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*A panorama of the Christiansburg Institute campus. By the mid 1930s the campus included thirteen buildings on 185 acres, including (from left) a barn, shop, teachers' residence, boys' dormitory, classroom building, girls' dormitory, and former hospital. (Photograph courtesy of Special Collections, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University)*

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# On a Shallow Foundation of Freedom: Building the Campus of the Christiansburg Institute

M. Anna Fariello

*With hindsight, the broader community has come to recognize that the Christiansburg Institute campus is significant to the American experience. Its landscaped grounds and Georgian architecture are testimony to a people's ability to build on the shallow foundation of a single generation of freedom. Its diverse curriculum of academic and vocational programs is testimony to the ability of the human spirit to thrive in a climate of racial prejudice.*

from the exhibition "A Century of Contribution:  
Christiansburg Institute and Educational Change  
in Virginia," by the author, 2000

In December 1980 a wrecking ball destroyed Baily Morris Hall, an imposing four-story brick structure that dominated the landscape surrounding it in rural Southwest Virginia. The demolition of the Christiansburg Institute, a model African-American educational institution, was but a physical manifestation of its demise. The last class had graduated in 1966 on the threshold of the school's centennial anniversary. Ironically, the dissolution of Christiansburg Institute was the result of local educational policy developed in response to mandated desegregation that, otherwise, was cause for celebration. The founding of Christiansburg Institute in 1866 was precedent setting; its establishment predated that of area schools and many institutions of higher education, including Tuskegee and Hampton Institutes for blacks and Virginia Tech and Radford University for whites. In Montgomery County, Christiansburg Institute predated the creation of any public elementary school, black or white, the first of which

was established in 1871. As a high school, its founding predated by forty years the first public high school in Montgomery County. Later, Christiansburg Institute would hold the distinction of becoming the first school in the county to be accredited by the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools.<sup>1</sup>

From its founding in 1866 to its closed doors in 1966, the institute survived the ebb and flow of limited opportunity and purposeful restriction that characterized the conflicted social and educational policies of the segregated South. Navigating in a precarious sea of change, the school was ever-evolving. Name changes<sup>2</sup> — Christiansburg Normal Institute, Christiansburg Industrial Institute, Christiansburg Normal and Industrial Institute, Christiansburg Institute — reflected the changing emphasis of its curriculum from classical education to teacher training to industrial institute to public school. Likewise, its name changes reflected the changing expectations facing Americans of African descent who often personally had to navigate through treacherous social and economic circumstances. On the same unpredictable seas, the Christiansburg Institute managed to stay afloat for an entire century. Coincidentally, America's one-hundred-year period of segregation was concurrent with the remarkable growth of the school and its campus. Through an examination of this particular aspect of the school, this essay will attempt to uncover the nuances of underlying racial and organizational relations and celebrate the indomitable spirit of human striving.

## **Campus on a Hill**

The first Christiansburg Institute classes were held in a rented cabin in an area known as Cambria. Located north of Christiansburg, the seat of Montgomery County, Cambria is today a part of the current incorporated town. At the close of the Civil War, Union officer Charles Stewart Schaeffer was assigned to the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands; he arrived in Montgomery County in May 1866 to assume his post. Soon after his arrival he rented a cabin and, with the services of a single white teacher, began the first Freedmen's school in the district. Schaeffer's work in Christiansburg was not without opposition; he was forced to move from his hotel, found it difficult to buy land and building materials, and someone once shot at him, the bullet passing through his hat. Whether the target of a poorly planned assassination or a strategi-

cally placed warning, Schaeffer continued his mission with an unshakable faith that his work was divinely inspired.<sup>3</sup>

The little cabin rented by Schaeffer was not large enough to accommodate the school's enrollment and, a year later, a new building was constructed. Doubling as school house and church meeting house, within two years the one-story frame building had been enlarged. By Schaeffer's account, in 1868, there were only two Freedmen's schools in "successful operation" in the district under his jurisdiction: this one in Cambria and another in Newbern. Together, the two schools served 300 African Americans attending day and night sessions.<sup>4</sup> The growth of school enrollment continued unabated, with an average attendance "in excess of two hundred and fifty pupils annually." Such enrollments prompted Schaeffer to build yet a second school building. Without any additional funding and determined to add to the school's capacity, he invested \$2,000 of his own savings to construct a two-story normal school. In October 1873 the Normal School held its first session; twenty-eight students were enrolled



*The second Christiansburg Institute schoolhouse was constructed on Zion Hill in 1867. Two more buildings would be built on the hill campus before the school moved a mile away to the farm campus, which lay along the Norfolk and Western rail line.*

*(Photograph courtesy of the Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College)*

in a teacher-training curriculum. Two years later, a professional institute for teachers was held on campus, and the following year, in October 1876, an educational conference was also held there.<sup>5</sup>

Although no photograph of this normal school exists, a visitor to the school penned a vivid description in 1874. Touring the schoolhouse in which primary grades were taught, the writer noted that more than one hundred students filled two large rooms. In the Normal School she observed

young men and women studying with a purpose. . . . Most of them have to work hard to pay their board while attending school, and they value the privilege accordingly.

Providing an invaluable record of the school's early layout, the writer indicated that the Normal School was accessible through a lane behind the one-story schoolhouse. The buildings were surrounded by "a yard laid out with flower beds and well-kept turf . . . pleasing indications of taste and refinement." The writer continued her poetic description of the small campus of two buildings that were "beautifully" sited

on a hill commanding extensive views, the horizon bounded on all sides by mountains, and nearer, fair large fields of wheat and corn, the railroad winding at the foot of the hills, the white houses and spires of Christiansburg about a mile distant. When the lamps in the neat little meeting-house are lit they shine like beacon lights, visible for two or three miles.<sup>6</sup>

In 1869 Charles Schaeffer wrote to potential supporters in his home state of Pennsylvania to solicit private funding in light of "the anticipated withdrawal of both Government and benevolent support." His words were testimony to his optimism at this point:

I can assure you that the work seems more than ever important, and weighs upon my heart with greater force and magnitude than I can readily express . . . on every hand the seed is taking root, germinating, and expanding, and bids fair for an abundant harvest.

Through such eloquence, Schaeffer was able to secure the cooperation of both his home church, the Tenth Baptist Church of Philadelphia, and the Philadelphia Friends' Freedmen's Association, both of which began annual appropriations to the school that year. Still, the school operated on very little; Schaeffer's wife served as a teacher without pay, and Schaeffer's own government salary was turned back into the school's cof-



*When school enrollment outgrew the two small wood frame buildings, a five-classroom brick school building was finished in 1885. Originally known as Academic Hall, by 1903 the building became the Hill School, an elementary school under the same direction as the secondary departments on the main campus. (Photograph Christiansburg Institute archive)*

fer. Through Northern benevolence, over the next year the school budget doubled from just under one thousand dollars in 1869 to nearly two thousand. Yet even with the moneys coming from Philadelphia, by 1876 Schaeffer noted in his diary that the school was in financial trouble.<sup>7</sup>

During the 1870s and 1880s, Schaeffer's "dear old Tenth" contributed the bulk of school funding, contributions that would cease when Schaeffer's affiliation with the school ended. The financial support that sustained Christiansburg Institute through most of the century of its operation was provided by another Philadelphia organization, the Friends' Freedmen's Association (FFA). A division of the religious Society of Friends (colloquially known as the Quakers), the FFA was formed in 1863 to assist former slaves in their transition to free life. By 1868, the association was managing and supporting twenty-five schools in North Carolina and Virginia and eventually extended their philanthropic support to forty-six. As counties and states came forth to provide an education for Afri-

can-American citizens, the Friends withdrew support from all schools under their jurisdiction and, by 1896, the FFA supported only the Christiansburg Institute. Why the Friends continued to support this one single school — far from their home base in Philadelphia — is a question that has not yet been answered by their meticulous record-keeping. What the records do show, however, is a continual and steadfast commitment to this one school. Beginning with a modest monthly appropriation of \$25 in 1869, FFA support sustained the Christiansburg Institute well into the new century. Their commitment approached a fervor in 1916 when they raised \$50,000 in a single week as part of the school's fiftieth anniversary campaign.<sup>8</sup>

