1929, SCA. Much of the literature also described White as a “Negro minister,” however, Jones and other historians explained White was not black. Although White’s lineage easily caused confusion, Jones’s interview with White’s eldest daughter, in 1964, sheds light on the subject. White, as Jones explained, was ethnically “the product of several generations of mating between white men and [Cherokee] Indian women.” White’s mother was a Cherokee Indian. It is unclear whether the father’s surname was White, or if the name was given to indicate his ethnicity. Another area that possibly caused confusion concerning White’s ethnicity stemmed from White’s own marriage and adult life. White married a black woman with whom he had 11 children and “identified himself proudly with the Negroes despite his non-Negro parentage.” Since White and his wife, at the time, could not live openly as husband and wife, he decided to live with her as a black man in her mistress’s house. It was not until after their fourth child was born did the two venture out on their own, buy a house, and live openly as husband and wife. Jones, *Candle in the Dark*, 20–21, 25. Also see Lewis, *W. E. B. Du Bois*, 255.

98. Jones, *Candle in the Dark*, 19. See Benjamin Brawley, *History of Morehouse College* (College Park, Maryland: McGrath, 1917; reprinted 1970), 14. During a journey from the North back to the South, Coulter had attended the National Theological Institute and University, an institute organized by Edmund Turney.
99. Brawley, *History of Morehouse College*, 16; Jones, *Candle in the Dark*, 24–26.
100. Historical Statement: Atlanta University, box 96, folder 6, Hope Records, AUC; Jones, *Candle in the Dark*, 31, 32, 34, 37; and Atlanta University, *Spelman Messenger*, October 1929, SCA.
101. Jones, *Candle in the Dark*, 37. Jones indicated that the motto for the seminary did not appear in any catalogues until the academic year 1895–1896. In this year, the motto was written in English: “And There Was Light”; whereas, in subsequent catalogues, it appeared in Latin: “*Et Facta Est Lux.*” Jones, *ibid.*, 64–65. Florence Read explained people endearingly referred to Frank Quarles as “Father Quarles.” His church, Friendship Baptist, was founded three years after emancipation with its first members being former slaves. Moreover, Read asserted, by 1881, Friendship had 1,500 members and by this time, Quarles had become “influential in the educational and civic life as well as in the religious life of Georgia.” Florence M. Read, *The Story of Spelman College* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1961), 42.
102. Jones, *Candle in the Dark*, 38–39; Brawley, *History of Morehouse College*, 36–37.
103. Jones, *Candle in the Dark*, 45. There were no institution for black females until Spelman was established; Bennett College was established for females after Spelman. Bennett was founded in 1873 as Bennett Seminary. The seminary was chartered in 1889 as a coeducational college and was renamed Bennett College. In 1926, it was reorganized again as a college for women. Levrin Hill, ed., *Black American Colleges & Universities: Profiles of Two-Year, Four Year, & Professional Schools*, (Detroit, Michigan: Gale Research, Inc., 1994), 437; Roebuck and Komanduri, *Historically Black Colleges and Universities*, 65.
104. Read, *Story of Spelman College*, 13–30. Read explained that Catherine Beecher’s “The Duty of American Women to Their Country,” and the historic “Women’s Rights Convention” in 1848 stirred Packard and Giles’s “urgent need to educate and to convert [free people and Indians] to the Christian way of life.” In 1877 Packard, Giles, and other women formed the Women’s American Baptist Homes Mission Society as an auxiliary to the ABHMS. Packard, according to Read, “wrote the legal document applying for incorporation and called the first meeting thereafter.” Read, *ibid.*, 31.
105. *Ibid.*, 32–33.
106. College History, 2000–2001, *Spelman College Bulletin*, 5. (Hereafter, designated as SCB). See Yolanda Watson-Moore, *Training the*

- Head, the Hand, and the Heart: The Evolution of the Academic Curriculum of Spelman College, (1881–1953)* (PhD diss., Georgia State University, 2000), 7–8; Read, *Story of Spelman College*, 35. New Orleans University and Straight Institute later merged and formed Dillard University.
107. Read, *Story of Spelman College*, 42.
  108. *Ibid.*, 43, 45, 50; College History, 2000–2001, SCB, 5. After holding meetings with other black ministers and individuals such as Joseph Robert, president of Atlanta Baptist Seminary, they granted the acceptance of a school. Individuals of varying churches solicited students from the church community and from going door-to-door. Range indicated the women were from 30 to 35 years of age. Range, *Rise and Progress of Negro Colleges*, 51. Watson-Moore indicated that individuals such as William White opposed females under the age of 15; thus, after receiving pressure from him and a committee of black ministers, Packard and Giles “sent all of the children away.” Watson-Moore, *Training the Head, the Hand, and the Heart*, fn. 11, 40. Watson also pointed out the early curriculum at the Female Seminary did not “feature the practical and classical curriculum which pervaded many women’s educational institutions of the period.” Watson-Moore, *Training the Head*, 10, 54; Range, *Rise and Progress of Negro Colleges*, 51.
  109. Chernow, *Titan*, 307; *General Education Board: An Account of Its Activities, 1902–1914* (New York: General Education Board, 1915), 6.
  110. Chernow, *Titan*, 240; College History, 2000–2001, SCB, 5; and Read, *Story of Spelman College*, 64.
  111. Read, *Story of Spelman College*, 77–79.
  112. College History, 2000–2001, SCB, 5; Read, *Story of Spelman College*, 70–71, 73, 75; Range, *Rise and Progress of Negro Colleges*, 52; Chernow, *Titan*, 240–241; and Henry Morehouse, quoted in Read, *Story of Spelman College*, 79.
  113. Anderson, *Education of Blacks in the South*, 68; Kenneth Rose, “John D. Rockefeller, the American Baptist Education Society, and the Growth of Baptist Higher Education in the Midwest,” 4, the Rockefellers Archives, accessed July 10, 2012, [www.rockarch.org/publications/resrep/rosel.pdf](http://www.rockarch.org/publications/resrep/rosel.pdf).
  114. John D. Rockefeller Sr., as quoted in Chernow, *Titan*, 240; Rose, “John D. Rockefeller,” 12.
  115. Chernow, *Titan*, 240.
  116. Raymond B. Fosdick, *John D. Rockefeller, Jr.: A Portrait* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1956), 15; Chernow, *Titan*, 90.
  117. “Atlanta University,” *Spelman Messenger*, October 1929, SCA; Raymond B. Fosdick, Henry F. Pringle, and Katherine Douglas Pringle, *Adventures in Giving: The Story of the General Education Board* (New York: Harper & Row, 1962), 5; and Fosdick, *John D. Rockefeller, Jr.*, 117–120.

118. Lewis, *W. E. B. Du Bois*, 215.
119. *Ibid.*, 238, 252; Davis, *Clashing of the Soul*, 110–112. Davis stated that Du Bois was convinced that “reasoned study and analysis, not religion, would break down the walls of discrimination.” Hope believed in “the importance of scientific study.” Both men “promoted Western culture as a fundamental basis of good character.”
120. Bacote, *Story of Atlanta University*, 132; Lewis, *W. E. B. Du Bois*, 215. Lewis explained how Du Bois used student’s research papers as building blocks for the Atlanta University’s Conference of Negro Problem, a series of studies under Du Bois’s direction.
121. Bacote, *Story of Atlanta University*, 130; Lewis, *W. E. B. Du Bois*, 198, 224. Lewis affirmed Du Bois received national and international recognition for his work and became “the second most sought-after spokesperson for his race after Booker T. Washington.”
122. Lewis, *W. E. B. Du Bois*, 201, 202, 203. This essay, as Lewis explained, “challenged the giants of contemporary sociology and declared that the discipline’s methodology was based on theoretical fallacies that ignored the ineradicable element of human chance in human affairs.” Furthermore, Lewis pointed out that Du Bois created his own definition of sociology, “the science that seeks [to measure] the limits of Chance in human conduct.”
123. Lewis, *W. E. B. Du Bois*, 202. By not basing his methodological framework on theory, Du Bois set out to redefine sociological studies from an historical perspective. *The Philadelphia Negro*, Lewis wrote, “recounted the ascent through slavery and adversity by the late-seventeenth-century Africans in the city until their progress was sharply checked, temporarily, by European migration in the mid-nineteenth; then through their rise and fall again later in the century—due, in part, to an influx of southern black folk.” *Ibid.*, 203.
124. *Ibid.*, 220. Some of Du Bois’s published works while on the faculty of Atlanta University were: *The Negro Artisan* (1902), *The Negro Church* (1903), *The Souls of Black Folks* (1903), *The Negro American Family* (1908), *The College-Bred Negro* (1910), and *The Negro Common School* (1911). Lewis, *Du Bois*, 221.
125. *Ibid.*, 223–225.
126. Bacote, *Story of Atlanta University*, 137.
127. Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom*, 433–435. Franklin elaborated on these riots in such places as Springfield, Ohio (1904), Brownsville, Texas (1906), Atlanta, Georgia (1906), and Springfield, Illinois (1908).
128. Bauerlein, *Negrophobia*, 61.
129. Woodward, “Folkways, Stateways, and Racism,” 73–92.
130. Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom*, 383, 538. Franklin pointed out that by 1933, there were more than 38,000 blacks receiving collegiate instruction, and 97 percent were in colleges in the South. *Ibid.*, 539.



131. *Ibid.*, 378; Anderson, *Education of Blacks in the South*, 242–252, 277–278; Anderson, “Philanthropic Control over Private Black Higher Education,” 158; Bacote, *Story of Atlanta University*, 258; and Myrdal, *American Dilemma*, 880.
132. Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom*, 378; Curti and Nash, *Philanthropy in the Shaping of American Higher Education*, 239.

## 2 Mythical Phoenix and the Ashes It Spreads

1. Laurence Veysey, *The Emergence of the American University* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965), 3.
2. James D. Anderson, “Philanthropic Control over Private Black Higher Education,” in *Philanthropy and Cultural Imperialism*, ed. Robert F. Arnove (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1980), 154–155, 163; James D. Anderson, *The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860–1935* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988), 241.
3. Anderson, “Philanthropic Control over Private Black Colleges,” 173, 163; Atlanta University: Purpose of Atlanta University, box 96, folder 6, Hope Records, AUC; Wallace Buttrick to John D. Rockefeller Jr., February 14, 1914, box 203, folder 1937, Oswald Villard, 1903–1954, GEB, RAC; *General Education Board: An Account of Its Activities, 1902–1914* (New York: General Education Board, 1915), 208; and Raymond B. Fosdick, Henry F. Pringle, and Katherine Douglas Pringle, *Adventures in Giving: The Story of the General Education Board* (New York: Harper & Row, 1962), 88–89.
4. Herbert Spencer, quoted in Stewart H. Holbrooke, *The Age of the Moguls* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1952), 88.
5. Bradley W. Bateman, “Clearing the Ground: The Demise of the Social Gospel Movement and the Rise of Neoclassicism in American Economics,” *History of Political Economy*, Winter 1998, 29–52.
6. Ronald C. White Jr., *Liberty and Justice for All: Racial Reform and the Social Gospel*, with a foreword by James M. McPherson (New York: Harper & Row, 1990), xx, xxi.
7. Bateman, “Clearing the Ground,” 29–52.
8. Veysey, *Emergence of the American University*, 124.
9. Edwin Embree, “Rockefeller Foundation,” 1930, box 1, folder 3, Edwin Embree Papers, Rockefeller Archive Center, Sleepy Hollow, New York. (Hereafter, designated as Embree Papers and RAC); Alice Fleming, *Ida Tarbell: First of the Muckrakers* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1971), 112, 126–127. In 1906, President Theodore Roosevelt condemned reckless and irresponsible journalists who only reported the “bad side of things” and took advantage of the

- public's response to Tarbell's expose by writing in the interest of sensationalism. He compared these individuals with the character in John Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* and called them "muckrakers." Though Roosevelt also praised those writers who were attacking "legitimate social ills," he did not distinguish the term between the two; thus, "muckraker" eventually became a term applied to those journalists, like Tarbell, "who were working on behalf of reform." Fleming indicated, "The insult was transformed into a term of approval, and Ida, who had at first resented being called a muckraker, came to accept the title as a badge of distinction."
10. Fleming, *Ida Tarbell*, 104, 122.
  11. John D. Rockefeller Sr., *Random Reminiscences of Men and Events* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, Page, 1913), 58; Ron Chernow, *Titan: The Life of John D. Rockefeller, Sr.* (New York: Random House, 1998), xxi; and Holbrook, *Age of the Moguls*, 67.
  12. Holbrook, *Age of the Moguls*, 139.
  13. Chernow, *Titan*, 9. Carnegie was born in 1835, Gould in 1836, Morgan in 1837, and Rockefeller Sr. in 1839.
  14. Veysey, *Emergence of the American University*, 348.
  15. Andrew Carnegie, "Wealth," *North American Review* 148 (June 1889), Cedar Falls, Iowa: University of Northern Iowa, Cornell University Library, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collection, accessed April 11, 2001, <http://cdi.library.cornell.edu>.
  16. Andrew Carnegie, "The Best Fields of Philanthropy," *North American Review* 149 (December 1889), Cedar Falls, Iowa: University of Northern Iowa, *ibid*.
  17. John D. Rockefeller Sr., quoted in Kenneth Rose, "The Rockefeller Foundation: A History; Introduction" (New York: The Rockefeller Foundation), accessed April 23, 2001, <http://rockfound.org>.
  18. Rockefeller Sr., *Random Reminiscences*, 157.
  19. John Ensor Harr and Peter J. Johnson, *The Rockefeller Conscience: An American Family in Public and in Private* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, Macmillian, 1991), xiv.
  20. Veysey, *Emergence of the American Universities*, 3. The idea of erecting Cornell University grew from the Morrill Land Grant Act (1862), which appropriated public land to aid state agricultural and mechanical colleges, and Ezra Cornell's discussions with Andrew White, who later became the first president of Cornell University. In 1865, White introduced the bill to the Senate, and in April of that year, the bill passed. Cornell endowed the university through a gift of \$500,000, which added to the sum realized by Cornell's purchase of the Morrill land strip from the state. Cornell University was established with all of the aspects Ezra Cornell felt most important in life: concern for education, interest in agriculture, and a philanthropic impulse. "Ezra Cornell: A Nineteenth-Century Life," Cornell University Library, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, accessed April 16, 2001, <http://>

