

The American “Civilizing Mission:”
The Tuskegee Institute and its Involvement in African Colonialism

by

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Abstract

Many historians believe that the United States did not play a major role in the European colonial affairs of Africa. The “civilizing mission” in Africa was largely a European matter that the United States did not have any involvement in and instead stayed out of African affairs. However, this is in fact not true. Industrial education was a new way of managing and “civilizing” African populations after the global end of slavery and the archetype of industrial education was in Tuskegee, Alabama at the Tuskegee Institute.

The Tuskegee Institute was the pinnacle of industrial education. Students came not just from the United States, but from around the world as well to learn a trade or improved technologies in agriculture. It allowed students to attend the school for free in exchange for working the farms at the school and general upkeep while training them to be better farmers and tradesmen. On the surface, it offered an avenue for blacks to carve their own economic path. Implicitly, however, it did not offer African Americans and Africans a path towards upward mobility as it continued to relegate them to menial labor jobs and worked within the confines of the established racial hierarchy in which blacks were not granted the same opportunities as whites, in this instance it was education.

This thesis argues that the Tuskegee Institute’s (now Tuskegee University) method of industrial education became an influential model for managing the African colonies via industrial education and that the United States was thus more involved in the “civilizing mission” than previously thought. The Tuskegee Institute first ventured into Africa when it assisted the German Colonial Government in Togo in establishing industrial education which helped to develop infrastructure and modern technology in the colony. Second, I examine Tuskegee’s role in Liberia as it established the Booker Washington Institute which is still in existence today. Lastly,

I illustrate the diverse effects of the Tuskegee Model of education in Africa and how it correlated to Tuskegee education in the United States and how events in both Africa and the United States led to the collapse of the Tuskegee Model.

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Dedication

This paper is dedicated to my friends, family, and to those who question whether they have what it takes to pursue a graduate degree.

Chapter 1 - Tuskegee in the Works of Scholarship

The traditional narrative of colonialism in Africa assumes that the United States was uninvolved because it did not participate in the partition of Africa. Various European states had their own idea of what the “civilizing mission” should be and thus kept to their own devices. The “civilizing mission” referred to European efforts to better manage the indigenous peoples in their African colonies and exploit their colonies while investing the minimum possible amount of resources and manpower as possible, which necessitated minimizing the level of military force necessary to control a colony. While European powers did carve up the continent, they looked outwards to the United States’ South as a model of how to exploit a class of people they viewed as inferior. Industrial education under the Tuskegee Model offered a possible solution to Europe’s problem because, in the South, it offered African Americans a sense of autonomy and economic independence without upsetting the racial hierarchy. The thought was that the Tuskegee Model could be adopted in Africa and the results would yield the same results. Even though the Tuskegee Model ultimately failed, it left a lasting impression in the United States and Africa. This paper will show the legacy of the Tuskegee Model of Education in Africa and how it promised an efficient method of managing indigenous populations while granting Africans more economic possibilities through industrial education. This thesis will also argue how the United States was more influential in the “civilizing mission” than previously thought by introducing Washington’s Tuskegee Model.

Tuskegee’s earliest involvement in Africa began in the German colony of Togo after it sent students there with the *Kolonial-Wirtschaftliches Komitee* (German Colonial Economic Committee) backing to train the Togolese in large-scale cotton farming and train them in new

technologies through industrial education. Mary Evelyn Townsend's *The Rise and Fall of Germany's Colonial Empire 1884-1918* fits into an early cluster of scholarship that views the Tuskegee Model as a positive form of colonial management and less exploitative than other European states, such as Britain and France. She notes that Togo was both self-supporting and the most developed of the German colonies because of the German development plan led by the Tuskegee Institute's Expedition to Togo. She also claims that it was the most peaceful because there were few native uprisings and mostly cooperation between the Togolese and German colonial officials.¹ Townsend claims that Germany helped establish technical schools with the aid of Tuskegee to modernize the Togolese economy which later expanded under French colonial rule after Germany conceded its African territories to Britain and France.

Harry Rudin is another scholar that fits into the group of scholars that claimed that during Germany's short-lived colonial period it was the most successful because it was less exploitative and managed to modernize its colonies in a shorter period of time than other European states who had colonies.² One of these accomplishments was the successful growing of cotton in Cameroon and implementing modern cotton growing techniques which were influenced by the Tuskegee Model. He claimed that Secretary of Colonial Affairs Bernhard Dernburg was the driving force behind cotton growing in Cameroon, much like he did in Togo because it was necessary to end Germany's reliance on cotton imports from the United States.³ Wanting to end its reliance on American cotton imports, Germany still imported American cotton seed from America to the colony for experimentation. Rudin concluded that although cotton from

¹ Ibid., 145.

² Harry Rudin, *Germans in the Cameroons, 1884-1914: A Case Study in Modern Imperialism* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1968), 11.

³ Ibid., 136.

Cameroon did not become a stable commodity for Germany, it did gain attention for its modernization of the agricultural industry in Cameroon.⁴

The praise in the scholarship of success in both Germany's colonial history and the Tuskegee Model continue in Lewis H. Gann and Peter Duignan's *The Rulers of German Africa, 1884-1914*. This work claimed that although Germany attempted to establish Togo as a "cotton empire" it failed at doing so but in the process, accomplished modernizing the Togolese state. Both argued that Germany's attempts to establish Togo as a cotton empire introduced Africans to the benefits of industrial education. In economic terms, the impact of German colonialism was far from insignificant. Within less than one generation the Germans accomplished a great deal despite the obstacles of distance, climate, disease, and their own ignorance concerning African conditions. With initial support from the Tuskegee Institute, they introduced modern methods of scientific research, set up new industries, and improved infrastructure. Gann and Duignan further argued that German colonial governments enhanced agronomic productivity by working through the traditional agricultural framework and with aid from Tuskegee, introduced innovations such as plows and new crops.⁵ Cash-cropping also helped in transforming the peoples and economies of Togo. Germany's attempt at establishing Togo as a "model colony" was based on reshaping Togolese society around technological progress and the cotton industry. As prices of American cotton imports increased, the which oversaw management of the colony, considered how to develop it into a reliable and profitable source of cotton. To do this, they looked to the sharecropping system in the American South as a model and so the KWK enlisted the assistance of six African-Americans from the Tuskegee Institute in Alabama. They chose the Tuskegee

⁴ Ibid., 147.

⁵ Lewis H. Gann, and Peter Duignan, *The Rulers of German Africa: 1884-1914* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1977), 243-245.

Institute since it focused on training African-Americans to be better farmers by teaching new concepts in large-scale cotton farming. The Tuskegee graduates succeeded in helping the Togolese develop a new type of cotton that would surpass the native cotton in quality and yield and introduced them to more modern efficient ways to cultivate cotton.⁶ The Tuskegee Expedition highlights the arguments made by Gann and Duignan that Germany helped introduce new technologies in farming and infrastructure in Togo. Scholars like Ralph Austen from the University of Chicago make that same argument. Austen notes that Gann and Duignan argued that Germany successfully increased cotton productivity in Togo without directly oppressing the Togolese. This, however, was not the case as the Tuskegee Model was oppressive of black self-determination and upward mobility which was prevalent in more recent scholarship. Austen, however, further makes the point that because economic progress overshadowed the minimal amount of violent coercion, Gann and Duignan's study showed the benefits of German colonialism.⁷

Lewis Gann and Arthur Knoll's *Germans in the Tropics: Essays in German Colonial History* goes beyond the technical assistance program in Togo and evaluated the effects of German colonialism which as scholarship started to evolve, became viewed as a failure by other scholars.⁸ The authors argue that the forced labor and underpaid wage labor enforced by Germany stunted the development of the Togolese state after colonialism had ended.⁹ It is also pointed out that German colonial endeavors in Togo received little backing from investors and

⁶ Ibid., 165.

⁷ Ralph A. Austen, "Herrschaft," Review of *The Rulers of German Africa: 1884-1914*, by Lewis H. Gann and Peter Duignan, *The Journal of African History* 20, 2 (1979): 302. <http://www.jstor.org.er.lib.k-state.edu/stable/181528>.

⁸ Arthur J. Knoll, and Lewis H. Gann, *Germans in the Tropics: Essays in German Colonial History*, (New York: Greenwood Press, 1987), xiv.

⁹ Ibid., 88.

the Reichstag because of the extraordinary cost forced the colonies to operate outside the German government; a downside to the Tuskegee Model.¹⁰ Even though both Knoll and Gann dig deeper than Germany merely providing technical assistance to the Togolese, the central argument remains the same which is that Germany rapidly modernized the Togolese state by providing technical assistance. They also make the argument that by doing this, Germany liberated the Togolese in a way that differed from other western powers.¹¹ Scholars like Roger Chickering from the University of Oregon, agree with the arguments made by both Gann and Knoll but critiques their work because it follows the same path as Gann's previous work with Duignan and does not add anything new to the scholarship.¹²

Arthur Knoll's *Togo Under Imperial Germany: 1884-1914*, follows along the same path as *Germans in the Tropics* in that it glorifies the German colonizing mission in Togo. Knoll claims that earlier scholarship looks at the German colonialism through a "European lens" by emphasizing the merits of German actions in Togo. Knoll focused on the Tuskegee Model's introduction of wage labor, modern farming methods, and infrastructure, but this work follows the same path as his earlier scholarship. Knoll also argued that Germany succeeded in establishing a *Musterkolonie* (master colony) because it was less coercive and destructive than other colonial powers.¹³ He gave the example that since the German government did not possess unlimited power in the colonies, it could not ruthlessly impose its will upon people and instead made concessions and resorted to more economic incentives rather than coercion. Since the

¹⁰ Ibid., 144.

¹¹ Ibid., 162.

¹² Roger Chickering, "Review of *Germans in the Tropics: Essays in German Colonial History*, by Arthur Knoll and Lewis Gann," *The International History Review* 11, 1 (1989): 146-48, <http://www.jstor.org.er.lib.k-state.edu/stable/40105973>, 148.

¹³ Arthur Knoll, *Togo Under Imperial Germany 1884-1914, A Case Study in Colonial Rule*, (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1978), ix.

Germans had no real colonial ideology to build from, they chose a style of rule which seemed to fit best with current economic needs and thus chose to emulate the system of education they had learned about from the Tuskegee Institute. Knoll also made the claim that many Togolese were more willing to accept this method of labor and subjugation because it gave them new economic skills that were useful for development.¹⁴ His work looks at German colonialism in Togo through the same lens as his earlier work with Lewis Gann and Peter Duignan. Wolfe Schmokel from the University of Vermont reinforced this critique in noting that German colonizers were focused on developing the state's economy and establishing a "model colony." Schmokel did note that Knoll adds a paternalistic element to the scholarship by noting that the KWK sought to develop Togo's resources and people without the extremely violent measures used in Southwest Africa.¹⁵ Throughout the subsequent years, the scholarship shifted to looking at the impact on Togolese society from a European perspective to a more critical view of Germany's implementation of industrial education.

In D. E. K. Amenumey's "German Administration in Southern Togo," he challenges the argument made by historian Manfred Nussbaum that Germany was able to establish a "model colony" in Togo by assisting it in become economically self-supporting through taxation and new labor practices.¹⁶ Amenumey notes that the German colonial administration oversaw the colony and did not leave it at the hands of private trading companies, like other colonial states, because local labor was the most successful and best suited for the area.¹⁷ Still, the German

¹⁴ Ibid., 163

¹⁵ Wolfe W. Schmokel, "Review of Togo Under Imperial Germany, 1884-1914: A Case Study in Colonial Rule, by Arthur Knoll," *The American Historical Review* 84, 1 (1979): 225, doi:10.2307/1855819.

¹⁶ D. E. K. Amenumey, "German Administration in Southern Togo," *The Journal of African History* 10, 4 (1969): 623, <http://www.jstor.org.er.lib.k-state.edu/stable/179902>.

¹⁷ Ibid., 633.

colonial administration aimed towards protecting the interests of private trading firms which made limited the commercial opportunity for the Togolese. Annuney agrees with Nussbaum's argument that Germany succeeded in making Togo self-supporting without the use of violent coercion.¹⁸

Other scholars during the 1970s continued to keep the focus on German imperialism from an economic standpoint. Woodruff Smith in *The Ideology on German Imperialism, 1840-1906*, placed German imperialist needs into two categories: emigration and economic.¹⁹ Smith argues that German economic needs drove the desire to establish develop Africa to meet the needs of Germany's growing industry and end its reliance on imports of raw materials, such as cotton.²⁰ By exporting raw materials to Germany, it formed part of Tuskegee's plans to use African colonies to help Germany industry.²¹ Smith intertwines emigration and economic needs by arguing Germans who wanted to emigrate to its African colonies would be encouraged to establish farms, most notably small cash crop farms to support German industry. When this idea was abandoned, the Tuskegee Expedition tried to achieve the same end by making the Togolese adopt a culture that revolved around cotton cultivation and introduce a wage labor system that was dominated by men rather than women. This again coincides with Smith's argument that economic development drove colonial rule in Togo.²² Although Smith's argument does mention the effect of encouraging the local male population to adopt a "cotton culture" which took away the autonomy of women in the local cotton industry, the focus remains on economic

¹⁸ Ibid., 639.

¹⁹ Woodruff D. Smith, "The Ideology of German Colonialism, 1840-1906," *The Journal of Modern History* 46, 4 (1974): 642, <http://www.jstor.org.er.lib.k-state.edu/stable/1877789>.

²⁰ Ibid., 645.

²¹ Ibid., 662.

²² Ibid., 655.

development like other scholars such as Gann, Knoll, and Duignan. Smith does, however, introduce the nature of colonial policy into his arguments which is evident in his emigration versus economic standpoints.

As scholarship about German imperialism in Togo continued to evolve, it took on a more critical approach to what previous authors had written about the subject. Scholars like Carol Aisha Blackshire-Belay criticized previous scholarship for not focusing on the brutality and coerciveness of German conquest. She argued that although the Togolese received technical assistance which laid the foundation for the modern Togolese state, earlier scholars on the subject had created a false perception of Germany's rule and the role of the Tuskegee Model.²³ She noted that scholars had long overlooked the fact that Germans did not "settle" in Togo but in fact "exploited" the area and argued that future scholarship about the subject should focus on how German colonial administration affects the condition of the modern Togolese state.²⁴

Benjamin Lawrance focuses on the rural and urban colonial experiences in Togo in *Locality, Mobility, and 'Nation': Periurban Colonialism in Togo's Eweland, 1900-1960*. He noted the struggles that Togo had in trying to establish an Ewe controlled government. The movement grew in the hinterlands against colonial politics that were more prevalent in the urban areas in Southern Togo. In both areas, social and political shifts evolved separately as colonial power shaped each path.²⁵ Lawrance's book also addressed gender at its role in shaping politics and society. He strengthened his argument by showing how large-scale farming, such as cotton,

²³ Carol Aisha Blackshire-Belay, "German Imperialism in Africa: The Distorted Images of Cameroon, Namibia, Tanzania, and Togo," *Journal of Black Studies* 23, 2 (1992): 242, <http://www.jstor.org.er.lib.kstate.edu/stable/2784532>.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 245.

²⁵ Benjamin Lawrance, *Locality, Mobility, and "Nation": Periurban Colonialism in Togo's Eweland, 1900-1960*, (New York: University of Rochester Press, 2007), vii.

shaped the coastal economies of Togo but was slower to develop inland as local chiefs resisted colonial influence.²⁶ Germany moved the capital from Zébé to Lomé which shifted the power from the inland Ewe groups to the coastal Ewe groups as those closer to the coast were modernized more quickly and were influenced more by colonial politics while those Ewe groups more inland were influenced less by colonial powers.²⁷ Peter Buhler of Boise State University added to Lawrence's argument by noting the importance women played in rural Ewe politics as their roles in local economic markets changed during the German colonial period and continued to be undercut during French rule. Women helped lead the nationalist movement because they wanted to reclaim their role in the market economy, such as the cotton market which women controlled virtually every aspect of the local market prior to colonial rule.²⁸

Other modern scholars go deeper into Germany's colonization of Togo and take an overall different approach than the positive German spin on the colonizing mission. Andrew Zimmerman claimed that although Germany helped modernize the Togolese economy, they had more of an impact in shaping Togolese society. In the "A German Alabama in Africa: The Tuskegee Expedition to German Togo and the Transnational Origins of West African Cotton Growers," he denounced Gann and Duignan's position that Germany merely provided technical assistance to teach the Togolese more efficient farming methods and promote economic

²⁶ Ibid., 30.

²⁷ Ibid., 33.

²⁸ Peter Buhler, "Review of *Locality, Mobility, and 'Nation': Periurban Colonialism in Togo's Eweland, 1900–1960*, by Benjamin N. Lawrance," *Historian* 71, 1 (2009): 95, *Academic Search Premier*, EBSCOhost, accessed December 3, 2016.

advancement.²⁹ Zimmerman's article compared Germany's treatment of Togolese to African Americans in the South and how Germany sought to emulate the Tuskegee model of education by trying to globalize the term "negro" and apply it in Togo.³⁰ This was one of the first works to address the connection of the impacts of industrial education under Tuskegee Model in both the United States and Africa.

Zimmerman takes the argument made in his article and expands it in his book *Alabama in Africa: Booker T. Washington, the German Empire, and the Globalization of the New South* by noting the methods used to implement new cotton cultivation methods, destroyed local political autonomy.³¹ The attempts at establishing the "New South" in Togo by German colonial officials threatened notions of race and sexuality in the region.³² Efforts to impose traditional gender roles on the Togolese also threatened their economy. Middle-Class Western gender roles were very different from traditional gender roles in Togo. Men, women, and children worked side by side with women performing the bulk of cotton farming while men merely sold the fabric and put up the collateral. The KWK tried to alter this by relegating women to the domestic sphere and pushing men to the farms as wage earners. Zimmerman further argues that Germany's attempt to turn the Togolese into large-scale cotton farmers stemmed from its fascination with sharecropping labor in the American South and how they believed that Africans were natural cotton farmers. This goes further than Gann and Duignan's argument but also denounces the notion that German intervention in Togo was good for the Togolese. Laura Wildenthal notes that

²⁹ Andrew Zimmerman, "A German Alabama in Africa: The Tuskegee Expedition to German Togo and the Transnational Origins of West African Cotton Growers," *The American Historical Review* 110, 5 (2005): 1362, accessed July 6, 2016. Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1086/ahr.110.5.1362>.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 1368.

