Storer College, Lewis Anthony Library
Harpers Ferry National Historical Park
Harpers Ferry
Jefferson County
West Virginia

HABS No. WV-277-C

HABS
WVA,
19-HARF,
32-C-

PHOTOGRAPHS

Historic American Buildings Survey
National Park Service
Department of Interior
Washington, D.C. 20013-7127

ADDENDUM TO:
STORER COLLEGE, LEWIS ANTHONY LIBRARY
(Lewis Anthony Building)
Harpers Ferry National Historical Park
Camp Hill
Harpers Ferry
Jefferson County
West Virginia

HABS WV-277-C
WVA,19-HARF,32-C-

PHOTOGRAPHS

WRITTEN HISTORICAL AND DESCRIPTIVE DATA

FIELD RECORDS

HISTORIC AMERICAN BUILDINGS SURVEY
National Park Service
U.S. Department of the Interior
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Washington, DC 20240-0001

HISTORIC AMERICAN BUILDINGS SURVEY

ADDENDUM TO STORER COLLEGE, LEWIS ANTHONY LIBRARY
(Lewis Anthony Building)

HABS No. WV-277-C

NOTE: Please see the following historical reports for additional information regarding the history of Storer College:

Addendum to Storer College, Anthony Hall	HABS No. WV-277-A
Addendum to Storer College, Cook Hall	HABS No. WV-277-E
Addendum to Curtis Freewill Baptist Church	HABS No. WV-278
Bird-Brady House	HABS No. WV-304

Location:	Camp Hill, Harpers Ferry, Jefferson County, West Virginia
Present Owner:	National Park Service
Present Occupants:	National Park Service, Harpers Ferry Center and Interpretive Design Center
Present Use:	Under renovation.
Historian:	Mark Barron, University of Maryland, College Park

Significance: Currently recognized by the National Park Service (NPS) as the "Lewis Anthony Building," this two-story stone building was an integral part of Storer College and its evolution as an educational institution during the first half of the twentieth century.[1] From 1903 to 1929, it housed courses in industrial arts before serving as the campus library from 1929 through Storer College's closure in 1955. Since 1962, the National Park Service has used it as the library for the NPS Harpers Ferry Center. The NPS renovated the library building during the summer of 2010 to remove asbestos and lead paint, and further renovations through 2011 will ready the building for its second century.

The history of the Lewis Anthony Building highlights two different approaches to African American education during the first half of the twentieth century. In its original incarnation as an industrial arts building, it reflected the importance placed on industrial arts education by prominent black educators such as Booker T. Washington. The building's erection in 1903 expanded Storer College's industrial arts facilities and allowed the school to separate these studies based on gender, with women and the domestic arts program remaining in the DeWolf Building and men and trade classes moved into the new building. The Lewis Anthony Building's renovation into the main campus library in 1929 signifies the school's shift in focus to a more academically rigorous curriculum in line with a four-year liberal arts college. The rise of liberal arts programs and the decline of industrial arts at Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs) is indicative of the changing academic choices being made by African American students across the country in the years just prior to World War II. As new generations of black students entered into secondary and post-secondary institutions, the focus on higher learning over industrial labor helped influence the modern Civil Rights movement by encouraging graduates to challenge inequalities found at the intersection of labor and education. The 1953 addition to what by that time was the "Lewis Anthony Library" speaks to the school's desire to expand and further strengthen its academic programs.

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[1] In this report, the Lewis Anthony Building will be used generally because, historically, it was used for other purposes.

The transfer in the building's use from trade school classrooms to library also illustrates the practical pressures that HBCUs faced when trying to meet accreditation requirements with limited financial budgets. In 1929, following the destruction of Anthony Hall and the school's original library, Storer College was unable to comply with regional accreditation standards that stipulated schools must have a functional library on their campuses. The conversion of the Lewis Anthony Building into a library solved the problem of *where* to house a book collection, but it displaced the trade school program to an unused stable on campus, an event that would help contribute to the decline of industrial arts classes at Storer College.

PART 1: HISTORICAL INFORMATION

A. Physical History

1. **Date of Erection:** The original building was constructed in 1903, and the rear addition completed in 1953.

2. **Architect:** The architect for the original 1903 trade school building is unknown.

   The architect for the 1953 addition was Louis Edwin Fry, Sr. (1903-2000), a noted African American architect who designed numerous academic buildings at HBCUs in Alabama, Missouri, Texas, and the District of Columbia. Born in Bastrop, Texas, Fry received a bachelor's degree from Prairie View Agricultural and Mechanical College in the mechanical arts and a second degree from Kansas State University in architectural engineering. In the late 1920s, Fry designed two buildings for his alma mater at Prairie View and became the second African American architect registered to practice in the state of Texas.

   By the 1930s, after earning a master's degree in architecture from Kansas State University, Fry joined an architectural firm in the District of Columbia, where he designed buildings for Howard University. In 1935, Fry left Washington, D.C. and moved to Alabama to head the architecture department at the Tuskegee Institute. After staying with Tuskegee for five years, Fry moved to Missouri and became the resident campus architect for Lincoln University.

   Though already a well-accomplished architect, Fry later enrolled at Harvard University in order to achieve a second Master of architecture degree. At Harvard he studied under

Walter Gropius and became the first African American to receive a graduate degree in architecture from the university. Following his graduation, Fry worked as a draftsman for Marcel Breuer before joining the faculty of Howard University's School of Architecture. Fry stayed at Howard for the remainder of his career, teaching classes and working with his own private architectural firm, Fry and Welch. Fry justified his split duties between the school and his practice by arguing that African American students should have professionally practicing architects as role models.[2]

As an architect, Fry was very much influenced by his time studying under Gropius. Inspired by his new professor, a founder of the Bauhaus School, his designs began to move beyond the Colonial Revival elements found on his earlier buildings and began to embrace the modern movement.[3] From the mid 1940s to the end of his working career, Fry's designs follow a trajectory of architectural modernism, even flirting with Brutalism by the 1960s.

As an African American architect and educator, Fry's work is especially significant for his dedication in working with HBCUs. His prolific working career readily shaped the built environments of black schools from Texas to Washington, D.C. Fry is also recognized for including emergent technological improvements into his designs. In the Page Library building at Lincoln University, for example, Fry included provisions for a rolling stack system that allowed more books to be housed in less space. Completed in 1947, the library's unique rolling stack system was one of the first of its kind to be used at a college institution.[4]

3. **Owners:** From the time of its construction in 1903 to 1962, the building was owned by Storer College. Since 1962, the National Park Service has owned the building along with the rest of the former Storer College tract.

4. **Original and Subsequent Occupants:** From 1903 until Storer College's closure in 1955, the Lewis Anthony Building was occupied by the school's students and faculty. From 1903 to 1929 the building housed trades school classes for Storer's industrial arts program and from 1929 to 1955 it served as Storer College's library. In 1953, the building received a large addition to house the school's book collections. The National Park Service purchased Storer College in 1962 and, until recently, utilized the building as a library for the Harpers Ferry Center.

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[2] All biographical information regarding Fry can be found in "Louis Edwin Fry, Sr.," *African American Architects: A Biographical Dictionary 1865-1945*, ed. Dreck Spurlock Wilson (New York: Routledge Press, 2004).

[3] An excellent summation concerning the founding of the Bauhaus school and the rise of Modernist architectural education can be found in Walter Gropius, *The New Architecture and the Bauhaus* (London: Faber and Faber Limited, 1955; reprint MIT Press, 1965), 19-30.

[4] Louis Edwin Fry, Sr., *His Life and His Architecture* (typescript and bound, 1980): 100, in the Louis Edwin Fry, Sr. Papers, Moorland-Springarn Research Center, Manuscript Division, Howard University, Washington, D.C.