- [rmc.library.cornell.edu/ezra-exhibit/entrance.html](http://rmc.library.cornell.edu/ezra-exhibit/entrance.html). Johns Hopkins left a large endowment to fund several institutions of higher education. In 1867, six years before his death, Hopkins left \$7 million in his will to organize two corporations, one for a hospital and one for a university. Equally divided, this fund led to the establishment of Johns Hopkins University in 1876, Johns Hopkins Hospital in 1889, and later Johns Hopkins Medical School in 1893. "Who is Johns Hopkins," Johns Hopkins University Library, accessed April 16, 2001, [http://webapps.jh.edu/jhuniverse/information\\_about\\_hopkins](http://webapps.jh.edu/jhuniverse/information_about_hopkins).
21. Carnegie, "The Best Fields of Philanthropy," 682–699. The death of Leland and Jane Stanford's only son, Leland Jr., resulted in their desire to erect an educational institution in his memory. However, the desire was to build a university that was unlike the institutions in the East: nontraditional (coeducational), nondenominational, and practical, producing cultured and useful citizens. In 1885, when Stanford University opened, it was distinct from the other leading institutions. David Starr Jordan, a leading scientific man of the time, was president; its student body consisted of both males and females; and the curriculum followed the German model of providing graduate and undergraduate instruction that stressed research along with teaching. Leland Stanford, "The Founding of the University," Stanford University, access April 9, 2001, <http://www.stanford.edu/home/stanford/history/begin.html>.
  22. Veysey, *Emergence of the American University*, 57–120. Charles Eliot, president of Harvard, and Andrew D. White, president of Cornell, were the leaders in making utility the key to and the acceptance of college education in the American scheme of things. Through the elective system, Harvard offered a broadened program in the liberal arts, placing more emphasis on natural and physical subjects (e.g., modern languages, history, etc.). White leaned more toward the combination of liberal arts, scientific, and vocational training. However, neither of the men initially urged an emphasis on research; *Ibid.*, 68–95.
  23. Veysey noted that Harvard did not exclude minority students (e.g., blacks and Jews) who passed the entrance exam. However, President Eliot did not necessarily approve of social interaction between the races and held stereotypical views of Jewish students. Veysey, *American University*, 92. Conversely, Ezra Cornell, founder of Cornell University, took measures so as not to exclude women and blacks. In 1869, Cornell wrote, "There is a great reform required in the education and habits of females. Please study the subject and see what can be done for them." Ezra Cornell to Mattie Curran, July 24, 1869, in "Ezra Cornell: A Nineteenth-Century Life," Cornell University Library, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, accessed April 16, 2001, <http://rmc.library.cornell.edu/ezra-exhibit/entrance.html>.

24. Veysey, *American University*, 126. Veysey explained that most American universities did not initially implement the German model; instead, most implemented utilitarian curricula, causing contrasting methods in the teaching field for those who trained in the United States and those trained abroad. There was a difference, however, between American universities and German universities, as Veysey explained, “German rhetoric about academic purpose appears to have centered upon three quite different conceptions: first, on the value of non-utilitarian learning, freely pursued without regard to the immediate needs of the surrounding society (hence “pure” learning, protected by *Lehrfreiheit*); second, on the value of *Wissenschaft*, or investigation and writing in a general sense, as opposed to teaching (*Wissenschaft* did not necessarily connote empirical research; it could just as easily comprehend Hegelian philosophy); finally, on their epistemological side, German statements of academic aim continues to run toward some form of all-encompassing idealism.” Since learning in the late nineteenth century in the United States was of utilitarian orientation, there were only two universities dominated by the ideal of scientific research and established as centers for graduate study when they opened: Johns Hopkins University (1876) and Clark University (1889); institutions such as Harvard and Columbia were in the process of transforming into universities. Lawrence A. Cremin, “The Education of the Educating Profession,” *The History of Higher Education*, 2nd ed., ASHE Reader Series, ed. Lester F. Goodchild and Harold S. Wechsler (Boston, Massachusetts: Pearson Custom, 1997), 403.
25. Merle Curti and Roderick Nash, *Philanthropy in the Shaping of American Higher Education* (New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1965), 213.
26. Wickliffe Rose, “Summary of Operations of the Peabody Education Fund,” June 20, 1916, folder 5, box 1, Wickliffe Rose Papers, RAC. In 1910, Rose was elected president of the George Peabody College for Teachers. In 1913, he became a trustee for the GEB and later, in 1925, became president of the GEB. Rose noted that during the 47 years of the fund’s operation, “the Trustees contributed from the income of the Fund toward the encouragement of public education in the Southern states about three and three-quarter million dollars.” See Horace Mann Bond, *The Education of the Negro in the American Social Order*, 130–144; Curti and Nash, *Philanthropy in the Shaping of American Higher Education*, 173; Fosdick, Pringle, and Pringle, *Adventures in Giving*, 3; John Hope Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom: A History of American Negroes*, 2nd ed. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1964), 378–384; and Gunnar Myrdal, *An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy*, vol. 2, with a new introduction by Sissela Bok (New York: Harper & Row, 1944, 1962; reprint, New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 1996), 890.

27. *General Education Board*, 9. During its operation, the three general agents for the Peabody Fund were Barnes Sears, J. L. M. Curry, and Wickliffe Rose.
28. Dwight Oliver Wendell Holmes, *The Evolution of the Negro College* (New York: Arno and The New York Times, 1969), 164–165.
29. John E. Fisher, *The John F. Slater Fund: A Nineteenth Century Affirmative Action for Negro Education* (Lanham, Maryland: University Press of America, 1986), 3.
30. Bond, *Education of the Negro in the American Social Order*, 130–144; Curti and Nash, *Philanthropy in the Shaping of American Higher Education*, 173; Roy E. Finkenbine, “Law, Reconstruction, and African American Education,” in *Charity, Philanthropy, and Civility in American History*, ed. Lawrence J. Friedman and Mark D. McGarvie (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 167; Fosdick, Pringle, and Pringle, *Adventures in Giving*, 3; Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom*, 378–384; and Myrdal, *American Dilemma*, 890.
31. Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom*, 379.
32. *General Education Board*, 10; Fosdick, Pringle, and Pringle, *Adventures in Giving*, 103. Bishop Haygood, J. L. M. Curry, Wallace Buttrick, and James H. Dillard served in succession as general agents of the Slater Fund.
33. Holmes, *Evolution of the Negro College*, 163–164.
34. Curti and Nash, *Philanthropy in the Shaping of American Higher Education*, 173.
35. *General Education Board*, 11; “The Phelps-Stokes Fund: Celebrating Our 90th Year,” accessed July 28, 2003, <http://www.psfdc.org>; Holmes, *Evolution of the Negro College*, 164–172, 176–178; and Myrdal, *American Dilemma*, 890–891.
36. Carnegie, “The Best Fields of Philanthropy,” 685.
37. Bernard Alderson, *Andrew Carnegie: The Man and His Work* (New York: Doubleday, Page, 1908), 155.
38. Louis M. Hacker, *The World of Andrew Carnegie, 1865–1901* (Philadelphia and New York: J. B. Lippincott, 1968), 364–367; “History of Carnegie Mellon,” [http://www.cmu.edu/home/about/about\\_history.html](http://www.cmu.edu/home/about/about_history.html); and Ellen Condliffe Lagerman, “Surveying the Professions,” in Goodchild and Wechsler, *History of Higher Education*, 394–402.
39. Anderson, *Education of Blacks in the South*, 91; Myrdal, *American Dilemma*, 890–891. The Carnegie Corporation sponsored Myrdal’s study.
40. Roger L. Geiger, “Research, Graduate Education and the Ecology of American Universities: An Interpretive History,” in Goodchild and Wechsler, *History of Higher Education*, 280.
41. W. Bruce Leslie, “The Age of the College,” in Goodchild and Wechsler, *History of Higher Education*, 337. Also see the Carnegie

- Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, *Missions of the College Curriculum*, (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1977).
42. John S. Brubacher and Willis Rudy, "Professional Education," in Goodchild and Wechsler, *History of Higher Education*, 385. See Hugh Hawkins, "Toward System," in Goodchild and Wechsler, *History of Higher Education*, 318–328; W. Bruce Leslie, "The Age of the College," in Goodchild and Wechsler, *History of Higher Education*, 333–343; and Lawrence A. Cremin, "The Education of the Educating Professions," in Goodchild and Wechsler, *History of Higher Education*, 403–412.
  43. Chernow, *Titan*, 491–492.
  44. Rose, "The Rockefeller Foundation".
  45. John D. Rockefeller Jr. to William H. Baldwin Jr., March 1, 1902, Appendix II, in *General Education Board*, 216.
  46. Fosdick, Pringle, and Pringle, *Adventures in Giving*, 1; Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom*, 380; and *General Education Board*, 11, 196.
  47. *General Education Board*, 4.
  48. Chernow, *Titan*, 472–479, 484, 489, 491, 596; Rose, "The Rockefeller Foundation. This introduction indicated that the Rockefeller Foundation has given "more than \$2 billion to thousands of grantees worldwide and has assisted directly in the training of nearly 13,000 Rockefeller Foundation Fellows."
  49. Harr and Johnson, *Rockefeller Conscience*, 6.
  50. Raymond B. Fosdick, *John D. Rockefeller, Jr.: A Portrait* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1956), 61.
  51. John D. Rockefeller Jr. to John D. Rockefeller Sr., February 11, 1919, in "Dear Father"/"Dear Son:" *Correspondence of John D. Rockefeller and John D. Rockefeller, Jr*, ed. Joseph W. Ernst (New York: Fordham University Press in cooperation with Rockefeller Archive Center, 1994), 90.
  52. "Rockefeller Brothers Fund," the Rockefeller Foundation, accessed April 23, 2001, <http://www.rbf.org>. The Rockefeller Brothers Fund was established in 1940 and dedicated "to promote the well-being of all people in the transition to global interdependence." This is a philanthropic organization established by John D. Rockefeller Jr.'s five sons (John D., 3rd, Winthrop, Laurence, David, and Nelson) and daughter (Abby Rockefeller Mauze); they shared a source of advice and research on charitable activities and combined some of their philanthropies.
  53. Fosdick, *John D. Rockefeller, Jr.*, 16, 373, 41. Rockefeller Sr. bought Junior a scholarship for a student at Hampton. Fosdick indicated that Junior and this student remained in contact for a number of years.
  54. Chernow, *Titan*, 481–483; Curti and Nash, *Philanthropy in the Shaping of American Higher Education*, 215; Fosdick, *John D. Rockefeller, Jr.*, 117; Allan Nevins, *John D. Rockefeller: The Heroic*

- Age of American Enterprise*, vol. 2 (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1940), 482–484; and Clarence A. Bacote, *The Story of Atlanta University: A Century of Service, 1865–1965* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1969), 248.
55. Chernow, *Titans*, 482.
  56. Henry St. George Tucker, quoted in Chernow, *Titan*, 483.
  57. Rockefeller Sr., *Random Reminiscences*, 6.
  58. Frederick Gates, quoted in Edwin Embree to Clarence Day, August 21, 1925, box 1, folder 3, Embree Papers, RAC. Junior, Gates, and Murphy met and discussed ways in which Rockefeller Sr. could distribute his wealth. In correspondence with his father, Junior recommended his father direct his funds to the University of Chicago, the Rockefeller Institute of Medical Research, and the GEB. Furthermore, Junior recommended using the GEB as the trustee for all corporations. John D. Rockefeller Jr. to John D. Rockefeller Sr., January 24, 1907, box 1, folder 14, John D. Rockefeller Jr., Personal Papers, RAC.
  59. Chernow, *Titan*, 484; *General Education Board*, 3.
  60. Edwin Embree to Clarence Day, August 21, 1925, box 1, folder 3, Embree Papers, RAC.
  61. *Ibid.*
  62. Anderson, *Education of Blacks in the South*, 97. See “Training the Apostles of Liberal Culture,” *ibid.*, 238–278.
  63. *General Education Board*, 3.
  64. *General Education Board*. Frederick T. Gates, William H. Baldwin Jr., Jabez L. M. Curry, Robert Ogden, Daniel C. Gilman, Walter H. Page, George F. Peabody, and Albert Shaw officially submitted the articles of association. See “An Act to Incorporate the General Education Board,” Appendix II, *ibid.*, 212–215. The two additional members were Rockefeller Jr. and Wallace Buttrick, trustee and secretary, respectively.
  65. *General Education Board*, 4–5.
  66. *Ibid.*, 7; Fosdick, Pringle, and Pringle, *Adventures in Giving*, 7–8; and Frederick T. Gates, quoted in *ibid.*, 9.
  67. Rockefeller, *Random Reminiscence*, 166.
  68. Kenneth Rose, “John D. Rockefeller, the American Baptist Education Society, and the Growth of Baptist Higher Education in the Midwest,” 12, the Rockefeller Archives, accessed July 10, 2012, [www.rockarch.org/publications/resrep/rosel.pdf](http://www.rockarch.org/publications/resrep/rosel.pdf).
  69. *General Education Board*, 15.
  70. *Ibid.*, 108–109.
  71. *Ibid.*, 109–111.
  72. *Ibid.*, 111.
  73. *Ibid.*, 104.
  74. *Ibid.*, 105.
  75. *Ibid.*, 155.
  76. *Ibid.*, 18, 22.