³¹ Andrew Zimmerman, *Alabama in Africa: Booker T. Washington, The German Empire, and the Globalization of the New South*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010), 237.

³² *Ibid.*, 239.

Zimmerman's work shows how German administrators ended Togolese-controlled cotton production forcing them to adopt Western techniques and to compete in the global cotton market. She also noted that Zimmerman showed how Germany sought to apply the labor and identity of the "Negro in the New South" from the United States by creating a "global south" through technical assistance provided by African American students from the Tuskegee Institute. Wildenthal stated that Zimmerman showed how Germany altered notions of Togolese society, gender, and labor during its colonial rule with the help of Tuskegee.³³

Sven Beckert's argument builds on Zimmerman's and shows the larger scope of the cotton industry in his book *Empire of Cotton: A Global History* (2014). His work argued how the cotton industry played an important role in modernizing labor and the economy on a global scale. He also claims how the need for more cotton led European states to expand their empires.³⁴ The transformative power of cotton in the world is a central theme in his work. His book parallels Zimmerman's works in showing this in German Togoland. Beckert further noted how the cotton industry continues the same practice today.³⁵ The methods of coercion and capitalism continue to show how powerful states can shape the societies of the areas it exploits. The Tuskegee Model encapsulated the core of Beckert's argument because it was implemented to exploit Togolese cotton production and in the process altered the infrastructure and society of Togo.

Beckert's article "Bringing Western Culture from Tuskegee to Togo" is a microcosm of *The Empire of Cotton*. His argument explained how the expanding textile industry and overreliance on American cotton pushed Germany to look to its colonies for developing its own

³³ Lora Wildenthal, "Review on *Alabama in Africa: Booker T. Washington, the German Empire, and the Globalization of the New South*, by Andrew Zimmerman," *Central European History* 44, 2 (2011): 346, <http://www.jstor.org.er.lib.k-state.edu/stable/41238437>.

³⁴ Sven Beckert, *Empire of Cotton: A Global History*, (New York: Vintage Books, 2014), xi.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 442.

source of cotton. Togo was chosen based on earlier studies in cotton growing in the colony and because the natives were familiar with growing it. Beckert argued that Germany sought to capitalize on these findings and modernize cultivation techniques using technical assistance from the Tuskegee Institute and labor methods seen in the American South to effectively manage the Togolese as planters in the American South managed their African American laborers.³⁶ Beckert further explained that instituting a culture that revolved around cotton was the key to effectively expanding Germany's cotton empire in Togo which also goes back to his earlier argument in *The Empire of Cotton* that the cotton industry controlled all aspects of society and the economy and was able to evolve with changing labor practices.³⁷ Scholars like Edward Baptist noted another argument that Beckert makes is the emergence of what he calls "war capitalism." "War capitalism" is defined by Beckert as slavery, the appropriation of indigenous peoples, imperial expansion, armed trade, and the assertion of sovereignty over people and land by entrepreneurs. Baptist also addresses how "war capitalism" assisted in the collection and exploitation of forced labor which undercut free labor.³⁸ This was most evident in the United States in the use of chattel slavery and later the sharecropping system as white planters exploited the labor of black farmers. The Tuskegee Model is often viewed as a third example of "war capitalism" because of its exploitative ideals. Baptist agreed with Beckert's argument that the United States was the most successful in adopting the fundamentals of "war capitalism" which led them to become the most powerful cotton economy in the world.³⁹ This ties into why Germany wanted to model the

³⁶ Sven Beckert, "From Tuskegee to Togo: The Problem of Freedom in the Empire of Cotton," *The Journal of American History* 92, 2 (2005): 506, accessed July 3, 2016, Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3659276>.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 525.

³⁸ Edward Baptist, "Review of *Empire of Cotton: A Global History*, by Sven Beckert," *The Journal of American History* 102, 3 (2015): 825, doi:10.1093/jahist/jav525.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 826.

United States system of labor in the South and apply it in Togo. It also helps show the progression in scholarship as it displays the universal power of the cotton industry and industrial education.

Other scholars take a different approach to Germany's colonizing mission in Togo. Jens-Uwe Guettel argued in his book *German Expansionism, Imperial Liberalism, and the United States, 1776-1945* that ideas of colonial expansion from the late eighteenth century onward played important roles in liberal and progressive circles which looked to the United States for inspiration and concrete examples. In the early part of the twentieth century, American-inspired liberalism dominated German colonial discourse. Guettel reinforced this argument by noting that earlier scholars, such as Carl Peters, looked at the treatment of the Native Americans by English settlers in North America and preached that Germany should do the same in its African colonies.⁴⁰ German liberal colonialists viewed America as an unexceptional colonial empire and argued for the emulation of American methods, such as adopting the system of farming and education found in the American South and apply it to the Togolese.⁴¹ Guettel further argued that much like their American counterparts, most German liberals were racists and die-hard expansionists which helped add a level of nationalism to their politics; an argument that led to the belief of establishing Togo as a model colony.⁴² This argument was a break from previous works on German colonialism in Africa because it chooses to challenge the idea of German exceptionalism rather than focus on Germany's actions in Togo, which is found in both Zimmerman and Gann's books. Shelley Baranowski from the University of Akron agreed with

⁴⁰ Jens-Uwe Guettel, *German Expansionism, Imperial Liberalism, and the United States, 1776-1945* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 80.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 124.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 218.

Guettel's point. She noted Guettel's approach to comparing Germany to the United States and how the U.S. influenced Germany's discourse, such as in Togo, by adding a new depth to the scholarship on understanding German politics and German colonial policy.⁴³ Baranowski paid special attention to Guettel's focus on how German liberal policy followed different paths in Africa as it pertained to treatment of the local populations. For instance, German liberals borrowed the Native American policy that the United States had evoked during the nineteenth century and applied it to its policy towards the Herrero. Germany also borrowed the system of labor in the American South after the Civil War and applied it to its treatment of the Togolese.⁴⁴

In *The "Baumwollfrage:" Cotton Colonialism in German East Africa*, Thaddeus Sunseri argued that both colonial policy and Germany polity was more intertwined than previously written which is illustrated by using examples of colonial labor policy and gender. Labor in the Metropole in Germany influenced labor in the colonies. The initial approach to the "colonial labor question" was forced labor on cotton plantations but the Maji Maji Rebellion that had occurred in British India caused German officials to reconsider their approach. Laborers in the German textile industry were wage laborers and so the colonial officials sought to introduce the same method of wage labor in Togo.⁴⁵ Women in the labor force in both Togo and Germany mirrored each other as well. Sunseri explained that women in Germany entered the workforce out of necessity. As labor practices changed and the textile industry grew, it was necessary for women to join the workforce. This was the same attitude taken towards women in Togo as gender roles began to change. Women in Togo found it difficult to continue growing foodstuffs

⁴³ Shelley Baranowski, "Review of German Expansionism, Imperial Liberalism, and the United States, 1776–1945, by Jens-Uwe Guettel." *American Historical Review* 118, 5 (2013): 1618, Academic Search Premier, EBSCOhost, accessed November 24, 2016.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 1619.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 34.

and maintain the households as they were tasked with assisting in cultivating cotton.⁴⁶ Both German and Togolese societies saw a decline in birth rates and increase in social tensions. Sunseri's work was one of the first to deal with comparing German and colonial politics as well as noting the reasons for overlooking the German colonizing mission.

V.P. Franklin focuses on labor and race and how Germany transplanted these ideas from the United States to show how education facilitated the subservience of Africans to German colonizers as it did at the Tuskegee Institute in Alabama. Franklin states that the Tuskegee Institute was not designed to teach negroes to compete with white workers but provide them with the education necessary to aid their white superiors in the cash crop industry.⁴⁷ Franklin further argues that the education provided to the Togolese by the Tuskegee Institute later influenced the drive to establish schools that were not solely focused on teaching technical assistance. The funds funneled into the technical schools in Togo were eventually used to establish vocational education devoid of economic and technical education.⁴⁸ This argument takes Zimmerman's point on technical education and expands it to show how education in Togo evolved after German colonial control and into the later part of the twentieth century.

Cotton, Colonialism, and Social History in Sub-Saharan Africa by Allen Isaacman and Richard Roberts offered more of a social history of cotton growing in Africa and how the local populations dealt with colonial rule. Other scholars with backgrounds in African history also collaborated in this book which is part of a larger series of works. The book argued that in the case of Togo, the Togolese could adapt to colonial measures imposed by Germany. The

⁴⁶ Ibid., 50.

⁴⁷ Vincent P. Franklin, "Pan-African Connections, Transnational Education, Collective Cultural Capital, and Opportunities Industrialization Centers International," *The Journal of African American History* 96, 1 (2011): 45, doi:10.5323/jafriamerhist.96.1.0044.

⁴⁸ Ibid., 59.

modernization of cotton farming techniques and the local economy changed social dynamics by removing some of the control women had on cotton production because prior to colonial intervention.⁴⁹ The authors also argued that colonial administration of the cotton industry disadvantaged the Togolese in the world economy because Germany controlled the means of production but it did not, however, control the local economy which grew over the following years.⁵⁰ Scholars like Martin Klein from the University of Toronto noted that the arguments made by Isaacman and Roberts showed how the cotton quotas imposed Sub-Saharan Africans were unattainable and so various forms of coercion were carried out to extract more labor but instead caused resentment among the local peoples and the systems left in place after colonial intervention left the Togolese disadvantaged in the global market.⁵¹ The large quotas were unable to support industrial education in Togo; one of the major flaws of the Tuskegee Model. Industrial schools were at a disadvantage because students attended the schools for free and paid for their tuition through labor. Unfortunately, the schools could never turn a profit and were therefore unsustainable long-term. The arguments made by Isaacman and Roberts show how scholarship about German colonialism in Togo evolved to illustrate how German methods to coerce the Togolese to grow more cotton, like in the Tuskegee Expedition, altered various aspects of Togolese society including gender and the local economy.

The model of industry education was the Tuskegee Institute in Tuskegee, Alabama. The head of the school was Booker T. Washington who was appealing to whites because of his stance

⁴⁹ Allen Isaacman, and Richard Roberts, *Cotton, Colonialism, and Social History in Sub-Saharan Africa*, (Portsmouth: Heinemann), 1995, 94.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 95.

⁵¹ Martin A Klein, "Colonial Cotton," Review of *Cotton, Colonialism, and Social History in Sub-Saharan Africa*, by Allen Isaacman and Richard Roberts," *The Journal of African History* 38, 2 (1997): 330, <http://www.jstor.org.er.lib.k-state.edu/stable/182845>.

on race. He believed that blacks should not challenge the racial hierarchy and work on uplifting themselves through labor and education in trades. This type of education became known as the “Tuskegee Model.” The “Tuskegee Model” was first implemented on a global scale in Togo as Germany looked at a new way to manage the Togolese population and end its reliance on American cotton. Washington’s beliefs on education and race were met with support by white elites but criticism by his contemporaries and scholars over the decades after the Tuskegee expedition to Togo.

Sir Harry Johnson was one of the biggest supporters of the “Tuskegee Model” of education because of his view on race and his stance on the inferiority of blacks to whites. He argued that Tuskegee played an important part in “civilizing” blacks globally and had the potential to raise them to the likeness of whites.⁵² He also argued for the establishment of more Tuskegee model schools throughout the world and believed that Africa should be a primary focus of the project. Scholars of the time, like Mary White Ovington, supported Johnson’s ideas of race and support of the Tuskegee Model because it reflected the global racial divide. She noted how Johnson’s view of Tuskegee’s “civilizing mission” was key to uplifting blacks around the world.⁵³ This support of the Tuskegee Model was common among supporters of Tuskegee but became outdated as movements such as the Pan-African Movement sought to uplift blacks through education and self-determination. Over time, criticism of the Tuskegee Model’s shortcomings started to become evident throughout scholarship.

Donald Spivey claimed how industrial education was like slavery in his work *Schooling for the New Slavery: Black Industrial Education, 1868-1915*. Spivey, an African American

⁵² Harry Johnson, *The Negro in the New World* (New York: Johnson Reprint Corporation, 1969), ix.

⁵³ Mary White Ovington. *American Journal of Sociology* 17, no. 2 (1911): 270-72. <http://www.jstor.org.er.lib.k-state.edu/stable/2762953>.

historian at the University of Miami, argued that industrial education became a neo-slave system under which whites could maintain the racial hierarchy and restrict African Americans to continue performing menial labor under the guise of education. He also argues how industrial education was replicated from America and implemented in Africa to maintain the racial hierarchy abroad.⁵⁴ Spivey concluded that Booker T. Washington's death did not bring about the end of industrial education under the Tuskegee Model. The legacy of Tuskegee carried on under Tuskegee's new president Robert Russa Moton and in Africa under the Phelps-Stokes Fund.⁵⁵ The Tuskegee Model was in many ways like slavery because it subjugated blacks under the yoke of menial labor and did not offer much in terms of upward mobility.

American philanthropy missions like the Phelps-Stokes Fund wanted to carry on the moral and technical education of Tuskegee and apply it to Africa. White philanthropists and colonial governments wanted to protect their interests and exploit African labor much like whites were doing in the United States. This is evident in Edward Berman's "Educational Colonialism in Africa: The Role of American Foundations, 1910-1945." This piece is found in a larger work titled, *Philanthropy and Cultural Imperialism: The Foundations at Home and Abroad*. In his piece, Berman argued how the Phelps-Stokes Fund was able to appeal to philanthropic parties by promoting Tuskegee education to help protect their interests.⁵⁶ Berman concluded that the implementation of the Tuskegee Model by the Phelps-Stokes Fund negatively altered Africa's history and set movements for self-determination back several decades.⁵⁷

⁵⁴ Donald Spivey, *Schooling for the New Slavery: Black Industrial Education, 1868-1915* (London: Greenwood Press, 1978), ix.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 128.

⁵⁶ Ed., Robert Arno, *Philanthropy and Cultural Imperialism: The Foundations at Home and Abroad* (Massachusetts: G.K. Hall & Co., 1980), 179.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 197.

Kenneth King was one of the scholars critical of the Tuskegee Model which is evident in his work *Pan-Africanism and Education: A Study of Race, Philanthropy, and Education in the Southern States of America and East Africa*. He argues that the Tuskegee Model of education failed to uplift Africans and African Americans because it did not teach them the skills necessary to succeed in society. In fact, industrial education under this model limited the success of uplifting blacks above their status. By failing to achieve this, King argued that this helped lead movements towards making higher education more attainable for blacks and movements towards self-determination.⁵⁸ King concluded that industrial education perpetuated under the Tuskegee Model and afterward by the Phelps-Stokes Fund, played an integral part in stifling blacks for decades in America and Africa but by doing so it led towards movements of self-determination.⁵⁹ The Tuskegee Model of education did indeed lead to movements in black self-determination and it began at schools like Tuskegee, Hampton, and other African American schools.

Raymond Wolters in *The New Negro on Campus: Black College Rebellions of the 1920s* argued the point that self-determination movements began to evoke change at African American colleges, like Tuskegee and Hampton, thanks in large part to student movements. His work focuses on how issues involved in protests, like the end industrial education, forced resignations of school presidents and led to student unrest. Behind the protests were the aspirations that blacks had the right to control their educational possibilities and have more say in the curriculum they could learn.⁶⁰ Wolters concluded that the rebellions were not meant to lead to integration between African Americans and whites but were intended to make education more equal and

⁵⁸ Kenneth King, *Pan-Africanism and Education: A Study of Race Philanthropy and Education in the Southern States of America and East Africa* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), 3.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 253.

⁶⁰ Raymond Wolters, *The New Negro on Campus: Black College Rebellions of the 1920s* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975), vii.

increase the possibilities for African Americans.⁶¹ Providing equal educational opportunities for African Americans was what led to the collapse of the Tuskegee Model in the United States. The Myth of Tuskegee and black education continued to influence Africa long after Washington had died and other prominent black proponents of higher education like Du Bois and Garvey also influenced education in Africa.

In *Africans on African-Americans: The Creation and Uses of an African-American Myth* by Yekutiel Gershoni, he argues that the impacts of Washington, Du Bois, and Garvey were key in shaping education and politics. The legends of these men enhanced their prestige and their contradictory educational philosophies became attractive models for how to manage Africa.⁶² Gershoni concluded that Africans viewed as having more advantages and possibilities than they had and so they welcomed various educational ideas like Tuskegee.⁶³ The myth perpetuated about African American possibilities by Washington, Du Bois, and Garvey spread not just in large part of Americans but by Africans as well.⁶⁴ This idea of the “African American myth” was also supported by other scholars.

Washington’s ideas about industrial education and race relations bridged the gap between white views on race relations and politics. In his work *The Education of Booker T. Washington: American Democracy and the Idea of Race Relations*, Michael West argued that the Tuskegee Model perpetuated the Jim Crow but also led to the eventual dismantling of industrial education and Jim Crow.⁶⁵ This argument holds true as it is noted by scholars about how Tuskegee

⁶¹ Ibid., 348.

⁶² Yekutiel Gershoni, *Africans on African-Americans: The Creation and Uses of an African-American Myth* (New York: New York University Press, 1997), 6.

⁶³ Ibid., 176.

⁶⁴ Ibid., 180.

⁶⁵ Michael West, *The Education of Booker T. Washington: American Democracy and the idea of Race Relations* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006), x.

inadvertently supported Jim Crow and how movements towards black self-determination led to the dismantling of industrial education and opened up more possibilities for African Americans.

Reforming the black educational system was the key in ending the Tuskegee Model and in ending Jim Crow. In *Reforming Jim Crow: Southern Politics and State in the Age Before Brown*, Kimberley Johnson argues that the growth of higher education institutions served as the basis for development in black social capital and offered more career opportunities for African Americans beyond the farm.⁶⁶ Johnson concludes that pressure from whites on Tuskegee and Hampton to improve their educational training program led to curriculum change along with upheaval from students and faculty that felt they were at a disadvantage when compared to other higher institutions.⁶⁷ The incidents in the United States influenced events in Africa as industrial education there shifted in the decades after its collapse in the United States.