5. **Builder, Contractors, and Suppliers:** Historical documents indicate that Storer College purchased milled lumber from William Phillip's Sons in Charles Town, West Virginia in 1903. In March of that year, Storer College was asked appear in court concerning an unpaid bill to the lumber company.[5]

Two contractors associated with the 1953 addition include R.M. Hann, an electrical contractor based in Charles Town, West Virginia, and J.P. Karn, Inc., a building supply company based in Brunswick, Maryland. Documentation shows that Storer paid both bills in full.[6]

6. **Original Plans and Construction:**

No construction blueprints, renderings, or design plans are known to exist for the original 1903 building.[7]

As with many of the buildings constructed on the Storer College campus, the school's trustees and faculty faced numerous difficulties in generating the funds required to begin erecting the 1903 trade school building. Confronted with the need to have a building dedicated to classes such as carpentry and upholstery, the trustees first approached the state of West Virginia to inquire if the state would offer additional funding for expanding its industrial arts program with a dedicated trade school building to augment the domestic classes being taught in the school's DeWolf building. After passing through legislative committees, the state awarded an additional $1500.00 to Storer for a period of two years, supplementing a $1000.00 budget the school received on a permanent annual basis.[8]

Though the increase from the state was significant, Storer still needed money to complete the building. To help raise the money, the school turned to Nathan C. Brackett, a founder and former president of Storer College (active 1867-1897) and a prominent member of the Freewill Baptist denomination. The choice of Brackett is notable since he had retired in 1897. Short of funds, it seems that Storer turned to someone who held considerable gravitas with members of the Freewill denomination. "I did not expect ever again to appeal to our people for money to erect a new building," Bracket wrote in the denomination's publication, *The Morning Star*, "but conditions are such that I cannot avoid it…and so once more we appeal to the friends who have so many times come to our rescue in the past."[9] Eventually, Storer received appropriate donations and the building was completed in 1903.

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[5] It is assumed that Storer paid the bill because the school purchased lumber from William Phillip's Sons again in 1905. See folder HFT-00056, Storer College Collection, library and archive of Harpers Ferry National Historical Park, Harpers Ferry, West Virginia (hereafter **HAFE**).

[6] Folder HFT-00063, Storer College Collection, HAFE.

[7] A fire in 1929 destroyed the school's main campus building, Anthony Hall. In addition to housing classrooms, the chapel, and dining hall, the building also contained Storer's administrative offices. It is likely that the original blueprints for the building were destroyed in the fire.

[8] *The Morning Star* 14 Mar. 1903, folder HFT-00055, Storer College Collection, HAFE.

The building is named for Lewis W. Anthony, a member of the Freewill Baptist Church who served as president to Storer College's Board of Trustees during the late nineteenth century. The naming of the campus's centerpiece building, Anthony Hall (now Wirth Hall), honored the contributions of Lewis W. Anthony for its construction (1881). In 1903, the Anthony family donated an unknown amount of money to complete the industrial arts building, an act which led the school to name the building in his honor.

7. **Alterations and Additions:** Designed by Louis Edwin Fry, Sr., the library addition called for a two-story concrete block building with "rubble stone" veneer on the north and south elevations. The west elevation was to contain "rubble stone" only along the corners—similar to quoins—with the concrete block covered in stucco. [10] Brickwork was to be placed between the casement window openings along the west elevation. The design plans also called for a shed roof dormer to be placed on the west slope of the 1903 building's roof and a vestibule of "rubble stone" to be constructed on the building's front façade.

At the time the addition was completed, rubble stone was neither placed on the north and south elevations nor used as quoins on the west side of the building. Likewise, the concrete block was not covered in stucco and the front vestibule was never built. The brickwork in between the window openings and the shed roof dormer, however, were completed. In all likelihood, given the financial constraints of the college and the fact that the school closed just two years after the addition opened, it is possible that the vestibule, stucco, and stone veneer were never completed because they were aesthetic concerns and not structural components that would potentially hinder the building's immediate use as a library.

A review of Fry's autobiography, *His Life and His Architecture*, reveals that the library addition at Storer College is not listed in his précis. Likewise, his entry in a dictionary dedicated to highlighting important African Americans, does not list the addition within a list of completed works. There are two possible reason for the omission: as an addition to a pre-existing building Fry and the dictionary's author did not believe that the design rose to a level of significance to reflect the architect's skill; or, the library addition was never completed to Fry's original design.

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[9] Ibid.

[10] Duplicates of floor plans, elevations, and sections for the 1953 addition on microfilm at HAFE, A&M 1471, Blueprints and Drawings (HAFE Reel #136). Plans for the rubble stone can be found in Addition to Library for Storer College, "Elevations," Louis E. Fry, Sr., Architect, folder HFM-00124, HAFE.

B. Historical Context

Introduction

During its occupation by Storer College, the Lewis Anthony Building first housed trade school classes (1903-1929) and later served as the school's main library (1929-1955). In both these functions, the building played an important role in defining academic life at the school and illustrates several topics significant to black colleges in the early- to mid-twentieth century. These include: debates over African American educational practices and curriculum, problems in updating existing facilities and in locating adequate funding, and issues surrounding accreditation. The Lewis Anthony Building, perhaps more than any other extant building on the historic Storer College campus, embodies the many sided struggle the school faced to adapt to evolving conditions and expectations for black education in the United States.

A Brief History of African American Education Prior to the Civil War

According to historian Carter G. Woodson, the history of African American education prior to the Civil War can be broken into two distinctive time periods: a period starting with the introduction of slavery into the Americas and extending to the mid 1830s, and another encompassing the antebellum decades. As Woodson notes in his book *The Education Of The Negro Prior To 1861—A History of the Education of the Colored People of the United States from the Beginning of Slavery to the Civil War*, the earlier period of black education was marked by three different mindsets. The first of these, Woodson contends, concerned slave owners interested in increasing the "economic efficiency of their labor supply."[11] Likely affected by concepts of Enlightenment reasoning and an emergent system of plantation economics, individuals comprising Woodson's first group often viewed the education of enslaved persons as a scientific study. This outlook was meant to highlight the perceived supremacy of American agrarianism through the creation of an "educated" workforce, albeit one that would only exist within the rigidity of a hierarchically-enforced system of local plantation politics. The second group involved those who saw slavery as an oppressive and morally repugnant exercise and sought to create schools for freed slaves in order to bring them into the fold of mainstream American society. The third group outlined by Woodson centered on white Christians who believed that "the message of divine love came equally to all" and, therefore, worked to provide enslaved persons with reading skills so that they could study the Bible.[12]

While the first and third groups were often slaveholders, Woodson's second group formed the basis of the abolition movement in the United States. Overtime, the first and third groups often blended together, tying Christian charity with concepts of

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[11] Carter G. Woodson, *The Education Of The Negro Prior To 1861: A History of the Education of the Colored People of the United States from the Beginning of Slavery to the Civil War* (BiblioBazaar, 2008; reprint of 1919 edition), 12.

[12] Ibid.

Enlightenment reasoning to educate those under their charge. In large part, slaveholders were influenced by the sermons of Methodist leader George Whitefield in the mid eighteenth century. A prominent preacher during the Great Awakening, Whitefield also advocated for the enslavement of African peoples. Imbued with a racialized worldview that placed Anglo-Saxons at the top of God's natural order, Whitefield sermonized that Africans were of a lesser people than those of northern European descent and that white Christians had a moral and religious obligation to care for their well-being.[13] In this sense, enslavement, for some, was seen as a part of one's Christian duty. The practice of slavery, as envisioned by Whitefield, involved forced labor balanced with religious education. As the eighteenth century continued, Thomas Jefferson, who championed the ideals of an agrarian society and who, himself, owned nearly two hundred slaves on his Monticello plantation also became an influential voice on the issue of slavery and education. Jefferson found himself in a philosophical conundrum, never able to rectify his internal contradictions between promoting egalitarian democracy and being dependent upon the economics of slave labor. Despite the problems of trying to balance slavery, religion, and economics, the belief in supplying basic education, sometimes including reading skills for religious study, to enslaved persons continued into the nineteenth century. As Carter G. Woodson notes, "the majority of the people in this country answered in the affirmative the question whether or not it was prudent to educate their slaves" prior to the 1830s.[14]

The beginnings of industrialization in parts of the South and a large-scale slave revolt in 1831 directly affected African American education in the decades leading up to the Civil War. Though industrialization was occurring in the North since the late eighteenth century, the American South was slow to develop an industrial infrastructure. This was due, in part, to the region's dependence on a plantation economy fueled by slavery and its often recalcitrant position on the benefits of centralized governments willing to partly subsidize infrastructural improvements. Another reason rested in the fact that areas in the South capable of harnessing enough water power to operate industrial machinery were just beginning to be settled. Unlike many of the large industrial operations found in the northeast which were located relatively close to major coastal cities and ports, established southern cities tended to be in areas along flat, coastal waterways. By the 1820s, areas in the South capable of utilizing fast moving water currents to turn machinery were well into the interiors of North Carolina, Tennessee, and Georgia. By the 1830s, however, many southerners came to accept that industrialization was going to affect the region's slave-labor system.[15] With some slaves no longer being used for just menial tasks in fields or homes, instead learning skill sets valuable to industrial work, a growing concern among southern elites centered on industrialization's promotion of social instability. As Woodson points out, "by this time [1830s] most southern white people reached the conclusion that it was impossible to cultivate the minds of Negroes without arousing overmuch self-assertion."[16]

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[13] A critical interpretation of Whitefield and his views on slavery and religion is in Frank Lambert, *Pedlar in Divinity: George Whitefield and the Transatlantic Revival, 1737-1770* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2002), 204-220.

