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[00:00:00] **Jack Schneider:** Welcome to *HEQ&A*, the podcast of the *History of Education Quarterly*. I'm your host, *HEQ* co-editor Jack Schneider. Every few weeks, we'll dive into recent work from the journal, asking authors how their projects challenge or extend what we know about a topic, exploring what's interesting and surprising about it, and then taking a step back to consider broader implications. In the second half of the show, we turn our sights to teaching. So, if you're an educator, make sure to stick around until the end. And now let's hear from one of our authors.

[00:00:50] **Troy Smith:** Hi, I'm Troy Smith. I'm the author of *Not Just the Raising of Money: Hampton Institute and Relationship Fundraising, 1893 to 1917*, which has just been published in the latest issue of *History of Education Quarterly*. My paper looked at an under-examined aspect of the development of Black colleges, which is the organizational systems and infrastructure that underpinned them, really focusing on Hampton Institute.

[00:01:14] Some of the readers may know some may not, but Hampton, along with Tuskegee, really looms large in the literature of Black education for its influence on education for Blacks in the South, in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, it was known for its emphasis on vocational education as opposed to a classroom or liberal arts education, but perhaps more importantly, emphasizing economic advancement for African-Americans over political advancement and discouraging agitation for the right. For its influence Hampton, especially shaped the course of both higher education and common school education for Blacks, which was very contentious then and now. The literature also notes was the wealthiest school for Blacks that had a heavy endowment that had wealthy old friends that had "friends in high places."

[00:01:55] My background outside of academia is in fundraising and philanthropy. When I read the Hampton [Institute] is-- was-- the richest school for African-Americans, I asked not just why, but how-- and ideology doesn't raise money. It may have been true that that the [unclear]-- as the argument often goes-- was palatable to Northern white, but an ideology doesn't raise money.

[00:02:14] People raise money, institutions raise money. You know, there are two truths in fundraising: to get money, you have to ask for it and to be in a position to ask for it, you have to build relationships. And I think too often, philanthropy, both of the media and the scholarship is portrayed as this kind of one-way relationship, something that happens to people, uh, something that's done to an organization done to a cause. I think looking at the agency of the recipients of the beneficiaries is important to understand, to understand that full social relationship.

[00:02:42] And so much of the literature focuses on the large foundations of the era, especially the general education board. And that's important. That's an important to hold those, those powers to the fire. Just important to look at that Gates and other large foundations today, but I wanted to probe beneath the surface and find out what the story looked like, if we look at it from another angle.

[00:03:01] In starting research for this project, I came across digitized, the principal's reports, the treasurer's report for Hampton, and then the treasurer's report in particular contained a wealth of information about the finances of the school over a very long period of time, including lists of names of people who actually gave to Hampton. And these donation lists span pages and pages. What became evident to me was that Hampton wasn't just dominated by large foundations. It was really sustained by relatively small-- yes-- I'm talking the average gift under a hundred dollars at this time. And they raised off at a hundred thousand dollars a year, uh, in 1900. And that period of time. They were mostly individuals. They were also churches. They were benevolent groups. What we might call say, "giving circles" in some cases. And given my background, the questions that I immediately asked are who are these people, you know, and how did, how did Hampton do it? Spoiler alert: they were, they were White northerners, but getting beyond that, I really wanted to get into the nitty gritty of how Hampton was able to acquire and retain some of these loyal donors year after year.

[00:04:05] So my basic argument is that Hampton after the death of its founder created a sophisticated program, not just for raising money. And here's the important part: they were building long-term relationships. Fundraising was often seen as an episodic thing. "We need to pay the bills. So let's go, let's take our group of figures, go to the doors, pass the hat around." And many schools did that type of thing. Hampton saw fundraising as an ongoing process, and that's where the title of my paper comes from. "It's not just the raising of money," that's something the principal said in one of the principals' reports to the effect that we're sometimes criticized Hampton is for spending so much money on these fundraising activities. But it's not just the raising of money-- it's about raising awareness, not just about Hampton, but to the whole social problem in the South, you know, they called the "Negro problem." And so donors to Hampton weren't just giving to a school in the South that was hundreds of miles away from where they lived and that they'd probably never visited and they'd probably never met any students.

[00:04:58] So they were giving to help solve a social problem that concerned many people at the time. I think it's important to understand that it was not just a few key players dominating the course of Black education during this time, but the movement had broad appeal, at least among well-to-do whites in the North.

[00:05:16] Why does a random person in Boston or Brooklyn, Philadelphia care about a school that's a hundred miles away. Most philanthropy is local-- then and now-- yet there were people that were giving loyally year after year to the school in the South. I think that's really important to reconsider the motive of White voters who were supporting this.