The work will address the rise and fall of the Tuskegee Model in America and Africa and the impact of industrial education. It fits into the current historiography by explaining how the “Tuskegee Model” was more exploitative than beneficial. The model was chosen by colonial powers because of its exploitative nature and support of the racial hierarchy during that time. This paper also adds another layer to the current scholarship to show how involved the United States was in the “civilizing mission” which is not a clear theme in much of the previous scholarship. The first part will focus on Tuskegee’s initial involvement in the colony of Togo under the guise of Germany’s colonial government. The second part of this paper will focus on Tuskegee’s most successful involvement in Africa which was its role in Liberia and the establishment of the Booker T. Washington Industrial School. It will also examine the role of the

⁶⁶ Kimberley Johnson, *Reforming Jim Crow: Southern Politics and State in the Age before Brown* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 16.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 149.

Phelps-Stokes Fund, a philanthropic organization that wanted to carry on the work of Washington after his death and implement it globally. The third part of this paper will focus on the demise of Tuskegee in the United States and Africa as movements towards black self-determination and dissatisfaction with the model's long-term success grew.

Chapter 2 - Modernizing the Masses: The Introduction of New Concepts in Large-Scale Cotton Cultivation in Togo

When Germany acquired Togo in 1884 it wanted to develop the colony into a stable source of cotton exportation that would be able to compete on the world market and end Germany's reliance on American cotton. Another goal was to establish a system in which they could reap the maximum agricultural output from its colonies while still limiting the resources devoted to the colony, which included manpower and money. The German colonial officials, already aware that the Togolese were familiar with growing a variety of agricultural goods, most notably cotton, enlisted the aid of graduates from the Tuskegee Institute in Alabama, the premier industrial agricultural school in the United States, to teach the Togolese modern concepts of large-scale cotton production.

When German colonial officials first arrived in Togo in September 1889, they examined ways of increasing cotton production.⁶⁸ Because the Germans knew that the Togolese were familiar with subsistence cotton farming they thought the Togolese could make the transition to large-scale cotton production. Subsistence farming dominated Togo as it did in other African states in which women were economically dependent on men. Women controlled the means of production in the local cotton market; they cultivated and spun the cotton, then wove and sold the fabric to market. Men, on the other hand, were responsible for putting up the collateral necessary for local farming and bought the fabric from women thus reinforcing the cycle of the local cotton industry.⁶⁹ The Togolese's familiarity with the means of cotton production proved something to German colonial officials when they launched their first cotton expedition to Togo

⁶⁸ "The German Colonies," *The Standard*, January 1896.

⁶⁹ James Nathan Calloway, "Tuskegee Cotton-Planters in Africa," *Outlook*, March 29, 1902, 773.

in 1890 which was it showed that Togo was suitable for cotton farming and could be developed into a large-scale cotton empire. Training the Togolese in modern cotton plantation farming was the next step in establishing a successful cotton colony.

German interest in transforming Togo into a stable cotton empire developed after the acquisition of Togo in part because of shortages of cotton during the Civil War in the United States. Prior to the war in the late 1850s, Prussia imported 69 million pounds of cotton from the United States.⁷⁰ The trade embargo placed on the American South by the North during the war resulted in global cotton shortages, especially in Germany where the cotton industry had grown from 60,000 workers in 1800 to 250,000 by 1860.⁷¹ During the American Civil War, Prussia, however, still imported roughly 16 million pounds of cotton.⁷² Throughout the 1880's, Germany imported more than 800 million pounds of cotton annually from the United States at a cost of 300 million Marks.⁷³ Germany suffered considerably from the embargo because it relied on American cotton and the reliance on American cotton imports was viewed as an economic weakness.⁷⁴ Because German Chancellor Otto von Bismarck considered the growing of cotton in the colonies as one of the most important ways of achieving self-sufficiency he saw the need to form a committee to research the viability of large-scale farming in its newly acquired territories. Early endeavors were launched in Germany's Pacific territories in the 1850s and 1860s that were

⁷⁰ Germany. Statistisches Reichsamt, and Germany. Kaiserliches Statistisches Amt. *Statistisches Jahrbuch Für Das Deutsche Reich*. Berlin: Puttkammer & Mühlbrecht, 1880-1942, 87.

⁷¹ Sven Beckert, *Empire of Cotton: A Global History* (New York: Alfred A. Knoff, 2014), 214.

⁷² United States. Dept. of the Treasury. Bureau of Statistics, "Cotton in Commerce.: Statistics of United States, United Kingdom, France, Germany, Egypt, And British India," Washington: Government Printing Office, 1895, 31.

⁷³ Pierre Ali-Napo, *Togo, Land of International Technical Assistance Experimentation: 1900-1909* (Accra: Onyase Press, 2002), 5.

⁷⁴ "Deutsche Baumwolle," *Tägliche Rundschau* (Berlin), February 27, 1913, BArch R8024/58, B1.86.

managed by the *Kolonialabteilung* (Imperial Colonial Office) but a formal committee dedicated to colonial economic endeavors was not formed until 1896.

The *Kolonialabteilung* at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs oversaw the first expedition in Togo, appointing Ferdinand Goldberg, a specialist in cotton cultivation and former head of *Handels-und-Plantagen Gesellschaft* (Trade and Plantation Company). Goldberg was appointed to head the expedition because earlier he had successfully overseen the establishment of cotton plantations in the German colony of Samoa; on 21 June 1890, Goldberg arrived in Togo.⁷⁵ In Goldberg's first report on the progress of the expedition, he pointed out the potential for success for large-scale cotton farming in Togo. From 1865 to 1870 the Togolese had been growing large quantities of cotton which was bought by the French who cleaned and exported it. Cotton is graded by both color and how fibrous it is and "middling" is an average grade for cotton. The experimental farm at Zebe produced "middling" grade cotton by world cotton standards. Further, the surrounding areas along the Zio River appeared to be possible sites for future establishments of cotton plantations. Improving the methods of cotton cultivation was an important step in building a sustainable cotton store that would be able to compete with other cotton markets, such as Egypt, which happened to be ranked third in the world at the time in quantity behind the United States and India.⁷⁶

The first expedition had proven successful in growing cotton on a large-scale but problems ensued; first, the high cost of the first expedition which included paying numerous officials and laborers from Germany, setting up the experimental plantation, and providing the necessary supplies, and second, the yield proved of good quality but was not enough to offset the

⁷⁵ Pierre Ali-Napo, *Togo, Land of International Technical Assistance Experimentation: 1900-1909* (Accra: Onyase Press, 2002), 6.

⁷⁶ Supf, *Baumwoll-Expedition nach Togo 1900*, 8.

cost.⁷⁷ The *Kolonialrat* (Colonial Assembly) established in 1891 as an advisory committee to oversee the colonies, developed methods to reduce the cost. The Colonial Assembly had a variety of constituents: aristocrats with colonial connections, missionaries, civil servants, academics, and plantation owners. They recommended: first, promote the growing of cotton where it was most likely to succeed; second, recruiting more Togolese to work on the plantations; third, appeal to foreign governments to help secure production of the seeds best adapted for the area and find the best planting methods.⁷⁸ In addition to helping reduce the cost of future expeditions, the suggestions put forward by the Colonial Assembly were also designed to promote better farming methods by the Togolese. Changing the small-scale subsistence farming, already prevalent in Togo, to a large-scale plantation farming culture was an integral part of Germany's "civilizing" mission but also crucial in increasing cotton production.

German colonial officials wanted to promote the idea of developing large-scale farming in Togo to establish a reliable cotton store. The German Colonial Assembly evolved into the *Kolonial-Wirtschaftliche Komitee* [KWK] (Colonial Economic Committee) in 1898, led by Berlin businessman Karl Supf, which continued to develop ways to exploit the area. The committee decided to launch another expedition called the *Baumwolle-Expedition* (Cotton Expedition) in 1900 because of their desire to transform the cotton industry in Togo.⁷⁹ German officials learned from the poor examples of the British in India and the Russians in Central Asia who had forced colonial subjects to work in certain industries. For that reason, they followed the

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 16.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 9.

⁷⁹ Deutscher Kolonialkongress, *Verhandlungen des Deutschen Kolonialkongresses, 1905: zu Berlin am 5. 6. und 7. Oktober 1905* (Berlin: D. Reimer, E. Vohsen), 603.

successful example prevalent in the American South of establishing large-scale farms and relying on a system of labor that resembled sharecropping.⁸⁰

German officials hoped to answer the “colonial workers’ question by looking at the sharecropping system in the United States. The “colonial workers’ question” dealt with how to persuade workers to work on plantations as slavery had been abolished in the colonies since the 1830s. German colonial officials became fascinated with the sharecropping system of labor after reading German geographer Friedrich Ratzel’s description of his trip in 1893 to the American South, studying ethnicity and culture in North America. Ratzel noted that managing “the negro” was dependent on controlling and overseeing economic productivity through the sharecropping system.⁸¹ That same attention to agricultural productivity was shared by the students of the Tuskegee Institute as they looked to instill the values of labor onto their Togolese students.⁸² Accordingly, Germany looked at the United States as a model for managing the Togolese labor; they strove to improve the methods of farming and establish a cotton labor force. Because the American system of labor in the South appealed to German colonial officials they looked to an authority in Booker T. Washington to assist them in implementing such a system in the colonies.

Booker T. Washington (1856-1915) was both a famed author and educator during the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Born into slavery, he gained his freedom after emancipation. His ideas about race differed from most African Americans at the time because he felt that blacks needed the assistance of whites to help them advance. In his Atlanta Exposition Address (1895), Washington proposed that African Americans should develop better farming

⁸⁰ “Cotton Growing in Togo-Land: Negroes from Tuskegee Institute Show that the Soil is Suitable,” *New York Times*, March 14, 1902, 9.

⁸¹ Friedrich Ratzel, *Die Vereinigten Staaten von Nord-America*, 2 (München: Oldenbourg, 1893), 292.

⁸² *Booker T. Washington, Booker T. Washington Papers: Vol. 6, 1901-1902*, ed. Louis Harlan, Raymond Smock (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1977), 26.

methods to become economically independent.⁸³ Booker T. Washington was put in charge of the Tuskegee Institute in Alabama to develop it into a technical school for modern farming methods. The institute trained black students in new farming techniques and planting methods designed for large-scale farming. European colonial officials, especially those in Germany, were familiar with Washington's work at Tuskegee and his views on race relations. Although other European states, such as Britain and France, were skeptical about Washington's views on labor in Africa the KWK decided to proceed because they wanted to implement sharecropping in Togo to develop the colony into a reliable cotton source.⁸⁴ The appeal of Tuskegee to the KWK went beyond agriculture; Washington's support of industrial education under Tuskegee Model and its implicit support of the racial hierarchy was equally as appealing.

In September 1900, the KWK sent its first representative to meet with Washington about offering aid in the cotton expedition to Togo. Baron Beno von Herman auf Wain, a member of the KWK, met with Washington and asked him to select students from the Tuskegee Institute to teach the Togolese how to plant and harvest cotton in a rational and scientific way, that is a more efficient way under the supervision of the colonial officials in Togo.⁸⁵ The KWK used African American aid in Togo to help integrate the culture of large-scale cotton growing into Togolese society.⁸⁶

⁸³Booker T. Washington, "Atlanta Exposition Address," 1895. *Black History Bulletin*, 68,1 (2006): 18-20. Retrieved from: <http://search.proquest.com.er.lib.kstate.edu/docview/233504639?accountid=11789>.

⁸⁴ *Der Tropenpflanzer: Zeitschrift für Tropische Landwirtschaft*, Vol. 1 (1900), 224.

⁸⁵ "Prince Henry's Visit. Its Significance Explained by John A. Kanson, Ex-Minister to the German Court," *The Washington Bee*, March 15, 1902, 3. *America's Historical Newspapers*. Accessed August 31, 2016.

⁸⁶ "Cotton Growing in Togoland," *The African Mail*, October 13, 1905, 690. *Nineteenth Century Collections Online*. Accessed September 5, 2016. Also seen in "Race Gleanings," *The Freeman*, November 10, 1900, 13: 45, 3. *America's Historical Newspapers*. Accessed August 31, 2016.

The relationship between Southern African Americans and Africans contained a sense of familial obligation. This idea of “Pan-Africanism” was not a nuanced idea but contributed to the involvement in Africa by African Americans. Interests in Africa by African Americans during the nineteenth century started with the founding of the Liberian state as they believed that they would have more opportunities to succeed than they could in the United States as slavery was still instituted. Many African Americans saw Africa as their job to help modernize and develop it to its economic potential by providing it with what technical and material assistance it could provide and the knowledge they had gained from their labors over centuries of being in the United States.⁸⁷

Industrial education had practical ties to slavery and the Tuskegee Institute embraced that. Although slavery was degrading, demeaning, and coercive toward African Americans, it was during the slavery era that men and women learned the basics of industrial labor. However, rather than embrace that skills gained from it, the men and women wanted to separate from industrial labor and attain a white-collar education and job.⁸⁸ The Tuskegee Institute was established not solely to provide an education to its students but to show them the value of industrial labor. This mission statement of college was what Washington and the students sent to Togo sought to bestow on the Togolese.⁸⁹

Some of the men from the Tuskegee Institute viewed the venture to Togo as a chance to show how far blacks had progressed since leaving Africa. As one of the students sent on the expedition initially enthused, “I feel as if I were going back to my old home to spread some part

⁸⁷ C. H. Thompson, "The Colored American and Africa," *The African Repository (1850-1892)* 61, no. 4 (10, 1885): 117, <http://search.proquest.com.er.lib.k-state.edu/docview/89587633?accountid=11789>.

⁸⁸ *BTW Papers*, Reel 992, 1.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 2.

of what I have learned in this country [the United States].” Others viewed the expedition as the most important step in the development in the cotton industry since Eli Whitney invented the cotton gin.⁹⁰

The other men that were chosen from Tuskegee to lead the expedition saw the endeavor as an important step in showcasing what the institute had to offer. John Robinson, who was one of two agricultural scientists on the expedition, saw that the education he had gained from his time at Tuskegee provided more than industrial education. He saw the values instilled into the students shaped their character and provided a practical education and education was what made African Americans feel almost equal to whites. The education provided at Tuskegee taught students to be proud of who they were, to look forwards rather than backward to their future, and embrace their hard labor background.⁹¹ When Robinson was hired by the KWK to train the Togolese in Africa, he saw this to share the values of Tuskegee with them. Training the Togolese in modern farming techniques and teaching them the importance of agricultural education was viewed by Robinson as a way uniting blacks across the globe which is why he saw the expedition as an enriching experience.⁹²

Building a society that revolved around large-scale cotton cultivation required the establishment of schools to provide education for the Togolese. In 1901, the graduates from Tuskegee and locally hired workers established an experimental farm in Tové, a town in the interior of Togo which had been cited as a possibility for further cotton experimentation during Goldberg’s expedition in the previous decade. Heading the experimental farm and the Tuskegee

⁹⁰ “To Teach Cotton Raising. Negroes from Booker T. Washington's School Sail for West Coast of Africa,” *American Citizen*, November 9, 1900. *America’s Historical Newspapers*. Accessed August 31, 2016.

⁹¹ *Tuskegee and its People*, 22.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 199.

Expedition was James Nathan Calloway, a professor at the Tuskegee Institute, who had managed the experimental Marshall Farm at the Institute. In addition to his experience in farm management, he was also fluent in German which he learned at Fisk University.⁹³ Calloway was chosen by Booker T. Washington for these reasons and because he knew that Calloway would meet the needs of the KWK who were looking for someone to head the expedition who was knowledgeable about large-scale cotton farming. German colonial officials enlisted the Tuskegee graduates to establish schools in Lomé and Tové to train the Togolese in large-scale cotton farming and end Germany's reliance on foreign cotton.⁹⁴

On 4 November 1900, four graduates from Tuskegee traveled from New York to Togo to assist the German colonial government in teaching the Togolese large-scale farming techniques. The four men selected to go were James Nathan Calloway, John Robinson, Allen Burke, and Sheppard Harris.⁹⁵ Robinson and Burke were scientific agriculturalists at the Tuskegee Institute and were chosen as the scientists on the expedition; Harris served as the mechanic. These men were chosen for the expedition by James Nathan Calloway because of their expertise in cotton farming and their willingness to go. The excitement and pride of the men equaled those in the African American community who saw it as an import step in raising the status of their race.⁹⁶ Calloway and the other men on the expedition were under contract for two years and could be replaced by new members from the expedition if they chose to leave. The biggest obstacles they

⁹³ *Booker T. Washington, Booker T. Washington Papers: Vol. 5, 1899-1900*, ed. Louis Harlan, Raymond Smock (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1977), 640.

⁹⁴ "To Raise Cotton in Africa: Booker T. Washington Hints at Great Results if the Work Succeeds," *New York Times*, January 3, 1901.

⁹⁵ "To Teach Cotton Raising. Negroes from Booker T. Washington's School Sail for West Coast of Africa," *American Citizen*, November 9, 1900. *America's Historical Newspapers*. Accessed August 31, 2016.

⁹⁶ "Tuskegee Men in Africa," *The Colored American*, November 10, 1900, 8: 33,11. *America's Historical Newspapers*. Accessed August 31, 2016. Booker T. Washington, *Tuskegee & Its People: Their Ideals and Achievements*, (New York: Negro Universities Press, 1905), 184-199.

faced were malaria, but quinine was provided by the German colonial officials. Despite frequent bouts of malaria, they remained in high spirits and committed to carrying out their mission.⁹⁷ The expedition did suffer disaster when in 1902 two new graduates on their way from New York died after their boat capsized. Calloway asked Washington for two new graduates, funded by the KWK, to be sent from the institute.⁹⁸ The expedition continued until its end in 1911 but finding graduates willing to go to Togo became increasingly difficult.