[14] Woodson, 11.

[15] Excellent works providing background on southern industrial development include the introductions and early chapters of Broadus Mitchell, *The Rise of Cotton Mills in the South* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 2001); Jacquelyn Dowd Hall, James Leloudis, Robert Korstad, Mary Murphy, Lu Ann Jones, and Christopher B. Daly, *Like a Family: The Making of a Southern Cotton Mill World* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1987).

Where southern industrialization led to debates over the *potential* for social unrest, the events surrounding the 1831 Nat Turner rebellion openly stoked the racial fears of the South's slave-owning population. Turner, an enslaved preacher who claimed to have received apocalyptic orders from God to destroy slavery, led a group of other slaves on a rebellion through southeastern Virginia, killing fifty-five whites over a forty-eight hour period. The impact of Nat Turner left a burn on the southern psyche, which developed into what historian James M. McPherson has called a "siege mentality" that looked for "unity in the face of external attack and vigilance against the internal threat of slave insurrection."[17] As word of the rebellion and its bloody aftermath spread across the South, states and local governments passed laws and ordinances sharply curtailing even the smallest of freedoms once granted to enslaved persons. When stories of Nat Turner being an educated black man who could read and write became known, the teaching of slaves often became a major crime—one that was often enforced on local levels—with the threat of death by hanging.[18]

In contrast to the debates of slavery and education occurring in the South, the North, which had largely outlawed enslavement, at least on paper, by the 1820s saw the creation of numerous schools for free-born men and women and former slaves. Built and funded by abolitionists often tied to religious denominations such as Freewill Baptists and the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers), these early educational facilities pioneered the first wave of African American academic institutions and included the Cheyney School in Pennsylvania (ca. 1837) and the Ashmun Institute in Pennsylvania (ca. 1854). The efforts of northern Christian missionary workers and teachers helped provide the foundation for future African American education north of the Mason-Dixon Line. By 1856, the first school started and administrated by African Americans opened in Ohio as Wilberforce University. Recognized as the country's earliest HBCUs, these schools, founded by both African Americans and whites, heavily influenced the development of later black institutions of higher learning.

By the beginning of the Civil War in 1861, the North and South diverged not just in politics and economics, but in how they approached educational opportunities for African

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[16] Woodson,12.

[17] James M. McPherson, *Ordeal by Fire: The Civil War and Reconstruction* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1982), 46.

[18] Reactions of white slave-owners to the Turner Rebellion based on primary evidence are recounted in Donald L. Grant, *The Way It Was in the South: The Black Experience in Georgia* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1989), 49-51.

Americans. The South, first influenced by Christian charity and the idealization of an agrarian democracy and later impacted by the threat of a slave population increasingly unwilling to accept an exploited role, moved from a paternalistic notion of education to one violently opposed to providing any semblance of academic instruction. Within the country's northern states, the gradual shift from merely accommodating the education of African Americans to the founding of religious aid societies and groups dedicated to providing academic opportunities fostered the development of black intellectual thought that would directly impact future generations. Within the context of these divergent environments, two distinctive voices would emerge: Booker T. Washington, born into slavery in 1856, and W.E.B. Du Bois, born into a fairly prosperous black Massachusetts family in 1868.

African American Education during Reconstruction (1865-1877)

Following the Civil War, northern benevolent societies and religious denominations, along with commanders in the Union Army and politicians all realized the precarious state of newly freed slaves. As the South's industrial infrastructure and agrarian economic base lay in ruins, the need to reconstruct the region for eventual re-admittance into the Union was recognized as a top priority. The chaos that ensued after the war was directly related to the federal government's inability to prepare to cohesive policy concerning eventual emancipation during the war years. Beset with political infighting during the war over the question of freedom for the South's bonded men and women, the United States found itself unprepared for the task of resettling the region's black populations.[19]

While the government was initially incapable of meeting the needs of freedmen and women, benevolent societies and religious denominations filled the void. More often than not comprised of the very abolitionists or descendents thereof that helped start the first wave of African American education in the north a few decades before, society members and religious groups entered into unknown southern lands, hoping to organize new schools and churches. Though many of the northern missionary groups met with failure at the hands of angry southern populations, those that were able to persevere in the first few months were eventually aided by the creation of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands in 1865—a division of the federal government that colloquially came to be known as the Freedmen's Bureau.

While the Freedmen's Bureau was often hindered by arguments between radicals and conservatives over policies concerning possible land reform in the former slave-holding states and labor contracts between planters and workers, the bureau was unparalleled in its educational activities.[20] Often teaming with benevolent societies and religious groups that were already emplaced in certain communities, the Freedmen's Bureau spent approximately one third of its budget between 1865 and 1870 on educational facilities for

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[19] For more detailed analysis, see McPherson, 394-395.

[20] Many historians have often criticized the Freedmen's Bureau for being, at times, ineffectual. Most, however, agree that in educational activities the bureau was a success. Grant, 92-99.

African Americans.[21] Though officially tied to specific groups such as the Methodist Church, the Freewill Baptist Church, and many other religious and sectarian groups, schools such as Atlanta University in Atlanta, Georgia, Storer College in Harpers Ferry, West Virginia, Fisk University in Nashville, Tennessee, and Howard University in Washington, D.C. all benefited from the actions and monetary support of the Freedmen's Bureau. At some schools founded by northern religious groups, such as at Storer College, their academic charters proclaimed that classes were open to students of all races. Years later, when southern states enabled local governments to make racially integrated schools illegal under Jim Crow laws, schools such as Storer never amended their founding charters.[22]

As could be expected given the diversity of the organizations involved in creating the country's second wave of African American schools immediately after the Civil War, the curricula at the institutions varied depending on geographic location and which group was associated with the school. At first, schools such as Atlanta and Fisk University, both founded by white Protestants, focused on providing basic primary educational classes to local black populations. Rather quickly, however, administrators discovered that some students were excelling at a much higher rate than expected and decided to implement a set of standards for higher education, including classes in English grammar, literature, and classical Greek.[23] Though there is a lack of primary source documentation concerning the educational abilities of the South's first generation of freedmen and women, it can be assumed given the quickness in which students moved to foreign languages that many learned to read and write while being enslaved – in spite of the anti-education laws enacted following the Turner Rebellion. This feat speaks to the agency of enslaved persons to subvert systems of racial injustice, while creating alternative venues of knowledge formation that were often community-based.[24] As W.E.B. Du Bois notes in his work on "The Cultural Missions of Atlanta University," many whites invoked "criticism and ridicule…at the courses of study in these colleges…one writer insisted that he heard one Negro student ask another: 'Is yo' done yo' Greek?"[25]

At schools farther removed from urban centers, such as Storer College in Harpers Ferry, West Virginia, early school administrators stressed basic reading, writing, and arithmetic. Founded by members of the Freewill Baptist Church, Storer College saw a part of it missionary duty to attend to the religious needs of its students. Therefore, the first few years of the school's existence spent large amounts of time developing individual skills for reading the Bible and in teaching the virtues of living a moral life predicated on the Divine goodness of God. In subsequent years, according to Storer College catalogues, the school eventually adopted a curriculum more in line with Atlanta and Fisk Universities. By 1880, the school offered classes in everything from natural history to classical Greek to religious theology.[26]

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[21] McPherson, 401.

[22] Storer College's charter is in "Storer College 1872-1911," A&M 1322 (Reel #114, HAFE).