77. Fosdick, Pringle, and Pringle, *Adventures in Giving*, 7, 15, 26–27.
78. *General Education Board*, 15. Also see, Frederick Gates to Messrs. Wallace Buttrick and Starr J. Murphy, June 30, 1905, Appendix II, *ibid.*, 218–219.
79. Fosdick, Pringle, and Pringle, *Adventures in Giving*, 88–89; Chernow, *Titan*, 486; John D. Rockefeller Jr. to General Education Board, February 5, 1905, Appendix II, in *General Education Board*, 219; and John D. Rockefeller Jr. to General Education Board, June 29, 1909, *ibid.*, 221–222. This amount, as Chernow equated, was the equivalent of \$500 million in 1998. However, it is equivalent to over \$739 million in 2010.
80. Anderson, *Education of Blacks in the South*, 136; *General Education Board*, 191, 193.
81. *General Education Board*, 193; Report on the Field of Negro Education in the Southern States, March 1911, box 353, folder 3651, GEB, RAC. On the contrary, Anderson maintained that industrialist, such as William Baldwin Jr. “opposed the development of black higher education” and felt “higher education ought to direct black boys and girls to places in life that were congruent with the South’s racial caste system”; Anderson, *Education of Blacks in the South*, 247–248.
82. *General Education Board*, 193, 194, 199.
83. *Ibid.*, 81–87, 203. By 1914, the GEB had given \$555,781 in appropriations to the following black industrial institutions: Hampton Institute (\$138,000), Tuskegee Institute (\$135,483), Spelman Seminary (\$196,913), and other institutions (\$85,385).
84. Report on the Field of Negro Education, March 1911, box 353, folder 3651, GEB, RAC, 9–10.
85. Myrdal, *American Dilemma*, 899.
86. Lewis, *W. E. B. Du Bois*, 221, 548.
87. Du Bois to Buttrick, March 31, 1905, box 49, folder 442, Ga 80 Atlanta University, GEB, RAC.
88. *Ibid.*; Du Bois to Buttrick, April 3, 1906, *ibid.*; Du Bois to Buttrick, March 15, 1910, box 49, folder 443, Ga 80 Atlanta University, *ibid.*; Buttrick to Du Bois, March 17, 1910, *ibid.*; Du Bois to Buttrick, 9, May 1910, *ibid.*; and Buttrick to Du Bois, May 13, 1910, *ibid.*
89. W. E. B. Du Bois to Wallace Buttrick, October 8, 1907, box 49, folder 443, Ga 80 Atlanta University, 1907–1911, GEB, RAC. Du Bois’s quote is written grammatically as it appeared in his letter to Buttrick.
90. Buttrick to Du Bois, October 11, 1907, box 49, folder 443, Ga 80 Atlanta University, 1907–1911, GEB, RAC.
91. Anderson, *Education of Blacks in the South*, 251–252; Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom*, 538–539; and Eric Anderson and Alfred A. Moss Jr., *Dangerous Donations: Northern Philanthropy and Southern Black Education, 1902–1930*, foreword by Louis R. Harlan (Missouri: University of Missouri Press, 1990), 205–206.



92. John D. Rockefeller Jr. to Wallace Buttrick, February 2, 1914, box 353, folder 3651, GEB, RAC.
93. Atlanta University: Purpose of Atlanta University, box 96, folder 6, Hope Records, AUC.
94. Wallace Buttrick to John D. Rockefeller Jr., February 5, 1914, box 203, folder 1937, Oswald Villard, 1903–1954, GEB, RAC.
95. *General Education Board*, 208.
96. Buttrick to Rockefeller Jr., February 5, 1914, box 203, folder 1937, Oswald Villard, 1903–1954, GEB, RAC.
97. *General Education Board*, 209.
98. Both Morehouse and Spelman Colleges received money from the GEB by 1914. Benjamin Brawley, *The History of Morehouse College* (Atlanta, Georgia: Morehouse College, 1917), 107; John D. Rockefeller Jr. to the General Education Board, March 23, 1906, box 39, folder 360, Ga 10 Spelman College, 1902–1965, GEB, RAC; Abraham Flexner to John D. Rockefeller Jr., September 21, 1914, box 40, folder 362, *ibid.*; and Booker T. Washington to Andrew Carnegie, November 13, 1909, *The Booker T. Washington Papers*, 196.
99. Anson Phelps Stokes to Edward T. Ware, February 10, 1915, box 49, folder 444, Ga 80 Atlanta University, GEB, RAC.
100. W. T. B. Williams, “Report on Atlanta University,” April 9, 1918, box 49, folder 444, Ga 80 Atlanta University, GEB, RAC.

### 3 John Hope: Hallmark of the Truest Greatness

1. John Hope Franklin, in Leroy Davis, *A Clashing of the Soul: John Hope and the Dilemma of African American Leadership and Black Higher Education in the Early Twentieth Century*, with a foreword by John Hope Franklin (Athens, Georgia: University of Georgia Press, 1998), ix.
2. For example, when I presented a paper on the Atlanta University affiliation at the Association for the Study of Higher Education (ASHE) conference, the discussant began his critique of my paper by addressing what I had presented on John Hope Franklin rather than John Hope. He repeatedly said this though it was clear I was discussing John Hope. Eventually, he corrected himself.
3. Franklin, in Davis, *Clashing of the Soul*, x.
4. Davis, *Clashing of the Soul*, xxiv.
5. Raymond B. Fosdick, Henry F. Pringle, and Katherine Douglas Pringle, *Adventures in Giving: The Story of the General Education Board* (New York: Harper & Row, 1962), 197; Wallace Buttrick to John Hope, June 10, 1906, box 58, folder 520, GEB, RAC; and Abraham Flexner to James Bertam, May 5, 1919, box 59, folder 522, GEB, RAC.

6. Rayford Logan, in Ridgely Torrence, *The Story of John Hope*, with an introduction by Rayford Logan (New York: Macmillan, 1948; reprint, New York: Arno and The New York Times, 1969), iii; Torrence, *Story of John Hope*, 184; and Edward A. Jones, *A Candle in the Dark: A History of Morehouse College* (Valley Forge, Pennsylvania: Judson, 1967), 82.
7. Fosdick, Pringle and Pringle, *Adventures in Giving*, 197.
8. Myrdal, in his study *An American Dilemma*, noted that blacks of “mixed bloods” had “always been preferred by the whites in practically all respects.” He added that these blacks “made a better appearance to the whites and were assumed to be mentally more capable.” Gunnar Myrdal, *An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy*, vol. 2, with a new introduction by Sissela Bok (New York: Harper & Row, 1944, 1962; reprint, New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 1996), 696.
9. Jones, *Candle in the Dark*, 82.
10. Davis, *Clashing of the Soul*, xxvi, 60, 61, 68. Mulattos were free people of color, individuals who were of biracial ancestry, here black and white. The term also differentiated blacks with fairer hues from blacks of darker hue. These individuals, because of their skin tone and white paternal ancestry, lived better lives and had a higher social status than their darker counterparts; yet they maintained a lower class status than whites.
11. Davis, *Clashing of the Soul*, 119.
12. Jones, *Candle in the Dark*, 84.
13. Torrence, *Story of John Hope*, 133.
14. “The Significance of the Niagara Movement,” *Voice of the Negro*, August 1905, 600.
15. John Hope, Conference on Negro Education, GEB, RAC, 18.
16. Kelly Miller, “Washington’s Policy,” *Boston Evening Transcript*, September 18–19, 1903, and in *Booker T. Washington and His Critic: Problems in American Civilization*, edited and with an introduction by Hugh Hawkins (Boston: D. C. Heath, 1962), 51.
17. Davis, *Clashing of the Soul*, 120; Torrence, *Story of John Hope*, 135. Although Hope spoke to church groups, he also made speeches at secular functions.
18. John Hope, quoted in Torrence, *Story of John Hope*, 135–136.
19. Davis, *Clashing of the Soul*, 138.
20. *Ibid.*, 129, 133; “A Negro Educator,” Interview with John Hope, box 65, folder 3, Hope Records, AUC.
21. David Levering Lewis, *The Fight for Equality and the American Century, 1919–1963* (New York: Henry Holt, 2000), 137.
22. Wallace Buttrick to John Hope, June 19, 1906, box 58, folder 520, Ga 157 Morehouse College, 1903–1910, GEB, RAC.
23. Malcolm MacVicar, quoted in Davis, *Clashing of the Soul*, 132.
24. *Ibid.*, 133.

25. John Hope to W. E. B. Du Bois, January 17, 1910, real 2, frame 152, Du Bois Papers, Auburn Avenue Research Library on African-American Culture and History, Archives Department (hereafter, designated as Du Bois Papers and AARL); Davis, *Clashing of the Soul*, 162.
26. John Hope, Biographical Sketch, box 65, folder 3, Hope Records, AUC.
27. Davis, *Clashing of the Soul*, 163.
28. Torrence, *Story of John Hope*, 132–133. See Lewis, *W. E. B. Du Bois*, 297–342.
29. Lewis, *W. E. B. Du Bois*, 253.
30. See Correspondence, W. E. B. Du Bois and Hope in Du Bois Papers, AARL.
31. Mark Bauerlein, *Negrophobia, A Race Riot in Atlanta, 1906* (San Francisco: Encounter Books, 2001), 433; Clifford M. Kuhn, Harlon E. Joye, and E. Bernard West, *Living Atlanta: An Oral History of the City, 1914–1948*, foreword by Michael Lomax (Athens, Georgia: University of Georgia Press, 1990), 37; and Lewis, *W. E. B. Du Bois*, 333. Franklin noted other cities had race riots around this time as well: Springfield, Ohio (1904), Brownsville, Texas (1906), and Springfield, Illinois (1908). John Hope Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom: A History of American Negroes*, 2nd ed. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1964), 433–435.
32. Gary M. Pomerantz, *Where Peachtree Meets Sweet Auburn: The Saga of Two Families and the Making of Atlanta* (New York: A Lisa Drew Book/Scribner, 1996), 73.
33. Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom*, 433.
34. Davis, *Clashing of the Soul*, 167.
35. Bauerlein, *Negrophobia*, 289; Davis, *Clashing of the Soul*, 168; and Kuhn, Joye, and West, *Living Atlanta*, 37.
36. Jones, *Candle in the Dark*, 87, 88; Davis, *Clashing of the Soul*, 190; Lewis, *W. E. B. Du Bois*, 404; and Torrence, *Story of John Hope*, 158.
37. Torrence, *Story of John Hope*, 159; Davis, *Clashing of the Soul*, 145.
38. Davis, *Clashing of the Soul*, 143; Torrence, *Story of John Hope*, 159.
39. Robert R. Moton to Wallace Buttrick, October 9, 1906, box 58, folder 520, Ga 157 Morehouse College, 1903–1910, GEB, RAC.
40. *Ibid.*; Torrence, *Story of John Hope*, 157–158.
41. Buttrick to Moton, November 13, 1906, box 58, folder 520, Ga 157 Morehouse College, 1903–1910, GEB, RAC; Torrence, *Story of John Hope*, 157–158.
42. Jones, *Candle in the Dark*, 88.
43. Michael Bieze, *Booker T. Washington and the Art of Self-Representation* (New York: Peter Lang, 2008), 123.
44. Booker T. Washington to Andrew Carnegie, November 13, 1909, in Louis Harlan, ed., *The Booker T. Washington Papers, 1909–1911* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1981), 600.

45. Davis, *Clashing of the Soul*, 190; Jones, *Candle in the Dark*, 88; and Torrence, *Story of John Hope*, 159.
46. John Hope to W. E. B. Du Bois, January 17, 1910, reel 2, frame 153, W. E. B. Du Bois Papers, AARL.
47. *Ibid.*
48. Jones, *Candle in the Dark*, 89.
49. *Ibid.*, 62.
50. *Ibid.*, 91; Benjamin Brawley, *The History of Morehouse College* (Atlanta, Georgia: Morehouse College, 1917), 105.
51. Clarence A. Bacote, *The Story of Atlanta University: A Century of Service, 1865–1965* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1969), 275; Davis, *Clashing of the Soul*, 188. See Lewis, W. E. B., *Du Bois*, 387.
52. Abraham Flexner to Hollis B. Frissell, November 3, 1915, box 353, folder 3651, GEB, RAC; Rufus Cole to Abraham Flexner, November 8, 1915, box 303, folder 3169, *ibid.*; Abraham Flexner to Wallace Buttrick, November 22, 1915, *ibid.*
53. Fosdick, Pringle, Pringle, *Adventures in Giving*, 197.
54. “Negro Education,” Minutes of the Interracial Conference, General Education Board of the Rockefeller Foundation, November 29, 1915, GEB, RAC.
55. *Ibid.*, 1.
56. *Ibid.*, 7.
57. John Hope, *ibid.*, 15.
58. Abraham Flexner, *ibid.*, 15–16.
59. John Hope, *ibid.*, 16–17.
60. Hollis Frissell, *ibid.*, 18.
61. John Hope, *ibid.*, 149; Abraham Flexner, *ibid.*, 149. The exchange continues through page 174.
62. John Hope, *ibid.*, 160.
63. *Ibid.*, 168–174.