The 1880s marked a decade of change for Christiansburg Institute. The school's growth, corresponding to increased contributions from Philadelphia, enabled the construction of the first brick school building. Known as Academic Hall until 1903, it then began to be called the Hill School, the name by which it would be known throughout its remaining years. The building was substantial; its walls were thirteen inches thick and the ceilings almost fifteen feet high. With five classrooms and a capacity for 250 students, Academic Hall was dedicated in 1885.<sup>9</sup>

## An Evolving Curriculum

By 1888 the Friends of Philadelphia had assumed responsibility for Christiansburg Institute, assembling a Board of Managers who remained in Philadelphia and received monthly reports from the principal. The Friends' penchant for order is revealed in these reports; indeed, their dedicated record-keeping has allowed for the recovery of much of the school's history. School principal William Polk reported to the Friends in 1888 that there were "almost as many grades as there were pupils," and he promised to begin evaluating students for placement into appropriate grades. Polk received little guidance in this task; he wrote that Montgomery County had not yet established rules for grading schools. The school's efforts in this regard may have been another first in the school's list of local educational innovations.<sup>10</sup> Such attention to organized grading was taken seriously by the FFA. By 1901 the school catalog laid out a detailed academic course of study, level-by-level, from the first grade and continuing up through the senior class.

During the late 1880s and early 1890s, all Christiansburg Institute courses—spelling, reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, grammar, his-

tory, as well as the “higher branches”—were taught by four instructors in the five classrooms in the brick school building on Zion Hill. In 1895 the curriculum was expanded to include the first four “industries”: cooking, sewing, carpentry, and agriculture. Wheelwrighting, blacksmithing, and printing were added over the next three years. Academics were taught in the morning with industrial coursework covered in the afternoon. Academics were rigorous and discipline strict, with rules reiterated in the school catalog by Principal Charles Lives Marshall. “Absolute strict obedience to the rules of the school is demanded of every student,” he warned. This admonition was followed by specific prohibitions and a grade-by-grade listing of the courses of study. For example, second grade geography lessons included “distance, direction, cardinal and semi-cardinal points. Atmosphere: air and water; lessons on dew, rain, frost, mist, hail . . . study of soils. . . . Local surface features. Plant and animal life.” The middle class



*An early faculty portrait taken sometime between 1896 and 1906. Seated in front are Principal Charles Marshall (far left) and Edgar Long, vice principal (second from right). Nellie L. Marshall (top left) moved with her husband from Tuskegee; teacher Anna Lee Patterson (top right) would marry Long and, after his death, would lead the school for a single term. (Photograph courtesy Christiansburg Institute archive)*



included “Hamlet and the Future of the American Negro,” while the junior class studied “Selections from Ruskin, Tennyson, Bacon and from Negro authors.”<sup>11</sup>

At the turn of the century, such philanthropic support of American schools, as was offered by the Friends’ Freedmen’s Association to Christiansburg Institute, was not unique. In 1890 twenty-one schools were being supported by the Methodist Freedmen’s Aid Society, fifty-eight by the Presbyterian Church, and forty-six by the Philadelphia FFA. Some religious foundations, such as the Presbyterian Church, supported schools not only for freedmen but for poor whites as well.<sup>12</sup> Today, the American education system is thought of as a rather standardized national institution, but at the turn-of-the-century, American education was an amalgam of independent, missionary, and settlement schools, some publicly funded and many supported by private philanthropy.

In the mid-nineteenth century, reformer John Ruskin criticized his native England for depriving workers of the “dignity of labor” in its rush to industrialize. Ruskin’s words, read and debated in his native land, echoed throughout the Continent and across the Atlantic as well, giving voice to labor and educational reforms. Beginning as a confluence of many strands of thought, the nineteenth-century trend towards a “hands-on” approach to education culminated in the widely-popular, twentieth-century Progressive education movement. In one of the first published assessments of American education, A. D. Mayo described the intention of progressive education as putting “the thinking brain into the working hand.”<sup>13</sup> Likewise, Berea College president William Frost laid out his “Educational Program for Appalachian America” in 1896, emphasizing industrial training. Berea’s extension programs in remote counties were called “people’s institutes”; the on-site industrial program was called “Fireside Industries,” a name that inspired romantic visions of students learning in an institutional version of an Appalachian log cabin. A quote from the *Berea Quarterly* echoes the educational philosophy of the time:

The hand must be trained to obey the mind, and the eye to distinguish between things which differ. Every young person should be taught to enjoy doing manual work well, both as a preparation for real life, and as a development of character.

The published objectives of Christiansburg Institute incorporated a similar tone, in language consistent with the progressive educational ideals of the time. Its 1898 *Catalogue* stated,

The design of this institution is to send out young men and young women well qualified for the work of life ... [using] their heads as well as their hearts, and their hands as well as their heads.

For forty years beginning in 1866 — the same year that Christiansburg Institute opened — Berea College (in Kentucky on the western edge of the Appalachians) operated as a coeducational and mixed-race institution. In 1908 Berea lost a court case against the state of Kentucky via a Supreme Court decision that supported the state's right to enforce a segregated educational policy. While official government policy demanded a physical separation of the races until the middle of the century, many of the educational philosophies and curricula of white and black schools shared similar objectives.<sup>14</sup>

The decade from 1880 to 1890, in which many U.S. cities doubled their populations, contributed to the changing face of America as an industrialized nation; a wave of twenty million immigrants contributed to its changing face in more literal ways.<sup>15</sup> Such demographic changes put pressure on nascent educational institutions to respond to a growing need for trained workers. American settlements, secular counterparts to religious and missionary schools, formed yet another educational experimental component that contributed to the formation of an American system. Settlement schools grew exponentially in the first decades of the new century, reflecting the growth and acceptance of American industrialism and a faith in progressive idealism. But the name “settlement” was also a tacit acknowledgment of existing divisions among disparate cultural groups and reflected the insularity of the poor, immigrant, and disenfranchised neighborhoods in both North and South. A more critical evaluation reveals a subtext of transformation; through such philanthropy, mainstream American values were grafted onto those living on the outer fringes of middle-class society.

So in 1896, when Elliston P. Morris, president of the Philadelphia Friends' Freedmen's Association, wrote to Booker T. Washington to ask his help in implementing an industrial curriculum at the school in Cambria, his request was part of a larger move toward a more progressive and practical approach to education. Washington — a contemporary of A. D. Mayo, William Frost, and Jane Addams — had joined the ranks of educational reform. The creation of Tuskegee Institute in 1881 and its subsequent meteoric growth<sup>16</sup> contributed to Washington's prominence and

reputation as the leading African-American educator. His ability to articulate a vision for the future blazed a well-defined path for African-American education in a segregated society. Washington's initial response to the Friends' offer was not enthusiastic, however; he preferred to start a school "where there were more colored people and where they are more needy." Nevertheless, he agreed to serve as supervisor, providing leadership through the recruitment of two young protégés, Tuskegee graduates Charles Lives Marshall and Edgar Allen Long. Hiram Thweat was in charge when Booker T. Washington took over as supervisor and invited Marshall to head the school. Marshall, born in Kentucky to parents who had been slaves, graduated from Tuskegee in 1895. He was invited by a letter from Washington in 1896 to fill the position of principal. Long served as vice principal until Marshall's death in 1906 and, afterward, as principal until his own death in 1924.<sup>17</sup>

By 1899 the school name had been changed to Christiansburg Industrial Institute to reflect changes to its curriculum. The following year, as if to emphasize the importance of its newly added industries, the cover of the school catalog displayed the word "Industrial" in large letters flanked by the words "Christiansburg" and "Institute" in much smaller letters. The influence of educational reform was felt in the rest of Virginia as well. In 1908 Joseph Eggleston, Virginia's State Superintendent of Instruction, issued a report promoting *Life Fitting Schools* for students regardless of race.