The men from Tuskegee were sent to carry on Washington's vision of showcasing the importance of agricultural education and industrial training. Washington's message in the Atlanta Exposition Address stated that African Americans should take pride in their agricultural roots and knowhow and must not reach too far in trying to become equal to whites by gaining knowledge in areas they are unfamiliar with. By sticking to their own realm of agricultural labor, they eventually will live in harmony with their white neighbors.⁹⁹ The men sent to Togo were sent to teach the Togolese modern farming techniques and cotton development and additionally, the belief in black self-progress was taught to them as well. The findings of the expedition recommended that the Togolese should be given the means to manage the colony after they had properly been trained in using draft animals, how to find the best type of cotton seed for each region, and introduced to the European market system and how to price their cotton exports. John Robinson who headed the expedition also noted that more plantation farms should be established to help grow the cotton economy. The expedition brought modern farming technologies, economic know-how, and farming practices that put the Togolese in charge of their

⁹⁷ "Cotton Cultivation in Africa. Experiences of Mr. J. N. Calloway, who is Teaching Agricultural Development," *Colored American* (March 15, 1902): 4.48.3, *America's Historical Newspapers*. Accessed August 31, 2016.

⁹⁸ Booker T. Washington, *The Booker T. Washington Papers: Vol. 6, 1901-1902*, (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1977), 456.

⁹⁹ *Atlanta Exposition Address*, 19.

own farms.¹⁰⁰ Something drastically different from plantation farming that existed in the United States and what Germany had in mind when they first hired Tuskegee advisors.

The expedition faced certain challenges in developing the first farm in Tove. Disease was an issue when it came to the use of draft animals, such as cattle and horses. The Togolese could not rely on draft animals which had to constantly be imported because the mortality rate was so high. Although draft animals were imported for the first year of the expedition, they were discontinued after that.¹⁰¹ The high mortality among them convinced the graduates that draft animals could not be maintained in the colony. Additionally, the Togolese were not accustomed to accommodating draft animals. Because draft animals were difficult to maintain and did not exist in other areas of Togo prior to the Tuskegee Expedition, the Togolese were unfamiliar with them. When the Tuskegee students first introduced draft animals to the Togolese, the animals frightened and astonished them. Without the use of them, cultivating cotton would be less productive and more difficult.¹⁰² Togo lies in the equatorial zone of Africa which experiences wet seasons and tropical climates that facilitate diseases, particularly sleeping sickness carried by the tsetse fly, that was deadly to draft animals making their use nearly impossible.¹⁰³

The Tuskegee Expedition had also helped develop a new type of cotton that was best suited for the area. The first harvest from the plantation at Tové yielded a small amount of cotton. One bale of Egyptian cotton and four bales of American cotton during the first summer and another five bales of American cotton in November and December. The yield was small but

¹⁰⁰ James Nathan Calloway, "Baumwoll-Expedition nach Togo Bericht, 1901," (1902): *Nineteenth Century Collections Online: Europe and Africa: Commerce, Christianity, Civilization, and Conquest*, 26.

¹⁰¹ James Nathan Calloway, "Baumwoll-Expedition nach Togo Bericht, 1901," (1902): *Nineteenth Century Collections Online: Europe and Africa: Commerce, Christianity, Civilization, and Conquest*, 18.

¹⁰² *Booker T. Washington, Booker T. Washington Papers: Vol. 6, 1901-1902*, ed. Louis Harlan, Raymond Smock (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1977), 128.

¹⁰³ Calloway, "Tuskegee Cotton Planters in Africa," 775.

the KWK viewed it as a success. They argued that with the favorable climate, the willingness of the Togolese to embrace large-scale cotton growing, and a vast amount of land, further cotton endeavors were promising. The KWK concluded that it was more important for the Togolese to learn about the methods of large-scale farming than it was for the farm to yield large quantities of cotton during the expedition.¹⁰⁴ This knowledge included developing a type of cotton that would produce both the highest yield and quality which the Tuskegee experiment succeeded ultimately in doing.¹⁰⁵

The Tuskegee graduates began working on a seed that was a cross between American cotton, Egyptian cotton, and the native cotton found in Togo. The first experiment that combined these species achieved the goal of yielding the highest quality of cotton.¹⁰⁶ The examination of the various types of cotton were as follows: the native Togolese cotton was clean, contained fiber similar to American cotton, yellow in color, and worth about the same value as middling grade American Cotton; American cotton was not as clean as Togolese cotton, soft and weak, yellowish/gray in color, but yielded the highest value; finally, Egyptian cotton was less well-cleaned than American cotton, soft fiber and mature, yellow color, and yielded slightly less than American cotton.¹⁰⁷ The success of creating a seed that was of a higher quality than what had been grown in the region previously and its potential for producing a high yield, excited both the KWK and the Tuskegee instructors. Improving the methods of cultivation by the utilization of draft animals and planting better seeds was an enormous step in the direction of creating a large-

¹⁰⁴ Supf, *Baumwoll-Expedition nach Togo 1901*, 28.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 22.

¹⁰⁶ "Germany and Cotton Growing," *The African Standard*, July 4, 1903, 3. *Nineteenth Century Collections Online*. Accessed September 5, 2016, 3.

¹⁰⁷ Kolonial-Wirtschaftliches Komitee, *Baumwoll-Expedition nach Togo: Bericht 1901* (Mittler, 1901), *Nineteenth Century Collections Online*, <http://tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/5ixqb4>, Accessed August 23, 2016, 5.

scale cotton culture among the Togolese. Continued modernization was necessary to help facilitate large-scale farming which included upgrading transportation and establishing a school that would provide formal education in large-scale farming.

Notsé was chosen as the location for the technical school to provide classroom education about large-scale cotton farming. It was located near Tové so that after the students finished school, they could continue their education at the experimental farm.¹⁰⁸ The purpose of the school at Notsé was to provide the Togolese with a formal education on how to grow cotton more efficiently. John Robinson, one of the Tuskegee graduates, was in put in charge of the school by the KWK because he originally put forth the idea of establishing a technical school like the Tuskegee Institute. The school also trained German missionaries as instructors to teach large-scale cotton farming methods and stress the importance of it. The curriculum taught in the Notsé school included further training in what had been taught on the experimental farm at Tové such as the handling of draft animals, cotton cultivation methods, soil preparation, and finding the best seed. A ginning station was established at the school to teach the Togolese about the ginning process and to gin the cotton that came from the farm at Tové.¹⁰⁹ The school was first managed by Robinson in 1904 and then by G.H. Pape, a graduate of Texas A&M University who had initially been sent to Togo as an American government cotton inspector. Pape was put in charge of the school after Robinson died in a boating accident near Lomé. Booker T. Washington was asked by Julius Zech, German governor of Togo, to appoint someone who could get the Togolese to grow more cotton and retain the labor necessary to work on the farms after many

¹⁰⁸ *Der Tropenpflanzer* (1900), 233.

¹⁰⁹ *Booker T. Washington, Booker T. Washington Papers: Vol. 6, 1901-1902*, ed. Louis Harlan, Raymond Smock (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1977), 110.

had left.¹¹⁰ Zech had toured Texas in 1902 and found that the strict discipline Texas cotton farmers could enforce was successful. Booker T. Washington chose Pape to head the school after Robinson because he knew he would be able to fulfill Zech's needs. Under Pape's tenure, however, many more Togolese returned home because of Pape's continued use of violent coercion.¹¹¹ This caused a decrease in production as the initial quota of two thousand bales was not met and roughly 400 bales could be secured. Under the direction of Pape, the Togolese worked under a plantation style of labor as seen in the American South. This was vastly different from the neighboring British West African colonies that promoted the natives to grow cotton for themselves as a native industry.¹¹² The school remained in operation until 1911 when the KWK closed it. The school had been successful in providing formal education to the Togolese. The education provided at Notsé taught the Togolese fundamental large-scale farming techniques to make them better farmers and ways to produce more cotton.

The Catholic missionaries in Togo were trained by the Tuskegee graduates to teach large-scale farming to the local peoples. In 1847, the missionaries arrived in Togo establishing mission schools which taught English and helped standardize the Ewe language, the language of the region. Booker T. Washington believed that the missionaries would be a good fit to teach the Togolese modern farming concepts because of their familiarity with the Togolese people and they were accustomed to teaching. According to Washington, the purpose of the expedition was

¹¹⁰ International Cotton Conference-Zürich, "Official Report of the Proceedings of the First International Congress of Delegated Representatives of Master Cotton Spinners' and Manufacturers' Associations Held at the Tonhalle, Zürich, May 23 to 27, 1904, (Manchester: Marsden and Co., Ltd., printers, 1904), 21.

¹¹¹ Pape is just one example of an official using violence to coerce the Togolese population. There were many German officials who also used violent coercion to increase production and maintain obedience. This can be seen in "For Six Days the German Reichstag has been....," *The Times*, December 6, 1909, 9, The Times Digital Archive, <http://tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/3f9Dk6>.

¹¹² "German: The Development of Togoland," *West African Mail*, September 22, 1905, Nineteenth Century Collections Online, Accessed September 5, 2016, 617.

to “educate and not subjugate.” The missionaries were an obvious choice because their goal was to offer education to help “civilize” the Togolese; the ideology behind the Tuskegee Expedition. Washington saw his goal of offering technical assistance in modernizing large-scale cotton farming to the Togolese as equal to the missionaries teaching the curriculum.¹¹³ Many missionaries refused to teach a large-scale farming curriculum because that was not their intended purpose and because the students did not want to learn about large-scale farming. Nevertheless, after the school in Notsé and the farm in Tové had been established, the KWK developed a trading facility at Lomé to export the Togolese cotton.

Lomé was chosen as the site of the processing plantation because it lay on the coast of Togo and had easy access to Tové and Notsé. The roads that led into Lomé were in good condition after the KWK hired local laborers to make them suitable for wagons traveling to and from the plantation.¹¹⁴ Roads were important in large-scale cotton farming because they facilitated the cotton trade. Improved roads meant that cotton and equipment could be transported more efficiently and quickly to Lomé where it would then be exported. In addition, Lomé served as the central station of the railroad that ran throughout the colony connecting it to Tové and Notsé. Instead of taking several days to move supplies from the coast to the farms, which took two weeks when Calloway first arrived, the trip now only took a couple of hours.¹¹⁵ The KWK relied on the railroad to transport cotton. The Togolese would haul the cotton by

¹¹³ Booker T. Washington, “Industrial Education in Africa. *The Independent ...Devoted to the Consideration of Politics, Social and Economic Tendencies, History, Literature, and the Arts 1848-1921* 60,16: (1906). <http://search.proquest.com.er.lib.k-state.edu/docview/90541899?accountid=11789>.

¹¹⁴ “Tuskegee Men in Africa,” *The Colored American*, November 10, 1900, 8: 33,11. *America’s Historical Newspapers*. Accessed August 31, 2016.

¹¹⁵ Kolonialwirtschaftliches Komitee, *Der Tropenpflanzer: Zeitschrift für tropische Landwirtschaft*, Vol. 7, (Berlin: KolonialWirtschaftliche Komitee), 1903, 599.

wagon but did not like using draft animals and preferred to pull the wagons by hand.¹¹⁶ This reluctance to use animals stemmed from their first encounters with both cattle and horses. Over time they became more accustomed to using draft animals because it made cultivation easier.



Figure 1.1 Enabling integration into the world market: Cotton is transported on a newly built railroad, Togo, 1905. Courtesy Bundesarchiv Berlin, R 1001/8223.

The leaders of the expedition had introduced the cotton gin to modernize production in Togo. The invention of the cotton gin by Eli Whitney revolutionized large-scale cotton farming because it made the process of cultivation more efficient. The KWK financed gins for the Tuskegee Expedition because they not only wanted the expedition to run more efficiently but also wanted to increase the yield of cotton. The first gins which arrived in Togo in 1900 were large and difficult to operate. They required about 25 people to move and then operate because of the scarcity of draft animals.¹¹⁷ Because of these problems, more mobile gins were developed

¹¹⁶ James Nathan Calloway. "Baumwoll-Expedition Nach Togo Bericht, 1901," (1902): *Nineteenth Century Collections Online: Europe and Africa: Commerce, Christianity, Civilization, and Conquest*, 24

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 24.

over the subsequent years, so they could be moved more quickly and efficiently.¹¹⁸ Between 1905 and 1907 seven motorized gins were built as well as numerous hand operated gins.¹¹⁹ The Togolese were trained on how to operate them at the Notsé school and they were used in Lomé and Tové to process the cotton. The KWK appealed to industry leaders in Germany to manufacture cotton gins and develop new ones to make cotton cultivation more efficient.¹²⁰

The introduction of new technologies and farming methods were important in teaching the Togolese to adopt a large-scale cotton farming culture. The KWK wanted to develop a culture that revolved around cotton to make them better farmers.¹²¹ German colonial officials recruited wage laborers from the region between 1899-1913 to work the farms but on occasion resorted to forced labor, such as in 1902, when there were labor shortages.¹²² The overall willingness of the Togolese to learn large-scale cotton farming was apparent in Goldberg's Expedition which led to the Tuskegee Expedition. For the KWK, establishing a culture that centered around large-scale cotton farming was equally as important as new farming techniques because it promoted the production of more cotton. After their instruction at the schools in Notsé and Tove, the Togolese would receive their own equipment, plot of land, and seed to establish their own cotton farms.¹²³ The introduction of new technologies and cultivation methods were

¹¹⁸ C.A. Birtwistle, "An Admirably-Managed German Colony," *The African Mail*, April 16, 1909, 273, *Nineteenth Century Collections Online*, Accessed September 5, 2016.

¹¹⁹ Kolonialwirtschaftliches Komitee, *Der Tropenpflanzer: Zeitschrift für tropische Landwirtschaft*, Vol. 10, (Berlin: KolonialWirtschaftliche Komitee), 1906, 358.

¹²⁰ M. Birtwistle, "An Admirably Managed German Colony," *African Mail*, April 16, 1909, tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/3f8Ab0.

¹²¹ Kolonialwirtschaftliches Komitee, *Der Tropenpflanzer: Zeitschrift für tropische Landwirtschaft*, Vol. 12, (Berlin: KolonialWirtschaftliche Komitee), 1908, 154.

¹²² "German," *The African Mail*, September 22, 1905, 617, *Nineteenth Century Collections Online*, Accessed September 25, 2016, tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/3f8Tn1.

¹²³ Birtwistle, "An Admirably Managed German Colony."

well received by the natives because they realized how much easier it made cultivating cotton.¹²⁴ Although Togo was less problematic than Germany's other colonies, like Namibia, there were still reports of violence by German officials.¹²⁵ However, the preferred method by German colonial officials was to persuade rather than coerce.¹²⁶ Through the introduction of new technologies, cultivation techniques, and a culture based on large-scale cotton farming, the KWK hoped to create a self-sustaining more productive labor force.

The Tuskegee Expedition was not designed to yield a large amount of cotton. Instead, it was designed to train the Togolese in large-scale cotton farming with the belief that Togolese would be able to eventually grow large amounts of cotton using the techniques the Tuskegee experts had taught them. The first yield of the expedition produced 14,285 Kgs. of cotton. That number doubled the next year and continued to grow until the end of the expedition in 1907 when the Togolese exported 275,000 Kgs. By 1913, that number would double again.¹²⁷ The only dip in cotton exports was in 1910 and was due to a few factors. First, the heavy rain seasons destroyed much of the crop throughout the colony. Second, much of the cotton crop fell subject to disease which severely impacted the crop yield.¹²⁸ Despite this sharp decrease, cotton exports rose steadily afterward. New technologies, like the expansion of the railroad, made assistance

¹²⁴ "Cotton Prospects in Togoland," *The African Mail*, March 16, 1906, 1208. *Nineteenth Century Collections Online*. Accessed September 5, 2016.

¹²⁵ "Togoland," *Diamond Fields Advertiser*, December 24, 1907, 5. *Nineteenth Century Collections Online*. Accessed September 5, 2016.

German colonial official Herr Horn was fined for causing the death of a native and was dismissed from the colony.

¹²⁶ "Agricultural Development in Togo," *The African Mail*, April 16, 1909, 272. *Nineteenth Century Collections Online*. Accessed September 5, 2016.

¹²⁷ International Congress of Delegated Representatives of Master Cotton Spinners' and Manufacturers' Associations, *The Ninth International Congress of Delegated Representatives of Master Cotton Spinners' and Manufacturers' Associations: Held in Scheveningen, June 9th, 10th, and 11th, 1913*. (Manchester: Taylor, Garnett, Evans, & Co., Ltd., 1913), 356.

¹²⁸ *Der Tropenpflanzer 1910*, 150.

and exportation easier and more efficient. The modernization of Togo through infrastructure, farming technology, and teaching, steadily increased cotton production throughout the expedition.

After Germany's colonies were ceded over to Britain and France after World War I, Togo was divided between the two. France controlled Lomé, Notsé, and Tove and tore down the schools in the aftermath of the end of the German occupation. In 1923, the French equivalent of the German KWK called the Colonial Economic Committee sought to do the same thing as the German KWK: find a way to manage the colony while also exploiting the colony. The French Colonial Committee settled on following the Tuskegee Institute and continuing to train the Togolese in agricultural technology and modern farming techniques.¹²⁹ In 1926, the Colonial Economic Committee evolved into the West African Cotton Company with the sole purpose of continuing the work of the work that the Colonial Economic Committee had started and increasing the number of trained cotton farmers in the colony.¹³⁰ The French system claimed to be an improvement from the German system but it actually was more corrupt and made the locals long for the days of German occupation because, under the French system, local elites were tasked with running the schools and controlling the cotton market. This mostly upset the local market women who had hopes of reclaiming their status in the market economy under the French system. As a result, this led to widespread protests from the women in Lomé.¹³¹ Even under a new system, France was met with the same fate as Germany was during its occupation in

¹²⁹ Henry Bloud, *Le Problème Cottonier et L'Afrique Occidentale Française: Une Solution Nationale* (Paris: Librairie Emile Lrose, 1925), 89.