## 4 Layers of Complexity

1. Bacote, *Story of Atlanta University*, 5. *McGuffey’s Reader* were primer series of readers for children created by William Holmes McGuffey in 1836. These readers were used in schools to emphasize morality and Americanism. Besides training students in English and grammar, these texts introduced poetry and the writings of statesmen, politicians, moralists, and religious leaders. Kevin Ryan and James Cooper, *Those Who Can, Teach*, 7th ed. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1995), 153; *McGuffey’s Reader*, 4th ed. (New York: American Book, 1879).
2. Bacote, *Story of Atlanta University*, 41–43. From the time the department opened in 1870 to its discontinuance in 1876, there

- were only eight students who had registered for the courses. Having so few students was also the reason for closing the department.
3. Brawley, *History of Morehouse College*, 24–25. Brawley noted that Robert heard recitations for five hours a day and delivered two lectures a week on Biblical and Scientific subjects. They did not add a second teacher until 1876.
  4. *Ibid.*, 28; Bacote, *Story of Atlanta University*, 27; Jones, *Candle in the Dark*, 34; and Leroy Davis, *A Clashing of the Soul: John Hope and the Dilemma of African American Leadership and Black Higher Education in the Early Twentieth Century*, with a foreword by John Hope Franklin (Athens, Georgia: University of Georgia Press, 1998), 106.
  5. Brawley, *History of Morehouse College*, 33–34, 36–37. The curriculum consisted of “arithmetic, algebra, geometry, geology, geography, botany, physiology, chemistry, physics, astronomy, literature, composition, history, civil government, Latin, review of English branches, mental philosophy, methods of teaching, and practice teaching.” Lincoln University (1864), Wilberforce University (1866), Howard University (1868), Leland University and Benedict College (1870), and Fisk University (1871) also had college departments at this time.
  6. Bacote, *Story of Atlanta University*, 41–43. From the time the Department opened in 1870 to its discontinuance in 1876, there were only eight students who had registered for the courses. Having so few students was also the reason for closing the department.
  7. Bacote, *Story of Atlanta University*, 31, 34–35, 37, 44. Lucy Laney was one of the first graduates, who later became one of John Hope’s teachers.
  8. Brawley, *History of Morehouse College*, 28; Jones, *Candle in the Dark*, 35, 42.
  9. Jones, *Candle in the Dark*, 42, 43, 46–47.
  10. Read, *Story of Spelman College*, 86–89. In order to care for the sick students and provide courses in nursing training, they created the school infirmary and Atlanta physicians provided regular lectures in physiology and hygiene. All of the Atlanta physicians who worked in the infirmary were white. Black physicians who graduated from Rush, Harvard, Howard, or Meharry “were shut out from even the city hospital practice and clinics in Atlanta until 1953, and were not admitted to membership in medical societies in the South (or many in the North), and so had negligible opportunity to keep abreast of progress in medicine or surgery except inadequately through the printed page.” *Ibid.*, 139.
  11. *Ibid.*, 103.
  12. *Ibid.*, 114.
  13. Historical Statement: Atlanta University, February 5, 1921, box 96, folder 6, Hope Records, AUC.

14. Edward A. Jones, *A Candle in the Dark: A History of Morehouse College* (Valley Forge, Pennsylvania: Judson, 1967), 66. See “Amended Charter of 1897,” Appendix D, in Historical Statement: Atlanta University, February 5, 1921, box 96, folder 6, Hope Records, AUC, 318.
15. Judge J. H. Lumpkin, *Ex Parte Petition of Atlanta Baptist Seminary*, in Historical Statement: Atlanta University, February 5, 1921, box 96, folder 6, Hope Records, AUC, 319–320.
16. Jones, *Candle in the Dark*, 91.
17. College History, SCB, 5; Ron Chernow, *Titan: The Life of John D. Rockefeller, Sr.* (New York: Random House, 1998), 309.
18. Historical Statement: Spelman College, box 96, folder 6, Hope Records, AUC; Chernow, *Titan*, 240; Atlanta University, October 1929, *Spelman Messenger*, SCA; Florence M. Read, *The Story of Spelman College* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1961), 81–111. When Packard and Giles wrote to Rockefeller initially for money for the institution, they asked for permission to rename the seminary, “Rockefeller College,” and if he did not want to use his name, perhaps they could use his wife’s maiden of Spelman. *Ibid.*, 80. Chernow noted that Rockefeller never allowed any institution to “stake a claim on him,” especially since “Rockefeller had never matriculated and graduated from a college.” Chernow, *Titan*, 309. Both the ABHMS and WABHMS boards agreed with the name change and agreed “that the institution was to be kept as a school for girls and women.” Interestingly, the boards did not want either “Female” or “Baptist” in the institutions name. Regarding the denomination, the board felt the use of “Baptist” in the name would “repel desirable students.” Read, *Story of Spelman College*, 84.
19. Chernow, *Titan*, 241; Read, *Story of Spelman College*, 199; and Lucy Tapley to Trevor Arnett, April 14, 1924, box 40, folder 366, Ga 10 Spelman College, GEB, RAC.
20. Benjamin Brawley, *History of Morehouse College* (College Park, Maryland: McGrath, 1917; reprinted 1970), 32.
21. James D. Anderson, “Philanthropic Control over Private Black Higher Education,” in *Philanthropy and Cultural Imperialism*, ed. Robert F. Arnove (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1980), 158; James D. Anderson, *The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860–1935* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988), 251.
22. Clarence A. Bacote, *The Story of Atlanta University: A Century of Service, 1865–1965* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1969), 70.
23. *Ibid.*, 70–76.
24. *Ibid.*, 90. With the initial \$8,000 appropriation, the State set up a committee to investigate Atlanta University. Upon its initial report, the committee indicated displeasure of the social equality of the

- races (e.g., teachers eating and socializing with their students). Consequently, in 1887, the Glenn Bill was passed, “to regulate the manner of conducting educational institutions in the State, and to protect the rights of colored and white people, and to provide penalties for infractions of the provisions of this act.”
25. *Ibid.*, 90–92. Black communities and newspaper editorials also attacked the Glenn Bill.
  26. *Ibid.*, 76, 94, 100. The basic argument Atlanta University provided was that the resolution violated “the purposes of the founders, who from the beginning insisted upon the University being open to all students on a non-segregated basis; it would violate the principals of the AMA, which had contributed generously to its support; it would be in direct conflict with a pledge to the United States Government, which, through the Freedmen’s Bureau, granted the funds for the original purchase of land for the University; it would alienate from its support a large number of Negro friends and other patrons throughout the country; it was repugnant to the principles of the trustees and faculty, who were unwilling to abandon a policy, which, in their opinion, had justified itself in the past.” In 1891, the State College of Industry for Colored Youth (later known as Savannah State) was established.
  27. Description of Boards Appropriation, Atlanta University, 1918, box 49, folder 444, Ga 80 Atlanta University, 1912–1918, GEB, RAC.
  28. Edward T. Ware to the General Education Board, December 4, 1913, box 49, folder 444, Ga 80 Atlanta University, 1912–1918, GEB, RAC. Edward Ware was the son of Atlanta University’s first president, Edmund Asa Ware.
  29. E. G. Sage to Edward T. Ware, January 23, 1914, box 49, folder 449, Ga 80 Atlanta University, 1912–1918, GEB, RAC. Also see Description of Boards Appropriations, Atlanta University, 1918, box 49, folder 444, *ibid.*
  30. William G. Willcox to Abraham Flexner, October 28, 1916, box 49, folder 449, Ga 80 Atlanta University, 1912–1918, GEB, RAC; E. C. Sage to Edward T. Ware, October 30, 1916, *ibid.* E. C. Sage was the secretary of the GEB; Abraham Flexner to William Willcox, November 3, 1916, *ibid.*
  31. Anson Phelps Stokes to E. C. Sage, November 9, 1916, *ibid.* In response, Sage indicated he would “endeavor to present the facts in as thorough-going manner as may be possible,” and that he would “particularly appreciate the cooperation of Dr. Thomas Jesse Jones” in his investigation. E. C. Sage to Anson Phelps Stokes, November 10, 1916, *ibid.*
  32. Edward T. Ware to E. C. Sage, “Appeal to the General Education Board for a Grant to Help Meet the Current Expenses of Atlanta University for the Year 1917–1918,” October 30, 1917, *ibid.*
  33. Description of Board’s Appropriations, 1918, *ibid.*

34. E. C. Sage to Edward Ware, September 24, 1918, *ibid.*
35. W. T. B. Williams, "Report on Atlanta University," April 9, 1918, *ibid.*
36. Abraham Flexner to Wallace Buttrick, November 27, 1918, box 59, folder 522, Ga 157 Morehouse College, GEB, RAC.
37. *Ibid.*
38. Buttrick to Flexner, December 3, 1918, box 59, folder 522, Ga 157 Morehouse College, GEB, RAC.
39. Bacote, *Story of Atlanta University*, 173.
40. Edward T. Ware to Wallace Buttrick, October 25, 1919, box 50, folder 445, Ga 80 Atlanta University, GEB, RAC.
41. Ware to Buttrick, October 25, 1919, *ibid.* In this request, though for \$5,000, Ware indicated that Flexner and Hovey visited Atlanta University and found that the institution was "deficient in scholarship and that [their] students were weak and inaccurate in the simple fundamentals of Latin grammar." Consequently, Atlanta University obtained "the services of Professor E. M. Wollank," who had taught Latin in the South for 25 years. Wollank was a "German by birth and spent two years and a half in Berlin specializing in Latin, French, and Greek." One concludes that this request for \$5,000 was to also assist with covering Wollank's salary. A few days later, Buttrick wrote to Ware, acknowledged receipt of the request, and stated that the GEB would give "careful consideration" of it. Buttrick to Ware, October 31, 1919, *ibid.*
42. Edward T. Ware to Wallace Buttrick, October 25, 1919, *ibid.*
43. Anderson noted that this was also the case with organizations such as the Rosenwald Fund. Anderson, *Education of Blacks in the South*, 159, 161.
44. John D. Rockefeller Sr., *Random Reminiscences of Men and Events* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, Page, 1913), 182.
45. *Ibid.*, 183.
46. M. W. Adams to the General Education Board, June 4, 1921, box 50, folder 445, Ga 80 Atlanta University, GEB, RAC; Wallace Buttrick to James R. Angell, June 6, 1921, *ibid.* At this time, Myron W. Adams was Atlanta University's treasurer. In 1922, he became acting president, and by 1924, he was the institution's president. James R. Angell was the president of the Carnegie Corporation.
47. Edward T. Ware to the General Education Board, October 10, 1921, box 50, folder 445, Ga 80 Atlanta University, GEB, RAC.
48. M. W. Adams to the General Education Board, April 12, 1922, *ibid.*; E. C. Sage to Adams, April 19, 1922, *ibid.*; M. W. Adams, "Receipts and Expenses: Estimates Accompanying and Application," May 2, 1922, *ibid.*, Sage to Adams, June 8, 1922, *ibid.*; Adams to the General Education Board, April 7, 1923, folder 446, box 50, Ga 80 Atlanta University, 1923–1928, *ibid.*; and Trevor Arnett to Adams, April 10, 1923, *ibid.*



49. Trevor Arnett to M. W. Adams, April 10, 1923, *ibid.*
50. Brawley, *History of Morehouse College*, 23, 24. Since President Robert knew whites in Augusta were in opposition and would not assist with Augusta Institute, he turned to black churches, such as Shiloh Baptist Missionary and William White's Harmony Baptist Church, for financial assistance.
51. Raymond B. Fosdick, Henry F. Pringle, and Katherine Douglas Pringle, *Adventures in Giving: The Story of the General Education Board* (New York: Harper & Row, 1962), 196.
52. John Hope to Wallace Buttrick, July 27, 1920, box 59, folder 523, Ga 157 Morehouse College, 1903–1963, GEB, RAC; Buttrick to Hope, July 30, 1920, *ibid.*; Jones, *Candle in the Dark*, 90, 106, 109, 343–347.
53. Chernow, *Titan*, 242, 309.
54. Read, *Story of Spelman College*, 77; Chernow, *Titan*, 239–240, 482.
55. John D. Rockefeller Jr. to General Education Board, March 23, 1906, in Report of Rockefeller Gift to Spelman, box 41, folder 372, Ga 10 Spelman College, GEB, RAC.
56. *Ibid.*
57. Read, *Story of Spelman College*, 79. Read detailed how influential Atlantans, such as Sidney Root, a trustee of both institutions, supported Packard and Giles's desire to have a separate school for girls. Henry Morehouse changed his mind and was in support of an independent school for females. He informed the WABHMS that if they raised the money, they could have the new site.
58. Chernow, *Titan*, 240, 241; College History, 2000–2001, SCB, 5; Willard Range, *The Rise and Progress of Negro Colleges in Georgia, 1865–1949* (Athens, Georgia: University of Georgia, 1951), 52; Read, *Story of Spelman College*, 81.
59. "John D. Rockefeller Was Greatest Benefactor of Atlanta University System," July 1937, *Atlanta University Bulletin*, 4. Rockefeller served on the board until 1907.
60. Chernow, *Titan*, 241, 482.
61. John D. Rockefeller Jr. to the General Education Board, March 23, 1906, box 39, folder 360, Ga 10 Spelman College, 1902–1965, GEB, RAC; Abraham Flexner to John D. Rockefeller Jr., September 21, 1914, box 40, folder 362, *ibid.*