I take no stock whatever in that false culture which thinks that it is degrading to work with the hands. ... Our schools should educate a boy so that he may have both visions and provisions.<sup>18</sup>

### **Moving to a New Campus**

Such provisions would require land on which to teach agriculture and space to develop industries. Recognizing this need, the Friends purchased eighty-seven acres of rolling land two miles west of the hill campus. The site of a former plantation, the land was bounded on the south by Crab Creek and the Norfolk and Western rail line and extended northward uphill. When the school moved to the farm that became its permanent home, a handful of buildings stood on the property. The main farmhouse, known as the "Mansion House," served as a classroom building. After repairing the unoccupied structures, the boys moved into the former slave cabins while teachers and their families moved into the two-story



*“Mansion House,” a former plantation, served as the academic classroom building from the late 1890s until the 1920s.*

*(Photograph courtesy of the Christiansburg Institute Alumni Association)*

frame residence. An alumnus cited the irony of these circumstances in a talk delivered in 1906:

A plantation upon which men and women were driven to unrequited toil by the stern command of a task-master had been converted into a model training farm. . . . The slave mansion, once the headquarters of master and owner of human beings, has become the seat of instruction where the posterity of the victims of servitude are being fitted for Christian citizenship.<sup>19</sup>

But in his memoir, Marshall recalled that the move did not go as noothly as he had expected. Prior to the purchase of the farm, he said, “the pupils and patrons were in perfect accord with the faculty.” The situation changed dramatically as plans to change the school became known. Marshall understood that he was charged to develop a school “with both literary and industrial branches,” moving away from its previous “distinctly literary” character. Further, he understood that Christiansburg Institute would change “from a regular, ordinary school to one with a boarding department.” But within a month, 100 of the 240 students attending the school withdrew. By the end of Marshall’s first year, enroll-



*This picture of the school barn with male students building a stock pen was printed in a 1916 school brochure.*

*(Photograph courtesy of Christiansburg Institute archive)*

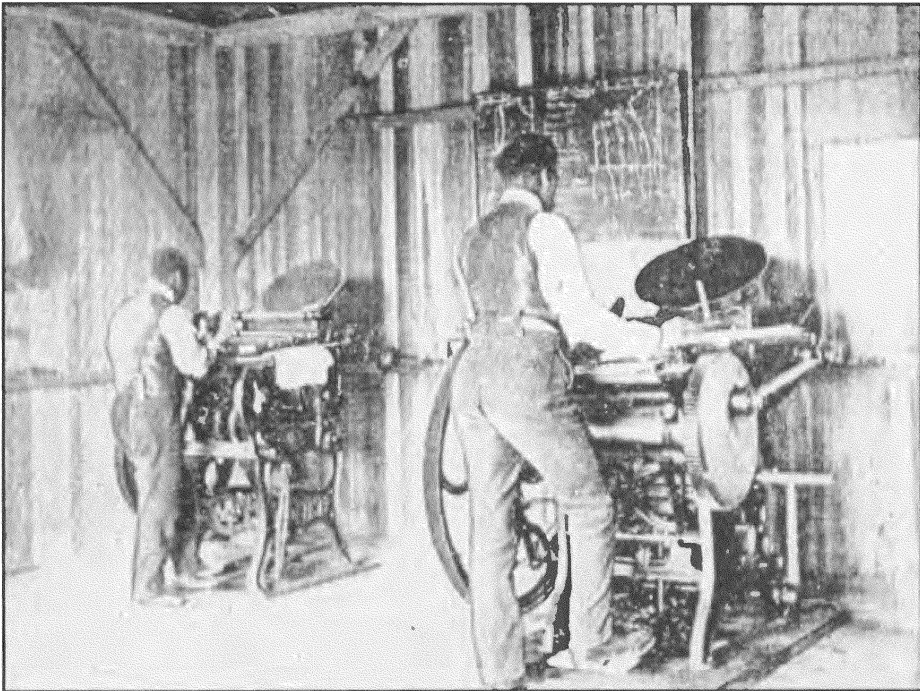
ment had plummeted to sixty students. Marshall credited “patience, toil, trust in God, and enterprise” in re-building the school population.<sup>20</sup>

Shortly after Christiansburg Institute moved to the new campus, the construction of a barn enabled the farm to become productive enough to supply flour to the boarding department and hay to feed the stock. The farm operation supported nine work animals and twenty-six cows, and it provided vegetables for the school dining room as well. Within a decade, more than fifty acres were in cultivation and almost twenty acres in grass or pasture. While a farm manager became a regular part of the staff by 1903, the earliest work was done by the teachers. Principal Marshall worked as farmer, Long as gardener, and their wives as matrons and cooks. The operation of a farm was a particularly savvy strategy during the Depression, giving meaning to Eggleston’s mandate that education should provide both visions and provisions. School inventories attest to the dedication of students and staff; a 1939 report listed 600 bushels of wheat, 700 bushels of potatoes, 1,800 bushels of corn, and 7,000 pounds of meat. During a single season, students canned 1,600 gallons of tomatoes. The farming operation and agricultural curriculum was supported by a well-planned campus with a barn and outbuildings, including a spring house, dairy, pump house, oil house, and storage building.<sup>21</sup> Remaining produc-

tive for decades, the farm operation was shut down when the school became a public institution after World War II.

During the summer of 1903, a single-story industrial building was completed. Constructed on a rectangular plan, the wood-frame structure was alternately called the “shop” or “trades building” throughout the school’s history. Built on a solid rock foundation, its interior was divided into three sections to accommodate the trades of wheelwrighting, carpentry, and printing. Outfitting the school with a press enabled students to print an illustrated serial titled the *The Freedman’s Friend*, in addition to school catalogs and official annual reports compiled at the end of each academic year. During that same year, a one-story cottage was constructed for Principal Marshall and his family. It was a modest but private dwelling, with four rooms, a porch, and a modern indoor bath.<sup>22</sup>

The growth spurt of 1900-1903 was capped by the construction of the first substantial brick structure on the new farm campus. Finished with a double hip roof, a dormitory was the first of four Georgian Revival



*The student print shop turned out professional quality materials for the school and the Friends’ Freedmen’s association of Philadelphia, including annual school catalogs and brochures.*

*(Photograph courtesy of the Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College)*

buildings that gave the campus a look of lasting solidity. Designed by Philadelphia architects Morris and Vaux, the dormitory cost nearly \$10,000 to build, and, until the construction of a second dormitory in 1912, it housed both boys and girls (on separate floors, of course), as well as laundry and dining facilities.<sup>23</sup> By 1903 the school had eight buildings in service on two campuses: the original brick academic building on the hill serving the primary grades; the Mansion House serving the secondary-level academic subjects; the barn and shop serving the industrial departments; and the dormitory, principal's cottage, and two original slave cabins serving the boarding department.