[23] An excellent overview of the history of Atlanta University is Clarence A. Bacote, *The Story of Atlanta University: A Century of Service, 1865-1965* (Atlanta, GA: Atlanta University, 1969).

[24] Patricia Hill Collins, *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Enpowerment* (New York: Routledge Press, 2000), 210-211.

[25] W.E.B. Du Bois, "The Cultural Missions of Atlanta University" *Phylon* 3 (2nd Quarter 1942): 106.

While many of the nascent schools offered a variety of different classes within their institutions, most either accepted, or openly advertised themselves as being, normal schools. During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, a normal school referred to an institution that employed designated sets of curricula meant to form the basis of primary and secondary education. A normal school, therefore, was considered to be a training facility for future teachers. Because the curricula involved the learning of certain skill sets, or "norms," students could then teach those things to others; passing the basics of educational knowledge from class to class. Though some schools stressed religion studies or Greek and Latin, and others emphasized reading, writing, and mathematical problem-solving, they held to a pedagogical belief in the importance of normal training in order to build educational consensus. One black school, quickly rising in prominence during the late 1860s was the Hampton Institute in Hampton, Virginia. Also embracing the tenets of normal education in order to train young African Americans, Hampton Institute broke away from religious curricula and liberal arts classes to emphasize industrial training – a series of courses that covered everything from mechanical operations to agricultural science. By the 1870s, the institute offered courses in subjects such as carpentry, upholstery, fruit science, and even printing.[27]

The End of Reconstruction and Emergence of Southern Redeemers

Though African American schools certainly faced numerous hardships in the first decade after the Civil War, two political forces helped mitigate their troubles. The first involved dual funding from the Freedmen's Bureau and various religious denominational patrons, while the second came from sympathetic governments established in the South during federal Reconstruction. Comprised of elected black representatives, northern transplants, and anti-Confederate southerners, these state governments enacted a variety of social reforms and ratified the Fourteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution dealing with birthright citizenship.[28] Throughout the former Confederacy, newly formed, freedmen friendly legislatures were raising taxes to support public services such as infrastructure improvements and public schooling for whites and blacks. In Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and South Carolina, white elites and former Confederate officers immediately began work to undermine the new governments as early as 1868. While at first, many white elites stated their openness to working with the new regimes, the placement of freedmen into positions of power stirred racial animosity. Unwilling to accept blacks in higher political office and seizing upon the discontent of southern whites, the white Redeemers, as they came to be known, led numerous campaigns to invalidate legitimately elected black officials; often with political rallies in the day and violence at night. From 1868 through the 1870s, Redeemers began to take back control of the region's political landscape by pushing elected African Americans and their allies out of office.[29] In some southern state legislatures, once the Fourteenth Amendment was ratified and the state was readmitted into the Union, coalitions of white politicians voted to expel black representatives from the assemblies.[30]

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[26] Copies of Storer College's course catalogues are housed in HAFE (HFD-819).

[27] Hampton Institute's course catalogues from the 1870s are in *The Booker T. Washington Papers*, ed. Louis R. Harlan (Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1972), 35-37.

[28] Most of these governments existed in 1867-68. Many former Confederates had still not been repatriated as American citizens and many more whites refused to participate in elections where blacks were allowed to vote.

With national politics embroiled in scandals and corruption and a growing weariness of Reconstruction among northerners and midwesterners, the country's commitment to rebuilding the South gradually waned. The turning point finally arrived in 1877, following a widely disputed presidential election that pitted Republican Rutherford B. Hayes against Democratic candidate Samuel J Tilden. With conflicting poll numbers in Florida, South Carolina, and Louisiana, and reports of racial violence across the South, the country again appeared to be close to political and social chaos. The events resulted in the Compromise of 1877 in which the Redeemer South agreed to support the Republican Hayes in return for more state control over political appointees and for the final removal of federal soldiers from the South. By the end 1877, Reconstruction was officially over and white Redeemer-backed governments took control of state and regional politics. These events, when combined with the dissolution of the Freedmen's Bureau five years earlier in 1872, portended many challenges to come for African American schools.[31]

The Rise of Industrial Arts Education in African American Schools

In 1881, Booker T. Washington, a graduate of the Hampton Institute in Virginia, founded the Tuskegee Institute in Macon County, Alabama. Heavily influenced by his time at Hampton, Washington envisioned a school dedicated to providing students with an intensive industrial arts education. Over the next fifteen years, Washington steadily built Tuskegee into the country's premier school for African Americans studying the industrial and mechanical arts, which eventually garnered the name "The Tuskegee Machine" for its adherence to normal training and its ability to graduate large numbers of black men.[32]

The rise of the Tuskegee Institute, however, should be placed within its proper historic context. Washington, himself born into slavery and having resided in areas of the Deep South, was all too aware of the struggles African Americans faced in the region. After witnessing the turmoil of the Civil War and it immediate aftermath, the dissolution of the Freedmen's Bureau due to political pressures, the county's lack of resolve concerning Reconstruction, and the reclamation of power by elite white Redeemers, Washington perhaps surmised that a black educational system that placed industrial training as the focus might be the best course of action for helping African American populations achieve some form of equality with, or at least autonomy from, their white counterparts. After all, Washington was not alone in questioning what role African Americans would play in American society. For generations of blacks following the Civil War, the issue came to be known as the "Negro problem," an inquiry that elicited responses from African American luminaries and educators as well as progressive whites.[33] Even into the twentieth century the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People's (NAACP) monthly journal carried the name *The Crisis*, a nod both to the "question" and to the continuing fight blacks waged for civil rights within American society.

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[29] For more information regarding the South's Redeemer efforts, see C. Vann Woodward, *Origins of the New South, 1877-1913* (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1951, Reprint 2000), 1-22.

[30] Grant, 113.

[31] McPherson, 600-604.

[32] The historic origins of the phrase "Tuskegee Machine" is unknown but it appears in many scholarly works dealing with Washington and the institution.

Following the Compromise of 1877, the political forces of the South sought to limit and roll back whatever gains blacks had made since the Civil War: anti-vagrancy laws set to limit African American mobility from place to place; convict-lease systems allowed white plantation owners to "lease" black prisoners who were often arrested without due process; voting laws and grandfather clauses worked to deny African Americans of the democratic process; and Jim Crow, a system organized to separate white and black interaction while enforcing the social leverage of a racialized state, which culminated into an ever-changing and expanding set of rules and expected behaviors.

The South in which Tuskegee opened in 1881 was far different than that in which schools such as Atlanta University or Fisk were established in the late 1860s. With no Freedmen's Bureau and little sympathy from local and state politicians, Washington chose a middle path between directly challenging white supremacists and ending his dream of starting an educational facility. Instead of leaning solely upon the benevolence of religious societies as was the case with many schools in the Upper South, Washington chose to preach the benefits that an industrial education for blacks posed for white southerners. For this, Washington argued that an industrious and educated black population would benefit the entire region as white politicians began to lay the foundation for industrializing the South. To the African American community, the Tuskegee Institute offered educational opportunities and the chance learn a skill.

Among many of his peers and to future historians, Washington was rightly seen as an accomodationist—one willing to work within the establishment, however marginalizing it may have been in order to achieve a future goal. In Washington's world view, the "Negro question" was one that would take generations to answer and the Tuskegee Institute was prepared to offer its version of a proper black curriculum for as long as it took. In her book *Uncle Tom or New Negro?: African Americans Reflect on Booker T.*

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[33] Booker T. Washington, *The Negro Problem* (New York: James Pott and Company, 1903).

