

For Lee, thanks for
your help on this
Richard

HISTORY OF ANTHROPOLOGY

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ESSAYS TOWARD
A MORE INCLUSIVE
HISTORY OF ANTHROPOLOGY

Edited by

Richard Handler

HISTORY OF ANTHROPOLOGY
Volume 9

2000

THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN PRESS

This folktale, with its distinctive pan-African trickster motif, was recorded by a member of the Hampton Folk-Lore Society (HFS), founded in 1893 by Alice M. Bacon. The educators and graduates of Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute formed the society to record cultural practices of rural blacks to demonstrate that industrial education succeeded in fostering the so-called Christian civilization of its graduates—in part by using folklore to evaluate how much African heritage remained to be rooted out. "Playing Dead Twice in the Road" was one of hundreds of tales, jokes, and conundrums Bacon organized into the society's many notebooks of fieldwork during the last decade of the nineteenth century.

Bassette's tale was eventually published in 1922 in an article in the *Journal of American Folk-Lore* titled "Folk-Lore From Elizabeth City County, Virginia." Although Bacon had died in 1918, the authors of the 1922 article were noted as "A. M. Bacon and E. C. Parsons," and it was the last article in an issue devoted exclusively to Negro folklore.¹ In her preface, Parsons wrote that "two decades ago or more, Miss A. M. Bacon conducted a folk-lore society in Hampton Institute. Some of the material recorded was published in 'The Southern Workman'. Through the kindness of Miss Herron of the Institute the unpublished material was given to me to edit, and appears in the following" (Bacon & Parsons 1922:251). The following 77 pages of that article included the remaining unpublished notebooks of the HFS.²

Leonora Herron, librarian at the Hampton Institute, had been a member of the HFS, which from its inception to its end in 1899 had found in the American Folk-Lore Society (AFLS) its staunchest supporter. Herron thus had a personal connection with the society and its journal, and presumably that is why she turned over an old notebook of Negro folklore to a rich white lady who conducted ethnographic fieldwork in Zuni (Waters 1983:3). Among her many initiatives, Elsie Clews Parsons underwrote, organized, and guest-edited, under *Journal of American Folk-Lore* editor Franz Boas, 14 single-theme issues on African and African American folk traditions between 1917 and 1937 (Deacon 1997:173, 282–83).

Along with nearly two dozen other articles on African folklore from the

1. Reproducing the belief that African folklore diffused across the diaspora north and west, the first two short collections came from south-central Cameroon and Malawi. Moving north and west, the next collection was from Nigeria, followed by a collection of "Negro Spirituals From the Far South," and finally one from the border state of Virginia. This article concluded with a collection of "Irish Stories" told by Negroes, which supposedly demonstrated "how hospitable Negro folk-lore is to new comers" (Bacon & Parsons 1922:251).

2. The story I used as an epigraph (originally published in Bacon & Parsons 1922:251) was written by Andrew W. C. Bassette, who probably recorded it as a class project during his sophomore year in 1899, the last year the society was functioning. According to Waters (1983:105), Bassette was a member of the class of 1903.

RESEARCH, REFORM, AND RACIAL UPLIFT

The Mission of the Hampton Folk-Lore Society, 1893–1899

LEE D. BAKER

Playing Dead Twice in the Road
(version d)

Once a fox heard a rabbit had outwitted a wolf. He decided not to be friends to her any more. But Mis' Rabbit came and begged his pardon, and it was granted. Mr. Fox offered to go hunting with Mis' Rabbit; but the rabbit was lazy and played off sick, and staid at Mr. Fox's house till he was very near ready to come back. Then she ran away down the road, and curled up and played off dead. Brier Fox came 'long and looked at her; but he thought probably she had been dead too long, so he passed on. As soon as Brier Fox was out of sight, Mis' Rabbit jumped up and ran through the field and got ahead of him, and laid down again to fake Mr. Fox. This time he looked at her and looked into his bag. His bag was large enough to accommodate one or two more, so he put Mis' Rabbit in, and put his bag in the grass, and went back to get the other rabbit. Before he was around the corner Mis' Rabbit jumped up and ran home with Mr. Fox's game. So Mr. Fox found no game when he returned.

But one day Mis' Rabbit was walking along, and she asked Mr. Fox what he killed. He said he killed a lot of game, but he had learned a headful of Har'sense. She laughed and went on.

(Written by Andrew W. C. Bassette, reprinted in Waters 1983:398)

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diaspora, Bacon and Parsons' 1922 article was cited in Alain Locke's 1925 *New Negro* (1925:444). Yet in that volume, such folklore was not, as it were, the same rabbit as the one collected by the HFS—for the purpose of Locke and his associates was to demonstrate that New Negro intellectuals were succeeding in empowering new understandings of black culture, in part by using folklore to embrace their African heritage. Thus the HFS rationale for collecting folklore in the 1890s was virtually the opposite of the New Negro rationale in the 1920s. The divergent ways these two groups of black and white intellectuals interpreted Negro folklore during two very different historic periods suggests that anthropology in the United States routinely played a part in a complex racial politics of culture.³

A Racial Project for Reconstruction

One must turn to the founder of the Hampton Institute, General Samuel Chapman Armstrong, to begin to understand the complicated racial project articulated at Hampton during the 1890s. It was in the Sandwich, or Hawaiian, Islands of the 1840s that Armstrong developed his philosophy of industrial education and used folklore as a yardstick to measure civilization.

The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions was founded in 1810 and began its campaign in Hawaii in 1819. In 1831, General Armstrong's father, Dr. Richard Armstrong, a recent graduate of the Princeton Theological Seminary, married Clarissa Chapman, a recent graduate of Westfield Normal School and a teacher at the Pestalozzian Infant School in Brooklyn, New York. He decided to be a missionary in the Pacific and convinced his bride to do the same. The newlyweds took an arduous voyage to Honolulu, where they were stationed for less than a year before they assumed a difficult mission in the Marquesas Islands, which they soon abandoned. The Missionary Board then found a suitable mission for the Armstrongs and their growing family on the island of Maui, where they stayed for seven years until Dr. Armstrong was appointed to the First Native Church in Honolulu. During his years on Maui, Armstrong observed that the natives were in need of "steady industrial occupation."⁴ Thus, as he ministered to the health of the

3. The young Franz Boas, Frederick Ward Putnam, William Wells Newell, and Daniel G. Brin-ton were all involved in one way or another with the HFS, which suggests that African American culture was a marginal but salient topic of inquiry during the 1890s—the formative period of academic anthropology in the United States.

4. He succeeded in having the indigenous Hawaiians build much of the island's infrastructure, although they probably engaged in various forms of resistance, as Mrs. Armstrong suggests: "The natives were awkward and very destructive, breaking their tools and ox-carts and always relying upon their 'kumu' to repair them" (M. F. Armstrong 1887:21).

populace, he also convinced the Hawaiians to build schools, churches, sugar plantations, and saw mills.

Dr. Armstrong quickly rose through the ranks of the missionary and government agencies. Closely associated with other powerful Protestant missionaries like Richard Williams and Gerritt P. Judd, he became the Islands' minister of education, a member of the House of Nobles, a member of the King's Privy Council, and a close advisor (both on spiritual and policy matters) to King Kamehameha III (Lindsey 1995:1–2; Talbot 1904:3–37; S. C. Armstrong 1909:1–4; *The Friend* 1860:76–77). Armstrong was perhaps best known for his creation and administration of the many missionary and government schools bearing his philosophy of moral and industrial education, which above all aimed to civilize the natives. He outlined his teaching philosophy in a letter responding to his appointment by King Kamehameha III as Minister of Public Education in 1847.

No sphere of labor sir, would be more congenial to my feelings, than the department of public instruction, and I may add, no branch of the government, seems to me of more vital importance to the welfare, of the Hawaiian race than this. Education, intellectual, moral, and physical, is the great lever by which philanthropists of every land, are seeking to redeem and elevate the mass of people. Here it is of peculiar importance, where the glory and safety of the nation must depend in so great a degree upon the proper training of the young. If depopulation here is to be arrested; if the vices which are consuming the natives are to be eradicated; if an indolent and thriftless people are to become industrious and thrifty: if Christian institutions are to be perpetuated, the work must be accomplished [sic] mainly where it has been so prosperously begun, in the education of the young. (Quoted in M. F. Armstrong 1887:29–30)

Writing to his daughter in 1844, he explained why the "inhabitants" were in need of this type of education: "Had they skill and industry they might abound in every good thing. . . . But, poor creatures, they will not very soon shake off the low wretched habits of their former state. Their government, until recently, was one of the worst forms of despotism . . . and in those days a character was formed which will not soon be entirely reformed. When I look over this valley, I think what a little Yankee skill would do here." (LSCA: RA/CA 10/6/1844). Armstrong even complained that the "king himself is as near to being an animal as man can well be & most of the high chiefs are ignorant, lazy, and stupid." His remedy to help advance what he called "Christian civilization" among these near-animal heathens was to improve "the heart, the head & the body at once." As he surmised, "this is a lazy people & if they are ever to be made industrious the work must begin with the young. So I am making strenuous efforts to have some sort of manual labor connected with every school . . . without industry they cannot be moral" (RAP: RA/RCA 2/18/1844).