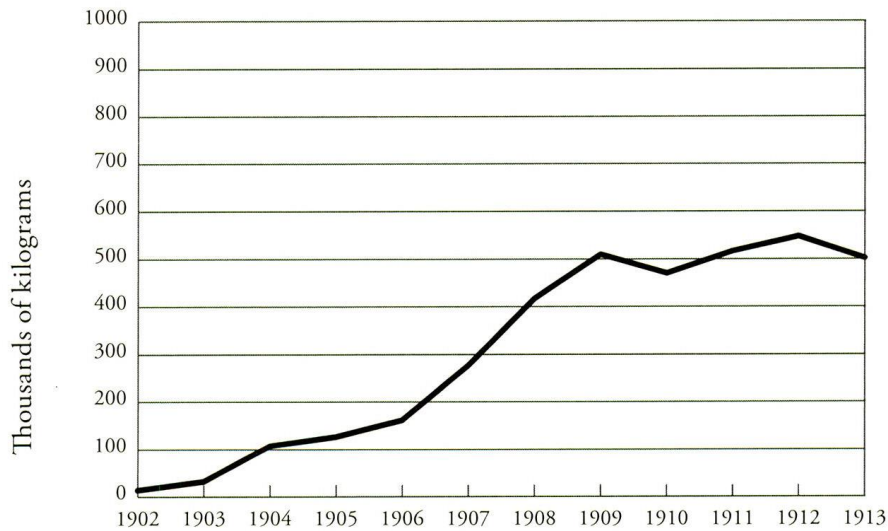
¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, 91.

¹³¹ For more information on the Lomé market uprisings, see Benjamin Lawrance, "Les Révoltes des Femmes: Economic Upheaval and the Gender of Political Authority in Lomé, Togo, 1931-1933," *African Studies Review* 46, no. 1 (April 2003), 43-67, Accessed August 11, 2017. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1514980>.

that it too failed to establish Togo as a profitable contributor to the world cotton market which is why today it mostly operates on a small-scale trade network.

Table 1.1

Figure 1
Cotton exports from Togo, 1902–1913, in thousands of kilograms



SOURCE: Calculated by Sven Beckert from O. F. Metzger, *Unsere Alte Kolonie Togo* (Our old colony Togo) (Neudamm, 1941), 245, 252.

Although Germany failed to transform Togo into a sustainable cotton supply to satisfy its needs, its biggest success was the construction of the railroad that linked the country from the coast to the interior which helped facilitate the movement of cotton and was beneficial for itself, France, and the future of independent Togolese trade. The modernization of the colony and the establishment of the industrial school were a major success for the Tuskegee Institute. Over the course of a decade, the industrial school was successful in teaching the Togolese scientific methods in farming and train them in new technologies to make cotton farming easier and more efficient. Another the success for Booker T. Washington and the Tuskegee Institute was its improved perception on a global scale. Prior to the Tuskegee Expedition, Washington’s views on agriculture and its relation to race were viewed as too outlandish. The successes in Togo changed

that as other European states, like Britain, looked to the guidance of Booker T. Washington to help establish schools of their own to increase production from their colonies and make them self-sufficient yet subservient to their overseers. Numerous committees reached out to Tuskegee to help reform areas such as the Congo, Liberia, and South Africa to see if agricultural education was the key as to how to successfully manage the colonies.

Chapter 3 - Tuskegee in Africa: Implementing the Tuskegee Model Globally as Part of the Civilizing Mission

While the Tuskegee Expedition was gaining attention for its successes in Togo, other European states looked to replicate these successes by instituting what was deemed as the “Tuskegee Model;” establishing schools to train native populations in the agricultural industry and in technical assistance. The work of Tuskegee in Togo and the in the United States had led other international representatives to see how Tuskegee could benefit their African colonies and elsewhere. A letter by Booker T. Washington to other European delegates read, “For years past I have had in mind to invite...persons who are directly engaged or interested in the work that is going on in Africa...for the education and upbuilding of the African peoples.”¹³² Another letter written about Washington’s invite, further detailed what Washington had in mind when he called for the “Friends of Africa” conference, “[Washington] issued invitations for an international conference at Tuskegee of all persons in Europe or America who are directly or indirectly interested in the education and improvement of the negro peoples of Africa...The conference will meet at Tuskegee [January 1912]. Its purpose will be to get...a more definitive notion of the actual problems involved in the redemption of the African peoples, to enable those who are engaged in work in Africa to see for themselves what is being done at Tuskegee in the way of educating black men, and to enable them to decide for themselves to what extent the methods employed at the Tuskegee school can be used to advantage in Africa.”¹³³ The aid of the

¹³² BTW Papers, January 1912.

¹³³ BTW Papers, December 1912.

Tuskegee Institute was called upon to consider establishing schools in South Africa, Namibia, the Soudan, the Congo, Liberia, and other areas of Africa.

The work of Tuskegee in Africa caught the ire of Great Britain. A letter written to Booker T. Washington regarding the matter read, “Those...in the confines of the British Empire are very much interested in the development of the natural facilities of the outlying dependencies, and regard with considerable interest the experiment of cotton growing in Africa.”¹³⁴ Great Britain looked at what the Tuskegee Institute was accomplishing in Togo and sought to replicate that in South Africa. After finally gaining control on the South African state in 1902 after its victory over the Dutch in the Second Boer War (1899-1902), the British wanted to develop the colony’s agricultural output and manage the colony in a way that would benefit both themselves and the black laborers. Lord Albert Henry George Grey, the 4th Earl Grey, was the administrator in South Africa that not only wanted an agricultural school like Tuskegee established in South Africa but wanted Booker T. Washington to head the school. Washington declined the offer but maintained the belief that agricultural education and labor was essential to the advancement of blacks in the world and helped bridge the racial divide.¹³⁵

Establishing technical schools in Africa to train local populations large-scale farming techniques was not unique to Tuskegee. There was a school in Lovedale, South Africa that had been in operation prior to the establishment of Tuskegee in Alabama. Britain had been in the forefront of agricultural education, but Tuskegee was unique for one in particular reason: it was a school that was founded and operated by African Americans who did not need to be coerced into agricultural education, but they instead saw this kind of education as a step towards progress and

¹³⁴ *BTW Papers*, Reel 259, February 10, 1905.

¹³⁵ *Booker T. Washington, Booker T. Washington Papers: Vol. 7, 1903-1904*, ed. Louis Harlan, Raymond Smock (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1977), 181.

pride.¹³⁶ For colonizers, they saw the opposite of progress when establishing technical schools and saw it as a means of civilizing and developing a means of increasing agricultural output.¹³⁷ The Tuskegee Model was appealing for operating within the confines of the racial hierarchy; something both Washington and Tuskegee implicitly supported. Washington was appealing to British government officials because of his views on civilizing through agricultural which is why in 1910 he was invited to London to speak about his views on the topic. In his speech, he voiced that Africans will only work if incentivized and what better of an incentive than the possibility of improving one's own standing in society through reaping what they sow.¹³⁸ Booker T. Washington's ideas were appealing to other British colonies like Sudan (then known as Anglo-Egyptian Soudan).

Among considering the further development of South Africa, Great Britain also considered developing Sudan. President of the World Evangelization Company Levi Lupton reached out to Washington to inquire about sending students to Sudan to train the local populations in large-scale agricultural farming techniques and establishing a technical school that also served as a mission. The goal was a two-fold civilizing mission: civilize the local populations by both agricultural education and Christianity.¹³⁹ Playing to both Washington's strong Christian beliefs and dedication to agricultural education, Washington agreed to send students to the Sudan to take part in the "Sudanese mission."¹⁴⁰ In charge of the expedition to

¹³⁶ *Booker T. Washington, Booker T. Washington Papers: Vol. 8, 1904-1906*, ed. Louis Harlan, Raymond Smock (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1977), 550.

¹³⁷ *Booker T. Washington, Booker T. Washington Papers: Vol. 10, 1909-1911*, ed. Louis Harlan, Raymond Smock (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1977), 378.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, 381.

¹³⁹ Levi Lupton to Booker T. Washington, July 13, 1905, *Booker T. Washington Papers*, Library of Congress, Reel 258.

¹⁴⁰ Levi Lupton to Booker T. Washington, July 19, 1905, *Booker T. Washington Papers*, Library of Congress, Reel 258.

Sudan was John Perry Powell, a graduate of Tuskegee in 1903. Powell arrived in 1905 to oversee one of the missionary farms. After its success, the farm was closed, and Powell continued his instruction at a much larger farm with more students. The first farm Powell was put in charge of was one hundred acres in size and Powell oversaw thirty students. The second farm was more than three thousand acres and Powell's student numbers increased to more than seven hundred. The farm in Sudan differed from the farms in Togo because the focus was not mainly in cotton but in other crops such as wheat, barley, clover, and corn; cotton was more of an aside. Nevertheless, cotton could be grown and the bit that was grown was of good quality.¹⁴¹

The plan for agricultural development in Sudan was like the Togolese plan in that to expedite agricultural output to the world market and make transportation of said products easier, the need for a rail line was needed. A rail line was indeed constructed and was another step in modernizing the Egyptian-Sudan. The school in Sudan showcased more of what Tuskegee had to offer which was more than just raising cotton. The same applications towards cotton growing were also applied to other more regionally suited crops which included scientific research into growing the best and highest yielding crop. The school that Powell oversaw also taught the local populations blacksmithing and machine work, so they could manufacture their own tools; something not taught at the schools in Togo.¹⁴² The work done in Africa continued to gain attention from Great Britain as the school continued to produce and grow. With the successes of Tuskegee in Egyptian-Sudan and Togo, Britain wanted to continue establishing schools in its other colonies. The Tuskegee approach to civilizing excited Britain and gratified Washington but the main issue of procuring enough students to go to Africa to train the local populations was

¹⁴¹ *Booker T. Washington, Booker T. Washington Papers: Vol. 9, 1906-1908*, ed. Louis Harlan, Raymond Smock (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1977), 232.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, 232.

still a major problem. Out of the ten students spread across various colonies, six were already in Egypt-Sudan.¹⁴³ Despite the difficulties in procuring students to go to Africa, the prospects of developing the colonies into profitable and functional economies excited Great Britain. On the other hand, continuing the success of bestowing agricultural education unto the local African populations excited the Tuskegee graduates.¹⁴⁴ These two motivators inspired the next venture which was reforming the Congo after King Leopold's terror.

The carving up of Africa that resulted from the Berlin Conference in 1884, partitioned the Congo to Belgium. King Leopold of Belgium had promised the global community that the Congo would be the new standard of the civilizing mission and that he would showcase the humanitarian efforts made by the Belgian colonial state. These were merely empty promises made which were designed to distract the global community from seeing the reality of the king's exploits. Leopold exploited the Congo for his own benefit by raping the country of its natural resources, such as rubber, and intimidating the local population by use of the *Force Publique* (Belgian colonial army) which did the bidding of the king and exploited it for their own individual gain as well. Leopold did not cede control of the Belgian Congo until 1908 but the outcry for reform of the colony began years before due in large part to British journalist E.D. Morel who witnessed the atrocities and mishandlings firsthand. In 1903, Morel established the Congo Reform Association to address the issues in the Congo and on how to manage the colony effectively and humanely. After reading about the successes of Tuskegee in Togo and its other

¹⁴³ Booker T. Washington to Janet B.C. Marling, July 6, 1905, *Booker T. Washington Papers*, Library of Congress, Reel 259.

¹⁴⁴ "The Southern Letter," February 10, 1905, *Booker T. Washington Papers*, Library of Congress, Reel 259.

ventures in Africa, Morel reached out to the Tuskegee Institute to see if they could help solve the Congo Crisis.

The Congo Reform Association (CRA) appealed to Booker T. Washington's beliefs on free labor the importance of agriculture. The CRA cited how Leopold's policies in the Congo failed to uplift Africans through agricultural labor because they lacked choice and were driven into forced labor under the toil of their white overseers.¹⁴⁵ Robert Park reached out to Washington in a letter that cited this global duty to act by African Americans towards other black races. The letter stated, "As negroes we feel compelled to oppose every form of government that seeks to perpetuate a system of dealing with the negro race that every man of negro blood must forever look upon as fatal to the future of his race."¹⁴⁶ To right the wrongs of Leopold in the Congo, the Congolese needed to be shown the benefits of labor; incentivizing the local populations was key in managing the labor force effectively. Much like in Togo, for the Congolese to reap the benefits of labor and become self-sufficient, they needed to be given freedom of choice and shown the importance of agricultural production which was, in fact, one of the goals of the Tuskegee Institute which it instilled in its own students.¹⁴⁷ Washington believed that Tuskegee could take on the task of reforming a country that had been ripped apart in large part because he compared it to what happened in the United States before the repeal of slavery. Leading the charge in reforming a colony that oppressed an African people under forced labor and intimidation, excited Washington and led to his involvement in reforming the Congo.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁵ *Booker T. Washington, Booker T. Washington Papers: Vol. 8, 1904-1906*, ed. Louis Harlan, Raymond Smock (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1977), 90.

¹⁴⁶ BTW Papers, Park Reel 396, Undated 4.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 87.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 550.

Sociologist and journalist Robert Ezra Park appeal to Booker T. Washington led to Washington's joining of the CRA. Park had been a member of the Congo Reform Association and was later hired by Washington to teach sociology at Tuskegee and to be his ghostwriter. Park's interests in sociology focused on race relations in the United States and as a member of the CRA, he applied a similar focus in examining the relationship between the Congolese and the *Force Publique*. Examining the oppression of the Congolese under the guise of the *Force Publique* caused the push to bring in Washington as his focus on agricultural education centered around bridging the gap between whites and blacks. Park also appealed to the United States' government and the European governments to bring awareness to reforming the Congo; the first time that the work of Tuskegee had been used as an example of reform to the United States' government. First and foremost, however, the Congolese needed to be free of oppression before they could begin improving their own status.¹⁴⁹ Park believed that Tuskegee could help reform the Congo. In a letter to Washington, he talked about the importance of industrial education and the uplifting ability of it. The letter read, "Furthermore, the more I look into the matter [reforming of the Congo], the more I believe that the only possible regeneration of the black race in Africa is through an industrial education, which you stand for...."¹⁵⁰

Although improving the status of the Congolese was important, plans to establish a school were just as equal. Unlike other methods of "civilizing" African populations that created more exploitative class systems, industrial education was thought to be a universal concept in which all aspects of the population could attend and benefit from. Education was often a privilege which not all could afford or had access to; the "Tuskegee Model" was different.¹⁵¹ The

¹⁴⁹ BTW Papers reel 396 undated, 4.

¹⁵⁰ *BTW Papers*, Reel 396, September 10, 1904, 1.

¹⁵¹ Robert Ezra Park, *The Tuskegee Kind of Education* (Alabama: Tuskegee Institute Press, 1923), 7.

cotton schools established by Tuskegee were viewed by the school as the premier method in the “civilizing mission.” It gave Africans, as mentioned in other parts of Africa, the chance to control their own economic and societal standing through agricultural education and development. Park preached that industrial education would bind the region together by connecting labor, education, and community working together in a symbiotic system which forced the people to look inward and outward to better themselves and each other.¹⁵² By choosing to pillage the Congo of its wealth and resources and instituting forced labor by means of intimidation rather than supporting the Tuskegee Model, King Leopold failed to maximize the productivity and potential of the colony.¹⁵³ Although a cotton school was not established, the achievements of the Tuskegee Model in other parts of Africa showed its influence on the “civilizing mission.” Establishing a culture that centered around agriculture was beneficial to both the colonizer and the colonized and its appeal is what attracted the Congo Reform Association to contact Booker T. Washington because it viewed the Tuskegee Institute’s successful work with African Americans in advancing post-slavery and something that European states like Britain and France had failed to achieve¹⁵⁴. The Tuskegee Model appealed to the United States international outlook as is it looked to protect its interests in the Liberian state as France and Britain carving it up for their own economic gains.

Liberia, although recognized by the global community as an independent state, lost some of its territory to Britain and France due to economic claims and influence. To solve the economic issues that plagued Liberia and limit the encroachment of European states into the state, the Liberian Commission was founded in 1909 to protect the interests of Liberia and

¹⁵² Ibid., 7.

¹⁵³ BTW Papers reel 396, 2.

¹⁵⁴ Park, *The Tuskegee Kind of Education*, 5.

investigate interests that might benefit the United States. One such plan to achieve these goals was establishing an industrial school like Tuskegee. By establishing these schools, it would teach the Liberian people to become self-sufficient and productive.¹⁵⁵ However, African Americans who returned to Liberia looked at the native Liberians as inferior; much the same attitude White European colonizers had toward native populations. During the International Conference of the Negro, which looked at how African Americans could assist Africa in “modernizing”, Bishop Heard of the Methodist Episcopal Church described the following about native Liberians and the differences between them and African American “Returnees”, “The immigrant population [‘Returnees’] looked down on the natives just like the white man looks down on the [negro] in the South.”¹⁵⁶

Prior to the founding of the Liberian Commission, there was an earlier expedition to Liberia to see if constructing an industrial school was a practical idea. Three men, R.E. Smith, Charley Smith, and Wade Smith, arrived in Liberia and encountered a few of the same hardships that John Robinson and his men did when they arrived in Togo. The biggest obstacle was illness which slowed down the expedition as they pushed inward surveying the landscape. The men also noted the familiarity that the Liberians had with raising crops but unlike in Togo, they were unfamiliar with growing cotton and like the expedition in Togo they too noted the potential the Liberians had in being able to grasp modernized farming methods and technology. After noticing that the local peoples were more familiar with growing other types of agricultural goods besides cotton and were also not employed to focus on cotton growing, they focused much of their

¹⁵⁵ “What the Christian World is Doing,” *The Congregationalist and Advance*, January 17, 1918, 69.

¹⁵⁶ Royal African Society, *African Affairs* (London: Published for the Royal African Society by the Oxford University Press), 420.

energy in training them in what they were familiar with such as coffee, palm oil, and rubber.¹⁵⁷ Wade Smith, a member of the expedition wrote, "...the people do not plant cotton and corn as we did in the states...the people here have never tried to raise cotton to a success, therefore, they don't know just what it will do."¹⁵⁸ Assisting the Liberians, not the African Americans who had returned to Africa under the American Colonization Society (ACS), was a priority of Tuskegee's expedition. As Smith wrote, "The people of Liberia tell me and show me that they want the American negro to help them and they will help you. This country needs the hard-working industrious American negro...."¹⁵⁹ The belief of the men on the expedition carried the beliefs of the institution in showcasing African American progress the universal duty to uplift black peoples around the globe.