### Investing in Excellence

As treasurer of the FFA, J. Henry Scattergood made periodic financial reports that reveal the cooperation and commitment of the Philadelphia Friends and Cambria educators. Buoyed by vision and optimism, Charles Marshall and Edgar Long provided initial support for the boarding department out of their personal funds (they were eventually reimbursed); Joshua Baily and Elliston Morris raised more than \$10,000 to create a New Buildings Account; and, in 1903, the Friends began a permanent endowment for the school. Scattergood's report expressed his confidence:

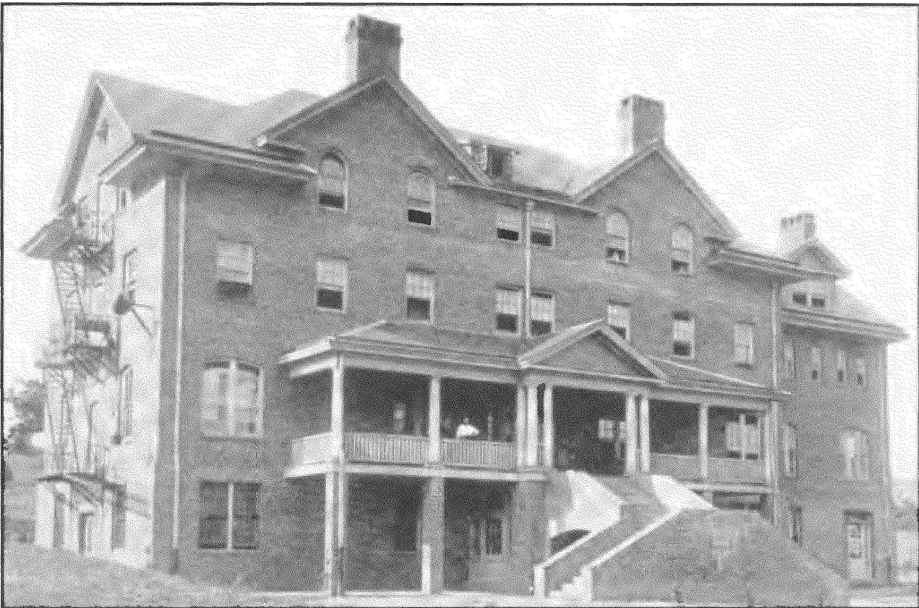
The list of contributors has been doubled in the past three years. . . . Your committee feels, however, that there are still many persons who do not now contribute, who will be glad to do so, when the growing work is laid before them.

The implications of the Friends' investment was not lost on the black community in a county where few tax dollars were allocated to their education. The African-American community "voted" by the only means available to them, by sending their children to the school. At the close of this first wave of campus construction, fully 77 percent of black children in Montgomery County were enrolled in school as compared to 73 percent of whites. The Friends were proud of the school's relations with the community. In a comparison to its sister school, they noted in *The Freedman's Friend*, "Where at Hampton the people have gone to school; at Christiansburg the school has gone to the people."<sup>24</sup>

At the conclusion of the fiscal year in August 1903, the FFA took a hiatus from campus construction; their investment in the school contin-

ued, however, in the form of professional development. During the summer, Marshall and Long were sent to Hampton Institute to spend a month studying the program there. The FFA also expanded the school's influence beyond the local community when month-long summer sessions for black teachers were introduced in 1908. College-level professional teachers' institutes were held at various normal schools across the state for whites and at three locations for blacks, including Christiansburg Institute. The boarding department implemented by Marshall and Long influenced the demographics of the school. Enrollment was no longer limited to local students. A tally of students enrolled in the 1924-25 school year reveals that one-third were local, one-third were from other parts of the Commonwealth, and one-third were from outside the state.<sup>25</sup>

The foundation stone for the school's flagship building was laid between the shop and boys' dormitory on a plot of ground previously used as an athletic field. On Thanksgiving Day 1910, a large crowd attended a groundbreaking ceremony, an event significant enough to warrant cover-



*The foundation stone of Baily Morris Hall, incised with a date of "1910," can be seen in the very front of the brick stairwell. The completed building was pictured in the 50th anniversary bulletin of 1916. (Photograph courtesy of Christiansburg Institute archive)*





*The principal's office was housed in Baily Morris Hall, the school's flagship building. Principal Long is seen seated at his desk (at left), circa 1915.  
(Photograph courtesy of Christiansburg Institute archive)*

age in the local *Montgomery Messenger*. More than one hundred feet across, the building was four stories tall with three double-flue chimneys rising above a slate roof. Its massive porch, measuring fifty-five feet across and better than ten feet deep, opened onto a hallway leading to an assembly hall that seated 200 comfortably and could accommodate 300 if necessary. The basement held a 100-seat dining room, kitchen, pantry, laundry, coal bin, and boiler room. The first floor housed the assembly hall, principal's office, sitting rooms for female teachers and students, and a library outfitted with shelves to accommodate 5,000 books. The second and third floors each provided room for thirty-five beds, a separate matron's room, a guest room, and a larger room used as an infirmary. The attic was used for storage. Exactly one year later, a ceremonial meal was held in the stately new building, which was completed with interior mahogany woodwork. The building campaign had been led by long-time contributors Elliston Morris and Joshua Baily, who had also secured a \$10,000 donation from Andrew Carnegie for the Endowment Fund. Named Baily Morris Hall, the building was dedicated and put into official use on New Year's Day 1912.<sup>26</sup>



*With shelves to accommodate 5,000 books, the library was outfitted with elaborate wood molding. In the early twentieth century, when this photograph was taken, it is likely that female and male students were required to study at separate tables. (Photograph courtesy of Christiansburg Institute archive, gift of Audrey Long Whitlock)*

One would think that with the opening of Baily Morris Hall, FFA members might want to retreat from such intensive commitment as was required by fundraising and construction. On the contrary, it was as if the successful dedication of the landmark building heralded new heights for the school and they wanted to ride the crest of the wave. In their annual report of 1916, the FFA enumerated ambitious plans to build an endowment, an infirmary, an academic building, a new shop, and an additional teacher's cottage. To implement these plans, they embarked on an amazing scheme to celebrate the school's fiftieth anniversary and, coincidentally, to mark the passing of Superintendent Washington. On six consecutive evenings, supper meetings were held at the Philadelphia Meeting House. In a competitive fervor uncharacteristic of the Society of Friends, the FFA created teams of five or six. "On Sixth Day . . . the managers and

<b>CHRISTIANSBURG INDUSTRIAL INSTITUTE.</b>													
<b>Short Term Campaign For \$50,000 To Form Endowment Fund</b>													
1916	FINANCE Committee	Managers	TEAM A	TEAM B	TEAM C	TEAM D	TEAM E	TEAM F	TEAM G	TEAM H	TEAM I	TEAM J	GRAND TOTAL
3rd MONTH	\$ 5,000	CAPT. J. S. JONES	CAPT. J. PASSMORE	CAPT. A. G.	CAPT. JOHN L. SCULL	CAPT. ISAAC PHILLER	CAPT. JAMES P. HANDEL	CAPT. JOHN WAY	CAPT. J. M. STEELE	CAPT. HOWARD W.	CAPT. MORRIS LINTON	CAPT. ARTHUR L.	\$ 5,000
	\$ 2,000	\$ 6,000	ELKINTON	SCATTERGOOD									\$ 8,000
20 <sup>th</sup>	\$ 3,900	\$ 475	\$ 51	\$ 610	\$ 53	\$ 50	\$ 112	\$ 140	\$ 375	\$ 75	\$ 465	\$ 6,306	
21 <sup>st</sup>	\$ 9,280	\$ 525	\$ 23	\$ 510	\$ 125	\$ 100	\$ 80	\$ 260	\$ 173	\$ 110	\$ 85	\$ 10	\$ 10,158
23 <sup>rd</sup>	\$ 4,335	\$ 165	\$ 714	\$ 1,371	\$ 110	\$ 123	\$ 1,568	\$ 215	\$ 744	\$ 382	\$ 112	\$ 200	\$ 7,862
24 <sup>th</sup>	\$ 3,027	\$ 674	\$ 460	\$ 137	\$ 510	\$ 535	\$ 52	\$ 60	\$ 31	\$ 52	\$ 105	\$ 4,018	
27 <sup>th</sup>	\$ 2,061	\$ 15	\$ 12,480	\$ 3,923	\$ 388	\$ 783	\$ 2,766	\$ 847	\$ 2,192	\$ 751	\$ 249	\$ 980	\$ 50,584.25
TOTAL	\$ 28,603	\$ 7,854	\$ 12,480	\$ 3,923	\$ 388	\$ 783	\$ 2,766	\$ 847	\$ 2,192	\$ 751	\$ 249	\$ 980	\$ 50,584.25

This chart appeared on the frontispiece of the Annual Report of 1916. Twelve teams, including the school Finance Committee, are listed horizontally across the top with the amount raised underneath each team captain's name. Beginning with initial pledges of \$13,000, the teams raised the remainder from March 20 through the 27th, bringing the school's endowment total to \$50,584 in a single week.

teams took supper together at the opening of the campaign." The event was reported in detail:

A clock four feet in diameter, with movable hands, was placed in the hall on the first floor to record the progress in dollars collected each day. Up stairs, in the dining room was a large white board on which were written the names of the captains of the twelve teams ... and opposite each captain's name there was a space left to record the daily collections....Six other suppers followed this one, at the last five of which reports were made of money collected.... [T]here was an average attendance at each of the meetings of 60 persons.