The combination of morality, industry, and church was not a novel philosophy of education. Mrs. Armstrong, for example, had been an instructor in a school modeled after the philosophies of Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi, who incorporated similar values in his curriculum. What made Dr. Armstrong so successful as an educator, missionary, and confidante to the king was his intimate knowledge of the traditional language, customs, and folklore of his charges. Using his genuine respect for Hawaiian language and culture, he was an important facilitator of the so-called Great Awakening during which thousands of Hawaiians converted to Christianity by the mid-nineteenth century. Even King Kamehameha IV, who detested the influence of missionaries, noted that Armstrong "was an eloquent preacher in the Hawaiian language" and commented on "his accurate knowledge of the Hawaiian language, and the facility with which he wielded the pen of a translator" (*The Friend* 1860:76; see also M. F. Armstrong 1887:57–58).

Armstrong often used cultural markers to demonstrate how far the Hawaiians had come, suggesting, for example, that the natives "have better clothes than they used to have" and explaining that "we rarely see a native now unclad or even wearing native kapa." But he also used such markers to show how much civilizing work remained to be done, lamenting that the natives "still live in small and filthy grass huts, destitute of every comfort, and herding together often a dozen sleeping on mats in one small house without even a partition, and some of them, as if to make bad worse, keep their dogs and ducks in the house during the night" (M. F. Armstrong 1887:63).

During their final year on Maui in 1839, Mrs. Armstrong gave birth to Samuel Chapman Armstrong, the sixth of their 10 children. Samuel grew up close to his father, and in a memoir titled "From the Beginning," explained how Richard Armstrong's philosophy of education shaped that of Hampton. Comparing the Lahaina-luna Seminary, which taught Greek and Latin, to the Hilo Boarding and Manual Labor School, Armstrong remarked that "as a rule the former turned out more brilliant, the latter less advanced but more solid men. In making the plan of Hampton Institute that of the Hilo School seemed the best to follow. . . . Hence came our policy of teaching only English and the system of industrial training at Hampton. Its graduates are not only to be good teachers but skilled workers, able to build homes and earn a living for themselves and encourage others to do the same" (S. C. Armstrong 1909:4–5).

In 1860 Samuel Armstrong left Hawaii to attend Williams College, where he came under the influence of its president, the philosopher and missionary Mark Hopkins. As the Civil War erupted, he answered Abraham Lincoln's call for Union Army volunteers. Accepting a commission as captain, he recruited and trained Company D of the 125th Regiment of New York. Promoted to major and then to colonel, Armstrong was put in command of

the 9th Regiment of U.S. Colored Troops, and in March of 1865 Abraham Lincoln made the 26-year-old Hawaiian citizen a brevet brigadier general.

Although Chapman demonstrated great leadership and courage in battle to preserve the Union, he confessed to his mother that "the Union is to me little or nothing." He explained that he "was a foreigner, a Sandwich Islander, who had no local sympathies." He saw "the great issue to be that of freedom or slavery for 4,000,000 souls" (Talbot 1904:115–18), but as he told his Williams classmate, Archibald Hopkins: "I am sort of [an] abolitionist, but haven't yet learned to love the Negro." His most consistent reason to fight was rooted in his faith that God did not intend for the souls of people to be bought and sold: "I go in, then, for freeing them more on account of their souls than their bodies, I assure you" (Talbot 1904:86). In a less searching letter to Archibald Hopkins, he castigated those who fought for honor or God, saying, "That's all poppy cock." Armstrong provided a set of more quotidian reasons: "I say *strike*, in order that you may get \$100 or so per month, see the country, wear soldiers' clothes, save the land from anarchy, rescue the Constitution and punish the rebels—long live the Republic!" (LSCA: SCA/AH 12/8/1862).

As the war ended, he searched for a mission in life, both personal and Christian. As a commander of Negro troops, he had been impressed by "their quick response to good treatment and to discipline" and he was convinced that African Americans yearned for education because he witnessed how his soldiers were "often studying their spelling books under fire" (S. C. Armstrong 1909:6). Immediately after the war, the commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau, General Oliver Otis Howard, appointed Armstrong as the superintendent for the tidewater area of Virginia; its headquarters was the small town of Hampton. General Armstrong's jurisdiction was populated with a large number of formerly enslaved people, and his area quickly became a bellwether for radical Reconstruction experiments as missionaries, bureau agents, and the new freedmen and women negotiated competing agendas, policies, and plans.

After the war, the American Missionary Association took the lead in establishing schools for African Americans in the South. Armstrong used his access to both government and missionary resources to establish a coed industrial and normal school to train African American elementary school teachers, which soon became independent of both the missionary association and the government. It opened in 1868 with two teachers and 15 pupils but grew quickly. Armstrong often touted his brand of industrial and moral education, known as the Hampton Idea, as "the only way to make them good Christians" (S. C. Armstrong 1909:12). The Hampton Idea found powerful support among philanthropists, missionaries, and the nation's political and industrial leaders. Although interest was generated by Hampton's civi-

lizing mission, white backers were also attracted to its political and economic components which, as they saw it, would foster regional stability by discouraging students from participating in party politics while encouraging the efficient exploitation of their labor (Spivey 1978:22). As George Frederickson explains, Hampton's financial backers "anticipated that blacks would make a more effective contribution to general prosperity and individual white profit making if they were taught useful skills" (Frederickson 1971:216). The method and message Armstrong used to teach African Americans how to become civilized and virtuous was simple and consistent: "Work, work, work" (*Southern Workman*, March 1874:2). The majority of black colleges followed Hampton's model, and when Hampton's own graduate, Booker T. Washington, reproduced Armstrong's model at Tuskegee Institute in the late nineteenth century, it became the most influential model for black schools (Frederickson 1971:216).

Not only did Armstrong create the blueprint of Washington's popular industrial education with its concomitant policies of racial accommodation and cultural assimilation, he also helped to shape the federal government's policies regarding Native American assimilation through education. Between 1878 and 1893, Hampton "experimented" with Indian education, again employing the notion that industrial education helped to civilize the savages (Lindsey 1995; Robinson 1977; Adams 1995:28-59). In 1878, Captain R. H. Pratt, who, after the Civil War, had commanded black troops and Indian scouts on the Great Plains, searched without success for a school to continue the education of a group of Indians under his control. General Armstrong welcomed the opportunity to extend Hampton's civilizing mission to American Indians, and invited Pratt to bring them to Hampton. The experiment was seemingly so successful that President Rutherford B. Hayes announced in his State of the Union address the following year that the Department of Interior would reproduce Armstrong's Hampton Idea for Native Americans.

Initially, Hayes voiced his concerns about hostile Indians, but assured Congress and the nation that the "vast majority of our Indian population have fully justified the expectations of those who believe that by human and peaceful influences the Indian can be led to abandon the habits of savage life and to develop a capacity for useful and civilized occupations." He then extolled the virtues of "the experiment of sending a number of Indian children of both sexes to the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute, in Virginia, to receive an elementary English education and practical instruction in farming and other useful industries, [which] has led to results so promising that it was thought expedient to turn over the cavalry barracks at Carlisle in Pennsylvania to the Interior Department for the establishment of an Indian school on a larger scale" (Hayes 1879[1966]:1390). That year, 1879, Captain Pratt along with some American Indian students from Hampton started the influential



A class in American history, ca. 1891. (Courtesy of Hampton University Archives.)

Carlisle Indian Industrial School. Like Tuskegee and Hampton for Negroes, Hampton and the Carlisle School became defining institutions for education policy to assimilate Indians (see also Adams 1995; Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute 1893; Makofsky 1989; Robinson 1977).