Washington historian Rebecca Carroll notes that "[Washington] said things that white people wanted to hear, sometimes at the risk of sounding like a traitor to his race."[34]

At the 1895 Atlanta Exposition, Washington expressed his thoughts on the state of African American education and in how blacks and whites could coexist in the region:

> As we have proved our loyalty to you in the past, in nursing your children, watching by the sick-bed of your mothers and fathers, and often following them with tear-dimmed eyes to their graves, so in the future, in our humble way, we shall stand by you with a devotion that no foreigner can approach, ready to lay down our lives, if need be, in defense of yours, interlacing our industrial, commercial, civil, and religious life with yours in a way that shall make the interests of both races one. In all things that are purely social we can be as separate as the fingers, yet one as the hand in all things essential to mutual progress.[35]

Regarded by later historians as the "Atlanta Compromise," Washington's speech was met with enthusiasm from the South's white political leaders. Since the 1880s, white elites had seen in the Tuskegee educational model a way to keep black populations from challenging the prevailing system of white supremacy. By supporting a school whose founder accommodated the subservience of African Americans to whites, politicians were able to demonstrate two things: the emergence of a New South willing to embrace the appearance of progressive education and the power of a racialized state where whites would never lose the upper hand. For black educators administrating schools in rural areas of the South, the industrial arts model was a worthy curriculum in that it supplied a basic education and was largely tolerated by whites. White tolerance and even support for African American education also helped provide a veneer of progressiveness needed to fulfill what many were referring to as the New South and its emphasis on moving forward towards industrialization and modernization.[36]

While Washington was often championed by white southerners as someone they could trust to keep the balance of racial affairs to their favor, the undercurrent of vitriolic racism was never far from the surface. In Alabama, Governor William C. Oates, a former confederate officer and resolute supporter of Jim Crow laws, often lauded

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[34] The majority of the essays in the book take a sympathetic, but critical view of Washington and the Tuskegee Machine. Rebecca Carroll, *Uncle Tom or New Negro?: African Americans Reflect on Booker T. Washington* (New York: Random House Books, Paperback, 2006), 5.

[35] Washington's speech is transcribed in its entirety in *Major Problems in the History of the American South, Volume II: The New South*, ed. Paul D. Escott, David R. Goldfield, Sally G. McMillen, and Elizabeth Hayes Turner (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1999), 225-227.

[36] Atlanta newspaperman Henry Grady coined the term "New South" in a series of speeches given before northern businessmen in the late 1880s. Escott et al, 90-92.

Washington for the work being performed at the Tuskegee Institute.[37] As was typical with many black schools in the time period, prominent white politicians were often invited to attend collegiate commencements and in 1896, Oates travelled to Tuskegee to give a speech congratulating Washington on his educational efforts. During the commencement ceremony, however, Oates became steadily enraged listening to what he felt were speeches speaking out for equality between blacks and whites. When his time came to address the crowd, Oates, reportedly flushed with anger, took the podium and thundered: "I want to give you n----- a few words of plain talk and advice…you might as well understand that this a white man's country, as far as the South is concerned, and we are going to make sure you keep your place. Understand that. I have nothing more to say to you."[38]

In spite of the occasional outburst of racism directed at industrial schools such as Tuskegee, white support for their curriculum model went on mostly unabated. In 1894, a group of northern businessmen and a coterie of white southerners including politicians, businessmen, and educators met in Capon Springs, West Virginia to discuss how best to approach the general education of blacks and whites in the South. No African Americans were allowed to attend. Meeting every year thereafter, the meeting was titled the Southern Education Board. For northern capitalists, the objective of the meetings was to secure a skilled labor force for factory work. For white southerners, the goal was to procure philanthropic money that could be used for the education of lower income whites. By the turn of the twentieth century as more and more factories were being constructed in the South, it became apparent that factory-work was to become a whites-only occupation.[39] At Tuskegee and other industrial arts schools, teachers continued to train African American students in skill-sets that they might never get to use.

Alternate Voices in African American Education

By far, the most prominent critic of Washington and the Tuskegee Machine was W.E.B. Du Bois. Born in Massachusetts in 1868 to a family of land-owning African Americans, Du Bois never suffered under the cruelty of enslavement. Growing up in a liberal enclave of former abolitionists and academics, his was a much different childhood compared to that of Booker T. Washington. Educated at Fisk University which, along with Atlanta University, refused to abandon liberal arts programs during the late nineteenth century, Du Bois quickly moved onto Harvard University where he studied sociology, becoming the first African American to be awarded a Ph.D. from the Cambridge school.

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[37] Examples of Oates's praise for the Tuskegee Institute and details of how Washington worked with conservative southern democrats can be found in Louis R. Harlan, *Booker T. Washington: The Wizard of Tuskegee, 1901-1915, Vol. 2* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 240.

[38] Quote from Glenn W. Lafantasie, *Gettysburg Requiem: The Life and Lost Causes of Confederate Colonel William C. Oates* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 239-240.

[39] An excellent account of the racialization of industrial work in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries is Douglas Flamming, *Creating the Modern South: Millhands and Managers in Dalton, Georgia, 1884-1984* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1992), 109-12.

Just as Washington cannot be decontextualized from his background so too, must Du Bois be reflected upon by his northern upbringing and liberal arts background. As an academician, he honed his personal philosophy of the black problem to include what he came to term the "talented tenth."[40] For Du Bois, roughly ten percent of the African American population could be considered the upper tier of intellectual thought. To properly train a talented tenth, African Americans needed classical educations focusing on higher mathematics, literature, and the social sciences. If African Americans were taught under the rubric of a liberal arts curriculum, Du Bois surmised, then a ten percent would rise above and become leaders in fields such as writing, engineering, or medicine. His belief in the ability of the liberal arts to solve the problems facing African Americans set him at odds with people such as Booker T. Washington who were preaching the merits of industrial education. With regard to Washington, Du Bois, by the late 1890s, began to publically proclaim his aversion to the Tuskegee Machine. "Mr. Washington represents in Negro thought the old attitude of adjustment and submission," Du Bois said in one critical speech. "This is an age of unusual economic development," he continued, "and Mr. Washington's programme naturally takes an economic cast, becoming a gospel of Work and Money to such an extent as apparently almost completely to overshadow the higher aims of life."[41]

Initial support for Du Bois and his plan to nurture a talented tenth came mostly from other black academics and from members of northern Baptist missionary groups. This included the Freewill Baptist Church, which was a primary benefactor to Storer College in West Virginia. In 1906, the college even hosted Du Bois and a party of fifty African American intellectuals with the second Niagara Conference, a meeting designed to plan challenges to segregation policies and to plot the course of bringing about more black leaders. Writing his ideas for a academically trained black population, Du Bois argued that "the Negro race, like all races, is going to be saved by its exceptional men…the problem of education, then, among Negroes must first of all deal with the Talented Tenth; it is the problem of developing the Best of this race that they may guide the Mass away from the contamination and death of the Worst, in their own and other races."[42]

For many African Americans, however, the search for a talented tenth appeared to be an elitist exercise. As others returned Du Bois's arguments against industrial arts programs with charges of promoting an exclusive class of potential black leaders, Du Bois fine-tuned his position on the talented tenth:

> My talented tenth must be more than talented, and work not simply as individuals. Its passport to leadership was not alone learning, but expert

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[40] A more detailed analysis of Du Bois's political thought is in David Levering Lewis, *W. E. B. Du Bois: Biography of a Race, 1868–1919* (New York: Owl Books 1994).

[41] Escott et al., 228.

[42] Copies of Du Bois's 1903 speech are reprinted in numerous editions and survey textbooks. A good database of Du Bois speeches, letters, and articles can be found at www.webdubois.org, accessed 20 Oct. 2010.

> knowledge of modern economics as it affected American Negroes; and in addition to this and fundamental would be its willingness to sacrifice and plan for such economic revolution in industry and just distribution of wealth, as would make the rise of our group possible.[43]

The change in Du Bois's explanation of a black leadership group from one that championed a collection of the most gifted individuals to one that would be able to affect profound social and economic changes in American society is significant. In many respects, the introduction of class issues and the recognition that African Americans were being denied access to economic resources, put Du Bois and Washington on similar trajectories. While Washington saw industrial arts programs as a way to fortify black communities with skilled individuals who would reinvest in their local neighborhoods, Du Bois believed that a classical education could encourage a segment of the population to openly challenge for civil rights and economic opportunities for all black Americans. Historian David Levering Lewis contends, as have many other recent scholars, that the educational debates between the two schools of thought often gloss over their similarities. "The controversy," Lewis argues, "was really not about Du Bois and Washington in an ultimate sense, and would have emerged inevitably in one form or another…Essentially, the Talented Tenth and the Tuskegee Machine were responses by two African American leadership groups to white supremacy as it existed in two regions of the United States."[44]

Storer College and African American Education

From a geographical perspective, Storer College existed in a border region between the North and the South. The departure of West Virginia from the Commonwealth of Virginia in 1861, following the latter's decision to join the Confederacy, put towns such as Harpers Ferry in precarious situations.[45] As the far eastern extension of West Virginia, bordering both Virginia and Maryland, the small industrial town became a highly contested area for northern and southern armies. The location of Harpers Ferry would continue to effect the town decades after the end of the Civil War – being influenced by both northern and southern sentiments.

