

America which plainly reinforced the nation-building process of the mid-nineteenth century; to return to an earlier point, it also portrays them in the act of enlarging knowledge in their fields as a whole. They thus emerge from its pages not just as catalysts of a new nationality but as contributors to the construction of a global, Humboldtian vision of the world; perhaps, indeed, its rendering of them in those more comprehensive terms will show itself to be at least as important a legacy as the one it seeks to leave in characterizing them as agents of the community-creating process with which it is so relentlessly concerned.

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James D. Anderson. *The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935.* Chapel Hill and London: The University of North Carolina Press, 1988. xiv, 366 pp.

James D. Anderson's *The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935* offers a richly detailed analysis of the major forces affecting southern black schools between the Civil War and the Great Depression. Separately and together, the author assesses the educational ideology and aspirations of blacks, white southerners, northern missionaries, and industrial philanthropists. What emerges is a expertly interwoven account of the conflict among blacks who sought a liberal education, southern whites who opposed any schooling for blacks whatsoever, and a coalition of northern

philanthropists and white progressives who sought universal education for blacks along the lines of the Hampton-Tuskegee model of industrial schools.

A particular strength of Anderson's work is his emphasis on the role played by northern industrialists and their philanthropic agencies. The John F. Slater Fund, Peabody Educational Fund, Anna T. Jeanes Foundation, Phelps-Stokes Fund, Carnegie Foundation, Laura Spellman Rockefeller Memorial Fund, and Julius Rosenwald Fund all consciously promoted an educational philosophy designed to ensure the continued existence of an accommodating and dependent southern work force. Over the objections of both blacks who sought higher training and white planters who wanted no schools at all, northern industrialists forged an alliance with "forward-looking" southern whites and conservative blacks—especially Booker T. Washington—in shaping an educational ideology and philosophy "suitable for adjusting blacks to a subordinate social role in the emergent New South."

Re-addressing the notion that industrial education was the only option available in a southern society enveloped by racial prejudice, Anderson presents compelling evidence of northern industrialists' deliberate determination to shape a southern black labour force which would first, remain in the south, and second, provide cheap and docile workers for a society rejuvenated by northern investment. Under the auspices of the Southern and General Education Boards, northern and southern

businessmen promoted and funded such private industrial schools as Samuel C. Armstrong's Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute and its more famous successor, Booker T. Washington's Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute, and sought to establish similar schools throughout the south.

Such institutions sought deliberately to confine black education to the elementary level and to train black teachers to promote and consolidate their students' traditional role as menial agricultural and industrial workers. As Anderson explains, "Armstrong developed a pedagogy and ideology designed to avoid...confrontations and to maintain within the South a social consensus that did not challenge traditional inequalities of wealth and power." It was a philosophy which suited perfectly both northern philanthropists and a growing number of southern whites who saw the obvious advantages of a black population schooled in the art of knowing its place.

The Hampton-Tuskegee model of industrial education did not, however, totally dominate the southern black educational picture. Despite the unquestioned importance of their propaganda, and their invaluable assistance to cash-starved schools, educational conservatives could not defeat another powerful force which worked to counter their influence. In brief, too many blacks sought an education which offered more than second-class citizenship. As an eloquent counterpoise to the strength of the industrial idea, Anderson offers convincing evidence of a race strug-

gling for equality and determined to get it by means of a proper liberal education. "There developed in the slave community," he argues, "a fundamental belief in learning and self-improvement and a shared belief in universal education as a necessary basis for freedom and citizenship." Wherever possible, in public and private schools throughout the south, blacks contested the Hampton-Tuskegee model and insisted on their right to an education which promoted these values.

Indeed, northern industrialist-supported schools proved neither sufficient in number nor power to quell such aspirations for a better education, and by the twentieth century, the cumulative effect on their demands provided a vital legacy from which W.E.B. DuBois and other black educational reformers could draw. Such a legacy proved all the more important as black migration within the south and to the north compelled urban Americans to confront the educational needs of an entirely new constituency, one no longer amenable either in theory or practice to the basically agricultural orientation of the Hampton-Tuskegee model.

In the absence, however, of a public school system which provided anything beyond minimal support, and without sufficient northern funds to provide for more than a handful of religious-based private institutions, blacks intent on a liberal education confronted a difficult challenge. Indeed, black schools without the support of the Southern and General Boards of Education faced an almost impossible task and failed generally to

meet the needs of a generation of aspiring scholars. At the secondary and college levels especially, the number of available non-industrial public and private schools proved woefully inadequate in countering the influence of the more affluent Hampton-Tuskegee institutions. In the end, Anderson concludes that irreplaceable time and opportunity had been lost. With very few public elementary schools available, almost no high schools, and only a handful of colleges offering a liberal curriculum, blacks could do little to escape forces which sought to shape their education in ways that subverted their long-held aspirations. As Anderson concludes, "They entered emancipation with fairly definite ideas about how to integrate education into their broader struggle for freedom and prosperity, but they were largely unable to shape their future in accordance with their social vision."

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Phyllis Stock-Morton. *Moral Education for a Secular Society: The Development of Morale Laïque in Nineteenth Century France.* Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press, 1988. x, 231 pp., \$21.95.

Moral Education for a Secular Society is competent, if slightly old-fashioned history. It is a reliable guide to moral, social, and political theories popular in France over the past 250 years. Anyone inquiring into Victor Cousin's spiritualism will find it readably presented here. Solidarity,

the Opportunists' moral/political theory of the 1890s, was finally clarified for me. While describing and interpreting these schools of thought, Stock shows their practical educational and political implications. These substantial accomplishments are complemented by her analyses of moral education theory and of theories about connected subject matters in the Republican curriculum—civics, hygiene, literature, history, philosophy, and so on. She includes valuable discussions of the religious beliefs and practices against which so much Republican educational theory was a reaction. And, of course, she summarizes the century-long French experience of official moral instruction in state schools.

Stock's writing reminded me many times of Gabriel Compayré's early (1882) comparative history of educational doctrines. Compayré, himself a great philosophical and psychological theorist of Republican education, made much of Enlightenment social contract theory, of Rousseau's vision of a civic religion, of the Revolution's (non-revolutionary!) morality, of Cousin's materialism (disguised under the label "spiritualism"), of the immense logical force of neo-Kantian moral theory, and of the attractions of the social sciences. Stock covers all of this ground, but with less understanding than Compayré of the Roman and Greek roots of French moral-rhetorical forms.

Toward the end of her text we are in the crucible of the 1890s and early 1900s, the times of Durkheim and the Dreyfus Affair, of the separation of