Armstrong's gospel of industrial education was even spread to Africa. With close ties to the American Missionary Association, Hampton provided many recruits for the Association's work of converting and educating West Africans. In reports published in the *Southern Workman*, Hampton graduates who became missionaries routinely testified that the Hampton Idea in Africa was helping the Lord in the "upbuilding of his kingdom" (see, e.g., White 1878:54; Sharps 1991:121). Mary Francis Armstrong, Samuel Armstrong's wife, explained that the general's unparalleled success in establishing his school stemmed from the fact that he "brought from Hawaii to Virginia an idea, worked out by American brains in the heart of the Pacific, adequate to meet the demands of a race similar in its dawn of civilization to the people among whom this idea had first been successfully tested" (Armstrong & Ludlow 1874:22-23; see also Kaplan 1993:16). General Armstrong deployed a transnational and transracial discourse about civilization, assimilation, Christianity, and industrial education to build an institution that defined dominant approaches to the education of African Americans, Native Americans, and even Africans. And, like his father, General Armstrong realized that under-

standing the folklore and cultural practices of these peoples would facilitate his civilizing mission.

Bedeveling Christian Civilization

Armstrong explained the role of what he called "comparative ethnology" in an introduction to a series of reports published in the 1878 volume of the *Southern Workman*, which explored Negroes' "firm belief in witchcraft and conjuration" from Virginia to Florida. He compared the way Negroes and Sandwich Islanders practiced the "tangle of superstition, demonology, and fetish worship," which he described as "a combination of Salem and Central Africa." After discussing the parallels between the Hawaiian "kahuna" or native witch-doctor" and the Negro conjure doctor, he concluded that both groups had "the same love of the supernatural, and dense ignorance of the laws of living," and that the Negroes thus possessed the "elements which form the soil for a growth of superstition as rank and as fatal as that which is helping to depopulate Hawaii" (S. C. Armstrong 1878:26).

The reports on conjure doctors were intended "to throw light upon the mental condition of the masses of this people, and the kind of work that must be done among them if they are to be raised to civilization or even saved from extinction" (S. C. Armstrong 1878:30). They spawned a flurry of published responses. Orra Langhorne, a regular contributor to the *Southern Workman*, reminded readers that conjure doctors were "evidently a legacy handed down to [American Negroes] from their savage ancestors. I sometimes think such ideas are growing with them, in spite of their chances for education." She used these reports to articulate a common theme sounded during the Reconstruction period, that slavery provided a veneer of civilization that was therapeutic for the Negro but disappeared once slavery ended.

My husband, who lived in what natives know as "Old Virginia," says there was always a great deal of superstition among the slaves of this section, but it was held in check by their owners, who always forbid the discussion of such subjects, and by the laws which prevented the assembling of negroes in large gatherings, except for religious worship, even that being restricted. Now there is no check of that kind and the belief of the more ignorant colored people in "conjuring, witches, &c." is astonishing. (Langhorne 1878:67)

As if to illustrate Langhorne's contentions, a member of Hampton's junior class offered compelling examples of the good and ill work of conjure doctors, and closed his letter to the editor "by saying that I believe in the conjure Drs. And all this that I have written I can vouch for my self" (quoted in S. C. Armstrong 1878:30). Armstrong's faith in the civilizing mission of Hamp-

ton Institute prompted him to comment, "Two years more in the school will change his ideas, it is to be hoped" (*ibid.*).

Other responses to the reports focused not on the practices described but on the utility of their publication. For example, W. I. Louis, a Hampton alumnus teaching in Spartansburg, South Carolina, was upset with the reports, stating: "I fail to see what is gained by your repeating this dark legend of a by-gone day." He wanted the *Southern Workman* to report "facts that are elevating, facts that will inspire even the humblest." Louis concluded by noting that "our days of childhood are (if not, they should be) fast taking their flight, and the advent of manhood is at hand" (quoted in S. C. Armstrong 1878:35).⁵ This letter provoked perhaps the most spirited response from General Armstrong; he described why the *Southern Workman* frequently published missionary accounts and folklore from around the world.

It is time for every man who loves his people to lay aside sensitive feeling and go to work with all the aid he can get. And the first step of all is to make known the true state of the case. When a general begins a campaign, the first point is to get a true map of the country, and spy out all the enemy's forces and know the strength of every battery. It is not the beauty of his banners and his martial music that will win the victory, but knowledge of the work before him, and hard fighting. . . . let us not be afraid to face our own faults and follies, to drag them into the light where they will show for what they really are. (S. C. Armstrong 1878:35)

Combining espionage with exorcism, folklore, and ethnology became a way of demonstrating how Hampton succeeded at civilizing students, and it also demonstrated the need for continual financial support of this institution that was so committed to uplifting the race. More important, the *Southern Workman* reports of the cultural practices of Native Americans, Hawaiians, and African Americans were used in the service of a complicated racial project that articulated a putatively progressive discourse about an individual's ability to rise to a state of civilization, during a period when many scholars argued that every member of these groups was doomed to eternal savagery.

The graduates and educators of Hampton, Fisk, Howard, and other black schools explicitly used the terms of this discourse in their programs of "racial uplift." These self-described Negro elites most often framed their pejorative descriptions of their less civilized neighbors in terms of class, but the Hampton Folk-Lore Society did so in terms of culture (see Gaines 1996). Virtue, chastity, and cleanliness were key signifiers of civilization that black elites

5. As with many of the letters to the editor in the *Southern Workman*, some are signed, some initialed, and some anonymous. For these letters addressing the papers on conjuring, I note them all under the editorship of Armstrong because he clearly chose which submissions to print and which to respond to.

embraced while chastising vice and sensuality. For example, Booker T. Washington was fond of remarking: "In all my teachings I have watched carefully the influence of the tooth-brush, and I am convinced that there are few single agencies of civilization that are more far reaching" (1901:75).

Uncivilized blacks were the ones who believed in conjure doctors, told the animal stories, sang the work songs, and gyrated their bodies in the ring shouts and jook joints. They were also the field hands, manual laborers, domestics, and washer women who never had the opportunity to attend one of the normal schools in which strict discipline and obsession with proper behavior convinced students they had become civilized. And it was the uneducated and less refined souls who were held responsible for the vice, promiscuity, and debauchery associated with all black Americans. Moreover, many Negro elites found the main culprit of their neighbors' cultural degradation in African cultural patterns. The notion that African culture underpinned the behavior of uncouth black people was so routine that it provided a useful shorthand for one Hampton graduate who complained about the rural school district of his first teaching job. Displeased with all of the "drinking, sweating and fighting," he reported, "when I came here I thought that there was as much Africa here as I cared to witness" (*Southern Workman* 1876:46; see also Hunter 1997:175).

During the 1870s and 1880s the boosters of the civilizing project combined ideas from many sources. They employed referents from the Bible that resonated with the ideas of Adam Smith, Herbert Spencer, Jean Baptiste Lamarck, Lewis Henry Morgan, and Louis Agassiz to foster the idea that individuals could work hard and attain civilization while unloading the cultural baggage of African savagery. As General Armstrong explained, however, in order to civilize the Negroes, reformers had first to "spy out" those Africanisms which bedeviled the civilizing project and debilitated the health and welfare of the poor. His approach influenced Alice Mabel Bacon and, through her, the HFS.

Theory and Practice of the Hampton Folk-Lore Society

Alice Bacon, born in 1858, was the youngest daughter of Leonard Bacon, an influential abolitionist, professor at Yale Divinity School, and long-standing pastor of the First Church of New Haven. Her brother Francis was a professor of surgery at Yale, and married Georgianna Woolsey, who was the cousin of Yale's president, Theodore Dwight Woolsey. Georgianna was the sister of Jane Stuart Woolsey, who supervised nurses during the Civil War and established training schools for nurses in New York City and New Haven. Jane was stationed in Virginia during the final campaigns of the Civil War, and



Alice Mabel Bacon (1858-1919), ca. 1893. (Courtesy of Hampton University Archives.)

General Armstrong persuaded her to come to Hampton Institute in 1868 to direct the Girls Industrial Department, where she stayed until 1872. She left Hampton to become the first resident-director of Presbyterian Hospital in New York City. Jane was accompanied by her sister-in-law, Rebecca Bacon, who became Armstrong's assistant principal (Waters 1983:5).

In 1870, just two years after Hampton was underway, Rebecca Bacon brought her youngest sister, Alice Mabel Bacon, for "a year at Hampton . . . among the pleasant, sweet-voiced, kindly faced Negro girls, whom even in her Northern home she had learned to know and trust" (Bacon 1909:75). During that year she earned the nickname "junior professor" because she instructed her peers. She also formed a lifelong commitment to Hampton, vowing to come back and teach at the school (Waters 1983:5). In 1882 her mother passed away, and she immediately applied for a post at Hampton, where she taught for five years. At the invitation of her friend Countess Oyama, she then left Hampton to spend a year in Japan, where she worked to help Westernize the schools for elite Japanese women (Waters 1983:6; Sharps 1991:32). Returning to Hampton in 1889, she worked to establish Hampton's Dixie Hospital to provide health care to the needy in the area and nursing training for students at Hampton Institute. Bacon conducted case studies of individual people in communities in the surrounding Elizabeth City County to assess the need for the hospital, and, in an effort to raise funds for the hospital, she wrote an essay for the *Southern Workman* that included graphic descriptions based on her case studies. Her essay reflects both her missionary sensibility and the type of language that was expected by her audience of philanthropists and "the better class of colored people" who were "anxious to co-operate" in establishing the hospital (Bacon 1890:124).