A reproduction of the collection chart was included in the frontispiece of the subsequent school catalog that celebrated the success of the campaign. Fifty thousand dollars was raised in a single week!<sup>27</sup>

### A School for Racial Cooperation

Principal Long's vision for Christiansburg Institute went beyond the perimeter of the campus. Throughout his tenure, he included notes on "community work" in his reports to the FFA. One such report illuminates how the success of the school impacted the local community.

This institution is doing the work of a school in the community. This is its first obligation but conditions are such that it

can not confine itself to this alone. It must touch the moral and material life of the community as well as the intellectual.... The example of the school has been good upon the entire community, both white and colored. Before ... our water works [was] installed there were not two houses in town with water works. Since the school has had water, however, a number of private houses have installed their own water system and the town council has voted to issue bonds to install a water system in the town. We do not claim responsibility for all of this, but we do know that indirectly the fact that the school had its own water works had something to do with it.<sup>28</sup>

Perhaps the citizens of Christiansburg did not want to be outdone by the school; nevertheless, Long's comments reveal that the school and the community had similar goals.

The ongoing construction of campus buildings required a certain amount of community cooperation. Although smaller frame buildings were usually constructed entirely by students, student workers were sometimes led by outside supervisors. In 1918 boys in the carpentry department built a new cottage for teachers. Led by a hired-on carpenter, they completed a seven-room cottage with a "modern sanitary water system." On larger buildings, student construction was limited to tasks such as excavation and preparatory work for the foundations. Records indicate that work was done by crews of both races. But shared work did not always mean racial cooperation and, at times, came with the price of added "patience and constant vigilance." The Friends recorded an incident in which one partially constructed dormitory wall had to be torn down and reconstructed after white masons moved "the lines where the colored masons were working . . . to make it appear that the colored men were building crooked walls." In spite of such inconvenient setbacks, throughout their aggressive building campaign, the Friends acted as if the growth of the Christiansburg Institute campus was a testimony to and physical manifestation of a growing racial harmony. Isaac Sharpless, president of both Haverford College and the FFA, expressed the sentiment of the board when he wrote,

It is impossible to ignore racial differences, but it is quite evident to one who has studied educational matters in both races that fundamentally the problem is the same.... Work in the Christiansburg Institute may be paralleled in its

struggles, its failures, its successes and results achieved by many a white school.<sup>29</sup>

Considering that the turbulent years of the early twentieth century were marked by increasing mob violence against African Americans, the reception of Edgar A. Long by the local white community went surprisingly well. On April 9, 1916, a month after he spoke at the campaign dinner in Philadelphia, Long was invited to speak from the pulpit of a white church in Christiansburg. He began by seeking common ground between the races, citing a willingness on the part of his audience “to unite in a service for the benefit of the colored people.” But Long did not coddle his white audience; he launched into his speech, saying,

Glad as I am for the triumph of Northern arms which struck the shackles from the wrists of four million of my brethren, I can still cherish the highest admiration for the people of the South who, [returned] from the war to devastated homes, to fields laid waste.... History has yet to furnish a parallel...

Long’s speech, reprinted in *The Freedman’s Friend* under the title “The Work of Christiansburg Institute in the Community,” laid out the history and early struggles of the school as well as a bid for its future.<sup>30</sup>

A conversation between Principal Long and Dr. Showalter, a prominent white local physician, initiated a proposal to build a hospital on school grounds to serve African Americans barred from treatment at the local white hospital. Dedicated on May 15, 1918, Commencement Day, the hospital was plagued with conflict from its inception. The principal recognized the “danger of the hospital becoming a serious drain upon our resources.” In its annual report, the board expressed “misgivings in regard to the advisability of attempting it.” Such philosophical misgivings were compounded by actual events. Before the hospital could be put to use, it caught fire. According to Principal Long’s report, an influenza epidemic had broken out shortly after the beginning of the school year. Whether resulting from haste to accommodate ill students or due to an improperly installed furnace, fire rendered the hospital useless until extensive repairs could be made.<sup>31</sup> It took another year to repair and reopen the hospital, located at the northeastern edge of campus (near the present-day intersection of state route 460 and Scattergood Drive). The hospital was a handsome structure with light filtering in from windows on each facade and two-story covered porches designed to provide ample space for recuperative fresh air.



*The short-lived hospital, considered an experiment in inter-racial cooperation, was planned to serve the health needs of African-American residents and function as a training site for a fledgling nursing program.*

*(Photograph courtesy of the Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College)*

While principal Long envisioned the hospital as a school resource where girls could receive training in nursing and home health care, the FFA embraced the project as an experiment in inter-racial cooperation. The Friends called the venture “The Christiansburg Experiment.” However, it was not the hospital itself that was experimental, but the fact that it was run by an interracial board of managers in the segregated South that gave the project this name.<sup>32</sup> The hospital was short-lived, and by 1925 the Friends had considered putting the building to an alternate school use. Also in 1925, the shop burned, resulting in a total loss. While two fires within a few years may sound suspicious, reports never indicated that arson may have played a role in the school’s bad luck. A follow-up memorandum from the FFA suggested that the shop be rebuilt on the same foundation and the hospital was converted into a teachers’ residence. Later, the hospital building functioned as a residence for boys enrolled in the depression-era National Youth Administration program and, in the 1940s, was used for girls’ trades, including more modern vocational courses such as typing and shorthand.<sup>33</sup>



*The Edgar A. Long building, built in 1927, was the only building on campus to be named after an African American. In December 2000 the Long building was listed on the National Register of Historic Places.*

*(Photograph courtesy of the author)*

When Edgar Long became ill, Anna Patterson Long, his wife, long-time teacher, and matron, ran the school intermittently until his death in 1924, when she was named acting principal for a single term. Having led Christiansburg Institute through a period of relative prosperity, Edgar Long had served the school for twenty-eight years, the last eighteen as principal. Labeled a “heaven born teacher” by a biographer, Long was a respected regional leader as well. He reorganized the State Teachers’ Association, served as its president for six years, and was secretary of the Negro Organization Society.<sup>34</sup> Thus, when the much awaited “new” classroom facility was constructed to replace the deteriorating “Old Mansion House” in 1927, it was dedicated as a memorial to the beloved school leader. The Edgar A. Long Building was the only building on the campus of Christiansburg Institute to be named for an African American.