[00:05:35] The argument often goes that it was economic self-interest and there was certainly an element to that. But I think connecting Black education and support for Black education to larger, especially Progressive Era social causes that were going on at the time is important. Many of these donors were also giving to things like social settlements or orphanages or good government causes, clean air funds, playground funds things that were connected with quality of life and increasing the role of government in our lives. And I think giving to public education, giving the Hampton fit right into that philosophy, which is

something that by and large the literature doesn't, doesn't talk about it. Doesn't connect outside of Black education and beyond the economic interests, what else were these donors interested in?

[00:06:16] What was really surprising to me is just how broad-based this support was. My, my paper looks at the tenure of the second principal, uh, Hollis Frizzell, uh, over his 24 years as principal of Hampton, I was able to, to uncover that there were over 7,000 unique donors during this period of which about 250 of them gave at least 15 years during that period of time (during that 24 years).

[00:06:42] And certainly some of those had started giving before 1893 some of them continued to give after 1917, but looking at that contained period, I think that's an astounding number to understand that there were people that loyal and we're not talking about necessarily large amounts, as I mentioned before, but it still demonstrates the appeal that Hampton had for a certain group of people in the North. The other surprising thing is the role of women as donors. Women, when they're talked about in Black education are usually teachers, you know, [unclear] it like that, but they're not really looked at as philanthropists to Black education, and I think my research points that there's an opportunity to really probe into the role of women in Black education in the role, not just as donors, but as volunteers. One of the things I found was these, what I call "giving circles" of women who would post meetings in their parlor--have parlor meetings.

[00:07:32] And they'd have a guest speaker either from the Institute or not connected to the Institute, but the idea was to get people from the neighborhood together, uh, who fit same social profile they did, and get them interested in Hampton. And that was a really important tool that Hampton used to broaden its appeal, get more donors. And certainly not, not everybody of the, you know, say 15 or 20 people that attend would become donors or long-term donors, but some of them will, and it was this consistency of being able to use their friends in the North in this way to broaden their appeal, especially women.

[00:08:00] Looking beyond its importance on Black education, I think my study can also shed some light on why some institutions, why some movements are successful. A lot of the literature on Hampton focuses on its founder Armstrong, but the zenith of the movement came after he had died, died in 1893, if I'm, if I'm recalling correctly. So this, this importance of this infrastructure, this organization of the success of social movements, why do some movements succeed while others don't? Why do some institutions thrive and others don't, however well-intentioned their cause may be. Armstrong, the founder, was a particularly charismatic figure. Like he built up, he was White and he built up Hampton really through this charismatic zeal. He was a son of missionaries and that really informed his outlook on life, but then he died. So when charismatic leaders disappear from the scene often, all too early, as they do, how do organizations and causes continue to grow with the thrive without a founder? I think my paper sheds some light on the importance of that.

[00:09:03] There's also some modern relevance in terms of HBCUs and the fiscal sustainability of those schools and there's a long history of why many of these schools are underfunded and don't have financial resources, but what are things today to look at and the importance still of this infrastructure of fundraising. I think it's important, um, and it's

important to note that as far as [unclear] at the time, that this is expensive, operating this way is expensive. So it's a double-edged sword. "You have to send money to make money," they say. And Hampton was able to make that investment, you know, very early where other schools either couldn't or wouldn't make that investment. and that had some long-term implications for some that turned into the HBCUs that are still around today. And are the causes, why some of the HBCUs have closed or are in financial straits even today.

[00:09:52] Musical interlude

[00:09:53] **Jack Schneider:** The second half of the show is dedicated to thinking about teaching. We ask authors to put on their guest lecturer hats and take students into the weeds. What should they pay attention to, methodologically speaking? What else should they be reading if they want to take a deep dive into the historiography? And where are there opportunities for further research?

[00:10:12] **Troy Smith:** If you were teaching this article to students, I think there's a couple of things that students could look at. One is the importance of perspective and interpretation. As I mentioned earlier, my professional background is in fundraising and philanthropy, and that has really inspired and structured my scholarship, inspired the questions that I asked of the evidence that I was looking at.

[00:10:30] So how does perspective in historiography-- why does it matter? How does it matter? Comparing my article, [unclear] much of the really, really great work that's been written about Black education came after the civil rights movement. Those scholars were very much inspired by the civil rights movement. I think their inspiration's better than my inspiration and that in that way, but still there are two different perspectives, but I think you could ask you to, to look at, with looking at pieces of scholarships, such as this. My base? We're doing this research where these institutional sources that I mentioned: principal's reports, the treasurer's reports.

[00:11:02] Also The Southern Workmen, which was a monthly newsletter that the school published, fantastic sources of information. And increasingly more and more digitized. Students can look at the same sources I did. They're digitized. They can look at other sources for other institutions, if they wanted to compare. Not everything is digitized.