The essay was published under her occasional column titled "Silhouettes," and it opened by describing "the poorest and most ignorant of the colored people" who lived "in the little slab cabins with their mud chimneys, where father, mother, children of both sexes, and frequently adult lodgers of either sex, are thrown together at all times under all circumstances." She surmised that this "life must be more the life of the savage than that of civilization."

That the Negroes are by degrees moving upward, that every year more and more of them lift themselves a little above the merely animal life of the roughest plantation hand, is a fact that none but the most pessimistic can doubt, but to those who are working among them the question often arises, what can we do that will help to relieve, on some measure, those who from years or by reason of infirmities can never lift themselves out of the squalor and misery about them? (Bacon 1890:124)

All they needed, she proposed, was basic medical attention and the "healing gift of Christian civilization."

One of the challenges she identified in offering health care was the difficulty of determining who was needy and who was not. According to her, the people seeking aid could "be roughly divided into two classes, those who suffer without complaint, and those who complain without suffering, for these people are like the lower animals in that a small ailment will often produce groans and cries, where a great one will be endured with pathetic dumbness" (Bacon 1890:124). After describing near miraculous recoveries from serious ailments that could have been cured at their outset with basic medical aid, she made her pitch: "This is the work that is already begun, and it is this work that we wish to establish on a permanent foundation, and to increase so that it may include within its scope not only the work in the cabins but also a hospital in which we can nurse the sick who can not be cared for in their own homes, and a training-school in which colored girls can be trained for either missionary or private nursing" (ibid.). She continued conducting interviews and writing case studies, but soon discovered that one of the chief obstacles to delivering medical care and Christian civilization to those she euphemistically called the cabin people was their tenacious belief in conjuring and superstitions. Thus, in her view, sociological and anthropological research ought to be used as an aid in missionary and health work (Waters 1983:36).

By 1893, Bacon's efforts were joined by some Hampton alumni, students, and faculty who began to see the need to salvage the songs, stories, and African survivals that made up Negro folklore. Combining Armstrong's commitment to espionage and exorcism with a desire for historical preservation, Bacon published a call to form the HFS in the form of a circular letter, reprinted in the December 1893 *Southern Workman*.

Dear Friends: The American Negroes are rising so rapidly from the condition of ignorance and poverty in which slavery left them, to a position among the cultivated and civilized people of the earth, that the time seems not far distant when they shall have cast off their past entirely, and stand as an anomaly among civilized races, as a people having no distinct traditions, beliefs or ideas from which a history of their growth may be traced. If within the next few years care is not taken to collect and preserve all traditions and customs peculiar to the Negroes, there will be little to reward the search of the future historian who would trace the history of the African continent through the years of slavery to the position which they will hold a few generations hence. Even now the children are growing up with little knowledge of what their ancestors have thought, or felt, or suffered. The common school system with its teachings is eradicating the old and planting the seeds of the new, and the transition period is likely to be a short one. The old people, however, still have their thoughts on the past, and believe and think and do much as they have for generations. From them and from the younger ones whose thoughts have been moulded by them in regions where the school is, as yet, imperfectly established, much may be gathered that

will, when put together and printed, be of great value as material for history and ethnology.

But, if this material is to be obtained, it must be gathered soon and by many intelligent observers stationed in different places. It must be done by observers who enter into the homes and lives of the more ignorant colored people and who see in their beliefs and customs no occasion for scorn, or contempt, or laughter, but only the showing of the first child-like, but still reasoning philosophy of a race. . . . To such observers, every custom, belief or superstition, foolish and empty to others, will be of value and will be worth careful preservation. The work cannot be done by white people, much as many of them would enjoy the opportunity of doing it, but must be done by the intelligent and educated colored people who are at work all through the South among the more ignorant of their own race, teaching, preaching, practising medicine, carrying on business of any kind that brings them into close contact with the simple, old-time ways of their own people. (Bacon 1893:180-81)

Bacon's initial rationale for continued research on the so-called cabin people was to make missionaries more efficient health care providers, and she effectively articulated this rationale in her later work (*Southern Workman* 1895, 24:11, 193-94, 24:12, 209-11; Bacon & Herron 1896). But the emphasis on cultural preservation so evident in her 1893 statement spoke to another, perhaps less obvious motivation: the urgency with which Bacon enjoined the graduates to go out and salvage disappearing Negro lore stemmed from the educators' need to demonstrate the success of the Hampton Idea. One of the most effective publicity and fundraising tools of both Hampton Institute and the Carlisle School were before and after photographs of Indian students. Native Americans were routinely photographed fully adorned in their religious regalia before they began school, and then later in a formal suit and tie, to demonstrate the schools' success at civilizing their charges (Adams 1995:45). In her 1893 call, Bacon seems to suggest that her proposed folklore society might be the last opportunity of Hampton educators to record the "ignorant people," before the impact of common schools eclipsed the remaining folk culture. Armed with a record of African American folklore that was no longer practiced, the educators at Hampton would be able to reproduce the popular before and after images used to raise money for their Indian program.

Bacon's call for the formation of the Hampton Folk-Lore Society was greeted with great enthusiasm. Letters of support came in from all corners of the intellectual community. The popular Harvard geologist Nathan Southgate Shaler supported the effort. Although Shaler routinely spoke about Negroes' inherent inferiority, he chimed in to offer his "best wishes." On the other side of the political spectrum was author, abolitionist and suffragist, and former colonel of Negro troops, Thomas Wentworth Higginson, who sug-

gested that Hampton students would be acting as scientists, which would "enlarge their lives and dignify their position." Booker T. Washington "approved heartily" of the plan, as did T. Thomas Fortune, publisher of the *New York Age*. Even the venerable Southern historian and folklorist, George Washington Cable, supported the venture and offered his "service" (*Southern Workman* 1893, 22:179-80, 1894, 23:5).

Although the *Southern Workman* published only ringing endorsements, there is much evidence to suggest that African American supporters of the society held more nuanced views of its promise. For example, the missionary, educator, and early pan-Africanist Alexander Crummell strongly supported the formation of the society, but he warned that its members must offer a positive and not a negative interpretation of their African heritage. "The truth," he explained, has been "the dinnings of the 'colonization' cause into the ears of the colored people—the iteration of the idle dogma that Africa is the home of the black race in this land; has served to prejudice the race against the very name of Africa. And this is a double folly:—the folly of the colonizationists, and the folly of the black man; i.e. to forget family ties and his duty to his kin over the water" (*Southern Workman* 1894, 23:5). Another activist, educator, and author, Anna Julia Cooper, also commented on the philosophical foundation of the organization.

What you say is true. The black man is readily assimilated to his surroundings and the original simple and distinct type is in danger of being lost or outgrown.

To my mind, the worst possibility yet is that the so-called educated Negro, under the shadow of this overpowering Anglo-Saxon civilization, may become ashamed of his own distinctive features and aspire only to be an imitator of that which can not but impress him as the climax of human greatness, and so all originality, all sincerity, all self-assertion would be lost to him. What he needs is the inspiration of knowing that his racial inheritance is of interest to others and that when they come to seek his homely songs and sayings and doings, it is not to scoff and sneer, but to study reverently, as an original type of the Creator's handiwork. (*Southern Workman* 1894, 23:5)

The comments by both Crummell and Cooper suggest that even with the formation of the first black folklore society, some African Americans understood that folklore could provide a positive interpretation of their African heritage or a scientific basis to identify and preserve their distinctive culture. Still, they did little to influence the 20 or so Hampton students, teachers, and alumni who made up the society. Most Hampton graduates did not question their desire to ascend to a civilized state, and even more perhaps loathed any association with Africa. However, two of the society's elected leaders, Robert R. Moton and Daniel Webster Davis, made a significant departure from the espionage and exorcism outlined by Armstrong and adapted by

Bacon (Waters 1983:45). Moton used the folklore and the society to challenge the "contempt and derision" of the minstrelsy industry that transformed black folk-songs, stories, and sayings into laughing-stock buffoonery, which crystalized stereotypes for all African Americans (Lott 1993). Challenging those who made the "experience of the Negro a joke for white audiences," Moton reported to the 1895 annual meeting of the AFLS that all folklorists need to distinguish between "real folk-music" and those popular songs that were an "imitation by white 'nigger minstrels'" (Moton 1895:209).