The northern facade of the Long Building was dignified by a scenic drive surrounding an ornamental fountain. Its “front” faced downhill toward the Norfolk and Western rail tracks. Its southern lawn, marked with a flagpole, was used for outdoor ceremonies. Like the previously constructed

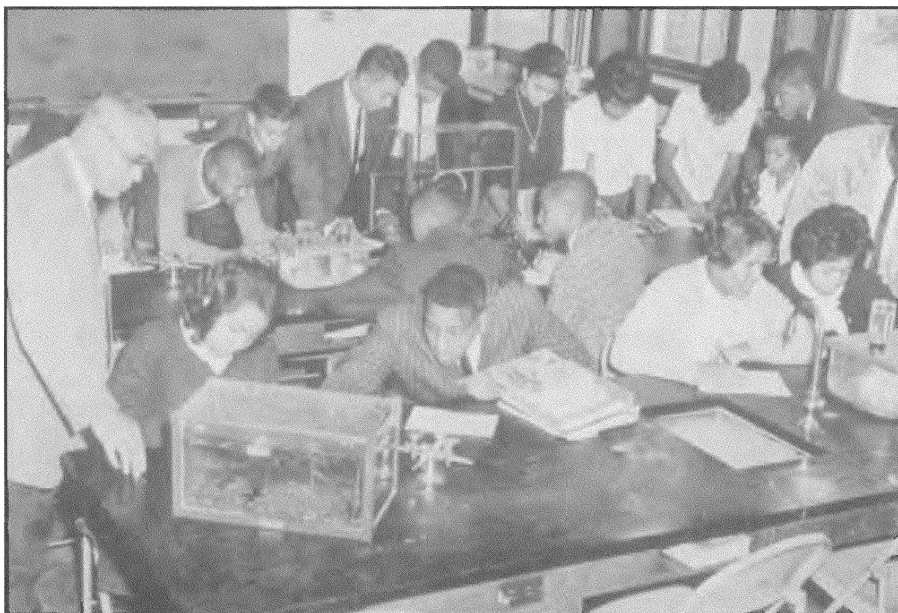
Georgian Revival buildings — Morris Hall, Baily Morris Hall, and the hospital — the Long Building was classical in its symmetry and solidity. Designed as a classroom building and used for that purpose throughout its years, the Long Building was strategically positioned between the boys' and girls' dormitories; accordingly, it had a doorway on both its east and its west facades. When it opened for classes in 1928, male and female students would enter from separate entrances on either end. Among the classrooms in the Long Building was a state-of-the-art science laboratory, a particular pride of the school; a photograph of students working in the lab was included in every subsequent school yearbook. Although much deteriorated through years of neglect, the Edgar A. Long Building was placed on the National Register of Historic Places in 2000; it is registered as a Virginia Landmark as well.<sup>35</sup>

### **Becoming a Public School**

Throughout its history, responsibility for the school shifted within a complex organizational triad formed by on-site leadership at Christiansburg Institute, the Friends' Freedmen's Association in Philadelphia, and the Montgomery County School Board; the relationship among these parties evolved over three periods. Beginning in the nineteenth century, the FFA assumed responsibility for the school at a time when the county's participation was minimal and its contribution nominal. During the 1930s the parties entered into an agreement that implied shared responsibilities. After World War II, the school became a part of the regular public school system. Thus, at a time when there was little physical change to the campus — between the erection of the Edgar A. Long Building in 1927 and the construction of the last school building in 1953 — Christiansburg Institute underwent dramatic changes in its management. The complex and fascinating story involving the legal transfer of the school and its transformation from private academy to public institution will require further investigation; for the time being, only the barest of details bridges the construction of the last two buildings to complete this story of the school's campus.

Until the twentieth century, Montgomery County's contribution to the support of Christiansburg Institute hovered around \$100 per annum, the total public appropriation for the education of approximately 200 African-American students. In 1903 the county increased its contribu-



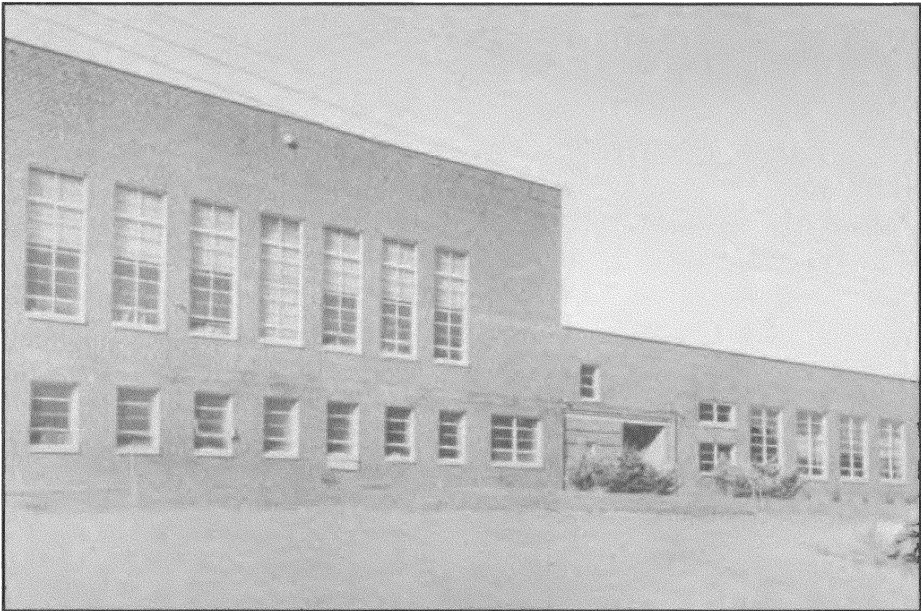


*A science department featured a state-of-of-the-art laboratory on the second floor of the Edgar A. Long classroom building. An obvious pride of the school, a picture of students working in the lab was included in many yearbooks, including this one from 1963–64. (Photograph courtesy of Christiansburg Institute archive, gift of the Christiansburg Institute Alumni Association)*

tion to an amount equivalent to one teacher's salary, and by 1916, when the Friends raised \$50,000 in a single week, the annual appropriation from the county was a mere \$755. In spite of this continued sparse support, the FFA entered into a lease agreement with the county on July 1, 1934, to set up a regional control board that operated the school on behalf of Montgomery and Pulaski counties and the adjacent city of Radford. In 1947 the Friends deeded the entire school property to Montgomery County, ending the FFA's sixty-two-year oversight of the school and, thereby, relinquishing the last school under its jurisdiction to public control.<sup>36</sup>

The county inherited a valuable piece of real estate: 185 acres of prime property and fourteen buildings, including four multi-storied brick structures, as well as all furniture and equipment located at the school. Throughout its years, the school had been well maintained. Although it did not have an operating budget *per se*, repairs and improvements to the

physical plant were a matter of inspection, recommendation, allocation, and implementation, a method described time and again in a number of annual principal's reports. One such 1940s report documented this method, stating that the county superintendent and Principal H. Leslie Giles toured the school with Henry Scattergood, who had maintained a long and lasting relationship with the school. Having come on board as FFA treasurer at the turn-of-the-century, Scattergood remained a contributor into the 1960s. The inspection team concluded that the school needed a new water tank and a furnace. Team members also recommended tearing down the "Old Mansion House." The new furnace was installed, and new electric lights, desks, and laboratory equipment added. In 1951 many school buildings were repainted, including the administration building (Baily Morris Hall), the Long Building, the boys' dorm, and the boys' trade building. During the post-war period, the farm operation was suspended and dormitories were closed as the school came to resemble a public school. In 1950 "Christiansburg Industrial Institute" became



*Scattergood Hall, a new gymnasium, was built on the threshold of the Brown v. the Board of Education decision.*

*(Photograph a gift of the Christiansburg Institute Alumni Association, courtesy of Christiansburg Institute archive)*

“Christiansburg Institute” and began to function like any modern public high school, albeit segregated.<sup>37</sup>

In 1953 the Christiansburg Institute Board of Control opted to erect a gymnasium on campus, the largest building to date. Named Scattergood Hall, this building would be the last one constructed on the campus. Like so many American public school buildings, the gymnasium doubled as an auditorium; inside were new industrial arts facilities and an additional classroom. Projected to cost between \$250,000 and \$300,000, the building was a major investment in the perpetuation of a “separate but equal” system of education. In spite of such political implications, the gym was important to students; subsequent to the gym’s construction, the football team went on to win the district championship. But the symbolic significance of the new construction eclipsed its practical importance as an improvement to the school’s campus. Scattergood Hall was a physical manifestation of the “success” of segregation. Plans were made for the dedication speech to be delivered by the governor himself.<sup>38</sup>

## Aftermath

Supported by the cooperative efforts of those who believed in access to education, Christiansburg Institute was the academic home to multiple generations of African Americans living in the emancipated — yet segregated — South. Most campus building took place during the first three decades of the twentieth century, from the time the school moved onto the farm campus in 1898 until the 1927 construction of the Edgar A. Long classroom building. Under the Friends’ Freedmen’s Association, eight new buildings were erected to create a campus unrivaled by any other secondary school for miles around. During the Institute’s last three decades, the years in which the school was operated by a public regional control board, only one building was erected. This last building, Scattergood Hall, holds the distinction of being the only publicly-funded school building constructed to support African-American secondary education in Montgomery County during an entire century of state-sanctioned segregation.<sup>39</sup>