## 5 Creating the Atlanta University System

1. Jackson Davis, "Recent Developments in Negro Schools and Colleges," May 25, 1927, box 315, folder 3296, Wallace Buttrick Papers, 1927–1952, RAC; "Leading Institutions," in *ibid.*; and "Summary: College Reports by Denomination and Control," in *ibid.*

2. Eric Anderson and Alfred A. Moss Jr., *Dangerous Donations: Northern Philanthropy and Southern Black Education, 1902–1930*, foreword by Louis R. Harlan (Missouri: University of Missouri Press, 1990), 101.
3. Jackson Davis, “Recent Development in Negro Schools and Colleges,” May 25, 1927, box 315, folder 3296, Wallace Buttrick Papers, 1927–1952, RAC; “Leading Institutions,” in *ibid.*; “Summary: College Reports by Denomination and Control,” in *ibid.*; Negro Education Report, November 17, 1927, box 315, folder 3295, in *ibid.*; James D. Anderson, *The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860–1935* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988), 254–255; Anderson and Moss Jr., *Dangerous Donations*, 101; Dwight Oliver Wendell Holmes, *The Evolution of the Negro College* (New York: Arno and The New York Times, 1969), 174; and Clarence A. Bacote, *The Story of Atlanta University: A Century of Service, 1865–1965* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1969), 256.
4. Negro Colleges in Atlanta, Georgia, 1907–1911, box 49, folder 443, Ga 80 Atlanta University, 1912–1918, GEB, RAC.
5. *Ibid.*
6. “Number and Percent of Blacks in Total Population of Southern States, 1870–1930,” in Anderson, *Education of Blacks in the South*, 41. Anderson provided the population only in decades.
7. Clifford M. Kuhn, Harlon E. Joye, and E. Bernard West, *Living Atlanta: An Oral History of the City, 1914–1948*, foreword by Michael Lomax (Athens, Georgia: University of Georgia Press, 1990), 87, 93, 95.
8. Raymond B. Fosdick, Henry F. Pringle, and Katherine Douglas Pringle, *Adventures in Giving: The Story of the General Education Board* (New York: Harper & Row, 1962), 196. See H. J. Thorkelson, Memorandum of Interview with Doctor George R. Hovey, December 23, 1927, box 315, folder 3294, Wallace Buttrick Papers, GEB, RAC. This document detailed a conversation between Thorkelson, a GEB member, and Hovey, member of the ABHMS. Thorkelson indicated the status of the GEB’s study, “of Negro colleges in the South,” to Hovey and stated that the GEB’s “major interest was in Virginia Union and Morehouse.”
9. Henry E. Fisk to Wallace Buttrick, October 23, 1906, box 49, folder 442, Ga 80 Atlanta University, 1912–1918, GEB, RAC. Fisk asked if Buttrick had any suggestions regarding Atlanta University and possible consolidation with other institutions. However, correspondence indicated that there had been consideration of a consolidation of Fisk and Atlanta University. Buttrick expressed his delight in a “suggestion regarding the desirability” Fisk had “of a consolidation of [Atlanta University and Fisk]. No other information was forthcoming, and obviously this consolidation never occurred. Wallace Buttrick to Harvey Fisk, December 10, 1906, in *ibid.*

10. Edward T. Ware to E. C. Sage, January 26, 1914, box 49, folder 444, GEB, RAC.
11. Edward T. Ware and John Hope, "Course in Business Law and Ethics," January 14, 1915, box 58, folder 521, Ga Morehouse College, GEB, RAC; Edward T. Ware to Anson Phelps Stokes, January 27, 1915, box 49, folder 444, Ga 80 Atlanta University, 1912–1918, in *ibid.*; and Anson Phelps Stokes to Wallace Buttrick, February 1, 1915, in *ibid.*
12. Stokes to Buttrick, February 1, 1915, in *ibid.* The instructor for these lectures was Mr. Weltner, a Southerner who was the head of the Atlanta Prison Association. The quoted transitions are written as they appeared in Stokes's letter.
13. Ware to Stokes, January 27, 1915, in *ibid.*
14. *Ibid.*
15. *Ibid.*
16. Anson Phelps Stokes to Abraham Flexner, February 9, 1915, box 49, folder 444, Ga 80 Atlanta University, 1912–1918, GEB, RAC; Wallace Buttrick to Anson Phelps Stokes, February 9, 1915, box 58, folder 521, Ga 157 Morehouse College, 1912–1917, in *ibid.*
17. W. W. Brierley to M. W. Adams, November 28, 1924, in *ibid.*; Bacote, *Story of Atlanta University*, 174.
18. Bacote, *Story of Atlanta University*, 174.
19. Anson Phelps Stokes to Edward T. Ware, July 12, 1925, box 50, folder 446, Ga 80 Atlanta University, 1923–1928, GEB, RAC.
20. H. J. Thorkelson, Memorandum, October 30, 1925, in *ibid.* Thorkelson was the GEB's director of College and University Education. His memorandum recounted a conversation he had with Myron Adams. Adams informed Thorkelson that the Atlanta University's trustees formed a committee to discuss cooperation with the other institutions.
21. W. S. Richardson to Henry Sharpe, June 8, 1925, box 75, folder 536, GEB, RAC; Henry Sharpe to W. S. Richardson, June 9, 1925, in *ibid.*
22. W. S. Richardson to Wallace Buttrick, May 21, 1925, in *ibid.*
23. Peter Collier and David Horowitz, *The Rockefellers* (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1976), 157.
24. Marybeth Gasman, "A Word for Every Occasion: John D. Rockefeller Jr. and the United Negro College Fund, 1944–1960," *History of Higher Education Annual*, 2002.
25. Wallace Buttrick to John Hope, May 21, 1925, box 75, folder 536, GEB, RAC.
26. Wallace Buttrick to W. S. Richardson, May 22, 1925, in *ibid.*
27. M. W. Adams to the president of Morehouse College, January 22, 1926, box 89, folder 2, Hope Records, AUC.
28. *Ibid.*
29. *Ibid.*
30. Hope to Adams, January 23, 1926, in *ibid.*

31. Lucy Tapley to Trevor Arnett, February 25, 1925, Read Papers, SCA. Upon retirement, Tapley was named president emeritus. Florence M. Read, *The Story of Spelman College* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1961), 209.
32. "Death of Mr. Rockefeller Recalls His Many Benefactions to Spelman," May 1937, *Spelman Messenger*, 2; "John D. Rockefeller Was Greatest Benefactor of Atlanta University System," July 1937, *Atlanta University Bulletin*, 4. The Rockefeller family involvement has continued for over ten decades. Starting with John D. Rockefeller Sr., a Rockefeller has served on Spelman's board of trustees for over 100 years.
33. Trevor Arnett to Wickliffe Rose, March 20, 1925, Read Papers, SCA; Arnett to Wallace Buttrick, March 20, 1925, in *ibid.*; Wickliffe Rose to Arnett, March 23, 1925, in *ibid.*; and Buttrick to Arnett, March 24, 1925 in *ibid.*
34. Anderson and Moss Jr. used this term when explaining how several foundations, such as "the Southern Education Board, Jeanes Fund, Phelps-Stokes Fund, Julius Rosenwald Fund, worked closely with the GEB." They further explained that such foundations imitated the GEB's organization and responded to its initiatives. However, they all shared the same trustees in an "'interlocking directorate' of calculating altruism." Anderson and Moss Jr., *Dangerous Donations*, 5.
35. Memorandum of Conference Regarding Spelman College, May 26, 1927, box 41, folder 369, Ga 10 Spelman College, 1926-1965, GEB, RAC. This memorandum documented the conversation between Trevor Arnett, John D. Rockefeller Jr., and Wickliffe Rose. It revealed "the committee of trustees of Spelman College appointed to nominate a president... had come to a unanimous conclusion to recommend... Miss Florence M. Read." The memorandum also disclosed the majority of Spelman's support, in the past, came from John D. Rockefeller Sr. and his family, the GEB, and the WABHMS. However, "the [WABHMS] saw no way in which it could increase its contribution." This implied future fund for the institution would have to come from the Rockefellers and the GEB. Additionally, Trevor Arnett was the president of Spelman's Board of Trustees. See Trevor Arnett to Spelman Alumnae, Students, and Faculty, June 22, 1927, Read Papers, SCA. Arnett had also introduced Read to the WABHMS and the GEB's secretary, and Sage, ahead of time, and received approval of Read's nomination. Read, *Story of Spelman*, 209-212.
36. Jackson Davis, "Recent Development in Negro Schools and Colleges," May 25, 1927, box 315, folder 3296, Wallace Buttrick Papers, RAC; "Leading Institutions," in *ibid.*; "Summary, College Reports by Denomination and Control," in *ibid.* The enrollment in the 1921-1922 school year was 5,231; however, by the 1923-1924 school year, the enrollment had increased to 7,641.

37. *Ibid.*, 2–3, 12–14. The five institutions in Atlanta (and enrollment) Davis referred to were: Morehouse College (291), Atlanta University (286), Clark College (207), Morris Brown College (169), and Spelman College (104).
38. *Ibid.*, 15.
39. *Ibid.*
40. *Ibid.*, 21–22, 26.
41. Jno. J. Tigert to Department of the Interior, March 15, 1928, in Arthur Klein, *Survey of Negro Colleges and Universities*, 2nd ed. (New York: Negro Universities Press, 1929; reprinted 1969), vi.
42. Read, *Story of Spelman College*, 210.
43. John Hope to Wickliffe Rose, October 21, 1927, box 89, folder 2, Hope Records, AUC.
44. Negro Education Report, November 17, 1927, box 315, folder 3295, Wallace Buttrick Papers, RAC.
45. Jackson Davis to W. T. B. Williams, December 20, 1927, box 50, folder 446, Ga 80 Atlanta University, GEB, RAC; Williams to Davis, December 11, 1927, in *ibid.* Williams initially wrote to Davis regarding the financial difficulties of Morris Brown. He said, “If Atlanta University, Morehouse, and possibly Spelman College, should unite in this move for federation of some kind and give Morris Brown the chance to come if she did not go in at the outset, [Morris Brown] would probably see the advantage of the move and join the others later.” However, Morris Brown would not consider a move unless Atlanta University made room for them “on some portion of the land [Atlanta University] now owns.” Although discussion of Morris Brown joining the affiliation is forthcoming in the next chapter, it is worthy to note here the beginnings of such a move and the issue of land.
46. M. W. Adams to Messrs. Trevor Arnett, Jackson Davis, H. L. Thorkelson, December 24, 1927, box 50, folder 446, Ga 80 Atlanta University, GEB, RAC.
47. H. J. Thorkelson to Thomas Appleget, January 24, 1928, box 43, folder 381, Ga 12 Atlanta Library for Negro Institution, 1928–1929, GEB, RAC.
48. *Ibid.*
49. Fosdick, Pringle, and Pringle, *Adventures in Giving*, 200.
50. H. J. Thorkelson to Thomas Appleget, January 24, 1928, box 43, folder 381, Ga 12 Atlanta Library for Negro Institution, 1928–1929, GEB, RAC.
51. *Ibid.*
52. M. J. Holmes to James H. Dillard, January 24, 1928, in *ibid.* The high school work at Atlanta University was discontinued in 1928. Historical Statement: Atlanta University, box 96, folder 6, Hope Records, AUC.
53. H. J. Thorkelson to Thomas Appleget, January 24, 1928, box 43, folder 381, Ga 12 Atlanta Library for Negro Institution, 1928–1929,

- GEB, RAC; Appleget to John Rockefeller Jr., February 2, 1928, in *ibid.*; Thorkelson to Appleget, February 2, 1928, in *ibid.*; John D. Rockefeller Jr., to Wickliffe Rose, February 8, 1928, in *ibid.*; Rose to Rockefeller Jr., February 10, 1928, in *ibid.*; Trevor Arnett to John D. Rockefeller Jr., May 10, 1928, in *ibid.*; John D. Rockefeller Jr., to Trevor Arnett, May 17, 1928, in *ibid.*; Arnett to Rockefeller Jr., May 25, 1928, in *ibid.*; and Memorandum Regarding Proposed Library for Negro Colleges of Atlanta, Georgia, September 26–27, 1928, in *ibid.* Apparently, the officers of the GEB felt a need to develop a clear strategy and rationale for the purpose of the land and library, as well as its importance, before addressing the issue with Rockefeller Jr.
54. John D. Rockefeller Jr., to Wickliffe Rose, February 8, 1928, in *ibid.*
  55. *Ibid.*
  56. John D. Rockefeller Jr., to Trevor Arnett, May 17, 1928, in *ibid.* The land was purchased by Rockefeller Jr.'s representative, under the guise of the Seaboard Realty Company, which Fosdick explained had been created solely for this purpose. Fosdick, Pringle, and Pringle, *Adventures in Giving*, 200.
  57. Klein, *Survey of Negro Colleges and Universities*. Tigert indicated, "The State departments of education in 19 States, 79 negro [*sic*] colleges and universities, the Association of Colleges for Negro Youth, the Phelps-Stokes Fund, and the educational boards and foundations of seven church bodies cooperated in arranging for the study and in furnishing information." Tigert to Department of the Interior, March 15, 1928, in *ibid.*, vi.
  58. *Ibid.*, 2–3.
  59. *Ibid.*, 245. The nine black colleges in Georgia were: Clark University, Morris Brown University, Morehouse College, Atlanta University, and Spelman College (Atlanta); Paine College (Augusta); Georgia State Industrial College (Savannah); State Agricultural and Mechanical School for Negroes (Forsyth); and Georgia Normal and Industrial College (Albany).
  60. "Morehouse College," Klein, *Survey of Negro Colleges and Universities*, 284; "Enrollment of Students in Negro Colleges," Table I, Appendix, in *ibid.*, 946; and "Different Sources of Income of Negro Colleges, with Percentage of Total Income from Each Source," Table 5, Appendix, in *ibid.*, 955.
  61. "Spelman College," Klein, *Survey of Negro Colleges and Universities in ibid.*, 305–306; "Enrollment of Students in Negro Colleges," Table I, Appendix, in *ibid.*, 946; and "Different Sources of Income of Negro Colleges, with Percentage of Total Income from Each Source," Table 5, Appendix, in *ibid.*, 955.
  62. "Atlanta University," in *ibid.*, 294; "Enrollment of Students in Negro Colleges," Table I, Appendix, in *ibid.*, 946; and "Different Sources of Income of Negro Colleges, with Percentage of Total Income from Each Source," Table 5, Appendix, in *ibid.*, 954.