Moreover, one can argue that the HFS's approach amounted to a form of "applied folklore" (Sharps 1991:65). The core of the HFS was a group of young men and women who graduated from Hampton and went on to work in business, education, or medicine. By better understanding the practices and lore of their clients, patients, and students, these young professionals believed they could contribute to racial uplift by developing more efficient ways to sell, heal, and teach. More generally, the society's work, as published in Hampton's *Southern Workman*, formed part of a missionary discourse integrated into a complicated racial project whose proponents engaged in a racial politics of culture that shaped communities from Hawaii to Hampton.

Although missionary efforts to civilize people of color made little distinction with regard to the savage state of Indians, Hawaiians, and Negroes, their methods and rhetoric served remarkably well at making distinctions between individuals within each group who had supposedly reached a state of civilization. Specifically, the putatively civilized people of color in the late nineteenth century used the discourse that homogenized difference between groups to mark the heterogeneity within their group—describing and inscribing a distinction between themselves, the civilized, and those others, the uncivilized.

As the next section shows, the AFLS participated in and scientifically validated this racial project by supporting and collaborating with the HFS. From its inception in 1893 until 1899, when Bacon left Hampton to return to Japan and it disbanded, the HFS found in the AFLS its chief supporter.

Theory and Practice of the American Folk-Lore Society

William Wells Newell (1839–1907) was born in Cambridge, Massachusetts. Son of a Unitarian minister, he graduated second in Harvard's class of 1859 and then enrolled in Harvard's Divinity School to pursue the ministry. Instead of serving a parish, he entered the Union Army during the Civil War as part of the Sanitary Service. After the war, he followed in his father's footsteps as a Unitarian minister but quickly learned that he was ill-suited as a man of the cloth and better suited as a man of letters. In 1871, he earned a master's degree and moved to New York City to open a private school. In New York,



Robert Russa Moton (1867–1940), ca. 1907. (Courtesy of Hampton University Archives.)

Newell became fascinated with the games children played and began transcribing and recording them. His patient research and scrupulous attention to detail resulted in his most celebrated book, *Games and Songs of American Children* (1883). In 1884, he decided to leave his private school in New York and return to Cambridge to pursue his scholarly interests as a financially independent scholar, and help organize a national folklore society.

In the spring of 1887, Newell drafted a circular letter that outlined the scope of "a society for the study of Folk-Lore, of which the principal object shall be to establish a Journal, of scientific character." He organized prominent scholars in anthropology and literature to sign the letter and commit to participating in the society. On January 4, 1888, in Cambridge, Massachusetts, the AFLS was officially incorporated (Newell 1888: 3); from the beginning, Newell was the central and most prominent figure in the organization. He served as permanent secretary of the society and the editor of its journal from 1888 to 1900. While other officers had university, museum, or other responsibilities, Newell was able to devote considerable time and money to the development of the fledgling society (Bell 1973: 10).

In the first issue of the journal, Newell explained its various departments or divisions. The first division was Old English Lore, and he explained that old ballads, fairy tales, historical reminiscences, and beliefs in witchcraft were quickly disappearing. But with the advent of the folklore society, "there is reason to hope that some of these may be saved from oblivion" (Newell 1888: 4). "The second division," he continued, "is that belonging to the American negroes." Newell explained that "the origin of these stories, many of which are common to a great part of the world, has not been determined." He believed that the animal stories should be "recorded as complete as possible" and he also directed the society to make thorough studies of "negro music and songs" because, as he put it, "such inquiries are becoming difficult, and in a few years will be impossible." He finally emphasized that the "beliefs and superstitions that exist among this people need attention, and present interesting and important psychological problems connected with the history of a race, who for good or ill are henceforth an indissoluble part of the body politic" (5). Another division that Newell discussed in terms of progress and the civilizing mission included the "traditions of the Indian tribes." "A great change is about to take place in the condition of the Indian tribes, and what is to be done must be done quickly. For the sake of the Indians themselves, it is necessary that they should be allowed opportunities for civilization; for our sake and for the future, it is desirable that a complete history should remain of what they have been, since their picturesque and wonderful life will soon be absorbed and lost in the uniformity of the modern world" (5).

Despite such predictions concerning the course of modern civilization and the fate of colonized peoples within it, Newell did not advocate that the AFLS

make any political interventions, nor that its editors use the journal to promote policy positions. In this, he was clearly less ambitious than Alice Bacon and the HFS; he was resigned to the fact that "all that a single journal can hope to accomplish is to print a few articles of limited extent, to stimulate inquiry, keep a record of progress, and furnish abstracts of investigations" (Newell 1888: 6).

The first president of the AFLS was Francis J. Child, a professor of English at Harvard University and an authority on English and Scottish ballads. He, however, retired from the organization within a year. Although none of the initial members of the governing council of the AFLS was affiliated with Harvard's Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology, Newell wanted to make folklore a science and distinguish it from literature, so he turned to anthropology and established a link with Franz Boas, who, in the fall of 1889, had assumed a position at Clark University. As chair and secretary, respectively, of the council, Boas and Newell worked together to change the character of the organization from a literary society of wealthy enthusiasts and reformers into a scientific organization. Newell admired and deferred to the young academic from Germany, and "gave Boas virtually a free hand in publishing his own materials and those of his early students" (Darnell 1973: 28). Boas took advantage of that opportunity to publish material he collected in the Pacific Northwest. Although Boas chose more prestigious venues to articulate his theoretical and methodological positions (Boas 1887a, 1887b, 1888, 1889, 1894, 1896a), he used the *Journal of American Folk-Lore* to formulate his work on diffusion (1891, 1896b).

The concept of diffusion was also important to Newell (Newell 1888: 7, 1895), but he had more pressing issues: he needed to recruit enough people to sustain the journal and the society. He explained to Boas that his "efforts to enlarge circulation" had taught him that "the general public is very indifferent" and that "vanity is the only spring of action which can be relied on."

If you write to ten men that the Council of the American Folk-Lore Society wishes their cooperation, one out of those ten will feel flattered, and join. I have got eight subscribers out of the 80 letters, one from you, and one from Prof. Crane! The other letters are to hear from. I think, if names of about thirty New Yorkers of prominence and fortune were sent to me, men identified with the geographical and historical societies, and I wrote them, some would unite with us. (BPT: WWN/FB 3/26/1889)

Newell needed the support of wealthy enthusiasts, but he was concerned that attempts to enlarge the society would inhibit its professionalism. Newell expressed this tension in another letter to Boas about "Dr. Mann of Brooklyn" who wanted to join the society. Newell deemed it necessary to "exclude him from a learned society" and even felt that "it would be a nuisance to have

him in a Brooklyn local society." He suggested that the prickly issue of membership "might be averted, should the need arise, by making such a society elective. However, as our society is pretty promiscuous, perhaps it would be harsh to keep him out" (BPP: WVN/FB 12/10/1890).

Newell only toyed with the idea of an elective society, focusing his efforts instead on securing wealthy and responsible collectors and professional anthropologists. As secretary and editor, he was able to set rigorous standards for the scholarship published in the society's organ. With well-attended annual meetings, a scholarly journal, and growing numbers of both amateur and professional scientists, Newell's launching of the society was perceived as a success. The AFLS also emerged as a formidable anthropological organization. Daniel Garrison Brinton, from Philadelphia's Academy of Natural Sciences, served as its president in 1889, followed in 1890 by F. W. Putnam from Harvard, in 1891 by Otis T. Mason from the Smithsonian's National Museum and in 1892 by the director of the Bureau of American Ethnology, J. W. Powell (Darnell 1973:38). Newell used the presidency to gain the support of the various leaders in U.S. anthropology, which in turn gave the budding society increased visibility and validity. From the beginning, however, Newell structured the office of the president in a way that limited its power. The executive officer of the society was the secretary, and the editor of the *Journal of American Folk-Lore* controlled everything that was printed under the society's name. Those two offices were filled by Newell, who often deferred to the wishes of Boas, the chair of the society's governing council.

By 1893 Newell had distinguished himself as a skilled administrator and editor within the closely knit anthropological circles, but he also wanted to distinguish himself as a folklorist and folklore as its own discipline, not an adjunct to anthropology (Darnell 1973:28; Bell 1973:11-13). When Alice Bacon organized the Hampton society, Newell saw an opportunity to develop the Negro department of the journal, and thus to pursue a topic that few anthropologists were then exploring. He was "a personal friend" of one of Hampton's trustees, and there was considerable overlap between the founders of the AFLS from the Boston area and supporters of the Hampton idea, well before the HFS was even formed (Newell 1894:187). At the first annual meeting of the AFLS, the Boston-area members elected to its council included Mary Hemenway, Thomas Wentworth Higginson, and Alice C. Fletcher.