Founded by Freewill Baptists in 1867, the college began its operation as a normal institute – focused on the training of teachers who, in turn, would take positions in newly formed African American schoolhouses across the region. With so many students applying to enter Storer, however, the school's early administration decided to offer academic courses that reflected the divergent abilities of the enrollees. While some students were able to read and write, others were not. The differences in academic knowledge put Storer, and many other newly created Freedmen schools, on a path of offering normal training along with primary and secondary education.

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[43] As transcribed in Rudolph Alexander Kofi Cain, *Alain Leroy Locke: Race, Culture, and the Education of African American Adults* (Amsterdam: Rodopi Press, 2003), 80.

[44] As transcribed in Kofi Cain, 84.

[45] West Virginia broke away from the Commonwealth of Virginia in 1861, but was not admitted into the Union as a state until 1863.

For the first twenty years of Storer's existence, the curricula for its normal programs reflected the training and backgrounds of its professors and administrators, most of whom were either ministers in the Freewill Baptist Church or their wives or widows. Because of this, students at a college-level received an education in line with the liberal arts. Under the presidency of Nathan C. Brackett (1867-1897), Storer's catalogue featured, in addition to courses in mathematics and general science, classes in Latin, Greek, Roman history, Shakespeare, and the writings of Virgil.[46] During the 1880s, the school added voice, instrument, and musicology to its course offerings.[47]

Perhaps influenced by the successes of the Hampton Institute in Virginia and the Tuskegee Institute in Alabama, Storer also began adding industrial arts courses to its curriculum in the late 1880s. Primary evidence does not indicate where, on campus, the classes were held, but by 1891, the industrial arts program was centered in the DeWolf Building, a newly constructed three-story stone structure behind Anthony Hall.[48]

Expanding the Industrial Arts at Storer College

As Storer College approached the turn of the twentieth century, its industrial arts program had become the school's most prosperous department, with an enrollment of 137 students compared to 82 for the normal school.[49] The shift towards industrial arts was not just a reaction to the successes of Hampton or Tuskegee, but reflected both Storer's change in leadership from Brackett to Henry T. McDonald (active 1899-1944), another former Freewill Baptist minister, and the concurrent rise in white politicians becoming involved in African American education.

According to Storer's college catalogue, by 1891 the school's curriculum by 1891 required all students to take at least a minimum number of industrial arts classes. For women, the industrial arts program centered around domestic sciences such as cooking, sewing, and personal and domestic hygiene, while male students took courses in printing, carpentry, upholstery, and general repair. From 1891 to 1903 the majority of these classes continued to be held in the DeWolf Industrial Building.[50] By 1902, Storer's administration and trustees decided to expand the school's industrial arts program by erecting a separate trades building for male students. The efforts of McDonald and Brackett resulted in the school receiving an additional budget amount from the State of West Virginia to cover some of the operating costs incurred by expanding the industrial arts program.[51]

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[46] Copies of Storer College's course catalogues are housed in HAFE (HFD-819).

[47] Ibid.

[48] A very detailed history about when specific buildings were constructed at Storer College can be found in Heritage Landscapes, LLC, for the National Park Service, "Camp Hill Cultural Resource Landscape Report, Harpers Ferry National Park," unpublished report, Harpers Ferry National Park, June 2009. See also: Horizon Research Consultants, Inc., Gloria Gozdzik, Principal Investigator, "A Historic Resource Study for Storer College, Harpers Ferry, West Virginia," unpublished report, Morgantown, West Virginia, 2002; and Dawne Raines Burke, "Storer College: A Hope for Redemption in the Shadow of Slavery, 1865-1955," diss., Virginia Polytechnic Institute & State University, 2004, 406. This work was later edited by Michael Slaven and privately published as: *An American Phoenix: A History of Storer College from Slavery to Desegregation, 1865-1955.*

[49] Ibid.

[50] At various times, the DeWolf Building also housed some of the school's laboratory classes. This was probably because the solid stone building had fireproof, or at least resistant, qualities.

Primary evidence does not indicate *why* exactly McDonald and Brackett were choosing to expand the industrial arts program, but several historical factors provide insight. First, the move towards either establishing or expanding industrial arts programs at African American colleges was gaining momentum by the turn of the century. Perhaps influenced by the successes of Booker T. Washington at Tuskegee in recruiting students, Storer's administrators and trustees hoped that by adding classroom space and courses that the school could generate greater student interest while increasing matriculation. Second, the industrial arts model was widely seen as acceptable to area whites—especially those in positions of power.

Since the nineteenth century, a growing set of segregation laws and *de facto* rules governing the social interactions of blacks and whites came to affect even educational practices. Because industrial education programs were often supported by white elites, they did not challenge capitalist-friendly systems in the New South. African American industrial arts programs after all, trained black women for domestic work and black men for trade work positions – neither of which, many whites believed, would upset the social order of Jim Crow. Third, African American schools in West Virginia and points south were historically disproportionately underfunded compared to whites-only schools. Even after the successful efforts of McDonald and Brackett to procure extra money for Storer College in the 1902-1903 school year, the college still only received $2,500.00 out of $2,880,211.06 that West Virginia was expending for public education.[52] In need of funds to augment the school's endowment from the Freewill Baptists and facing white politicians who probably advocated the Tuskegee model, it is unsurprising that McDonald and Brackett would seek to expand industrial arts programs even at the sake of slighting its liberal arts classes.

The opening of the Lewis Anthony Building in 1903 also occurred within a few years of two significant events, the Capon Springs conference in 1894 and the meeting of the second Niagara Conference at Storer College in 1906. The former was a conference designed to discuss public education in the South. Though African Americans were not allowed to attend the meetings, the conference, nonetheless, continued to push the idea of industrial arts classes for all black students. Attended by northern businessmen, philanthropists, southern educators, and politicians, the conference and its yearly meetings afterwards, helped sway state leaders into funding educational programs for African Americans that focused on the industrial arts. To this extent, Capon Springs unified southern politicians and educators to fund schools based on their own racialized view of education that prioritized free public schooling for whites and industrial arts programs for African Americans.

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[51] *The Morning Star* 14 Mar. 1903, folder HFT-00055, Storer College Collection, HAFE. See also Part I:A:6, "Original Plans and Construction."

[52] *History of Education in West Virginia, 1904*, ed. Thomas C. Miller (Charleston, WV: Tribune Publishing Company, 1904), 2-4.

The meeting of the second Niagara Conference in 1906 held more national significance than it did locally for Storer College. Led by W.E.B. Du Bois, the conference's attendees stayed on campus while meeting to discuss ways to advance African American rights in the United States. Concluding the events with an address, Du Bois argued that

> The battle we wage is not for ourselves alone but for all true Americans. It is a fight for ideals, lest this, our common fatherland, false in founding, become in truth the land of the thief and the home of the slave – a byword and a hissing among the nations for its sounding pretensions and pitiful accomplishments.[53]

The militancy of Du Bois's speech coupled with the group's pilgrimage to John Brown's fort—where forty-seven years earlier Brown and his followers had attempted to incite a slave insurrection—were taken by many whites, both locally and nationally, as dangerous to the South's precarious social order. The Niagara conferences eventually led to the formation of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, a bi-racial organization dedicated to ending segregation and racial oppression. Interestingly, years later, Henry T. McDonald acknowledged that he was offended by Du Bois having never directly mentioned Storer College in his future writings or speeches.[54] Du Bois's silence on the matter may have rested in the changing focus of Storer's academic catalogue at the turn of the century. As an outspoken critic of industrial arts-based schools, Du Bois may have been hesitant to call attention to a school that was shying away from its historic liberal arts beginnings. In this vein, it is quite possible that as Storer was expanding its trade school offerings that Du Bois came to view the trustees and administration as accommodating to the systems of white supremacy that his conference was dedicated to overthrowing. As educational historian William H. Watkins points out in his book, *The White Architects of Black Education: Ideology and Power in America, 1865-1954*, "the politics and ideology of accomodationism shaped the sponsored education of blacks in the United States…[industrial arts] represented the transition from charity-oriented liberalism to hard-edged, corporate-driven philanthropy."[55]

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[53] As transcribed in *America's Black Past: A Reader in Afro-American History*, ed. Eric Foner (New York: Harper and Row, 1970), 170-171.