63. Historical Statement: Overlapping of Work, box 96, folder 6, Hope Records, AUC; Bacote, *Story of Atlanta University*, 299.
64. Ridgely Torrence, *The Story of John Hope*, with an introduction by Rayford Logan (New York: Macmillan, 1948; reprint, New York: Arno and The New York Times, 1969), 292–293.
65. *Ibid.*, 293.
66. Trevor Arnett to John Hope, August 15, 1928, box 43, folder 381, Ga 12 Atlanta Library for Negro Institutions, 1928–1929, GEB, RAC; Interviews with President Florence Read of Spelman College and President John Hope of Morehouse College regarding Library at Atlanta, Georgia, September 5, 1928, in *ibid.*
67. Trevor Arnett to Florence Read, October 26, 1928, in *ibid.*
68. Florence Read to Trevor Arnett, November 2, 1928, in *ibid.*
69. “Morehouse-Spelman Summer School,” April 1929, *Spelman Messenger*, 30; Read, *Story of Spelman College*, 194.
70. James H. Dillard to John Hope, December 7, 1928, box 73, folder 4, Hope Records, AUC. See Read, *Story of Spelman College*, 194.
71. John Hope to James Dillard, December 29, 1928, box 73, folder 4, Hope Records, AUC.
72. Bacote, *Story of Atlanta University*, 260; John Hope to Wallace Buttrick, July 27, 1920, box 59, folder 535, Ga 157 Morehouse College, 1903–1963, GEB, RAC; Buttrick to Hope, July 30, 1920, in *ibid.*; and Edward A. Jones, “Morehouse College Endowment,” *A Candle in the Dark: A History of Morehouse College* (Valley Forge, Pennsylvania: Judson, 1967), 343–347.
73. John Hope to W. S. Richardson, August 18, 1928, box 75, folder 536, GEB, RAC.
74. John Hope to Wallace Buttrick, July 27, 1920, box 59, folder 523, Ga 157 Morehouse College, GEB, RAC; Buttrick to Hope, July 30, 1920, in *ibid.*; “Morehouse College Endowment,” Appendix, in Jones, *Candle in the Dark*, 343–347; General Education Board Agreement with Spelman College, May 14, 1929, box 41, folder 369, Ga 10 Spelman College, 1927–1929, GEB, RAC; and Read, *Story of Spelman*, 212–213, 229. Julius Rosenwald personally pledged \$100,000 and arranged for a gift of another \$100,000 from the Julius Rosenwald Fund. The WABHMS gave \$25,000 toward the endowment. Read, *Story of Spelman*, 213.
75. Read, *Story of Spelman College*, 229.
76. Bacote, *Story of Atlanta University*, 261.
77. *Ibid.*
78. Atlanta University, Memorandum, January 15–17, 1929, box 50, folder 447, Ga 80 Atlanta University, 1929, GEB, RAC.
79. Read, *Story of Spelman College*, 230.
80. Atlanta University Board of Trustees Minutes, February 25–26, 1929, Hope Records, AUC. The representatives from Atlanta

- University were Myron Adams, James Weldon Johnson, Willis D. Weatherford, and Will W. Alexander. John Hope and Florence Read were the representatives from Morehouse and Spelman, respectively, and as a trustee for both Morehouse and Spelman, George Rive Hovey was in attendance. Read was appointed secretary at this meeting. See Bacote, *Story of Atlanta University*, 267; Leroy Davis, *A Clashing of the Soul: John Hope and the Dilemma of African American Leadership and Black Higher Education in the Early Twentieth Century*, with a foreword by John Hope Franklin (Athens, Georgia: University of Georgia Press, 1998), 305; Read, *Story of Spelman College*, 233; and Torrence, *Story of John Hope*, 300.
81. Atlanta University Board of Trustees Minutes, February 25–26, 1929, Hope Records, AUC, 1–2.
  82. *Ibid.*, 2–3.
  83. Holmes, *Evolution of the Negro College*, 192.
  84. Atlanta University Board of Trustees Minutes, February 25–26, 1929, Hope Records, AUC, 3.
  85. John Hope, quoted in Torrence, *Story of John Hope*, 301.
  86. Atlanta University Board of Trustees Minutes, February 25–26, 1929, Hope Records, AUC, 3–4.
  87. *Ibid.*, 5.
  88. Charter of Atlanta University, April 1, 1929, State of Georgia, box 89, folder 1, Hope Records, AUC. See Bacote, *Story of Atlanta University*, 267; Lewis, *W. E. B. Du Bois*, 297; Jones, *Candle in the Dark*, 121; Holmes, *Evolution of the Negro Colleges*, 194; Read, *Story of Spelman College*, 235; and Torrence, *Story of John Hope*, 301.
  89. Charter of Atlanta University, April 1, 1929, State of Georgia, box 89, folder 1, Hope Records, AUC. As a new organization, the new Board of Trustees for this system consisted of nine elected individuals. The charter outlined that the Board of Trustees of Atlanta University had to reorganize and select three members, which the president represented one. Additionally, the new Board had to include three members nominated by Morehouse College, which the president represented one, and three nominated by Spelman, which the president represented one.
  90. Charter of Atlanta University, April 1, 1929, State of Georgia, box 89, folder 1, Hope Records, AUC.
  91. Atlanta University: Affiliation in University Plan, box 96, folder 6, Charter of Atlanta University, April 1, 1929, State of Georgia, box 89, folder 1, Hope Records, AUC; “By-Laws of the Corporation,” Trustees of the Atlanta University, box 90, folder 1, in *ibid.*
  92. Davis, *Clashing of the Soul*, 305.
  93. Memorandum, Atlanta University, January 15–17, 1929, box 50, folder 447, Ga 80 Atlanta University, 1929, GEB, RAC. It was



- stated in this memorandum that “there was a general agreement that under John Hope a plan of coordination could be worked out.” Also, see Charter of Atlanta University, April 1, 1929, State of Georgia, box 89, folder 1, Hope Records, AUC; Bacote, *Story of Atlanta University*, 268; Davis, *Clashing of the Soul*, 297, 305; Jones, *Candle in the Dark*, 113; Read, *Story of Spelman College*, 234–235; and Torrence, *Story of John Hope*, 301–302.
94. Bacote, *Story of Atlanta University*, 268–269; Davis, *Clashing of the Soul*, 305; Jones, *Candle in the Dark*, 117, 121; Read, *Story of Spelman College*, 234; and Torrence, *Story of John Hope*, 301–302.
  95. John Hope, quoted in Torrence, *Story of John Hope*, 301.
  96. Kuhn, Joye, and West, *Living Atlanta*, 155; John Hope Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom: A History of American Negroes*, 2nd ed. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1964), 539; Holmes, *Evolution of the Negro College*, 195; Jones, *Candle in the Dark*, 114; Julian B. Roebuck and Komanduri S. Murty, *Historically Black Colleges and Universities: Their Place in American Higher Education* (Westport, Connecticut: Praeger, an imprint of Greenwood Publishing Group), 54; and Read, *Story of Spelman College*, 229.
  97. Minutes of the Trustees of Morehouse College and Atlanta University, box 73, folder 2, Hope Records, AUC. The date was not provided, however, it was written after Hope’s death in 1936. See Atlanta University, Memorandum, January 15–17, 1929, box 50, folder 447, Ga 80 Atlanta University, 1929, GEB, RAC.
  98. Fosdick, Pringle, and Pringle, *Adventures in Giving*, 200. See Bacote, *Story of Atlanta University*, 260–270; Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom*, 539; Holmes, *Evolution of the Negro Colleges*, 195; Jones, *Candle in the Dark*, 114–117; Kuhn, Joye, and West, *Living Atlanta*, 155; Read, *Story of Spelman*, 229; and Roebuck and Murty, *Historically Black Colleges and Universities*, 54.
  99. M. W. Adams to Graduate Students and Friends, April 17, 1929, box 89, folder 2, Hope Records, AUC.
  100. Jones, *Candle in the Dark*, 117.
  101. “Three Atlanta Colleges Combine,” *Afro American*, April 13, 1929, Baltimore, box 61, folder 1B, Hope Records, AUC. See “Three Great Schools Form a Merger,” April 5, 1929, *Dallas Express*, Dallas, Texas, in *ibid.*; “The New University,” *The Independent*, April 11, 1929, in *ibid.*; “Educating Our Colored People to Higher Efficiencies of Citizenship,” *Constitution*, April 12, 1929, Atlanta, Georgia, in *ibid.*; and “Higher Education and the Negro,” *New York Telegram*, April 16, 1929, in *ibid.*
  102. Sam W. Small, “Educating Our Colored People to Higher Efficiencies of Citizenship,” *Constitution*, April 12, 1929, box 61, folder 1B, Hope Records, AUC.

## 6 Germinating a Black Intelligentsia

1. "A Negro Educator," an Interview with John Hope, April 8, 1931, box 65, folder 3 Hope Records, AUC. The interviewer is unknown.
2. "3 Atlanta Colleges Combine," *Afro American*, Baltimore, April 13, 1929; "Higher Education and The Negro," *New York Telegram*, April 16, 1929; "3 Negro Colleges Will Be Linked in Atlanta System," *Atlanta Journal*, April 5, 1929, 6; and "What the Merging of the Three Colleges Means to Atlanta," *The Independent*, April 11, 1929, Newspaper Clippings Regarding the Affiliation of Atlanta University, Morehouse and Spelman Colleges, Historical, Personal, and Family Files, 1917–1954, Hope Records, box 61, folder 1B, Hope Records, AUC.
3. H. S. Murphy, Editorial, "The New University", *The Independent*, April 11, 1929, *ibid*.
4. Excerpts from *The Landmark*, April, 1933, box 65, folder 1, Hope Records, AUC.
5. Phineas Fogg, "A New University Leader," *New Chronicle*, May 2, 1929, box 61, folder 1F, Hope Records, AUC.
6. W. E. B. Du Bois, "Postscripts," June 1929, *Crisis*, Hope Records, AUC.
7. Ridgely Torrence, *The Story of John Hope*, with an introduction by Rayford Logan (New York: Arno and The New York Times, 1948. Reprint, New York: Arno and The New York Times, 1969), 302; Clarence A. Bacote, *The Story of Atlanta University: A Century of Service, 1865–1965* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1969), 270; and Edward A. Jones, *A Candle in the Dark: A History of Morehouse College* (Valley Forge, Pennsylvania: Judson, 1967), 116, 120.
8. Charter of Atlanta University, April 1, 1929, State of Georgia, box 89, folder 1, Hope Records, AUC.
9. Torrence, *Story of John Hope*, 302. See Bacote, *Story of Atlanta University*, 270; Leroy Davis, *A Clashing of the Soul: John Hope and the Dilemma of African American Leadership and Black Higher Education in the Early Twentieth Century*, with a foreword by John Hope Franklin (Athens, Georgia: University of Georgia Press, 1998), 316.
10. Jones, *Candle in the Dark*, 120; Florence M. Read, *The Story of Spelman College* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1961), 239; and Bacote, *Story of Atlanta University*, 270.
11. Bacote, *Story of Atlanta University*, 270; Davis, *Clashing of the Soul*, 311.
12. Jones, *Candle in the Dark*, 116; Bacote, *Story of Atlanta University*, 271.
13. Bacote, *Story of Atlanta University*, 280; Read, *The Story of Spelman*, 239.