Mary Tileston Hemenway (1793-1894) was one of Hampton's chief benefactors. Her philanthropic support enabled Armstrong to launch the *Southern Workman*, buy more land, build Virginia Hall, and underwrite the popular Hampton Student Singers, who often performed in her Boston parlor, the same parlor where Boston-area members of the AFLS convened. She supported research on, and reform for, both Native and African Ameri-

cans, and her philanthropic support of anthropology enabled Frank Hamilton Cushing to direct the Hemenway Exploring Expedition in Arizona (Lindsey 1995:50; Hinsley 1989:178-90; Armstrong & Ludlow 1874:139; Sharps 1991:31, 38; Ludlow 1909:122; Newell 1890:2, 9). Alice C. Fletcher (1845-1923) was also elected to the council. Although she could not, as a woman, attend Harvard, she was one of the first women to receive professional training in anthropology, studying with Frederic Ward Putnam at the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology. An enthusiastic supporter of the Hampton Idea, she worked to recruit Indian students to both the Hampton Institute and the Carlisle School. In addition, her longtime collaborator, Francis La Flesche, was a graduate of Hampton's Indian program (Fletcher & La Flesche 1911; Lindsey 1995:198; Adams 1995:303; Newell 1890:9). Thomas Wentworth Higginson (1823-1911), a Unitarian minister and Boston-based radical reformer, was also elected to the AFLS council. A champion of both racial uplift and women's suffrage, and a longtime supporter of Negro normal schools, he had written one of the initial letters of support for Hampton's folklore society.

Newell wasted no time incorporating the members of the HFS into the AFLS. On May 25, 1894, he traveled to Hampton to deliver the keynote address for Hampton's first folklore conference, which followed the spring commencement exercises. Speaking to "trustees, teachers, officers and graduates of the school," he gave a talk entitled "The Importance and Utility of the Collection of Negro Folk-Lore," which struck a note that resonated more with General Armstrong's notion of civilization than with Boas' ideas about diffusion. He began by explaining, "I came from Cambridge, in the hope of forwarding an undertaking which appears to me most meritorious, and of promoting the work of the Negro Folk-lore societies, a movement which is significant in regard to the present intelligence and rapid progress of Southern Negroes" (Newell 1894:186). He then asked, "What is Negro Folk-lore?"

It is that body of songs, tales, old-fashioned religious beliefs, superstitions, customs, ways of expression, proverbs, and dialect, of American Negroes. Lore means learning; folk, as I shall here use the word, means race. The Folk-lore of Negroes in the United States then, is the learning or knowledge peculiar to the Negro race. It is that mass of information which they brought with them from Africa, and which has subsequently been increased, remodelled, and Anglicized by their contact with the whites. All this body of thought belongs to the past. It is vanishing in proportion to the progress of Negro education; it fades away before the light of such institutions as Hampton; it is superseded by more advanced ideas, habits, morals, and theology. (Newell 1894:186)

This notion of folklore was part of a larger theory of civilization. According to Newell, "each race has its distinctive customs, ideas, manners; civil-

zation has but one set of customs and ideas for all races. The race is formed to be merged in the unity of races, as rivers flow to disappear in the ocean." Nevertheless, he believed that a race needed a record or memory of the past. Evoking the before-and-after pictures of the Indian students, Newell argued that Negroes should be able to demonstrate "the height to which they rose, the depth through which they have passed. . . . For the sake of the honor of his race, he should have a clear picture of the mental condition out of which he has emerged: this picture is not now complete, nor will [it] be made so without a record of songs, tales, beliefs, which belongs to the stage of culture through which he has passed" (1894:187–88).

Newell went on to describe various types of Negro folklore that needed to be collected, focusing on the value of the music. When he broached the subject of "spirits and demons," he argued, recalling Armstrong and Bacon, that "the best way to correct superstitious notions is to collect and study them. When all are gathered and made to elucidate each other, what is false and absurd is at once seen to be false and absurd. Thus, in order to get rid of a disgraceful custom, or of an ancient credulity, the best way is not to try to ignore its existence, but to face and find out what it is" (Newell 1894:189). Newell concluded, optimistically, that African Americans would be the ones to develop "Negro civilizations" on "the Dark Continent" (190).

Working with Alice Bacon, Newell arranged for a delegation from the HFS to participate the following December at the 1894 annual meeting of the AFLS in Washington, D.C. Bacon's call to form the society was printed in December of 1893, and exactly one year later members of the HFS were sailing up the Chesapeake to the nation's capital to deliver papers alongside Franz Boas, Frank Hamilton Cushing, J. Walter Fewkes, William Wells Newell, "and others equally well known along the lines of ethnological research" (*Southern Workman*, 1895, 24:30). Otis T. Mason chaired the meetings, hosted by the Anthropological Society of Washington and the Woman's Anthropological Society (*Journal of American Folk-Lore* 1895, 8:5).

The HFS delegation consisted of Robert Moton, F. D. Banks, William E. Daggs, and J. H. Wainwright. It was on this occasion that Robert R. Moton challenged the appropriation and distortion of Negro music by minstrels. His paper, "Negro Folk Songs," distinguished secular from spiritual music, and organized the secular music into two categories: "Corn-Songs" (a variety of "work songs") and "Dance Songs." As he delivered his paper, his HFS colleagues joined him to form a quartet that performed examples of the type of music he was describing. Commenting then on the Juba, next in their performance, Moton explained that "in some of these, the rhythmic expression is mainly through the beating of feet and patting of hands, while the vocal expression is simply a rude chant. The whole effect of this music, if music it can be called, is as barbarous as if rendered in African forests at some heathen festival" (1895:212).

The performance was such a success that Newell and Thomas Wilson proposed to record the music on phonographic cylinders, "which was found to reproduce the songs with considerable exactness." As Bacon reported in the *Southern Workman*, "it is to be hoped that [at] sometime the Hampton Folk-Lore Society will be able to secure a phonograph of its own" (Waters 1983:208). The HFS was off to a strong start, with powerful backing from the nation's leading folklore society. Each month the members convened to decide upon a topic, such as courting stories and hag stories, healing and medicine, jokes and proverbs, or work songs and dance songs. The next month they presented or performed the work done since the last meeting, and chose the topic for the upcoming month. Each month the society's collections were published in the "Folklore and Ethnology" department of the *Southern Workman*.

Almost every year between 1893 and 1899 the society held a major conference that coincided with commencement exercises, attracting such notable participants as William Scarborough, professor of classics at Wilberforce, and Anna Julia Cooper, author of *A Voice From the South* (1892), who earned a B.A. from Oberlin and a doctorate from the Sorbonne. The HFS also developed an elaborate network of corresponding members who taught in the small schools scattered throughout the rural south. Corresponding members submitted their collections to the HFS secretary, who read them during meetings and then published them in the *Southern Workman*.

Alice Bacon became an integral member of the AFLS and eventually was elected to its council. Bacon and delegates from the HFS participated in the meetings of the AFLS, and she and her colleagues published several collections in the *Journal of American Folk-Lore* (Banks 1894, 1895; Bacon 1898; Bacon & Herron 1896). Bacon's interaction with members of the AFLS did not sway her, however, from her commitment to use the study and description of cultures in the same way missionaries had used it for years—to learn how to civilize their charges (Mead & Bunzel 1960:59). In "Work and Methods of the Hampton Folklore Society," a paper presented in 1897 and published in the *Journal of American Folk-Lore* in 1898, she reiterated that the Folk-Lore Society was sustained by "a strong desire on the part of some of those connected with the Hampton work to bridge over, if possible, the great gulf fixed between the minds of the educated and the uneducated, the civilized and the uncivilized—to enter more deeply into the daily life of the common people, and to understand more thoroughly their ideas and motives" (Bacon 1898:17). "Our interest in folklore is used," she explained, "not so much to help us in interpreting the past as it is to aid us in understanding present conditions, and to make it easier for us to push forward the philanthropic work that Hampton is doing" (ibid.).

After a brief overview of the society and a quick discussion of the type of material the members collected, she described the difficulty of transcribing a

"weird melody chanted at baptism" or a "complicated negro religious ritual" and appealed for help to the AFLS: "If we can only secure and preserve them by some other method than that of writing them down. . . . If we can obtain a graphophone, and thus make records not only of songs, but sermons, prayers, etc. and so gather, as we cannot now gather, some complete records of entire religious services, we are convinced that through this means we may add much to the common fund of knowledge of the negro music" (Bacon 1998:20).