The issues that plagued Liberia and the interest of establishing an industrial school in the state played right into Washington's beliefs about the importance of agricultural education. Young men were already interested in wanting a school in which they could better themselves and showcase how Africans were able to be valuable members of society. In a letter written to Booker T. Washington, three students expressed their desire to attend Tuskegee, which would help lead the push towards the establishment of the Booker Washington Institute in Liberia. The letter read, "We are three young men...employed in the government service...but our great desire, our long looked for desire is to accomplish something that we think will be more useful to the world: we...desire to come over to your institution [Tuskegee]."¹⁶⁰ Emmitt J. Scott, secretary of the Tuskegee Institute, was a member of the Liberian Commission and was tasked with

¹⁵⁷ "Wade Smith to F.S. Miller," *Liberian Bulletin*, June 5, 1901.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁰ BTW Papers, July 9, 1910.

securing both men and resources from Washington and Tuskegee. Rather than sending students from Tuskegee to head to Africa, like had been done in previous expeditions, five Liberian students were sent to Tuskegee to be educated and then after graduation, teach the students there.¹⁶¹ This change was due in large part to cut the cost of having to send to students to Liberia which would have to be paid for by Tuskegee. Another reason was to alleviate the difficulty of having to procure students to go Liberia, something that was difficult in previous expeditions. Washington realized the potential that Liberians had in improving their economic status and becoming self-sufficient because of how his views on the importance of industrial education. Establishing industrial schools and gaining the knowledge that agricultural education provided, would allow the Liberian people to unlock the bounty of their land.¹⁶² By doing so, this would also benefit the United States because it would open trade. Benefiting the greater power was the real motive behind the “civilizing mission;” the United States agenda being no different from its European counterparts.

Interests in Liberia involved more than just economic gain. There were efforts to improve race relations in Africa between the colonizer and the colonized and in Liberia between native Liberians and African American transplants from the United States. The government of Liberia, run by African Americans who had returned to Africa under the ACS, wanted to improve the conditions of Liberians but were more interested in the improvement of returnees to Africa rather than native Liberians. In a piece written by Emmitt J. Scott, member of the U.S. commission to Liberia, he explained this in further detail, “The United States Government sent a...commission to Liberia to investigate conditions there and to report how this country can best serve the

¹⁶¹ *Booker T. Washington, Booker T. Washington Papers: Vol. 10, 1909-1911*, ed. Louis Harlan, Raymond Smock (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1977), 190.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, 532.

republic in the present exigency...the people of the United States share...the interest of the colored people of the United States in Liberia...and to strengthen the internal organization of the [Liberian] government.”¹⁶³ The “Returnees” [African Americans that emigrated back to Africa] in Liberia wanted assistance from the United States for their own benefit. An article in the *Liberian Register* summed Liberia’s wishes as follows: First, they wanted the United States to take over their debt; second, they wanted the United States to supervise the Liberian treasury; third, they wanted the US to strengthen various branches in the government including the military, agriculture, and education; and finally, to protect Liberian interests.¹⁶⁴

After her death in 1909, Caroline Phelps-Stokes, longtime supporter and benefactor to improving education among the African American community and in Africa, she left her fortune to continue her dedication to these causes. In 1911, the Phelps-Stokes Fund was created to continue her work. The Phelps-Stokes family had been involved in Liberia dating back to 1947 and interest was renewed in 1920 as it again looked to continue and expand its work in Africa.¹⁶⁵ The Phelps-Stokes Plan had a blueprint for developing the agriculture in Africa which consisted of seven points: first, develop respect for the cultivation of the soil by showing the pupils the dependence of humanity upon products of the soil, not only in Africa but throughout the world; second, show that thoroughness and foresight in examining environmental conditions would greatly improve farming; third teachers need to be trained in scientific farming methods and adapt to changing ones; fourth, examine what had been done successfully in agricultural around the globe and adapt to African needs; fifth, examine what crops would be most profitable for

¹⁶³ Emmett Scott, "The American Commissioners in Liberia." *The Independent*: 67, 3168 (1909), 403.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 405.

¹⁶⁵ Anson Phelps-Stokes, *Negro Status and Race Relations in the United States, 1911-1946: The Thirty-five Year Report of the Phelps-Stokes Fund* (New York: Phelps-Stokes Fund, 1948), 96.

marketing; sixth, land conservation; and seventh, show the importance of soil maintenance and science.¹⁶⁶ The committee also noted that wage labor was better than forced labor because it gave Africans a sense of accomplishment and equated to both higher production and less resistance.

Industrial education was equally important as agricultural education. It taught students the value of trades in daily activities. The “Tuskegee Model” was important in showing Africans how blacks in America made successful use in the training of industrial labor and sciences. The material needs of the people should be taught in an educational and economic matter and that was the purpose of industrial education. The same attention to teaching and education as seen in agricultural was given to industrial education in examining the needs of Africa.¹⁶⁷ Much like John Robinson’s views on westernized education and its role in “uplifting” the Togolese, others, such as S.G. Ferguson of the Maryland Academy of Philosophy, shared in the idea in elevating the economic possibilities to those of African Americans. A letter from Ferguson to Washington read, “The Maryland Academy of Philosophy have followed with much interest the incomparable achievements of the Tuskegee Institute which...is accomplishing much in the field of scientific knowledge. In organizing an institution such as you have...you have placed West Africans and the Negro under an inextinguishable debt to yourself and your coadjutors...[We] have...decided to approach you with the view of securing free admission into the said institution [Tuskegee] for one or more deserving Liberians.”¹⁶⁸ Providing education, meaning Western education and overwriting native teachings more or less, was another aspect of the “civilizing

¹⁶⁶ African Education Commission, *Education In East Africa: a Study of East, Central And South Africa by the Second African Education Commission Under the Auspices of the Phelps-Stokes Fund, In Cooperation With the International Education Board* (New York: Phelps-Stokes Fund, 1925), 39.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid., 43.

¹⁶⁸ *BTW Papers*, Reel 259, October 20, 1905.

mission.” Improving infrastructure and agricultural, giving Africans a sense of pride in labor, and making it easier for the colonizer to manage the population were also goals of the “civilizing mission.” Aspects which made both the “Tuskegee Model” and the Phelps-Stokes fund appealing to that mission of “helping Africa’s children grow and develop.”¹⁶⁹ Liberia was a successful example of this.

The combined efforts of the Liberian government and American investment paid off in 1931 as the school was finally able to begin construction. One thousand acres were allocated to the Booker Washington Agricultural and Industrial Institute and five thousand dollars were given annually for the next ten years for building construction and expansion. The members in charge of the school consisted of the members who helped fund the endeavor and those from the Liberian Government. Those members included: Henry West who was head of the American Colonization Society in Washington, Dr. Thomas Donohugh of the Methodist Episcopal Board of Foreign Missions, Dr. Robert Russa Moton, principal of Tuskegee after Washington passed away, Dr. Anson Phelps-Stokes, Canon of Washington Cathedral and President of the Phelps-Stokes Fund, President of the Republic of Liberia, and other Liberian officials. The curriculum consisted of agriculture, technology, science, and local culture. The United States government and the League of Nations supported the establishment of a school like Tuskegee and US involvement assisting Liberia.¹⁷⁰ The students later apply what they had learned and grow and maintain their own plots of land designated by the school. Where the school in Liberia would differ from the school in Togo was that it taught the students trades outside of farming, such as

¹⁶⁹ "Liberating Liberia," *New York Times* (New York), November 21, 1933.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid.

farming and blacksmithing, which showcased the full capabilities of what Tuskegee had to offer.¹⁷¹

The curriculum of the school would follow the same curriculum as Tuskegee and the schools in Togo. It would focus on practical subjects that students could apply to their work in industrial jobs. Arithmetic, grammar, reading, and geography were taught in conjunction with the industrial education they received and was designed around it. Arithmetic courses centered around surface measurements and time, geography focused on the landscape of the country their own country and less on the globe, and foreign languages were not taught whatsoever because it had no practical application to industrial education.¹⁷² The cost of attending the school was free. Students that were granted admission could attend for free but were required to work in lieu of paying tuition. This work-study program gave all students the opportunity to attend college regardless of economic status. By instituting the “Tuskegee Model,” the goals of teaching the dignity of labor and teaching the trades of industrial labor were a strong possibility with the given curriculum and incentives.¹⁷³ Putting this into practice was the next step and the Liberians seemed like a good fit for the school and its mission.

Upon first analysis of the Liberians attention and knowledge of farming practices, the initial findings were rather impressive. They had knowledge of plant life, soil management, the effects of varying weather conditions and how they affected crops, how much labor was required to manage a farm, and pest control.¹⁷⁴ Much like the Togolese, the Liberians needed to be

¹⁷¹ “‘Tuskegee in Africa’: Planned in Liberia,” *New York Times (1923-Current File)*, Dec 20, 1931, N4, <http://search.proquest.com.er.lib.k-state.edu/docview/99215310?accountid=11789>.

¹⁷² *BTW Papers*, Reel 992, 5.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*, 6.

¹⁷⁴ Phelps-Stokes Fund-African Education Commission. *Phelps-Stokes Reports on Education in Africa* (London: Oxford University Press, 1962), 92.

updated in modern farming techniques to maintain better farms and produce more. To accomplish this, the Phelps-Stokes committee gave a few suggestions: first, the Liberians needed to be taught the importance of industrial education which would be made possible through the construction of an industrial school, second, they needed to sell both cash crops and foodstuff and not solely rely on the sale of cash crops to grow their economy, and third, modern farming techniques, such as the introduction of draft animals and machinery, were important in modernizing and advancing Liberia.¹⁷⁵ Farming was just one of the programs taught by the Tuskegee Institute but was the most important to teach the Liberians. For Tuskegee and the Liberian Commission, this was important in showcasing the progress of African Americans and the capabilities of African labor, education, and culture.¹⁷⁶

Members on the board in Liberia realized that by offering the breadth of what Tuskegee had to offer and applying it in Liberia, they could both maximize the full potential of the Liberian people and reap the benefits of their work. In addition, Tuskegee viewed the institute in Liberia as a civilizing mission because they saw that the African Americans that had gone back to Africa had gained the tools necessary to develop to a modern society and therefore should serve as an example to the Liberian people of the benefits of agriculture.¹⁷⁷ Heavy interest and collateral were given to Liberia by Tuskegee because of its close connection to the American South, most importantly the African Americans that left the south to live in Liberia.¹⁷⁸ But African Americans who had returned to Africa were viewed native Liberians differently. They viewed them as Europeans had viewed native peoples: uncivilized. Scott described these differences, "It

¹⁷⁵ Ibid., 94.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid., 97.

¹⁷⁷ Emmett J. Scott, "The American Commissioners in Liberia," 403.

¹⁷⁸ "Liberating Liberia," *New York Times*, 1933 November 21.

was an interesting sight to see...the various tribes...in their varicolored costumes of dress and undress...The natives manifested...quite as much interest in the proceedings [on the commission to Liberia] as the more intelligent and more highly civilized Liberians [African American “Returnees”]...The Americo-Liberians looked, for all the world, like the ordinary type of the colored people of the United States...[and] the natives...with their loosely worn and highly colored costumes...”¹⁷⁹ Despite this cultural hierarchy, investment in education and modernization through these schools was America’s contribution to the “civilizing mission” and its major purpose in involvement in Liberia.

The Booker Washington Agricultural and Industrial Institute in Kakata, Liberia was the first agricultural and vocational school in Liberia and is still in operation to this day. The funds allocated to the construction of the school and the importance given to industrial and agricultural education made it possible to grow and thrive. The school became one of the most significant accomplishments in African American history and arguably the greatest achievement for the Tuskegee Institute.¹⁸⁰ The funds were used in continuing to expand the education of the Liberian peoples and to strengthen the ties between the local population and the African Americans that had emigrated there.¹⁸¹ However, even after a century of African Americans and native Liberians living together, there was still a need to distinguish between the differences between “Negro Americans...and indigenous Africans.”¹⁸² The school has since evolved into a community college but still offers programs in agricultural and industrial education.

¹⁷⁹ Scott, “American Commissioners in Liberia,” 406.

¹⁸⁰ “Negro’s Progress Proclaimed as Epic,” *New York Times*, Feb 12, 1949, <http://search.proquest.com.er.lib.k-state.edu/docview/105770332?accountid=11789>, 9.

¹⁸¹ “Education is Held Africa’s Main Need,” *New York Times*, Feb 24, 1946, <http://search.proquest.com.er.lib.k-state.edu/docview/107459123?accountid=11789>, 23.

¹⁸² “Negro Progress Proclaimed as Epic,” 9.



Figure 1.2. *Booker T. Washington Institute, Liberia, January 1940: Litchfield House, Principal's House, January 1940, Call Number: LOT 11192-2 [item] [P&P] (Library of Congress, Washington D.C.), Accessed December 6, 2017, <http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.pnp/cph.3a50866>.*

The Phelps-Stokes Fund's goals of improving education in Africa and improving the overall lives of Africans beyond Liberia. The Phelps-Stokes Fund examined many areas of Africa that could benefit from the Tuskegee Model. In Northern Rhodesia (present-day Zimbabwe), the most underdeveloped part of the colony, the potential was dependent on outside intervention to see that the colony could succeed. The study in 1924 showed that industrial education had been taught in the London Missionary Society which lied in the northeast section of the colony between Lake Mweru and the southern end of Lake Tanganyika at the Mbereshi Boarding School. The male students were taught carpentry and ironwork and studied cotton growing, carpentry, blacksmithing, and other trades.¹⁸³ The establishment of a curriculum that trained students in industrial education appealed to the Phelps-Stokes Fund and thus thought that the Tuskegee Model would be a great fit to further develop the program to benefit both the

¹⁸³ African Education Commission, *Education in East Africa*, 261.

students and the colony.¹⁸⁴ In addition to exploring the possibilities of Northern Rhodesia, Bechuanaland was another colony that had potential.

Bechuanaland (modern-day Botswana) was a small British protectorate but had numerous agricultural possibilities. The protectorate was claimed by the British in 1885 to calm the fighting between the local populations and the Boers. The climate of the colony is sub-tropical and receives adequate rainfall compared to neighboring areas. The study by the Phelps-Stokes Fund showed the local populations were familiar with growing corn, tobacco, potatoes, and beans. Given the favorable climatic conditions, attempts were made to introduce cotton growing. Noting that the survival and progress of the region depended on agriculture, the committee made recommendations to see that the native population was trained to understand agriculture better and maximize their resources. They also noted that industrial education outside of agriculture was imperative to road construction, mechanical engineering, and other necessary trades.¹⁸⁵ The “Tuskegee Model” was recommended to facilitate the progress of Bechuanaland and the neighboring British protectorates, like Swaziland and Basutoland (modern-day Lesotho), but it was never implemented as Britain implemented its own model which was like Tuskegee. The “Tuskegee Model” was the standard for industrial education and served as a platform which others could build upon.

The Tuskegee Model had been championed in Africa as it had been in the South but also received attention in Latin America and Asia. It was viewed as an efficient way to manage the local population, exploit its local production from the farms it had erected, and “civilized” the peoples of the vested areas. Much the same way that wealthy white entrepreneurs wanted to

¹⁸⁴ Ibid., 265.

¹⁸⁵ Ibid., 383.

maintain the racial hierarchy wanted to exploit African Americans, colonial governments, private enterprises, and educational leaders wanted to accomplish similar goals.

The Philippines was one of the Asiatic regions which educators that believed in the “civilizing” qualities of Tuskegee Model would benefit from. Leading this cause was Paul Monroe who was an educator that graduated from Columbia University and was president of the World Federation of Educational Associations. Monroe’s views centered around “morality” and Christian ideology which is what he admired most about the Tuskegee Model. As he wrote in an article titled, *Problems in Education*, in the Educational Yearbook (1933):

“Such peoples [Filipinos] need a moral education...The education of a Hampton or Tuskegee, not that of a New England college or high school, is needed.”¹⁸⁶

Although there was never a school established, the “civilizing” aspect of the Tuskegee Model spanned globally which included not just Asia, Africa, the United States, but even included Latin America. The Tuskegee Model appealed to philanthropists invested in Puerto Rico because of its agricultural potential, “willingness” of the natives, and its potential for “civilizing.” As early as 1902, Dr. William Torrey Harris, educator and avid supporter of the Tuskegee Model, the potential for the “Tuskegee Model” to succeed. While agreeing that a higher education was important, Harris believed that industrial education allowed to the Filipinos to develop the full resources of their country by learning the trades, commerce, and agriculture. .”]¹⁸⁷ The idea was to develop a school like that of Tuskegee and Hampton, but it never came to fruition. Despite the failure of an industrial school like Tuskegee to be established, this type of education was the

¹⁸⁶ Paul Monroe, “Problems of Education,” in *Educational Yearbook of the International Institute of Teachers College, Columbia University* (New York: Teachers College Columbia University, 1933), 76.

¹⁸⁷ Samuel Mccune Lindsay, "Education in Porto Rico." *The Independent* vol. 54, no. 2798 (17 July 1902): 13.

perfect model for controlling the local population. For this reason, it was why it was so appealing to the Phelps-Stokes Commission.

The adoption of the Tuskegee Model was an appealing option for both European states and US interest because it had many attractive possibilities. First, it allowed the native populations a sense of self-government without being autonomous. Second, it did not require any work from the colonizing party because the work was being done by both Tuskegee and various interest groups. Third, the idea of industrial education and its relation to race appealed to African Americans but in larger part appealed to Whites. Controlling the populations and maintaining a racial hierarchy through labor while at the same time providing said population with an education and a sense of autonomy with minimal collateral was an ideal situation for the parties involved in the colony. But this ideal situation was not without its problems and was more of a product of its time. Long-term profitability and sustainability of these schools worried many European powers. The migration of labor to urbanized areas associated with industrialization was the larger issue. As more African Americans moved to urbanized areas which offered more incentives, agricultural and industrial education under the Tuskegee Model became outdated. In addition to this, procuring students to go to Africa became more difficult to come by. Views of segregation also tore apart the idea of industrial education as it was seen as more divisive than helpful.