14. "Death of Mr. Rockefeller Recalls His Many Benefactions to Spelman," May 1937, *Spelman Messenger*, 2; "John D. Rockefeller Was Greatest Benefactor of Atlanta University System," July 1937, *Atlanta University Bulletin*, 4. The Rockefeller family involvement continued throughout the twenty-first century; one of the last trustees was Valerie Rockefeller Carnegie. Laura Rockefeller Chasin is a Spelman College Life Trustee, "Spelman Photo Album: Presidents, Trustees, and Spelman Family," Winter/Spring 2003, *Spelman Messenger*, 16.
15. President Hoover to John Hope, July 16, 1931, box 111, folder 17, Hope Records, AUC.
16. James A. Blaisdell to John Hope, May 10, 1929, box 89, folder 2, Hope Records, AUC. Blaisdell was the president at Claremont College. In this letter, he requested a copy of the arrangement to see how the Atlanta affiliation differed from theirs. George Johnson to John Hope, July 30, 1930, box 96, folder 1, Hope Records, AUC; Hope to Johnson, August 6, 1930, *ibid.* Johnson was the dean of Lincoln University and requested a copy of the policy outlining how Atlanta University was reorganized. Vivian E. Cook to John Hope, March 17, 1931, box 89, folder 2, *ibid.*; and Hope to Cook, March 23, 1931, *ibid.* Cook was the chairman for the Committee on Standards at the National Association of College Women and inquired about the "educational, social, and cultural environment" for the females in the affiliation. Accordingly, Hope responded and explained the organization of the affiliation, and that "Spelman was exclusively for women." He furthered by saying that the few graduate women at Atlanta University "had separate rooms."
17. "Three Great Schools Form a Merger," April 5, 1929, *Dallas Express*, Newspaper Clippings Regarding the Affiliation of Atlanta University, Morehouse and Spelman Colleges, Historical, Personal, and Family Files, 1917–1954, box 61, folder 1B, Hope Records, AUC.
18. Read, *Story of Spelman College*, 235; Raymond B. Fosdick, Henry F. Pringle, and Katherine Douglas Pringle, *Adventures in Giving: The Story of the General Education Board* (New York: Harper & Row, 1962), 276–278.
19. Fosdick, Pringle, and Pringle, *Adventures in Giving*, 279.
20. *Ibid.*, 280–281. At one time, only the faculty and students from Agnes Scott and Emory were in an exchange program. Several institutions in Atlanta, black and white, are members of the Atlanta Regional Consortium for Higher Education (ARCHE), which allows students to take courses not available at their institutions. "Cross-Registration," Agnes Scott College, accessed July 15, 2001, <http://www.agnesscott.edu>.
21. Jackson Davis, Conference with L. H. Foster, June 17, 1930, box 50, folder 448, Ga 80 Atlanta University, 1930, GEB, RAC.
22. Torrence, *Story of John Hope*, 302–303.

23. Jackson Davis's Conference with L. H. Foster, June 17, 1930, box 50, folder 448, Ga 80 Atlanta University, 1930, GEB, RAC; Memorandum, July 11, 1930, *ibid.* This memorandum documented a conversation between members of the GEB and President Fountain of Clark College.
24. James P. Brawley, *The Clark College Legacy: An Interpretive History of Relevant Education, 1869–1975*, (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1969), 104.
25. Jones, *Candle in the Dark*, 125; John Hope Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom: A History of American Negroes*, 2nd ed. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1964), 536.
26. Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom*, 536.
27. Bacote, *Story of Atlanta University*, 279; Atlanta University, Program of Atlanta University for the Years 1930–1936, box 96, folder 6, Hope Records, AUC, 11.
28. Edwin R. Embree to Dean Sage, October 30, 1929, box 96, folder 6, Hope Records, AUC.
29. *Ibid.*
30. Edwin Embree to Trevor Arnett, October 30, 1929, box 50, folder 447, Ga 80 Atlanta University, 1929, GEB, RAC; Jackson Davis to Trevor Arnett, November 4, 1929, *ibid.*; John Hope Interview with Trevor Arnett, November 9, 1929, *ibid.*; John Hope to Edwin Embree, November 14, 1929, box 90, folder 3, Hope Records, AUC; Trevor Arnett to Dean Sage, November 15, 1929, box 50, folder 447, Ga 80 Atlanta University, 1929, GEB, RAC; Florence Read to Trevor Arnett, November 21, 1929, box 89, folder 10, Hope Records; Edwin Embree to John Hope, December 7, 1929, box 96, folder 6, *ibid.*; and Edwin Embree to Trevor Arnett, December 12, 1929, box 50, folder 447, Ga 80 Atlanta University, 1929, GEB, RAC.
31. Read, *Story of Spelman College*, 241.
32. John Hope to Edwin Embree, February 22, 1930, box 96, folder 6, Hope Records, AUC.
33. Atlanta University, Program of Atlanta University for the Years 1930–1936, box 96, folder 6, Hope Records, AUC, 12. This amount is equitable to \$90 million today.
34. Read, *Story of Spelman College*, 242.
35. John Hope to Edwin Embree, February 22, 1930, box 96, folder 6, Hope Records, AUC.
36. *Ibid.*
37. Embree to Hope, March 7, 1930, box 96, folder 6, Hope Records, AUC.
38. Davis, *Clashing of the Soul*, 332–333.
39. Bacote, *Story of Atlanta University*, 279; Read, *Story of Spelman College*, 239; and “Professor Clarence Bacote Received First Appointment to Graduate School Faculty,” July, 1941, *Atlanta University Bulletin*, 13. Bacote also received fellowships from the GEB for advanced study.

40. Read, *Story of Spelman College*, 239.
41. Bacote, *Story of Atlanta University*, 284–296; Davis, *Clashing of the Soul*, 319, 331–333; and Read, *Story of Spelman College*, 239, 242. Though Atlanta University did not have graduate courses in fine arts, at this time, Hope had created a laboratory school that operated with the Department of Education. Hale Woodruff taught college and high school art courses at the Laboratory High School. Bacote, *Story of Atlanta University*, 293, 296.
42. W. E. B. Du Bois to John Hope, October 14, 1932, reel 36, frame 791, Du Bois Papers, AARL; Hope to Du Bois, November 17, 1932, reel 36, frame 793, *ibid.*; Du Bois to Hope, November 28, 1932, reel 36, frame 794, *ibid.*; Du Bois to Hope, December 7, 1932, reel 36, frame 794, *ibid.*; and Hope to Du Bois, December 28, 1932, reel 36, frame 798, *ibid.*
43. John Hope to W. E. B. Du Bois, November 17, 1932, reel 36, frame 793, Du Bois Papers, AARL; Forecast of Proposed Scientific Survey of the Economic Condition of the American Negro, reel 36, frame 788, *ibid.*; and Additional Memorandum to President Hope on the Proposed Scientific Survey of the Economic Condition of the American Negro, reel 36, frame 789, *ibid.*
44. Dean Sage to Trevor Arnett, January 19, 1931, box 46, folder 297, Atlanta University, RAC.
45. Trevor Arnett to Earnest M. Hopkins, June 2, 1930, box 43, folder 382, Ga 12 Atlanta Library for Negro Institutions, 1928–1929, GEB, RAC. See Hopkins to Arnett, May 27, 1939, *ibid.* Hopkins was the president of Dartmouth College and a GEB member.
46. Trevor Arnett to John Hope, June 6, 1930, box 43, folder 382, Ga 12 Atlanta Library for Negro Institutions, 1928–1929, GEB, RAC.
47. Hope to Arnett, July 9, 1930, box 43, folder 382, *ibid.*
48. *Ibid.*
49. John Hope to Trevor Arnett, August 14, 1930, box 50, folder 448, Ga 80 Atlanta University, 1930, GEB, RAC.
50. Jackson Davis, Conference with L. H. Foster, June 17, 1930, box 50, folder 448, Ga 80 Atlanta University, 1930, GEB, RAC; Memorandum, July 11, 1930, *ibid.* This memorandum documented a conversation between members of the GEB and W. A. Fountain, president of Morris Brown.
51. Jackson Davis, “Report on Atlanta University,” July 22, 1930, *ibid.*
52. James P. Brawley, *The Clark College Legacy: An Interpretative History of Relevant Education, 1869–1975* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press), 6–7; Jackson Davis, Report on Atlanta University, July 22, 1930, box 50, folder 448, Ga 80 Atlanta University.
53. Jackson Davis, Report on Atlanta University, *ibid.*

54. Ibid.; Arthur Klein, *Survey of Negro Colleges and Universities*, 2nd ed. (New York: Negro Universities Press, 1929; reprinted 1969), 259.
55. Jackson Davis, Report on Atlanta University, July 22, 1930, box 50, folder 448, Ga 80 Atlanta University, 1930, GEB, RAC.
56. John Hope to Trevor Arnett, November 8, 1930, *ibid.* Also see John Hope, Florence Read, Trevor Arnett, and W. S. Richardson, Memorandum, October 25, 1930, *ibid.* This memorandum explained the meeting that took place and the discussion among black ministers and their training at Gammon Seminary. Particularly, Hope indicated that there were not enough educated black ministers to lead the present situation of the black community. Moreover, Hope mentioned that denominational control “made it difficult for the president to act independently and to get and retain able members of the faculty.” What was needed was an institution “free of such control in close connection with and in the atmosphere of liberal thought to maintain an institution for the education of Negro ministers of all denominations.”
57. Bacote, *Story of Atlanta University*, 281; Fosdick, Pringle, and Pringle, *Adventures in Giving*, 201.
58. John Hope to Trevor Arnett, August 14, 1930, box 50, folder 448, Ga 80 Atlanta University, 1930, GEB, RAC.
59. John Hope to Trevor Arnett, August 21, 1930, box 43, folder 382, Ga 12 Atlanta Library for Negro Institutions, 1928–1929, GEB, RAC.
60. Jackson Davis, Atlanta University, November 6–8, 1930, box 50, folder 448, Ga 80 Atlanta University, 1930, GEB, RAC.
61. *Ibid.*
62. *Ibid.*
63. *Ibid.*
64. *Ibid.*
65. *Ibid.*
66. W. W. Brierley to John Hope, November 7, 1930, box 156, folder 15, Hope Records, AUC. The \$450,000 was broken down as follows: \$150,000 for the tract of land and \$300,000 for construction and equipment, including books. See W. W. Brierley to Florence Read, June 6, 1930, box 43, folder 382, Ga 12 Atlanta Library for Negro Institutions, 1928–1929, GEB, RAC.
67. Trevor Arnett to Ernest Hopkins, June 2, 1930, box 43, folder 382, Ga 12 Atlanta Library for Negro Institutions, 1928–1929, GEB, RAC.
68. John Hope to Trevor Arnett, November 19, 1930, box 43, folder 382, Ga 12 Atlanta Library for Negro Institutions, 1928–1929, GEB, RAC.
69. Jackson Davis, Atlanta University, November 6–8, 1930, box 50, folder 448, Ga 80 Atlanta University, 1930, GEB, RAC.

70. "Who We Are," Association of American Colleges and Universities, accessed March 21, 2013, [www.aacu.org/membership/index.cfm](http://www.aacu.org/membership/index.cfm). The association was founded in "1915 and comprised of institutions of higher education dedicated to ensuring that the advantages of a liberal education are available to all students regardless of background, enrollment path, academic specialization, or intended career."
71. Read, *Story of Spelman College*, 241; "The Atlanta University Affiliation," reprint from *Bulletin of the Association of American Colleges*, xix, May 1933, AUC. SACS is the regional body for the accreditation of degree-granting higher education institutions in the Southern states.
72. Conference between Edwin R. Embree of the Rosenwald Fund and Trevor Arnett, December 31, 1930, Box 43, folder 382, Ga 12 Atlanta Library for Negro Institutions, 1928–1929, GEB, RAC; Edwin R. Embree to Trevor Arnett, February 9, 1931, box 41, folder 370, Ga 10 Spelman College, GEB, RAC.
73. Bacote, *Story of Atlanta University*, 304; Read, *Story of Spelman College*, 284.
74. Dean Sage to Trevor Arnett, January 19, 1931, box 46, folder 297, Atlanta University, Rockefeller Family Archives, RAC.
75. *Ibid.*
76. Trevor Arnett to John D. Rockefeller Jr., January 20, 1931, box 46, folder 297, Atlanta University, Rockefeller Family Archives, RAC.
77. *Ibid.*
78. John D. Rockefeller Jr. to Trevor Arnett, February 4, 1931, box 46, folder 297, Atlanta University Messrs. Rockefeller Papers, RAC. Also see Arnett to Rockefeller Jr., February 5, 1931, *ibid.*; Dean Sage to John D. Rockefeller Jr., February 6, 1931, *ibid.*; Arnett to Rockefeller Jr., February 27, 1931, *ibid.*; Trevor Arnett to Thomas M. Debevoise, February 18, 1931; Arnett to Debevoise, February 27, 1931, *ibid.*; and Rockefeller Jr. to Arnett, July 3, 1933, *ibid.*
79. Rockefeller Jr. to Trevor Arnett, February 4, 1931, *ibid.* Rockefeller Jr. provided no explanation for the anonymity.
80. Interviews: President John Hope of Atlanta University with Mr. Trevor Arnett, January 20, 1932, box 41, folder 371, Ga 10 Spelman College, GEB, RAC. Also see Davis, *Clashing of the Soul*, 318; Jones, *Candle in the Dark*, 119, 121; Read, *Story of Spelman College*, 238; and General Education Board Agreement with Morehouse College, May 20, 1932, box 59, folder 527, Ga 157 Morehouse College, GEB, RAC.
81. Bacote, *Story of Atlanta University*, 299–300; Davis, *Clashing of the Soul*, 318; Trevor Arnett to John D. Rockefeller Jr., May 10, 1932, Read Papers, SCA; Read, *Story of Spelman College*, 244, 286–287; and Jones, *Candle in the Dark*, 118.
82. Hope to Arnett, December 6, 1932, box 156, folder 5, Hope Records, AUC; John Hope to Trevor Arnett, December 6, 1932, box 156, folder 5, Hope Records, AUC; Arnett to Hope, December