Newell believed that providing Hampton Institute with the latest scientific technology would help to advance the science of folklore. Writing to Boas shortly before the 1898 AFLS meeting in New York City, Newell explained that he had "promised to procure a graphophone for . . . Miss Alice M. Bacon, of the Hampton Institute, [who,] as you know, takes a great interest in negro music." Since Boas would "be in a position to know the best recording instrument," Newell asked him to "order an instrument of this sort, if you think that form the best, to be shipped at once to Miss Bacon . . . with fifty cylinders, and send the bill to me." Bacon, Newell explained, "already has a great body of collections of tales, &c, and I hope will be able to prepare a volume suitable for publication in the series of Memoirs. If this instrument can be got to Hampton at once, Miss Bacon will send, or bring, a number of cylinders to our meeting. I think that would have an excellent effect toward exhibiting the scientific energy of our Society" (BPP: WWN/FB 12/9/1898).

Boas did not respond to the first request, and now with the meeting less than two weeks away, Newell wrote Boas again about the graphophone, reiterating the urgency: "I want them to get cylinders for the meeting" (BPP: WWN/FB 12/14/1898). Forty-eight hours later, and now just days before the meeting, a testy Newell pleaded with the man he had supported for so many years: "I should like to have the instrument sent to Hampton at once, and the bill to me. . . . Pray send the machine at once" (BPP: WWN/FB 12/16/1898).

During the month of December, Alice Bacon was eagerly awaiting the graphophone. By December 21 she realized that even if it came, she could not make the recordings. She wrote Newell that "I am afraid that it will be impossible for us to get up anything with its aid for the annual meeting." Instead, she proposed the real thing.

A most delightful paper by Prof. D. W. Davis of Richmond, on "Echoes from a Plantation Party," which may be worth studying up on. Davis is a full blooded Negro, a teacher in Richmond and the authority of a number of dialect processes. He takes a real interest in the old customs of his own people, and has been at considerable pains to collect all he can. . . .

I asked him if he would be willing to describe it [his paper] in New York at the annual meeting and he says that he can. . . . The songs are a great part of it. It is rather better than a phonographic reprint as he gives it. (BPP: AMB/WWN 12/20/1898; Davis 1899)

Newell did not give up on the graphophone, nor on Boas. Two months after the New York meeting, he again pestered Boas: "Pray let me know if you have been able to send the graphophone to Miss A. M. Bacon at Hampton Institute as directed by me. If you do not wish to take the responsibility of sending it, I will write direct to the Columbia Graphophone Company" (BPP: WWN/FB 2/21/1899). The correspondence between Newell and Boas is incomplete, but the tone of the preceding letter suggests Boas agreed to do it, but never followed through. Newell then turned to Frederic Ward Putnam for advice and counsel about the proper graphophone to send, but, as he explained to Boas in one final plea,

Prof. Putnam says that it is not safe for me to order the instrument, as it is very easy to get instruments which are practically worthless. He thinks I had better leave it to you. But he also says that perhaps they will not forward the instrument without previous payment. If so, I will remit a check. . . . As you are interested in musical collection, I hope you will not think this too much trouble; it seems to me that here is an opportunity." (BPP: WWN/FB 3/8/1899)

It appears that the HFS never got its graphophone. One can only speculate as to why Boas ignored such a simple request. What we do know is that he began seriously engaging African American issues after 1905—before then it probably was not a high priority.

Alice Bacon left Hampton in 1899 to return to Japan to administer a school for young women, and the HFS was not sustained. Her major literary contributions remain those on Japanese women (Bacon 1891). Robert Moton left Hampton to be one of Washington's chief lieutenants at Tuskegee, and Leonora Herron remained as Hampton's librarian. Bacon died in 1918, but the notebooks of folklore she collected to articulate one racial project were republished in 1922 under her name and used to articulate a different one.

Lifting As We Climb

The HFS was operational as the so-called Progressive Era waxed and the Gilded Age waned. During that period, the tidewater region of Virginia was marked by increased lynchings and restrictions on black male suffrage, and the routinization and legalization of Jim Crow segregation. Under the leadership of Bacon, the work of the HFS can be seen as cut from the same cloth as Jane Addams and the settlement house movement—a tapestry of thrift, self-reliance, morality, and Christian faith. The HFS does not, however, fit neatly within the discursive practices of Progressive Era reformers, the black women's club movement, or the black men's self-help leagues. Although its members grappled with identical issues, and emulated many of these other

groups' practices, they are distinguished from the others by the particular attention they paid to ideas about culture, as well as class, to articulate the ideology of racial uplift.

The former students of Hampton who made up the bulk of the membership of the society were part of a Negro elite who shared faith in Jesus and a moral obligation to uplift the race. Shouldering the responsibility of what would have amounted to a talented 2 percent, these "college-bred" Negroes (Du Bois & Dill 1910) of the late nineteenth century promulgated a complex ideology of racial uplift inflected with gender and class distinctions. Black ministers, educators, journalists, doctors, and social workers used rhetoric, research, and writing to combat egregious and dehumanizing claims that African Americans were inherently inferior, and not capable of assuming the rights and responsibilities of citizenship or civilization.

Imbued with the optimism and progressive spirit of the age, these black leaders enlisted the support of white political and business leaders to foster racial progress, primarily through a trickle-down theory of education. College graduates would fan out throughout the South, teaching students in small schools the Victorian and Yankee ideals learned from the missionaries, which would improve the material conditions of blacks and demonstrate that they were capable of citizenship and civilization, indeed humanity. The efforts to show racial progress, however, were largely predicated upon identifying distinctions between those blacks who rose to a civilized state and those not quite there, and such distinctions often turned on status or class distinctions.

The National Association of Colored Women, founded in 1896, struck the keynote of this ideology with their motto "Lifting as we climb," which had been something of a credo for years among educated black folks. The catchwords, however, signified a distinction between the lifters and lifted, the climbers and pulled. As Kevin K. Gaines has argued, "generally, black elites claimed class distinctions, indeed, the very existence of a 'better class' of blacks, as evidence of what they called race progress" (1996:xiv). Gaines further argues that "the attempt to rehabilitate the image of black people through class distinctions trafficked in claims of racial and gender hierarchy." These hierarchies created obvious tensions. "On the one hand, a broader vision of uplift signifying collective social aspiration, advancement, and struggle had been the legacy of the emancipation era. On the other hand, black elites made uplift the basis for a racialized elite identity claiming Negro improvement through class stratification as race progress, which entailed an attenuated conception of bourgeois qualifications for rights and citizenship" (Gaines 1996:xv). Although proponents of uplift did not advance unified themes about racial progress, the idea that the race would progress toward a civilized citizenry served as a unifying theme as people searched for various ways to create an authentic and positive black middle-class subjectivity. Through essays, pamphlets, newspaper articles, poetry, and books, people like Ida B.

Wells, Booker T. Washington, Anna Julia Cooper, Robert Moton, W. E. B. Du Bois, Francis Ellen Harper Watkins, James Corrothers, Paul Lawrence Dunbar, and a host of others announced to the world that "we are here!"—right here, in the Christian brotherhood of civilization (see Alexander 1997:67).

The HFS was also articulating racial uplift ideology. They, too, were propounding the notion that "we are here." But it was not the temporally static "we are here, right here." It was a "we are (up) here, not (down) there." Knowing or not, HFS members used an anthropologically informed folklore to plot the perceived temporal distance between the college-bred Negroes and the cabin people. Although this folklore helped to demonstrate how far they had come in their racial progress, it was ultimately deployed to document how quickly they were closing the gap, and to measure the success of lifting as they climbed.⁶

The HFS provided an additional dimension to the idea of racial uplift by inserting notions about stages of culture. By explicitly distinguishing the low and savage African culture from the high and civilized Christian culture, they appropriated the comparative method of evolutionary anthropology to bolster a politics of culture that advanced the status of many individuals as citizens. After all, it was E. B. Tylor who suggested that based on customs and behavior, not race, "we may draw a picture where there shall be scarce a hand's breadth difference between an English ploughman and a negro of Central Africa" (1871:7).

Twenty years later, well after Boas' critique of the comparative method, members of the New Negro movement appropriated Boasian ideas of diffusion and the particularity of cultures to bolster a very different politics of culture that advanced the idea of a proud African heritage. Although the HFS no longer existed, the material they collected was recycled into this very different racial project during the Harlem Renaissance.