Chapter 4 - Past its Prime: The End of the Tuskegee Model of Education

Despite graduating from Tuskegee and receiving the skills necessary to become more productive farmers and tradesmen, African American farmers still were less-favored than whites for the same jobs. Those who were given the opportunities were at a severe disadvantage because of the education gap between white and African American schooling in industrial training. One of the major criticisms of contemporaries of that time about Booker T. Washington and Tuskegee was that the school did not actually educate students to fully grasp the breadth of technical education but more so showed them merely how to practice what they saw and train them for a life of servitude and disadvantage.

The Tuskegee Model failed in both the United States and Africa ultimately the same reason: it failed to meet the aspirations of both African Americans and Africans. It did not offer a future above menial labor and servitude. Skilled labor jobs created by the Tuskegee Model did not bridge the racial divide between whites and blacks but rather kept each respected race in their lanes. For this reason, it appealed to whites in America and Europe but chastised by African Americans and Africans. By maintaining the status quo, black self-determination was nearly impossible to obtain by following the Tuskegee Model and thus it began to collapse as the “anti-Tuskegee” movement gained steady momentum in America and then Africa beginning in the early part of the twentieth century.

The era of Jim Crow limited the possibilities of African Americans to advance in the South. The Tuskegee Model tried to work in the confines of Jim Crow so that African Americans could succeed despite the severe restriction placed on them. Du Bois saw how African

Americans were undervalued compared to their white counterparts and how Tuskegee supported the exploitation of black labor. The compliance of the white labor vote of the South was further insured by throwing white and black laborers into competing economic groups. Washington failed to understand the connection of the Tuskegee Model with the labor movement of the world. Instead, his idea was to develop skilled labor under the benevolent leadership of white capital.¹⁸⁸ Jim Crow did have a negative effect on industrial education but there was another issue that plagued industrial education and that was industrialization.

Washington's focus on industrial education over higher learning was what appealed to Northern whites in the United States who wanted to preserve the racial hierarchy in America and European governments who wanted a more efficient way to manage their colonial subjects in Africa and Asia. In Washington's vision, African Americans would utilize the skills they had learned from years of manual labor under slavery and apply them to jobs in which they could earn a wage and over a period of time the differences between races would become insignificant as they slowly occupied the same job space. This was laid out in Washington's Atlanta Exposition Address in 1895 where he stated:

“Ignorant and inexperienced, it is not strange that in the first years of our new life [post the abolition of slavery] we began at the top instead of at the bottom; that a seat in congress or the state legislature was more sought than real estate or industrial skill... “Cast down your bucket where you are”...cast it down in agriculture, mechanics...and in the professions.”¹⁸⁹

This speech became known as the Atlanta Compromise. This compromise, while it did garner support from the white community, many African Americans saw a sole focus on

¹⁸⁸ W. E. B. Du Bois, *Black Folk, Then and Now* (New York: Kraus-Thomson Organization, 1975), 213.

¹⁸⁹ Booker T. Washington, “Atlanta Exposition Address 1895,” *Black History Bulletin*, 68.1, 18.

industrial education and the dismissal of higher education. This also came across as reaffirming the racial hierarchy in which African Americans were given an unfair chance of succeeding compared to whites. The harshest critic of the Tuskegee Model of Education was W.E.B. Du Bois.

William Edward Burghardt Du Bois was a graduate of Fisk University, one of the few African American colleges that provided higher education for African Americans, and Harvard. He was also a staunch believer in the Pan-African Movement, civil rights activist, and co-founder of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) in 1909. Du Bois was familiar with Washington and Tuskegee as he was offered a teaching position at Tuskegee but declined because he was vehemently opposed the Hampton/Tuskegee Model preached by Washington. Du Bois saw Washington's Tuskegee Model of education as detrimental to the advancement of African Americans. Du Bois criticized Washington for his need to appease wealthy white northerners by promoting menial labor for African Americans which continued to exploit them:

“Mr. Washington distinctly asks that black people give up, at least for the present three things: First, political power, second, insistence on civil rights, third higher education of Negro youths, and concentrate all their energies on industrial education, the accumulation of wealth, and the conciliation of the South... In these years since Booker T. Washington's Atlanta speech there have occurred the [following]: disenfranchisement of the Negro, the legal creation of a distinct status of civil inferiority, and the steady withdrawal of aid from institutions for the higher training of the Negro.”¹⁹⁰

¹⁹⁰ W.E.B. Du Bois, *W. E. B. Du Bois Speaks Volume 1: Speeches and Addresses* (New York: Pathfinder Press, 1970), 128-129.

Despite Du Bois' criticism of Washington, he did believe that industrial education was important and a valuable aspect of education. He believed that industrial education and higher education could work in tandem to make African Americans an invaluable part of society. He noted that the spread of intelligence alone would not solve the "Negro problem." If African Americans were to assume the responsibility of raising the standards of living among themselves, then the power of intelligent work and leadership towards proper industrial ideals needed to be placed in their hands. A system of trade schools supported by both the state and private aid needed to be added to the secondary-school system.¹⁹¹

The system of education that Du Bois supported was championed by many African Americans and white abolitionists. The Tuskegee Model was criticized for inhibiting African Americans from upward mobility but was attractive to some because offered immediate earning potential. Critics like Du Bois noted the narrow focus of industrial education and how its practicality missed the most glaring reality: African Americans in the South were still viewed as second class and were less desirable as laborers compared to whites.

Industrial education trained African Americans in manual labor and skilled labor but did not prepare them for advancement in industry. Industrialization developed in the South after the Civil War and remained heavily invested in agriculture. The Tuskegee Institute was designed to prepare African Americans for a life of industry, but it did not prepare them to reach much higher than low-end production jobs. Favoritism of white laborers over African Americans was a harsh reality. Booker T. Washington still believed that the ordinary training that students

¹⁹¹ Ibid., 135.

received in school put too much emphasis on merely intellectual side of education.”¹⁹² Du Bois noted limitations of industrial education in the era of industrialization and modernization:

“...the lack of success of the industrial education of Negroes has come not because of the absence of desperate and devoted effort, but because of changes in the world which the industrial school did not foresee... But, meantime what has happened to these vocations and trades? Machines and new industrial organizations have remade the economic world and ousted these trades either from old technique or their economic significance.”¹⁹³

The critique of industrial education brought forth by Du Bois hit the center of one of industrial education’s major problems and was why technical schools began to abandon a solely industrial education curriculum and move towards a more expansive one that was more in line with Du Bois’ ideas of African American advancement.

Robert Russa Moton succeeded Booker T. Washington as principal of Tuskegee after Washington’s death in 1915. Moton looked to maintain the tradition of keeping Tuskegee a strictly technical school but the pressure to change the curriculum of Tuskegee continued to mount from African Americans and civil rights activists who argued that technical education schools like Tuskegee were making peace with segregation and undervaluing African American potential. Like Washington, Moton doubled down on expounding the importance of industrial schooling and continuously assured his constituents that “The time is not yet in sight when Tuskegee Institute will not be needed as a training school...such as it has been through all the

¹⁹² Booker T. Washington, "Relation of Industrial Education to National Progress," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 33, no. 1 (1909): 1-12, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1011736>, 10.

¹⁹³ W.E.B. Du Bois, *W. E. B. Du Bois Speaks Volume 2: Speeches and Addresses* (New York: Pathfinder Press, 1970), 62-64.

years of its history.”¹⁹⁴ Moton’s continued stance on industrial education added fuel to Du Bois’ and other educated African Americans’ fire as they continued to speak out against the Hampton/Tuskegee model. They continued to argue that Tuskegee did not provide adequate training for African Americans to succeed, it undervalued their abilities, and that it merely trained them to be subservient to whites.¹⁹⁵ Despite the criticism of schools like Tuskegee and Hampton, Du Bois did not want the schools to be shut down or abandon technical education but rather make higher education a priority.¹⁹⁶

The Tuskegee Model could not withstand the shifting dynamics in America as moves towards self-determination for African Americans ramped up in the latter part of the 1920s and onward. According to Du Bois, “...the industrial school has failed because with a definite object it lacked appropriate method to gain it.”¹⁹⁷ Industrial education was unable to adapt to “new branches of industry, new techniques [that] are continually opening...[which] call for changing curricula and adjustments [which are] puzzling for a school and a set course of study [like Tuskegee].”¹⁹⁸ Industrial education was still seen as providing African Americans with a sense of autonomy and independence which is why it did not want to be totally abandoned by both the likes of wealthy whites and educated African Americans like Du Bois. The difference between Du Bois and interest groups invested in schools like Tuskegee was that interest groups still wanted to promote technical education over higher education. They believed that the institutions most effectively leading the way to “self-determination” of the African American race were both

¹⁹⁴ Robert Russa Moton, *Principal’s Annual Report 1929-1930*, Tuskegee Archives, 3-4.

¹⁹⁵ W. E. B. Du Bois, *Letter from W.E.B. Du Bois to J. E. Davis, June 16, 1917*. W. E. B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312). Special Collections and University Archives, University of Massachusetts Amherst Libraries.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁷ W. E. B. Du Bois, *W. E. B. Du Bois Speaks Volume 2: Speeches and Addresses* (New York: Pathfinder Press, 1970), 63.

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.* 65.

Hampton and Tuskegee. The need of higher education colleges like Fisk and Howard were noted but the belief was that there was a wider need of such schools as Hampton and Tuskegee to help African Americans get on their feet economically¹⁹⁹.

Schools like Tuskegee and Hampton faced opposition not just from educated African Americans and proponents of African American self-determination, but also from their own students.²⁰⁰ Realizing that opportunities were slim in the job market and that an industrial education did not necessarily mean job security and success, students demanded that the system of education at Tuskegee and Hampton change. In 1927, the students at Tuskegee went on strike and voiced similar complaints. A letter written in *The Nation* noted that the ‘Hampton idea’ of education had long and tirelessly been exploited. It was based on a program of industrial training for African Americans, discouragement of college work, and the exploitation of methods of ‘learning by doing.’ The program was forced to change after the South established certain standards of education for teachers, both black and white, and schools like Hampton and Tuskegee were not meeting those standards. This change in educational standards led to Hampton graduates becoming teachers, physicians, and lawyers instead of cooks, carpenters, and farmers.²⁰¹

The strikes that occurred at African American industrial schools and the changing policies in educational standards for teachers finally dismantled the Tuskegee Model of education. White philanthropists pledged large sums of financial support technical training at schools like Tuskegee to protect their interests, but it was too late.²⁰² Tuskegee continued to

¹⁹⁹ "Education the Only Way," *New York Times* (New York, N.Y.), October 01, 1924.

²⁰⁰ Robert Russa Moton, "The Negro: Steady Progress," *London Times* 1922 July 4, vi.

²⁰¹ W. E. B. Du Bois, "The Hampton Strike," November 2, 1927, W. E. B. Du Bois Papers (MS 312), Special Collections and University Archives, University of Massachusetts Amherst Libraries.

²⁰² "Education the Only Way," *New York Times* (New York, N.Y.), October 01, 1924.

expand its course catalog with a certain “Du Bois ambition” while exterminating the “Booker Washington Education” and reluctantly Moton accepted the changes to Tuskegee.²⁰³

Throughout the South, African Americans brought the attention of the public the education of their children. Shockingly enough, they were met increasingly sympathetic and encouraging responses both from the state and from private citizens. The change in attitude on the part of both races had developed because of cooperation between Northern white men, Southern White men, and African Americans.²⁰⁴ African American enrollment slowly began to rise despite pressures from whites who wanted to maintain the already established hierarchy. Even though African Americans still comprised of predominantly of the agricultural class, they sought to dismantle the preconceived notions that the sphere of agriculture was where they should stay.²⁰⁵

Table 1.2

Table 3.--Enrollment in institutions of higher education for Negroes, 1939-40 and 1929-30, by type of institution.

Type of institution	Total		Preparatory		Collegiate		Graduate		Professional ¹	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Total:										
1939-40	30,111	30,503	1,140	1,899	18,407	16,068	304	367	6,218	9,879
1929-30	11,823	14,437	2,368	2,989	8,478	4,825	34	23	4,069	6,059
Percentage increase 1939-40 is over 1929-30	79.1	88.7	-52.9	-36.9	127.9	245.4	794.1	1568.9	53.8	48.3
Four-year institutions:²										
Publicly controlled:										
1939-40	6,376	7,040	96	104	4,464	4,999	48	36	1,467	1,901
1929-30	1,534	1,479	789	676	632	566	--	--	112	236
Privately controlled:										
1939-40	10,063	11,446	324	368	6,081	9,287	256	331	2,427	1,427
1929-30	7,287	8,958	1,126	1,077	4,622	3,752	34	23	1,492	1,424
Teacher-education institutions:										
Publicly controlled:										
1939-40	1,744	6,187	--	--	--	--	--	--	1,744	6,187
1929-30	1,534	4,418	--	--	--	--	--	--	1,534	4,418
Privately controlled:										
1939-40	289	628	211	274	--	--	--	--	178	264
1929-30	490	581	--	--	--	--	--	--	490	581
Junior colleges:										
Publicly controlled:										
1939-40	464	724	70	90	294	584	--	--	--	--
1929-30	199	466	121	104	78	272	--	--	--	--
Privately controlled:										
1939-40	1,176	2,468	425	773	748	1,495	--	--	--	--
1929-30	378	675	239	468	146	232	--	--	--	--

David Blöse, *Statistics of the Education of Negroes: (a Decade of Progress)* (Washington, D.C.: Federal Security Agency, U.S. Office of Education, 1943), 4.

²⁰³ James D. Anderson, “The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935,” (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2014), Accessed March 21, 2018. ProQuest Ebook Central, 274.

²⁰⁴ Robert Russa Moton, *Finding a Way Out: An Autobiography*, (Maryland: McGrath Pub. Co., 1920), 269.

²⁰⁵ “The American Negro,” *London Times* (1930 April 22), 11.

The abandonment of the Tuskegee Model in the South was a huge step in the advancement of African Americans. Dubois noted the drastic change in schools like Hampton over a short period of time since his first visit. More students began attending college in the latter part of the 1920s and into the 1930s. He noted that a speech he gave in 1906 which criticized the Hampton model was not well received at the time but when he went back in 1936, the students were “wondering what to do with the industrial equipment.”²⁰⁶

Although the Tuskegee Model was criticized since the turn of the twentieth century for how it took advantage of African American labor, it was the first initiative to provide an education for African Americans who could not afford to go to the higher education colleges like Fisk. It also promoted the idea of providing African Americans a living wage which was difficult to come by in the era of Jim Crow and for some it did make good on its promise. Despite the failures of the Tuskegee Model, it influenced the establishment of similar schools in the United States to continue Tuskegee’s ideology.

Although industrial education was largely a southern phenom, Tuskegee’s benefactors hailed predominantly from northern states, therefore, it is not terribly surprising that schools would be established in the North. One of these schools was the Ambidexter Industrial and Normal Institute in Springfield, Illinois. The school was founded by clergyman G.H. McDaniel in 1901 who wanted to “accomplish for the negroes in the north what Booker T. Washington’s great school is doing for the colored people of the South.” By 1906, the school was offering many of the same courses as Tuskegee minus agricultural education. By 1908 after the

²⁰⁶ W. E. B. Du Bois, *The Education of Black People: Ten Critiques, 1906-1960* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press), 1973, 15.

resignation of McDaniel, the school was to close because it too was unable to afford to maintain itself and in 1909 it became a boarding house.²⁰⁷



Figure 1.3. “Ambidexter Industrial and Normal Institute. Springfield, Illinois.” Photo provided by Sangamon Valley Collection at the Lincoln Library

Elsewhere in the United States, other Tuskegee-type schools were established. In 1919, Floyd Brown, a graduate of Tuskegee, established the Fargo Agricultural School in Monroe County, Arkansas. The school provided both agricultural and technical training and Brown also held the same ideas about racial hegemony as Washington. Brown believed that as African Americans continued to accomplish goals in trades and labor, the white populations would learn

²⁰⁷ Curtis Mann, “Another Kind of Schoolhouse,” *Illinois Times*, 2013 December 5, <http://illinoistimes.com/article-13198-another-kind-of-schoolhouse.html>.

to accept them, and the racial divide would diminish. He further stressed that “blacks should not be ashamed to start at the bottom of the economic ladder, nor to work with their hands.”²⁰⁸

Voorhees College in Denmark, South Carolina was one of the more successful models of the Tuskegee Institute and is still functioning to this day. Originally opened as the Denmark Industrial School in 1897, Elizabeth Evelyn Wright, a graduate of Tuskegee, opened the school with the same mission as Booker T. Washington. Wright remained in constant contact with Washington throughout her life as she looked at how to continuously improve the school. The school was renamed the Voorhees Industrial School after Ralph Voorhees, a wealthy New Jersey philanthropist who donated money to erect the school’s first building. Voorhees College became an accredited four-year college in 1968 and is successful today by combining both Washington’s and Du Bois’ ideas.²⁰⁹

The Tuskegee Model not only spawned dissatisfaction in the United States, it also caused discontent in Africa. Movements in the United States, like the Pan-African Movement, fought to grant the right of self-determination to blacks around the world, especially to those living in Africa. Like in America, Africans were exploited by white Europeans under the guise of industrial “education” and like African Americans, Africans wanted to reach for higher goals than merely performing menial labor. The growing dissatisfaction with the Tuskegee Model in America was similar to the discontent in Africa and thus the Tuskegee Model began to collapse.

The Phelps-Stokes Commission took the Tuskegee model and packaged it to other European colonial governments and Liberia as the ideal form of education and native

²⁰⁸ Kelly Schmidt, “Ambidexterity and Ambition: The Tuskegee Model Legacy,” *The Lakefront Historian*, 21 February 2016, <https://lakefronthistorian.com/2016/02/21/ambidexterity-and-ambition-the-tuskegee-model-legacy>.