[54] [54] A more detailed account of McDonald's feelings towards Du Bois is in Horizon Research Consultants, Inc., Gloria Gozdzik, principal investigator, "A Historic Resource Study for Storer College, Harpers Ferry, West Virginia," (Jan. 2002): 113-114. The primary source citation from the Horizon Research Consultant report is identified as "Henry T. McDonald, Memo Regarding Du Bois," A&M 2621, Box 16-FF-7, Storer College Collection, West Virginia and Regional Collection, West Virginia University, Morgantown, WV.

[55] Watkins's critique was focused on the Hampton Institute and Tuskegee. "Industrial arts" was bracketed to generalize his specific criticism. William H. Watkins, *The White Architects of Black Education: Ideology an Power in America, 1865-1954* (New York: Teachers College Press, 2001), 23.

A history of African American education and the industrial arts would be remiss without broaching the topic of personal and corporate self-empowerment. While no primary sources are known to exist that provide a first-hand account of academic life at Storer College during the rise of its industrial arts program, a rich collection of secondary sources examining life at other schools offer possible insights. Far from just being dependent on philanthropy or being victims of financial inequalities, African American industrial arts schools were also graduating students who, in turn, were playing important roles in shaping black communities and in affecting a larger black consciousness. Angel David Nieves, reflecting a growing weariness in Washington / Du Bois-type debates, argues that: "It is critical to move away from old interpretations that insist that African Americans were forced to accommodate to white's increasing fears of black social and political autonomy, and instead show African Americans actively shaping a nationalist agenda."[56] For newer generations of historians such as Nieves, ideology, while important, has become too much the driving force behind historical interpretation. Instead, he and others such as Joy Ann Williamson and Stefan Bradley present narratives that seek to explore African American responses to, and subversions of, white supremacist actions.[57]

Many of the industrial schools founded across the country—and especially in the South—were administered by African Americans. The ability of black educators to control the confines of their campuses helped develop a modicum of racial autonomy that undoubtedly reverberated in black communities across the South. Likewise, industrial arts programs, and domestic science departments especially, opened new avenues for African American women. Black women educators not only held positions of authority in academia, but often played important roles outside of the classroom. Education historian Sharon Harling, in her study of black women teachers in Washington D.C. discusses how many "often saw themselves more as uplifters than as working women…educating the children of poor unlettered blacks was considered part of their moral and social obligations as educated women."[58]

Repurposing the Lewis Anthony Building: Industrial Arts to Library

The eventual decline of the industrial arts program at Storer College can be traced to a 1927 fire that destroyed Anthony Hall, the school's main building. In addition to losing many of the school's permanent records, classrooms, the chapel, and the music department, the school also lost its collections in the Roger Williams Library. While the other losses certainly affected the daily operations of the school, the destruction of the library had greater implications. Without a permanent library space stocked with an adequate number of books, the school could not meet the criteria requirements of accreditation as stipulated by the North Central Association of Schools and Colleges.[59] Throughout the 1920s, Storer College's president and faculty had tried to move the school towards expanding its liberal arts and natural science classes, along with its teacher-training programs. Lacking a formal library, the school would be unable to meet its future expansion goals. Conversely, without accreditation, students would be unable to procure employment upon graduation. Facing a school year with a library or accreditation, McDonald once again turned to the Freewill Baptist Church with a mass-mailed flyer:

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[56] Angel David Nieves, "To Erect Above the Ruined Auction Block…Institutions of Learning: Race-Women, Industrial Education, and the Artifacts of Nation-Making in the Jim Crow South," *International Journal of Media and Cultural Politics* 1:3 (2005): 279.

[57] Stefan Bradley, "Gym Crow Must Go: The 1960s Struggle Between Columbia University and its New York City Neighbors," *We Shall Independent Be: African American Place Making to Claim Space in the United States*, ed. Angel David Nieves and Leslie M. Alexander (Boulder, CO: University Press of Colorado, 2007); Joy Ann Williamson, *Black Power on Campus: The University of Illinois, 1965-1975* (Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2003).

[58] Sharon Harling, "Beyond the Classroom: The Organizational Lives of Black Female Educators in the District of Columbia, 1890-1930," *The Journal of Negro Education* 51:3 (1982): 257.

> Who will provide a fireproof library for Storer College?
> Who speedily gives, gives twice.
> Our library was destroyed by fire October 24th
> We need books…and books now.
> Send the money, if you cannot find what you want to give, and we will make the purchase.[60]

According to McDonald, the best recourse of action was to move any salvageable remains of the Roger Williams Library over to Lewis W. Anthony industrial arts building. During a meeting of the board of trustees, McDonald noted that the former industrial arts building "has been rearranged within, painted and the first floor has been made available for our library…this location of the library supplies temporarily a vital need of the college for an adequate fire-proof library building." [61] Though the school spent $1796.00 on "good quality tables, chairs, librarian's desk and steel shelving," they also found themselves receiving the charity of Freewill Baptists in New England. As McDonald states in his review to the trustees, "Miss Clara M. Law, Providence, R.I., has generously given more than four months of her time to catalogue the books."[62]

Also helping Storer College to rebuild a new library was Howard University in Washington D.C. Dating back to the same Freedmen's era as Storer and located less than seventy miles away, Howard University had arguable become the country's premier institute of higher learning for African Americans. With colleges of liberal arts, law, and natural science, as well as its own medical school, Howard, with a growing list of influential alumni, rarely lacked the resources that often plagued Storer College. Due to their geographical closeness, their missions to make higher learning accessible to black Americans, and the fact that many of Storer's graduates furthered their education at

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[59] "Board of Trustees Meeting," 20 May 1930, A&M 1322 (Reel #130, HAFE).

[60] Loose papers related to Storer College A&M 1322 (Reel #114, HAFE).

[61] "Board of Trustees Meeting," 20 May 1930.

[62] Ibid.

Howard, it is understandable that Howard would come to Storer's aid in times in trouble. With the majority of its library collections destroyed, Howard placed 1,700 books on permanent loan to Storer College.[63]

It is unclear based on primary evidence whether the library and industrial arts programs shared the Lewis Anthony Building during the 1930s. Notes for the 1930 Board of Trustees meeting only indicate that the library occupied the "first floor," which is assumed to be the main floor:

> The most important change has been made in the Anthony Industrial Building. It has been re-arranged within, painted and the first floor has been made available for our library. The addition of a heating plant, lights and the needed library equipment, make this building a very vital part of our school plant…This location of the library, supplies temporarily a vital need for the college for an adequate fireproof library building.[64]

In any event, it is clear that by the 1940s, the Lewis Anthony Building held the entirety of the library and was no longer functioning as a classroom for industrial arts. Along with science laboratories and a purpose-built gymnasium, a "fireproof library building" remained one of the major goals for the Storer trustees as they sought to attract students and attain and maintain accreditation for various degree programs. Despite frequent appeals to members of the Freewill Baptist Church, a new library building failed to be subsequently built at Storer College. Still, the school did generate enough interest and funding to build a modern stack addition at the back of the 1903 building.[65] The February 1954 issue of *The Storer College Builder* featured the completed extension:

> Pictured above is an exterior view of the completed library project. It gives some idea of the added space which the library now enjoys. The new units is used for stacks, bound periodicals and work space for the librarians. The older part of the structure is used on the main floor entirely as a reading room. The upper story of this part of the building is used to house stacks of book.[66]

The building met the accreditation standards of the North Central Association of Colleges and Schools and was heralded as "a grand addition to a growing and expanding Storer

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[63] Henry T. McDonald, "President's Report," June 4, 1929, Storer College Trustees Minute Book 1914-1944, A&M 1322 (Reel #130, HAFE).

[64] *Storer Record* 32 (Jul. 1930), A&M 1322 (Reel #124, HAFE).

[65] Funding for the addition came principally from endowments ($4,950); however, a number of bequests and donations were made from individuals/estates ranging from $10 to $500. See *The Storer College Builder* (Feb. 1954): 1, A&M 1322 (Reel #122, HAFE).

[66] *The Storer College Builder* (Feb. 1954); for a full set of construction drawings, see "Blueprints & Drawings," ca. 1900-1948, A&M 1471 (Reel #136, HAFE).

