The New Negro on Campus: Black College Rebellions of the 1920's

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The need to demonstrate social distance by the more affluent, while at the same time being denied mobility in the white world, further exaggerated class friction and produced such compensatory outlets as conspicuous consumption. Moreover, class consciousness hampered any concerted effort to unify the community and doomed any potential political struggle for fundamental reform.

Even though Black Ethos contains little new knowledge for the Black Studies specialist, the book does provide a good summary of black consciousness during the Progressive Era, and can be read with interest by the informed public.

——Ronald L. Lewis
University of Delaware


In this book, Raymond Wolters uses a much neglected aspect of American social history to link the present to the past. It is primarily an examination of some of the major controversies and rebellions which occurred on predominantly black college campuses during the 1920's. Cursory glimpses of the treatment and conditions of black students in some predominantly white universities are included in the last substantial chapter. Parallels to developments of the last two decades abound throughout the work, even though no obvious attempt was made to establish any analogy. Precedents for demands by students in the 1960's to remove R.O.T.C. programs from college campuses and pressures on faculty members to be sensitive to minority groups were set by students at Howard University in 1925 and Shaw University through the closing years of that decade. The push of the 1960's and early 1970's for black studies was anteceded by similar demands by students at more than a dozen predominantly black schools and by some black graduates of predominantly white schools during the 1920's.

In the 1920's, as now, educational policies and practices tended to mirror beliefs and practices in the larger society. The overwhelming majority of black college students were in predominantly black institutions; a much smaller number attended predominantly white universities in the North. Most black colleges and universities were located in the South and were publicly supported. With the exception of Lincoln University of Missouri, those in the North were private with large portions of their budgets contributed by white sources.

Curricula and staffs were tailored to conform to demands and expectations of white politicians, donors and the local citizenry. Deviation from the norm often caused retribution. Nathan B. Young, for example, was credited with transforming Florida A & M College from a third rate post-secondary
school into a respectable academic college. He was forced to resign the presidency in 1922 however when Cary Hardee became governor of Florida after a campaign in which Hardee took up the contention of rural landlords that the widespread immigration of blacks from rural areas of the state was due to academic education.

Removal of officials was not a frequent occurrence and was resorted to only when the manipulators lost control over their hand picked surrogates. Many administrators were paternalistic whites; black administrators were mostly “good niggers” who had demonstrated adherence to the status quo and readiness to follow orders. Fisk University and Hampton Institute illustrate that private schools were not excluded from such practices. By tradition no black person was considered for the presidency of Fisk until after the Second World War. In 1924 the university president, Fayette Avery McKenzie, refused to allow the establishment of a student chapter of the NAACP on his campus. McKenzie was in good company. Paul Cravath, the President of Fisk’s board of trustees, not only endorsed complete racial separation as the “only solution to the Negro problem” but campaigned to convince philanthropists to limit their contributions to black schools to those committed to the development of separate societies. Apparently his pleas were accepted. Hampton Institute on the other hand provided segregated residence and dining halls for white visitors and faculty and discouraged “unnecessary” interracial contacts and was rewarded with an endowment greater than the combined total of all the more prestigious black colleges.

Despite such examples, dissatisfaction and protests on black colleges became so widespread during the 1920’s that Wolters termed them “one of the most significant aspects of the New Negro protest movement”. Black students’ rejection of paternalism and the insistence that black youth should be educated according to principles satisfactory to the black community were the causes of the rebellions according to Wolters.

However from the evidence presented Wolters could have identified at least four other causative factors. One factor was the increase in the ranks of students and graduates. Enrollment on black campuses expanded from slightly more than 2000 in 1917 to in excess of 13,600 in 1927. Approximately another 1500 black students in integrated institutions should be added to the 1927 total. The enlarged student population naturally augmented the number of individualistic and more mature students who were unwilling to abide with petty regulations such as those enforced at Fisk which forbade conversations between male and female students or those at Hampton that authorized matrons and janitors to inspect student rooms “at any hour of the day or night” or the mandatory daily chapel required of all, including professional students, at Howard.

A second factor was the changed nature of the students. Black students of the interwar years differed vastly from their rough and mostly untutored brethren of earlier times. Many of these self-defined sophisticated students had come from families with college trained professionals. Many had served in the military, especially during World War I. Another possible factor was
unemployment and underemployment. As results of the Smith-Lever and Smith-Hughes acts renewed emphasis was placed on vocational training. At the same time increased agricultural mechanization was reducing opportunities for blacks. Many students objected to compulsory vocational classes which they believed endowed them with useless skills. Moreover blacks found many positions in black institutions closed to them. For example, Lincoln University in Pennsylvania continued to refuse to employ blacks as instructors or administrators. A final possible contribution to the rebellions was the new maturity of black students and professionals which demanded the same excellence from blacks as that expected from whites.

Wolters has produced a remarkable work distinguished more by its synthesis than by analysis or originality. He rehashes too much of the activities of W. E. B. DuBois. He could have been more expansive on developments at predominantly white universities. The narrative often becomes repetitive. What is designed to be a study of rebellions related to education occasionally meanders into consideration of wider developments within the black community. The New Negro on Campus is the first general study of dissidence by black students. Hopefully, Wolters' achievement will inspire similar works on much larger time periods and ultimately, a comprehensive history of black education.

—Ashton Wesley Welch
Creighton University


Carl Condit's studies of Chicago architecture and engineering rank among the finest contributions to the literature of urban history. Gracefully written and handsomely illustrated, they appeal to general readers as well as scholars interested in the changing physical character of American cities in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Condit combines an engineer's appreciation for technological innovations with a critic's eye for their aesthetic and social significance; his books teach us about the growth of cities as they entertain us with stories of the men who built them. In The Railroad and the City, Condit promises "to contribute a chapter to the history of railroad technology . . . in terms of its interaction with the evolution of a particular city," in this case Cincinnati. Readers of Condit's other books may be disappointed. With respect to literary style and scholarly merit, The Railroad and the City fails to measure up to the standard set by his previous work.

Five essays accompany an impressive collection of photographs and drawings intended to show how the railroad transformed Cincinnati's landscape from antebellum times through the 1930s. Unfortunately, the essays offer little by way of explanation. Rather than address himself directly to the "techno-