[00:11:21] My work was based also on deep archival research, but it was kind of based around what I was able to find on Hathi Trust, on Google Books, other sources. Another thing for students to realize: librarians and archivists are our friends. Sometimes I was able to find things that were in libraries, but weren't digitized. And I reached out to that library and they'll scan it for me. They're very nice. And it really, you know, especially during the past eleven months for none of us have been able to get into an archive. That's been pretty crucial for being able to continue on, you know, my research in some ways. So teaching students that, too, the importance of working with our librarians [and] archivists really speaks to the pride and professionalism they have, that they've been able to do so much when the rest of us can't get to them.

[00:12:02] Oh, the historiography is so rich, especially on Black education. I almost hesitate to throw out some names at the risk of, of leaving some out. But I think James Anderson is pretty foundational: "The Education of Blacks in the South." as well as some of the articles that preceded the publication of that book, I think are really important for students.

[00:12:17] Some of the more recent work that's come out has both stayed and challenged aspects of that I'm thinking like Joan Malczewski or Ainsley Erickson, which really speaks to the importance of localism in education in America, especially in the South. Foundations don't have unchecked power, as it turns out, they really have to deal with these local governments to be able to implement any programs that they want, no matter how much money they have, that's important.

[00:12:42] My paper doesn't hit so much on the Black perspective. But I think there's some great books that talk about Black education from the African-American perspective and Vanessa Siddle Walker, Hillary Moss, Heather Andrea Williams, all really, really great books. As I mentioned, I also think it's important to connect some of this to things that were going on outside of Black education. In the broader world of philanthropy, especially looking at women's philanthropy, Kathleen McCarthy and Andrea Walden have some really great works on the role of women in philanthropy and [unclear] uh, Lori Ginzberg on the role of associational life, especially with women. Mary Beth Gaspin wrote a history of United Negro College Fund, which is after the period of study. But I'm looking at, you know, in many ways, some of the things that she talks about in the early years were done by Hampton at the time, and she's also done really other great work on directly, uh, Black colleges and universities, connecting this to larger progressive issues.

[00:13:33] Natalie Ring, *The Problem South*, I think is a great book for helping to understand how northerners-- White northerners-- saw the South, which is in essence as a foreign country, in some ways as a missionary enterprise. Cliff Stratton, *Education for Empire*, kind of same thing, William Lincoln's written some good things on Southern progressivism. If you want to look at it, a funny side to think about that there were Southern progressives and it was very distinctive in some ways, from what we think of progressivism, but William Lincoln's written some good things on that conflict, especially between the localism and progressivism.

[00:14:03] There's so much opportunity for research when you want to look at an institutional viewpoint. One of my, one of my early working theses for this paper was that Hampton was richer because they were better at it than others. And I think that seemed kind of, but I'm not so distinct about that because I don't have a proof that they necessarily were better that, so looking at how exactly other schools raised money in this period. Am I right? That, that Hampton was really the best at this. I know for instance, the Fisk Jubilee singers very early, you know, were going on these tours of the North of raising money what I don't know is how Fisk or if Fisk capitalized on this. Was it an instance where they went to the North passed the hat around and came back, you know, paid their bills, or were they really developing these long-term relationships in the way that Hampton was?

[00:14:45] Like, I don't know. I think there's opportunity to dig into that. I'm also interested in what this looks like from the student side. Students were very instrumental in helping to

put on this good front for Hampton's officials. They went North as singers or guests at these social events. They wrote thank you notes to their donors when people didn't come to campus. You know, they were on their best behavior. So students were agents in this as well. And my paper only delves into that just a bit. And I think there's opportunity to really look at that angle some more. Outside, as I mentioned, just increasing availability of digitized documents. I found the other donor list, not just the school, but, uh, other Progressive Era causes. I'm interested in these links between these causes. I think there's opportunity, maybe students want to take some look at some of these digitized financial documents, that list names of donors, and again, find out who they were. How does this connect to larger movements that were going on?

[00:15:37] I think that's something that a student really could dive into and make some progress.

[00:15:40] Musical interlude

[00:15:44] **Jack Schneider:** Check out *History of Education Quarterly* online. The journal is published by Cambridge University Press and it's carried by most academic libraries. You should also be sure to follow *HEQ* Twitter handle: @histedquarterly, which regularly sends out free read-only versions of articles, and the show's Twitter handle @HEQandA. And don't forget, subscribe to the show so you don't miss forthcoming episodes. We're available on iTunes, Stitcher, and wherever you get your podcasts. HEQ&A is produced at the University of Massachusetts Lowell. Our producer is Jennifer Berkshire and our theme music is by Ryan Shaw. I'm Jack Schneider. Thanks for joining us.