The Christiansburg Institute campus had, indeed, been built on a tenuous footing, a shallow foundation supported by a single generation of freedom. Ironically, yet purposefully, the county’s sole contribution to the school’s campus came on the threshold of the pivotal 1954 Supreme Court



*Baily Morris Hall, completed in 1912, met its destruction in 1980 by wrecking ball, the outcome of a local public policy decision.*  
(Photograph by Gene Dalton, Roanoke Times staff photographer; photograph courtesy of The Roanoke Times)

decision *Brown v. the Board of Education*. More ironic still was the fact that its subsequent destruction coincided with the implementation of that decision, which struck down segregation after a long struggle for civil rights. Whether the destruction of the Christiansburg Institute campus was motivated by jealousy, greed, or vengeance cannot be determined by historic record, but its dissolution was the purposeful result of public policy decisions. While some may suggest that the remains of Christiansburg Institute should lie buried along with most of its campus, the recovery of its history is important to our understanding of the totality of the American experience. The story of the Christiansburg Institute forms a rich and fascinating mosaic, a microcosm of American race relations, educational development, and public policy.

America's social, economic, political, and military history is told through an examination of the lives of its diverse citizenry. The story of industrialization and changing demographics is largely the story of immi-

grant workers. The story of political enfranchisement is told by women's voices in their struggle for equal rights. The story of economic hardship is revealed by those who documented the Depression years for the Works Progress Administration. And the military strategies and events of two international wars are recorded in the letters of soldiers. The sum of these stories defines the American mainstream in which many such stories coalesce to create a national identity. Underlying all of them is an undercurrent of African-American life, separated by law in the South and by social convention in the North.

Recovering the history of the Christiansburg Institute will add to our understanding of the Emancipation period, an era bracketed by the Civil War and by Civil Rights. This rich historical period is framed by two specific cultural markers, the penning of the Emancipation Proclamation in 1863 and the daring utterance of "I have a dream," spoken one-hundred years later in 1963. Between the legendary pronouncements of Abraham Lincoln and Martin Luther King is the voice of Edgar A. Long. But until much of the history of the Christiansburg Institute is recovered, Long's voice remains a whisper.

## Endnotes

1. With respect to historic firsts, the founding of Christiansburg Institute predated the establishment of Hampton Institute, now Hampton University, founded two years later in 1868; Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, which opened as Virginia Agricultural and Mechanical College in 1872; Tuskegee in Alabama, founded by Booker T. Washington in 1881; and Radford University, originally named Radford Normal College for White Women, in 1910. The State Board of Education's list of accredited schools in 1924–1925 included Christiansburg Industrial Institute, and in 1932 it became accredited by the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, the first high school in Montgomery County to achieve such credentials.
2. Because the name of the school fluctuated over the course of its existence, this essay will refer to the school by the two words that were a consistent part of its name throughout its existence, "Christiansburg Institute."
3. Charles H. Harrison, *The Story of a Consecrated Life* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1900), 65, 90, 133. The rented school building is described as a "log cabin" in this biography; however, this appears to be an erroneous, if not poetic, interjection. A photograph of the schoolhouse shows clapboards coming off and exposing the frame structure underneath. Charles Stewart Schaeffer (1830–1899) was originally from Germantown, Pennsylvania. Although wounded, Schaeffer was lucky enough to survive two of the fiercest Civil War battles: Antietam and Gettysburg.

4. The building cost \$1,400 and the addition \$1,000. According to Schaeffer's biography, in 1868 he deeded the school and property to a Board of Trustees made up wholly of ex-slaves, making Christiansburg Institute not only one of the first schools to serve the emancipated citizenry, but to be owned by them as well. Schaeffer's report to the Freedmen's Bureau, dated January 31, 1868, is quoted in Harrison, 121-24, 134-36. Schaeffer's work was centered in Christiansburg, the Montgomery County seat. The district under his supervision appears to have extended to adjacent counties as well, including Pulaski and Giles. The fact that Schaeffer was originally assigned to Wytheville is an indication that an adjacent district may have begun there.
5. Harrison, 136-37. Schaeffer's diary is quoted in Ann Swain, *Christiansburg Institute: From Freedmen's Bureau Enterprise to Public High School* (Master's Thesis, Radford University, 1975), 45-50. Again, regarding historic firsts, the first professional training for teachers in Montgomery County appears to have been held at the Christiansburg Institute in 1875. The Methodist District Educational Conference was held there in October 1876.
6. Mrs. Mumber, "The Christiansburg Mission" (Nov. 19, 1874) as reprinted in Harrison, 138-39.
7. Charles Schaeffer to Henry M. Laing, Philadelphia, Feb. 17, 1869. Schaeffer confirmed that he stayed in Philadelphia from February 18 to May 11, 1869, in a subsequent letter, dated one year later on February 17, 1870. Both letters are reprinted in Harrison, 187 and 211. Annual budgets are reprinted in Harrison, 211, 218, 276. Quote from Schaeffer's diary (March 1, 1876) in Swain, 48. Schaeffer's biography documents his early years in service to this church; see Harrison, 65, 193, 208.
8. Friends Historical Library finding abstract. *Annual Report of the Christiansburg Industrial Institute* (Cambria: 1908), 41 [henceforth referred to as *Annual Report*]. See also annual budgets reprinted in Harrison, 211, 218, 276.
9. The construction of the Hill School, on a lot measuring 348 by 104 feet, cost \$8,747. It appears, although it is not entirely clear, that half the funds came from the FFA and the other half from Schaeffer himself, an expense that may have stretched him to the breaking point. The itemized income budget summary from this particular period has not been located. In any case, soon after, Schaeffer's association with the school ended. Harrison, 143. Statistics on the Hill School are found in Long, *Report of the Principal* (May 30, 1911), 3; and *Minutes of the Friends Freedmen's Association* (June 5, 1923).
10. William Polk to William Haines (Oct. 6, 1888) and William Polk to Board of Managers (Nov. 9, 1888), Friends Historical Library.
11. Samuel J. Comfort, *Term Report of the Christiansburg Institute* (April 30, 1891), Friends Historical Society; the *Helper* (April 19, 1898) as quoted in Harrison, 146. The "higher branches" referred to courses at the secondary level. Quote from Marshall and course descriptions from *Catalogue of the Christiansburg Industrial Institute* (Cambria: 1903), 6-11 [henceforth referred to as *Catalogue*].
12. Armory Dwight Mayo, *Southern Women in the Recent Educational Movement in the South* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1892; 1978 reprint), 83.
13. Mayo, 111. Mayo was a "venerable" educational spokesman, according to the *Berea Quarterly* (Feb. 1987), 11-14. In 1896 he shared the podium with no less than Theodore Roosevelt; however, much of Mayo's writing was shot through with racist language.