College"[67] The statement, however, did not reflect the reality of the school's economic situation; Storer closed in 1955 and the addition was the last building project on the campus until its purchase by the National Park Service.

PART II: ARCHITECTURAL INFORMATION

A. General Statement

1. **Architectural Character:** The architectural character of the Lewis Anthony Building is one that contrasts traditional and modern design. The relatively unassuming 1903 portion of the building has a conventional form with a side-gable roof framed by chimneys and embellished with decorative brackets under the eaves. The vernacular quality of the building is underscored through the primary building material—random coursed shale that was quarried locally. The 1903 portion does include a nod to modern construction: I-beams serve as lintels over the numerous large windows that maximized the light and air entering the large, open-plan workspace. The openness and natural lighting of this workspace would have made an easy conversion to the library reading room in 1929.

   The comparatively spare 1953 addition reflected an optimistic outlook for Storer College's future relative to the design trends of the time and the school's budget constraints. Instead of rubble stone, the load-bearing walls are concrete block and enclose a simple rectangle. The meeting of the addition's flat roof and the original building's gable roof is softened by a dormer. The narrow, inset casement windows control, rather than invite, natural light, which was desirable in areas intended for stacks to hold the school's library collection.[68] The brick that frames the windows (now mostly stuccoed over) provides the only decorative flourish on an otherwise unadorned exterior. Side by side, the 1903 building and its 1953 addition are an architectural manifestation of Storer College's changing academic emphasis over time and budget limitations for architectural development.

2. **Condition of Fabric:** Good

B. Description of Exterior:

1. **Overall Dimensions:** Original building, approximately 34′ x 48′
   The 1953 addition, approximately 45′ x 26′-4″

2. **Foundations:** The foundation and exterior walls of the building are constructed of local shale. There is no visual break between the foundation and exterior walls.

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[67] *The Storer College Builder* (Feb. 1954).

[68] The narrow window openings of the addition protected the library's collection from sun exposure. The need for natural light was also minimized by electrification.

3. **Walls:** The load bearing walls of the original Lewis Anthony Building are composed of random-coursed local shale, while load bearing concrete block is the main structural element of the addition. The exterior shale walls are approximately 2-0′ thick. The exterior concrete block walls are approximately 1′-6″ thick.

4. **Structural Systems, Framing:** The exterior walls are load-bearing masonry. In the original portion of the building, three massive trusses composed of large timbers bolted together and reinforced at each end with a metal tie rod and strut rest on the front and (original) back walls. The roof rafters are carried on a purlin attached to the upper portion of the truss. The use of stone and concrete block as structural elements combined with the building's truss system facilitates an open floor plan. The basement portion of the 1903 building contains wood posts which lend added structural support to the main floor. The lintels above the window openings in the original portion are steel I-beams. A stone lintel with the name "Lewis W. Anthony" covers the front entryway.

5. **Openings:**

   a. **Doorways and Doors:** There are four door openings extant on the original portion of the building. The main entrance is located on the east elevation of the building and consists of double doors capped by a twelve light fixed transom. Each of the double doors features a two panel bottom section with nine lights on its top half. The words "Lewis W. Anthony" are engraved onto the stone lintel above the entrance.

   One door opening each is located on both the north and south elevations of the original portion of the building. The doors follow similar construction to those found on the front entrance, excepting that the side doors have four lights instead of nine. Placements for the locking mechanism are located on each door, but the hardware is no longer extant. Both doors are capped with a three light transom. Because of the dramatic grade change from east to west that results in an approximate three foot drop from the sill to the ground, the north and south door openings are not functional. It is not known how they were originally used.

   One additional door opening is present at the basement level on the original portion's north elevation. The door is steel with a single light. The opening is set flush into a steel architrave.

   Only two door openings are located on the 1953 addition, one on the north elevation and the other on the south elevation. The door on the north elevation is a steel door with a single light and the door on the south elevation features a three panel door with four lights. A single light transom caps both doors.

b. **Windows:** The majority of the basement and first floor window openings on the 1903 building are four-over-four divided lights with double hung construction. The one exception is an opening on the south elevation that has six divided lights held in a fixed frame. Window openings in the attic portion of the 1903 building are also four over four divided lights, but smaller in scale than those found at the basement and first floor levels.

There are fourteen window openings on the west elevation of the 1953 addition. Each of these openings has five divided lights set into a vertical casement frame. One window opening is located on the south elevation of the addition and consists of two vertical casement frames with five divided lights. Two window openings are located on the north side of the addition and have three divided lights in casement frames.

6. **Roof:** The roof of the 1903 section of the building is side-gabled with asphalt shingles covering the sheathing. One shed dormer extends from the roof of the original portion's western slope. The 1953 addition utilizes a flat roof sheathed in sheet metal with flush drain openings on the north and south elevation and drain spouts on the west elevation. The spouts help divert rain water from the casement windows located on the building's western façade. The original 1903 roof was slate, a portion of which is preserved under the addition's roof and can be viewed from inside the attic of the original building.

C. Description of Interior:

1. **Plan:** During its time as an industrial arts building and as a library, the interior space of the building reflected an open floor plan. The openness of the plan was conducive to supplying work space for the industrial students and for allowing bookcases and study areas once the building converted to library use. In the attic of the original building one small room of unknown historical use is located towards the north gable end. Because of the divided light interior door opening, it is highly possible that the room was used as office space.

2. **Flooring:** As of the 2010 renovation, the main flooring throughout is carpet. Linoleum tiles are evident in sections underneath the carpet. It is assumed that wood floors exist underneath the linoleum on the main level of the 1903 portion of the building.

The attic space of the 1903 portion of the building retains its original pine tongue and groove floors. Extant in the attic section is the trap door used to raise lumber into the space.

3. **Wall and ceiling finish:** The interior walls of the Lewis Anthony Building are an amalgam of different materials including wainscoting, rough finish plaster, smooth finish plaster, gypsum board, wood paneling, and plywood. The 2010

renovation uncovered beadboard on the ceiling of the original portion of the building. A drop ceiling is utilized in the addition.

4. **Doorways and Doors:** As of the 2010 renovation, the only interior door present within the building is located in the attic. The door is composed of a simple block frame with divided lights and a lever handle.

5. **Trim and Woodwork:** The use of trim and the presence of woodwork within the building are minimal. On the main level of the original building, the two non-functioning doors on the north and south elevations both feature two raised wood panels on their bottom portions. A wood window ledge is present on the interior side of the window openings. Doorways associated with the 1953 addition utilize metal architraves.

6. **Mechanical:** All mechanical features of the library building, including light fixtures, plumbing systems, and air conditioning appear to postdate 1962, the year that the National Park Service acquired the Storer College campus.

PART III: SOURCES OF INFORMATION

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Harpers Ferry National Park (HAFE)

Moorland-Springarn Research Center, Howard University Manuscript Division

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PART IV: PROJECT INFORMATION

The documentation of the Lewis Anthony Library was undertaken in 2010 by the Historic American Buildings Survey (HABS) under the direction of Richard O'Connor, Chief, Heritage Documentation Programs. The project was cosponsored by HABS, Catherine C. Lavoie, Chief; Harpers Ferry National Historical Park (HAFE), Rebecca Harriet, Superintendent; and the Harpers Ferry Center (HFC), Don Kodak, Director, all of the National Park Service (NPS). Project planning coordinated by Catherine C. Lavoie and Michael Alvarez, Deputy Associate Manager, HFC. The project leaders were architect Mark Schara and historian James A. Jacobs. Mark Schara and architecture technicians William Cooper Koning (University of Colorado) and Shane Gibbons (Northeastern University) produced the measured drawings; the project historian was Mark Barron (University of Maryland); and the large-format photography was produced by HABS photographer Renee Bieretz. Assistance provided by Peter Dessauer, historical architect, HAFE, and Doug Hicks, exhibit specialist, Historic Preservation Training Center, NPS.

ADDENDUM TO:
STORER COLLEGE, LEWIS ANTHONY LIBRARY
(Lewis Anthony Building)
Harpers Ferry National Historical Park
Camp Hill
Harpers Ferry
Jefferson County
West Virginia

HABS WV-277-C
HABS WVA,19-HARF,32-C-

REDUCED COPIES OF MEASURED DRAWINGS

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