²⁰⁹ United States Department of the Interior Heritage Conservation and Recreation Service, *National Register of Historic Places Inventory-Nomination Form*, Dec. 10, 1980.

management. Liberia had taken the Tuskegee model and erected two industrial schools: The Booker Washington Institute and the Suehn Industrial Academy. Both schools were had the same outlook as Tuskegee which was to promote industrial education over higher education. It did have the same stigma of promoting racial subordination of Africans to Liberians who were descendants of Americans that had immigrated there. Students were recruited from Liberia to train at Tuskegee but only if they came from well-to-do families and were sponsored by missionaries who had been in Liberia.²¹⁰ Thomas Jones, head of the Phelps-Stokes Commission, believed wholeheartedly that industrial education was the key to strengthening ties between America and European powers because they would be thankful to America for providing the tools to help stabilize colonial unrest.²¹¹

Liberia established both the Suehn Academy and the Booker Washington Institute as a replica of the Tuskegee Institute in Alabama. Both schools comprised of six departments: 1) a normal school, 2) an agricultural school, 3) a trade school, 4) a business school, 5) a home-economics school, and 6) the academic department.²¹² Missionaries were easy to recruit as industrial teachers because they viewed the Tuskegee Model as “wholesome.” Unlike the Tuskegee Institute, the shift in Liberian industrial education and the abandonment of the Tuskegee Model was more gradual. Higher education was promoted by instructors after both Washington’s death and the inability to find anyone to carry on his legacy. During the 1950s, Industrial education became secondary to higher education as it was indispensable and higher

²¹⁰ Phelps-Stokes Fund, *Twenty Year Report of the Phelps-Stokes Fund, 1911-1931: With a Series of Studies of Negro Progress and of Developments of Race Relations In the United States And Africa During the Period, And a Discussion of the Present Outlook* (New York City: The Phelps-Stokes fund), 1932, 26.

²¹¹ W.E.B. Du Bois, *The World and Africa; An Inquiry into the Part Which Africa Has Played in World History: An Enlarged Edition, with New Writings on Africa, 1955-1961* (New York: International Publishers, 1965), 8-12.

²¹² Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute, *Annual Catalogue* (Hampton: Hampton Institute Press), 1908, 41.

education supplemented that by providing a deeper understanding for the work that was being done but also training students in science and the arts to explore other professional opportunities.²¹³ Scholarships from aid provided by such groups as UNESCO supported students in higher education. Courses such as Journalism, Education, and the sciences began receiving recognition.²¹⁴ Foreign companies, such as Firestone, offered financial support in industrial education and job placement at the Firestone plantation for individuals looking to pursue a career in their company. Enrollment in the industrial school was only offered to students who had completed two years at a higher education institute. The Booker Washington Institute was chosen to provide both industrial education and higher education courses to assist the Firestone company and students.²¹⁵ The growing cost of industrial education also encouraged the shift towards academic education. It was far cheaper to purchase materials for academic courses than it was to maintain industrial equipment and by the 1960s, higher education became the core of both Suehn and the Booker Washington Institute.²¹⁶

The Tuskegee Model appealed mostly to British South Africa as it was the only European state to implement the recommendations of the Phelps-Stokes Commission's expedition through Africa. They saw sending students to study industrial education in America as both a positive and a negative. The positive was that the education provided to students with the means to carry out both the economic interests of the colonial state and provide a dependent stream of educators. The downside to sending students was they feared educated students would develop the tools

²¹³ Dorris Nguajah, and Donald E. Douglas, *Suehn Industrial Academy, Liberia, West Africa: A Study of the Shift in Secondary Curricular Emphasis from Industrial to Academic, 1944–1974*, 2008, ProQuest Dissertations and Theses, 148.

²¹⁴ Liberia Embassy (U.S.), *Liberia Today* (Washington, D.C.: Liberian Embassy in Washington, 1952), 8.

²¹⁵ Wayne Chatfield Taylor, *The Firestone Operations in Liberia* (Washington: National Planning Association, 1956), 77.

²¹⁶ Nguajah, *Suehn Industrial Academy*, 150.

necessary to challenge colonial authority; industrial education, however, counteracted this fear. In 1953, The Advisory Committee on Native Education in Tropical Africa, who was appointed by the British Colonial Office stated that the aims of industrial education were designed to promote the advancement of community by improving agriculture and developing native industries.²¹⁷

Like Tuskegee's support in the United States, Jones saw the Tuskegee Model as a means of preserving the racial hierarchy and stunting the possibility of Africans to aspire for higher education.²¹⁸ Industrial education in Africa was vehemently opposed by the Pan-African Movement especially by W.E.B. Du Bois. Du Bois opposed the Tuskegee Model because he believed it blocked African advancement and reinforced their subjugated within racial colonial hierarchies. Du Bois stressed his wishes during the First Pan-African Congress (1919) which was called to discuss what could be done to uplift blacks around the world. In regard to education, Du Bois noted that both industrial education and higher education should be more attainable for blacks, but higher education should be the first priority.²¹⁹ Another advocate for black self-determination was Marcus Garvey. Garvey was a black nationalist who founded the Universal Negro Improvement Association and African Communities League. Garvey was most notable for his failed "Back to Africa" movement which called for blacks around the world to return to their "native" Africa because he felt that they would never be accepted into white society. Garvey believed that African Americans had a duty to Africans to help them develop their own societies,

²¹⁷ W.E.F. Ward, *African Education: a Study of Educational Policy and Practice in British Tropical Africa* (Oxford: University Press: to Be Obtained from the Crown Agents for the Colonies, London, 1953), 4.

²¹⁸ Edward Berman, "Educational Colonialism in Africa," in *Philanthropy and Cultural Imperialism: The Foundations at Home and Abroad*, ed. Robert Arnove (Boston: G.K. Hall, 1980), 186-187.

²¹⁹ Du Bois, *W. E. B. Du Bois Speaks Vol. 2*, 166.

economies, and infrastructure.²²⁰ Garvey was criticized by Du Bois for his stance on race relations between blacks and whites and was criticized for wanting to maintain the separation of the races. For this reason, he was favored less than Du Bois among educated African Americans and supporters of African American self-determination.

In trying to counteract the influence of the Pan-African Movement, Thomas Jones and the Phelps-Stokes Commission showcased James Aggrey, a model student who had been born in the Gold Coast and studied at the Tuskegee Institute in Alabama and brought into the Tuskegee Model of education.²²¹ Aggrey was the ideal candidate to promote the Tuskegee Model because he did not threaten the racial hierarchy, since he bought into Washington's ideas of race relations, and he was proof to colonial governments that the Tuskegee Model worked. Unfortunately, Aggrey's death in 1927 and the inability of Phelps-Stokes to find a replacement spokesman, marked the beginning of the end for promoting the Tuskegee Model.

The Tuskegee Model failed to attract massive European support for several reasons. In South Africa, the model floundered due to its high cost and surplus of skilled laborers which undermined its usefulness. In 1905, *The Report of the South African Affairs Commission* noted that technical education and elementary education were incompatible to teach together and that it was "unreasonable to make provision at the public charge without an adequate contribution from the students..."²²² Unlike the Tuskegee Institute which received endowments from wealthy white philanthropists, colonial governments did not receive such contributions. Another reason for the model's failure was resentment from white South African industrial workers. Most

²²⁰ Marcus Garvey, "Africa for Africans," *Selected Writings and Writings of Marcus Garvey* (New York: Dover Publications, 2004), 97.

²²¹ African Education Commission, *Education in Africa* (New York: Phelps-Stokes Fund, 1922), xxiv.

²²² South African Native Affairs Commission, *South African Native Affairs Commission* (Cape Town: Cape Times, 1905), 73.

members of this class saw technical training for Africans as unfair market competition. In fact, the students who managed the farms at the schools were not permitted to compete with neighboring white settlements and commercial companies who were invested in Africa created a monopoly which greatly hurt the local economy.²²³ The white industrial class was afraid of upsetting the racial and economic hierarchy that existed in the colonies and at home.

The biggest reason the Tuskegee Model failed was due to opposition from the people its proponents were trying to educate. Africans came to resent industrial education because they, like African Americans in the United States, wanted to strive for something greater than menial labor. Charles Loram, a member of the Phelps-Stokes Commission and ardent supporter of the Tuskegee/Hampton Model, noted that South African peoples wanted to bridge the gap between races. Loram noted how black South Africans believed that it was education that made the white man what he was. Any attempt to make black South Africans perform manual labor was regarded as a subtle attempt by white South Africans to prevent them from achieving their goals.²²⁴

African aspirations to obtain a higher education, leave the local villages, and head to more urbanized areas which offered more numerous and diverse jobs combined to doom the Tuskegee Model in Africa. Colonial governments that were looking to implement the Tuskegee Model were also promised by the Phelps-Stokes Commission that funds would be given to build the schools, but the governments would have to foot the money for infrastructure, tools, and resources. This was not attractive to cash-starved colonial governments because the cost of

²²³ Yekutiel Gershoni, *Africans on African Americans: The Creation and Uses of an African-American Myth* (London: MacMillan Press, Ltd., 1997), 132.

²²⁴ Charles Loram, *The Education of the South African Native* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1917), 160.

maintaining the schools always exceeded the value of the goods produced from the schools, making them financially unsustainable over the long-term. Finally, the experiments did not reassure the colonial governments that industrial education would satisfy African's aspirations without threatening the racial hierarchies of colonial rule.

Many students that were funded to go to the United States to study industrial education at Tuskegee and Hampton, switched going from industrial schools or programs and enrolled in higher education ones. As one student noted, "I wanted to get an education that would make my people do what white people do."²²⁵ Other students, like Peter Koinange, did exactly that. Koinange was granted admission to Hampton through funding by the Phelps-Stokes Fund but transferred to Ohio Wesleyan University and later did his postgraduate work at Columbia University and Cambridge University. Later, he turned down a post as principal at a government school and established his own school, the Kenya Teachers College.²²⁶ The Tuskegee Model failed because it underdelivered to colonial governments and was unable to gather support by the local populations.

Despite the abandonment of the Tuskegee Model, there were still efforts to promote the importance and "virtuosity" of industrial education. In 1953, Dr. F. J. Harlow wrote a letter Secretary of State for Colonies and made multiple points as to why industrial education was needed in East and Central Africa. First, to emphasize the necessity for a close connection between technical education and industry. Second, the greatest demand was for skilled craftsmen like builders, carpenters, farm mechanics. The greatest difficulty in technical education was wastage. There was an overproduction of goods made and not a demand and there were also too

²²⁵ Emmett Scott, "Tuskegee in Africa and Africa at Tuskegee," Booker T. Washington Papers, Container 334.

²²⁶ Mbiyu Koinange, *The People of Kenya Speak for Themselves* (Detroit: Kenya Publication Fund, 1955), 25-30.

many individuals trained in one area of technical assistance and not the other. The idea was that as soon as a student was partially trained, the colonial government wanted to make immediate use of their training to profit from their labor.²²⁷ The issue with these recommendations was the same problem that hindered students at Tuskegee which was there were not enough jobs in these areas. These same recommendations hindered success in other areas of Africa because it was too costly to support industrial education schools and many of these skilled professions were oversaturated.

The Tuskegee Model did leave a lasting impression in both Africa and the United States. One of the most notable disciples was Reverend John Lagalabalele Dube from Natal. Dube was educated in the United States but after touring the Tuskegee Institute and reading Washington's *Up from Slavery*, which had been translated into Zulu, he wanted to create a replica of that and did so by establishing the Zulu Christian Industrial School at Ohlange, Natal in 1900.²²⁸ Dube and Washington were not close but like Washington, Dube funded the industrial school with American donors, many of whom happened to be donors to Tuskegee.²²⁹ Dube earned himself the title of "the Booker T. Washington of South Africa" due to his similar stances on race hegemony and appeal to white aristocrats. In South Africa, the need was to maintain "racial harmony" by playing into the fears of the English colonial government who feared that educating black South Africans at a higher education institution would lead to the challenging of colonial authority. Industrial education under the Tuskegee Model was adopted because it did not

²²⁷ Colonial Office of Great Britain, *African Education: A Study of Educational Policy and Practice in British Tropical Africa* (Oxford: University Press, 1953), 96-97.

²²⁸ American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, *Annual Report of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions* (Boston: The Board, 1902), 36.

²²⁹ Louis Harlan, *Booker T. Washington: The Wizard of Tuskegee, 1901-1915* (New York: Oxford University Press), 1983, 273.

challenge the colonial government politically or economically and maintained the racial hierarchy.²³⁰

Another South African that adopted the Tuskegee Model was Davidson D.T. Jabavu. Jabavu was more familiar with Tuskegee as he had spent three months studying there in 1913 under instructions from the South African Minister of Native Affairs to report on the adaptability of Tuskegee methods to South Africa. He noted that although Tuskegee did not offer this same kind of education as English schools, it provided them with an “invaluable skill” that gave students a sense of independence.²³¹ Jabavu viewed the Tuskegee/Hampton Model as a real possibility for benefiting both South African students and teachers and his findings eventually led to the establishment of the South African Native College in Fort Hare in 1916.²³²

The Tuskegee Model of Education failed because it was an expired product of its time. For African Americans, industrial education was appealing because it offered them their first feeling of freedom. For Africans, it offered them a way of earning a wage. The larger appeal and support was by white aristocrats and colonial governments who wanted to preserve the racial hierarchy and exploit the labor of both African Americans and Africans. As movements like the Pan-African Movement and blacks looking to strive for something greater than limited and often unsatisfying potential, the Tuskegee Model of education began to fade. In addition, the growing move towards urban, industrialized areas offered more earning potential and the awe of attaining a degree in higher education offered the potential for unimaginable opportunities. The attempts to preserve the Tuskegee Model were made by those invested in the people it set out to control

²³⁰ Samuel Chapman Armstrong, *The Southern Workman v.41: 2-6* (Virginia: Hampton Institute, 1912), 368.

²³¹ Davidson Jabavu, *The Black Problem: Papers and Addresses on Various Native Problems* (Lovedale: Lovedale Institution Press, 1920), 29.

²³² Louis Harlan, and Raymond Smock. *Booker T. Washington in Perspective Essays of Louis R. Harlan* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1988), 460.

and exploit. Even though the Tuskegee Model failed and was dissolved, it left a lasting legacy across the globe which was seen in agricultural technology, industrial schools reformatted into continuing to train agricultural technology, quasi-industrial schools, and even those left with the scars of the negative impacts of industrial education.

Chapter 5 - Conclusion

The embargo of American cotton during the war strained German cotton imports and later influenced the colonial government's desire to establish a reliable cotton supply so that they would not be forced into the same situation. Tuskegee's model of industrial education was designed to offer African Americans carefully limited opportunities in the wake of Reconstruction's failure. To avoid directly challenging whites, Washington's model was designed to keep African Americans in separate spheres from whites and provide jobs and skills that were already familiar to them. The KWK realized this and believed that this same model could be applied to their new colonies, like Togo, and would yield the same results. Although the Tuskegee Expedition failed to live up to Germany's aspirations, it modernized the Togolese agricultural economy and infrastructure. While it was exploitative by nature, from the perspective of colonial governments the Tuskegee Model proved a possible success on how to manage indigenous populations which attracted other colonial powers and white philanthropists in the United States.

The success of Tuskegee in Togo and its continuing support in the United States led to expanded interest by colonial powers but more surprisingly by U.S. philanthropists looking to develop Liberia. While the Tuskegee Model was Washington's brainchild, its legacy lived on after his death. The Phelps-Stokes Fund was established to continue Washington's legacy of industrial education by promoting morality through labor. The Phelps-Stokes Fund funneled money into establishing schools and determining areas that would benefit most from industrial education. Funding from the Phelps-Stokes Fund led to the establishment of the Booker T.

Washington Institute in Liberia. The school was modeled after Tuskegee with the same mission: train students in a technical skill, such as agriculture and carpentry, so they could carve out a niche for themselves economically. The Phelps-Stokes Fund had the same “civilizing mission” agenda as many European states because it believed it was modernization and morality in its endeavors. Much like the nature of European colonial states, this was merely a belief because it was exploitative and maintained a racial hierarchy to better serve the dominant power.

While the Tuskegee Model had its appeal, it was not without its problems. First, Tuskegee was able to succeed because it had continued support from white philanthropists; something colonial governments did not have. The school could never produce and sell enough cotton to support itself long-term which was a major flaw. Second, although Tuskegee’s role in the global “civilizing mission” was influential, Booker T. Washington’s death proved a turning point in the spread of industrial education. The Phelps-Stokes Fund did try to carry on Washington’s legacy but there was no replacement for him. The inability of the Tuskegee Model to find a suitable replacement was a major problem for continuing the legacy of industrial education. Finally, movements in black self-determination in the United States and Africa thwarted the progress of industrial education and ultimately led the end of the Tuskegee Model. Pan-Africanists like W. E. B. Du Bois heavily criticized Washington and the Tuskegee Model because it inhibited the upward mobility of blacks. Anti-Tuskegee movements spread in the South as students and teachers demanded more from their education and education requirements demanded more from schools like Tuskegee. Movements in Africa followed in the United States’ footsteps as Africans, like the students in Liberia, demanded more opportunities in upward mobility. These changes eventually led to the dismantling of the Tuskegee Model of Education.

The Tuskegee Model could not survive changing dynamics in education and new demands for racial progress, but its influence had a lasting effect globally. Its role in the United States maintained a racial hierarchy that existed before the abolition of slavery and under the guise of progress, succeeded in maintaining that division. In Africa, it played a vital role in colonialism in Africa by offering an alternative to direct rule and committing massive manpower to oversee managing the indigenous population. The idea was to make the colonies self-sufficient and exploit them for profit without expending resources; this was the ideal result of the “civilizing mission.” Unfortunately, this was unrealistic because it could never live up the expectations of creating a successful and profitable colonial economy. Although it eventually failed, the Tuskegee Model took decades to come to an end. The introduction of modern technologies and infrastructure was less significant because it perpetuated a system of exploitation and subordination of black populations which was inherent in the model. The legacy of Tuskegee was that for all its problems, it led to progress in education and black upward mobility. For these reasons, it proved that Tuskegee and groups like the Phelps-Stokes Fund played an important role in the “civilizing mission.”

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