14. William Goodell Frost, "An Educational Program for Appalachian America," *Berea Quarterly* (May 1896), 3-22. Quote from *Berea Quarterly* (May 1900), 9-10. Elisabeth S. Peck, *Berea's First 125 Years* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1982), 39-53. *Catalogue* (Cambria: 1898), 5. While a discussion of national race policy is well outside the scope of this paper, the author wishes to point out that, using the example of Berea College, the federal court's decisions indicate it was complicit in supporting state-decreed segregation of educational institutions.
15. David W. Noble, *The Progressive Mind, 1890-1917* (Minneapolis: Burgess Publishing Company, 1981), 81. Jane Addams opened Hull House, considered to be the first American settlement house, in 1899.
16. Although Tuskegee was established well after the founding of Christiansburg Institute, its growth easily outpaced the older school with a thousand students attending classes on a campus of thirty buildings. Booker T. Washington, *The Story of My Life and Work* (Atlanta: Nichols, 1901), 115 and 132. Elliston P. Morris to Washington (Feb. 6, 1896), volume 4, 109; Washington to Morris (March 30, 1896), volume 4, 150-151; both from the on-line version of the *Booker T. Washington Papers* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1972) at [www.historycoop.org/btw/index.html](http://www.historycoop.org/btw/index.html)
17. Reading the Friends' records and the valuable secondary source *Christiansburg Institute: A Proud History* might lead one to believe that school leadership went directly from Schaeffer to Marshall. However inconsequential to the school's development, the interim principals are listed here. A man named Lowry may have been principal for a single year in 1887-1888, according to Swain, 65. The earliest FFA reports were signed by William Polk, principal in 1888-1890. Polk was succeeded by Samuel J. Comfort (listed as teacher in 1889-1890 and principal in 1890-1893). Hiram H. Thweat was principal in 1893-1896, when Washington took over as supervisor and Marshall as principal. Washington to Marshall (April 16, 1896), volume 4, 161 from *Washington Papers*. Poteet lists C. A. Powell as interim principal from 1896 until 1898, although this appears to be contradicted by the date of Washington's letter. George Poteet, *Secondary Education in Montgomery County, 1776-1936* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia, 1936), 166-167. For details of Marshall's life, see "The Evolution of a Shoe-maker" in Washington's *Tuskegee and Its People* (New York: Appleton, 1906). After Marshall's death, Edgar Allen Long served first as acting principal, then as principal. He is referred to as Edgar Allan Long in a biography included in Arthur Caldwell, *History of the American Negro* (1921), 251-54. The only woman to head the school was Anna Lee Patterson Long, teacher since 1896 and acting principal for the term following Long's death in 1924.
18. *Catalogue* (Cambria: 1901) cover. Blair Buck, *Development of Public Schools in Virginia, 1607-1952* (Richmond: Board of Education, 1952).
19. The first thirty-three acres of land was recorded in Montgomery County Deed Book 46 (Nov. 11, 1898), 273; a subsequent fifty-four acres was recorded in Deed Book 48 (March 14, 1899), 547; Montgomery County Circuit Clerk's Office, Christiansburg, Virginia. *Annual Report* (Cambria: 1903), 14; Thomas Howard, *The Freedman's Friend* (Cambria: 1917), as quoted in Swain, 195.
20. Marshall in *Tuskegee*, 344-49.
21. The barn appears to have been built in 1901 or 1902 at a cost of \$2,000, from *Annual Report* (Cambria: 1903), 24; Marshall in *Tuskegee*, 348-49; Long, *Report of the Principal*

- to the Farm Committee (Dec. 31, 1911), 1-3; undated, untitled report (hand-dated May 1, 1939).
22. The shop was eighty feet long by twenty feet wide and cost \$1,000 to build. *Annual Report* (Cambria: 1903), 3, 18, 21.
  23. *Annual Report* (Cambria: 1903), 3-4, 24. The two-and-a-half story dormitory measured seventy-seven by thirty-eight feet and cost \$8,426.
  24. *Annual Report* (Cambria: 1903), 19-20; Long, *Report of the Principal to the Education Committee* (Dec. 30, 1909), 1; *The Freedman's Friend*, volume 9, number 2 (Cambria: 1916), 36; *Annual Report* (Cambria: 1916), 17.
  25. Long, *Report to the Education Committee* (March 31, 1910), 7; *Annual Report* (Cambria: 1903), 5-10. *Twenty-Sixth Annual Catalog* (Cambria: 1925), 38-46.
  26. Long, *Report of the Principal to the Farm Committee* (Dec. 31, 1911), 2-3. *Report of the Principal to the Household Committee* (Dec. 31, 1911), 1-3. Joshua Baily, active in the FFA, paid personal attention to the needs of the school; for example, he outfitted the girls' living room with furniture, lamps, and an organ. Moreover, Baily kicked off the fiftieth anniversary capital campaign with a personal contribution of \$5,000, which would amount to 10 percent of the total raised. *Annual Report* (Cambria: 1903), 8, 20; and *The Freedman's Friend*, volume 9, number 2 (Cambria: 1916), 57. Elliston Morris, one of the group of Friends who founded the FFA in 1863, played a leadership role for forty-nine years. The dedication of the new building coincided with Morris's retirement from the board. It was Morris who corresponded with Washington to convince him to affiliate with the Institute. *Executive Board of the Friends' Freedmen's Association* (Jan. 9, 1912). Throughout its history, the Christiansburg Institute campus was well maintained. In 1939 Baily Morris Hall was completely renovated, receiving new plumbing, painting, and hardwood floors. Until 1953, when the gymnasium was built, Baily Morris Hall would tower above the surrounding landscape as the largest building on campus. For upkeep of the building, see undated, unsigned report (hand-dated May 1, 1939) and *A Brief Report of Christiansburg Industrial Institute for the year 1939-1940*.
  27. *Annual Report* (Cambria: 1916), 18-19; *The Freedman's Friend*, volume 9, number 2 (Cambria: 1916), 54-59.
  28. Long, *Report of the Principal to the Education Committee* (March 31, 1910), 6.
  29. Long, *Report of the Principal* (1919); *Executive Board of the Friends' Freedmen's Association* minutes (Oct. 7, 1902); Sharpless as quoted in *The Freedman's Friend*, volume 9, number 2 (Cambria: 1916), 40-41. Sharpless's patronizing language is characteristic of segregated times. His optimism is couched within the context of the "white man's burden" in "caring for... trustful, helpless blacks."
  30. Long's speech is reprinted under the title "The Work of Christiansburg Institute in the Community," in *The Freedman's Friend* (Cambria: 1916), 47-53.
  31. *The Friend* (June 6, 1918); Long, *Report of the Principal* (1919); Long, *Report of the Principal* (March 31, 1914). According to an unsigned, untitled estimate (Sept. 28, 1918), the building required electric wiring and painting throughout, as well as the replacement of doors, windows, plaster, and furniture.
  32. Long, *Report of the Principal* (1917); *The Friend* (June 6, 1918).
  33. Long, *Report of the Principal* (1920); *Executive Board of the Friends' Freedmen's Association* minutes (June 3, 1924); Morris Baily to Morris Leeds (June 24, 1923), Friends



- Historical Library. *Executive Board of the Friends' Freedmen's Association* (Feb. 5, 1925); Giles, *Report of the Principal*, 1939-40; Giles, *Report of the Principal*, 1943-44.
34. Caldwell, 251-252.
35. Abraham M. Walker served as principal from 1925 until 1941. The groundbreaking for the new classroom building took place on February 7, 1927 (Walker, *Principal's Report*, 1927). *Executive Board of the Friends' Freedmen's Association* minutes (Jan. 11, 1927). The Long building, measuring ninety-four by seventy-two feet, was constructed at a total cost of \$29,921. The architect was William L. Baily of Baily and Bassett of Philadelphia. J. D. Hufford of Pulaski was the contractor; *Executive Board of the Friends' Freedmen's Association* minutes (March 8, 1927).
36. The county assumed minimal responsibility for the education of its black citizens, but in spite of its meager appropriation, the county Superintendent of Schools requested that the Christiansburg Institute principal oversee not only the Hill School and the Institute, but a primary school located on Rock Road as well. For several years this was the case, and the Friends put the Rock Road teacher on their payroll. *Annual Report* (Cambria: 1903), 7-8, 21-23. Deed Book 151, 54.
37. Giles, *Christiansburg Industrial Institute 1943-44*; letter from S. T. Godbey, superintendent, to J. Henry Scattergood (July 16, 1951), Montgomery County School archives.
38. *Ibid.*
39. This observation was made by Elaine Dowe Carter, Executive Director of Christiansburg Institute, Inc. Credit is also due to Ms. Carter for her guidance in developing the broader conclusive ideas that surround the specifics of the Christiansburg Institute and its importance to the development of a civil society.