- 9, 1932, *ibid.*; “The Atlanta University Affiliation,” May, 1933, reprinted from *Bulletin of the Association of American Colleges*, AUC; Jones, *Candle in the Dark*, 121; and Read, *Story of Spelman College*, 241.
83. Jones, *Candle in the Dark*, 117–118; Davis, *Clashing of the Soul*, 335. See The American Baptist Home Mission Society to Morehouse, September 11, 1935, Appendix, in Jones, *Candle in the Dark*, 356.
84. M. S. Davage to John Hope, November 1, 1935, box 156, folder 7, Hope Records, AUC; John Hope to Leo Favrot, November 9, 1935, box 50, folder 453, Ga 80 Atlanta University, GEB, RAC; Favrot to Hope, November 13, 1935, box 156, folder 7, Hope Records, AUC; Hope to Favrot, November 23, 1935, *ibid.*; Hope to Favrot, November 24, 1935, *ibid.*; Hope to Favrot, November 25, 1935, *ibid.*; Favrot to Hope, November 25, 1935, *ibid.*; Trevor Arnett to Hope, November 25, 1935, *ibid.*; Favrot to Hope, November 26, 1935, *ibid.*; and Arnett to Hope, June 4, 1935, *ibid.*
85. Hope to Favrot, November 9, 1935, box 50, folder 453, Ga 80 Atlanta University, GEB, RAC.
86. *Ibid.*
87. “President Hope is Buried on University Campus: Great Throng Witnesses Commitment Services,” *Atlanta University Bulletin*, July 1936, 5–8.
88. John D. Rockefeller 3rd to Florence M. Read and Samuel Archer, February 21, 1936, box 46, folder 297, Atlanta University, Messrs. Rockefeller Papers, RAC.
89. John D. Rockefeller Jr. to Florence M. Read, March 12, 1936, box 46, folder 297, Atlanta University, Messrs. Rockefeller Papers, RAC. In 1937, Rockefeller Jr., sent Read a check for \$5,000 adding to the funds generated for the John Hope Memorial Fund, because he was “highly appreciative of Dr. Hope’s character and his contribution to education.” W. S. Richardson to Florence Read, May 24, 1937, box 46, folder 297, Atlanta University, Messrs. Rockefeller Papers, RAC; and Florence Read to John D. Rockefeller Jr., May 26, 1937, *ibid.*
90. Bacote, *Story of Atlanta University*, 314; Read, *Story of Spelman College*, 243; and “Expressions of Appreciation of Dr. Hope from Letters and Telegrams from His Friends,” *Atlanta University Bulletin*, July 1936, 13.
91. “Editorial Comment on Occasion of the Death of Dr. Hope,” *ibid.*, 11. Other individuals in this section who expressed comments on John Hope included Louie Newton in the *Atlanta Constitution*, February 24, 1936; W. E. B. Du Bois in the *Pittsburgh Courier*, March 28, 1936. Editorials were also included from such newspapers and magazines as *Atlanta Constitution*, February 23, 1936; *Chattanooga News*, February 23, 1936; *Houston Informer*, February 28, 1936; *National Baptist Voice*, February 29, 1936;



*Atlanta World*, March 8, 1936; *Tuskegee Messenger*, March–April, 1936; and *Opportunity*, May 1936.

92. “Expressions of Appreciation of Dr. Hope from Letters and Telegrams from His Friends,” *Atlanta University Bulletin*, July 1936, 13–16.
93. Jackson Davis, quoted *ibid.*, 13.
94. Brawley, *Clark College Legacy*, 118.
95. Jones, *Candle in the Dark*, 120; Read, *Story of Spelman College*, 238; Fosdick, Pringle, and Pringle, *Adventures in Giving*, 204; and Bacote, *Story of Atlanta University*, 396–397. Though some overlapping continued with general courses, the colleges emphasized specific major fields. Though Spelman and Morehouse both emphasized liberal arts, Morehouse focused on chemistry, biology, and economics; Morris Brown emphasized rural education, and Clark emphasized physics and accounting.

## 7 Conclusion

1. “Minutes adopted by the Trustees of Morehouse College and Atlanta University,” 1937, box 73, folder 2, Hope Records, AUC.
2. History of Camp John Hope, Camp John Hope FAA-FCCLA, accessed November 25, 2012, <http://campjohnhope.com/Home/tabid/56/Default.aspx>.
3. John Hope Settlement House, accessed November 25, 2012, <http://www.johnhope.org>.
4. Hope-Hill Elementary School, accessed November 25, 2012, <http://www.atlanta.k12.ga.us/page/6865>.
5. John Hope College Preparatory High School, accessed April 3, 2012, <http://www.jhcp.k12.il.us/>.
6. “Dr. John Hope Lived a Fruitful and Abundant Life; Was First President of Atlanta University System,” *Atlanta University Bulletin*, July 1936, 3; Edward A. Jones, *A Candle in the Dark: A History of Morehouse College* (Valley Forge, Pennsylvania: Judson, 1967), 105.
7. “The Spingarn Medal,” NAACP, accessed November 28, 2012, <http://www.naacp.org/pages/springarn-medal>.
8. “The Pre-Eminent Educator,” *The Sphinx: Official Organ of AΦA, Inc.*, May 1944, box 70, folder 1, Hope Records, AUC.
9. Roy E. Finkenbine, “Law, Reconstruction, and African American Education,” in *Charity, Philanthropy, and Civility in American History*. Edited by Lawrence J. Friedman and Mark D. McGarvie (New York: Cambridge University Press), 175.
10. For other examples of black college presidents who understood the complexity of working with philanthropists, see Wayne J. Urban, *Black Scholar: Horace Mann Bond, 1904–1972* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1992); Patrick J. Gilpin, Marybeth Gasman, and David Levering Lewis, *Charles S. Johnson: Leadership beyond the*

- Veil in the Age of Jim Crow* (New York: SUNY, 2003); and Michael Bieze, *Booker T. Washington and the Art of Self-Representation* (New York: Peter Lang, 2008).
11. Tananarive Due, *The Living Blood* (New York: Pocket Books, 2001).
  12. Elizabeth A. Lyon and Dan Durett, "Atlanta University District," *National Register Nomination Form*, January 1, 1976, Office of Historic Preservation, Department of Natural Resources, Atlanta, Georgia.
  13. Allan Nevins, *John D. Rockefeller: The Heroic Age of American Enterprise*, 2 vols. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1940), 485.
  14. "Expenditures—Negro Education," Appendix III, in Raymond B. Fosdick, Henry F. Pringle, and Katherine Douglas Pringle, *Adventures in Giving: The Story of the General Education Board* (New York: Harper & Row, 1962), 329–332.
  15. Eleanor Lee Yates, "Capital Campaigns," *Black Issues in Higher Education*, July 5, 2002, 23. In 2001, Spelman's endowment was (\$229 million), only second to Howard University (\$308 million). Morehouse's endowment was fourth (\$101 million), after Hampton University (\$175 million). See Kimberly Davis, "The Richest Black Colleges," *Ebony*, September 2002, 84–94. In 2002, Spelman's endowment decreased to \$215 million. Spelman College Annual Report, 2001–2002, *Inside Spelman*, Summer 2003, 5–9.
  16. *UsNews & WorldReport*, "Historically Black Colleges and Universities," accessed November 25, 2012, <http://colleges.usnews.rankingsandreviews.com/best-colleges/rankings/hbcu>; Sonya A. Donaldson, "50 Best Colleges for African Americans," *Black Enterprise*, January 2003, 80.
  17. "America's Best Colleges 2003," *US News & World Report*, accessed July 13, 2012, [www.usnews.com/usnews/edu/college/rankings/rankindex\\_brief.php](http://www.usnews.com/usnews/edu/college/rankings/rankindex_brief.php).

## Appendix A

1. Fisk University was founded by the AMA and Western Freedmen's Aid Commission in 1866. General C. B. Fisk, agent for the Freedmen's Bureau in Tennessee and adjoining states, took interest in black's education; the institution is named in honor of him. "History of Fisk," *Fisk University News*, October 1924, reel 13, frame 693, Du Bois Papers and AARL.
2. Julius Rosenwald to Abraham Flexner, January 15, 1917, box 138, folder 1273, Fisk University, 1917–1918, GEB, RAC.
3. Flexner to Rosenwald, January 17, 1917, *ibid*.
4. Raymond B. Fosdick, Henry F. Pringle, and Katherine Douglas Pringle, *Adventures in Giving: The Story of the General Education Board* (New York: Harper & Row, 1962), 190; *General Education*

- Board: An Account of Its Activities, 1902–1914* (New York: General Education Board, 1915), 209.
5. “Fisk University the First Million-Dollar Endowment for College Education of the Negro in the History of America,” October 1924, *Fisk University News*, reel 13, frame 665, Du Bois Papers, AARL.
  6. Paul D. Cravath to Fayette McKenzie, April 16, 1925, box 138, folder 1276, Fisk University, 1923–1925, GEB, RAC. The GEB appropriated \$500,000 toward \$1 million endowment campaign. The Carnegie Corporation gave \$250,000 to the fund. The Board of Trustees raised \$250,000 in the North, and the citizens in Nashville paid \$35,000. At this time, \$11,000 more was pledged for liquidating the indebtedness. Blacks paid \$12,204.32. Fisk University, box 138, folder 1277, Fisk University, 1923–1925, GEB, RAC
  7. David Levering Lewis, *Harlem Renaissance Reader*, edited and with an introduction by David Levering Lewis (New York: Penguin Books USA Inc., 1994), xxiv.
  8. *Ibid.*, xv.
  9. *Ibid.* It should be noted the term “Talented Tenth” was originally created by Henry L. Morehouse and later popularized by W. E. B. Du Bois in his book, *Souls of Black Folks* (1903).
  10. Lewis, *Harlem Renaissance Reader*, xxiii.
  11. John Hope Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom: A History of American Negroes*, 2nd ed. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1964), 491.
  12. *Ibid.*, xviii.
  13. Leroy Davis, *A Clashing of the Soul: John Hope and the Dilemma of African American Leadership and Black Higher Education in the Early Twentieth Century*, with a foreword by John Hope Franklin (Athens, Georgia: University of Georgia Press, 1998), 276–277; Eric Anderson and Alfred A. Moss Jr., *Dangerous Donations: Northern Philanthropy and Southern Black Education, 1902–1930*, foreword by Louis R. Harlan (Missouri: University of Missouri Press, 1990), 214; and David Levering Lewis, *The Fight for Equality and the American Century, 1919–1963* (New York: Henry Holt, 2000), 142–143.
  14. James D. Anderson, “Philanthropic Control over Private Black Higher Education,” in *Philanthropy and Cultural Imperialism*, ed. Robert F. Arnove (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1980), 168; Anderson, *The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860–1935* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988), 264–269.
  15. F. A. McKenzie to Wallace Buttrick, June 3, 1924, box 138, folder 1276, Fisk University, 1923–1925, GEB, RAC. Paul Cravath was the president of Fisk’s Board of Trustees.
  16. F. A. McKenzie to Paul D. Cravath, April 16, 1925, *ibid.*
  17. Anderson, *Education of Blacks in the South*, 270.
  18. Davis, *Clashing of the Soul*, 277.

19. Paul D. Cravath to F. A. McKenzie, April 16, 1925, box 138, folder 1276, Fisk University, 1923–1925, GEB, RAC; Paul D. Cravath to Wallace Buttrick, April 24, 1925, *ibid.*
20. Fosdick, Pringle, and Pringle, *Adventures in Giving*, 179.
21. Davis, *Clashing of the Soul*, 287–288. John W. Davis, Mordecai Johnson's roommate at Morehouse, was the president of West Virginia Institute, later West Virginia State College.
22. Fosdick, Pringle, and Pringle, *Adventures in Giving*, 207. Howard was founded in 1867 by an act of Congress as a comprehensive university. The institution is named after General Oliver Otis Howard, commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau. Levrin Hill, ed., *Black American Colleges & Universities: Profiles of Two-Year, Four-Year, & Professional Schools* (Detroit, Michigan: Gale Research, 1994), 697–715; Julian B. Roebuck and Komanduri S. Murty, *Historically Black Colleges and Universities: Their Place in American Higher Education* (Westport, Connecticut: Praeger, an imprint of Greenwood Publishing Group), 73.
23. Fosdick, Pringle, and Pringle, *Adventures in Giving*, 207–208.
24. An Official Statement from the Trustees of Howard University, 1925, reel 15, frame 686, Du Bois Papers, AARL.
25. Fosdick, Pringle, and Pringle, *Adventures in Giving*, 205.
26. *Ibid.*, 205–207.

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- Wallace Buttrick Papers, Rockefeller Archive Center, Sleepy Hollow, New York.
- Wickliffe Rose Papers, Rockefeller Archive Center, Sleepy Hollow, New York.
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