That Tricky Rabbit Again

World War I served as a fulcrum for events that galvanized the New Negro movement or the Harlem Renaissance. Before the United States sent troops to Europe, northern industrial cities absorbed the first waves of the northern migration, filling the labor demand caused by war-related production and immigration restriction. Although many whites migrated, floods and crop

6. The Hampton Folk-Lore Society was not the first group of nineteenth-century black Americans to find anthropology conducive to their progressive and explicitly modernist efforts for racial uplift. For example, Frederick Douglass wrote *The Claims of the Negro Ethnologically Considered* in 1854, and in 1879 Martin Delany put forth *Principia of Ethnology: The Origin of Races and Color, with an Archaeological Compendium of Ethiopian and Egyptian Civilization, from Years of Careful Examination and Enquiry*.

At the conclusion of the text, there were several bibliographies documenting the writing and research (past and present) that contributed to the New Negro movement. Arthur Fauset compiled one of them, which included 10 references to the work of Elsie Clews Parsons, and more than 30 citations of the *Journal of American Folk-Lore*. Fauset was articulating a specific theme or project of the Harlem Renaissance—to demonstrate that the New Negro was unique and had a distinct culture with a proud history and heritage. In this emergent discourse, scientists and artists identified African cultural continuities within African American culture as a source of empowerment, beauty, inspiration, and authenticity (Fauset 1925a; Schomburg 1925).

Anthropology and the Heritage Project

Anthropologists at Columbia University who were involved with the *Journal of American Folk-Lore*'s Negro numbers served to validate Negro history and cultural specificity while authenticating cultural linkages between African Americans and West Africans.⁸ Parsons' and Boas' attention to black folklore reflected their interest in cultural diffusion, yet there is evidence that they were aware they were party to the New Negroes' efforts to "find parallels in Negro stories bearing indubitable traces of African origin" (Fauset 1925a:242). New Negro intellectuals identified these anthropologists with what I will call the "heritage project." Often it was articulated in opposition to the "assimilationist project" that became associated with sociologists at Chicago. Although everyone's motives were perhaps different, all camps became engaged in the volatile racial politics of culture.

Like the editors of the *Crisis* and *Opportunity* magazines, Boas and Parsons worked with Carter G. Woodson in 1923 to sponsor a contest for the best collection of black folklore. The award for the winner was to be \$200, and advertisements were dispatched to all of the leading Negro newspapers. Circulars were also given to 60 African American organizations and the contest was publicized at 225 secondary schools and colleges (BPP: CGW/FB 2/15/23). But, as Fauset saw it, Boas and Parsons did more than sponsor contests. Fauset identified them in *The New Negro* as anthropologists who scientifically authenticated the New Negro heritage project. In the section of *The New Negro* titled "The Negro Digs Up His Past," Fauset explained that African Americans had to go beyond the "quaint and sentimental humor" of Negro folklore emphasized by Joel Chandler Harris's depictions of the Uncle Remus stories.

8. Arthur H. Fauset and Zora Neale Hurston were perhaps the two most notable contributors to both the New Negro literary movement and the *Journal of American Folk-Lore*'s black folklore issues (Fauset 1925a, 1925b, 1927a, 1927b, 1928, 1931, 1938, 1944; Fauset & Duckrey 1924; Hurston 1931a, 1931b, 1934a, 1934b, 1935, 1937, 1938).

failure, combined with lynching, segregation, and disfranchisement, significantly increased the push and pull of African Americans from south to north. As African Americans began to relocate, residential segregation and racially exclusive unions created conditions of overcrowding and cheap labor, which intensified the rigid color line and sparked violence. After U.S. troops returned—returned from keeping the world safe for democracy—pogroms became routine in the North and lynching was sustained in the South. Artists and intellectuals who followed on the heels of their less well-heeled neighbors began to magnify the cruel irony that the United States was not safe for African Americans, let alone for democracy, fueling by their writing a militant New Negro movement.

New Negro boosters used various venues to advance their agendas. W. E. B. Du Bois' *Crisis* under the auspices of the NAACP, and Charles S. Johnson's *Opportunity* under the auspices of the National Urban League were the most notable, but the circulation of all types of publications kept rich and poor alike informed. Politics and news were important, but publishers also exhibited the cultural production of the New Negro by sponsoring contests for various categories of literature and social science, and then publishing winners' submissions.

The *Journal of American Folk-Lore* was one such organ, and it should be viewed as playing the same role in the movement as the *Crisis*, *Opportunity*, and the *Messenger*. Each outlet provided opportunities to carve out new interpretations of the African American experience and served as a forum to challenge ideas about the racial inferiority and cultural degradation of African Americans. Specifically, the *Journal of American Folk-Lore* would be on par with the *New Republic*, the *Nation*, the *American Mercury* and the *Survey Graphic*. These periodicals targeted primarily white audiences, but delivered the ideas, initiatives, and aesthetics of the intellectuals of the New Negro movement across the color line (Hutchinson 1995:209–49).

The *Survey Graphic* was one of a handful of white periodicals that explicitly crossed the color line. In 1925, Paul Kellogg, its editor, decided to devote a single issue to the writers and intellectuals of the so-called New Negro movement. The issue's masthead read "Harlem: Mecca of the New Negro," and when it came out in March, the *Survey*'s circulation nearly doubled. Adding African-inspired images designed by Winold Reiss and Aaron Douglas, Alain Locke (its editor and compiler) quickly expanded the collection of essays and award-winning poetry into a book. Published as *The New Negro* in the final months of 1925, the book would help Negroes, Locke suggested, in "finding a new soul."⁷

7. There were 38 contributors to the book, all but four of whom were black. Of the four white contributors, one was Herskovits.

He called for more sophisticated and "scientific" analysis of the stories, explaining that "it is not necessary to draw upon sentiment in order to realize the masterful quality of some of the Negro tales: it is simply necessary to read them. Moralism, somber and almost grim, irony, shrewd and frequently subtle, are their fundamental tone and mood—as in the case of their African originals" (Fauset 1925a:241). Fauset went on to explain that "American folk-lore is now recognizing this, and systematic scientific investigation has begun under the influence and auspices of the Society for American Folk Lore and such competent ethnologists as Franz Boas, Elsie Clews Parsons, and others" (242).

A decade later and well after the promoters of the heritage project produced a wide-spread discourse on the value and importance of Negroes' African roots, Boas wrote an introduction for Zora Neale Hurston's *Mules and Men*, where he reinforced the keystone of this project. Boas asserted that African American culture was a "peculiar amalgamation of African and European tradition which is so important for understanding historically the character of American Negro life, with its strong African background in the West Indies, the importance of which diminishes with increasing distance from the south" (1935:x).

Despite Boas' support of the science that validated the New Negroes' African heritage, he was "absolutely opposed to all kinds of attempts to foster racial solidarity" (BPP: FB/DSA 10/26/33). Furthermore, he favored cultural assimilation as an effective strategy to ameliorate the so-called Negro problem (Boas 1905:87). Boas went beyond supporting a strategy of assimilation to advocate phenotypic miscegenation, explaining that "the negro problem will not disappear in America until the negro blood has been so much diluted that it will no longer be recognized just as anti-Semitism will not disappear until the vestige of the Jew as a Jew has disappeared" (1921:395).

Although proponents of assimilation did not try to get Boas to support their position, his research on race was used increasingly by them. As the New Negro movement was eclipsed by the depression, sociologists like E. Franklin Frazier and Charles Johnson increasingly used Boas' research on race to assert that African Americans were not racially inferior. The same black scholars discarded his research on culture because it implied that Negroes could not easily assimilate (Baker 1998:178). Proponents of assimilation ignored the folklore published in the *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, and routinely denounced the fieldwork of Melville Herskovits, who identified African cultural patterns in the New World (see Johnson 1922, 1925; Frazier 1932, 1939: 125–45; Blackwell & Janowitz 1974:57–117; Scott 1997:19–40). Challenging Herskovits in a public forum, Frazier asserted that "if whites came to believe that the Negro's social behavior was rooted in African culture, they would lose whatever sense of guilt they had for keeping the Negro down. Negro

crime, for example, could be explained away as an 'Africanism' rather than as due to inadequate police and court protection" (Myrdal 1944:1242).

Herskovits remained committed to his research on African cultural patterns in the Americas, but developed an understanding that the research could have both radical and conservative implications (Jackson 1986:100). Routinely attacked by African American proponents of the assimilation project, he resented the way his research was appropriated by the promoters of the heritage project. An example of this resentment is revealed in a letter he wrote to Parsons, trying to convince her to join him in resigning from W. E. B. Du Bois' advisory committee for a projected encyclopedia of the Negro. Herskovits feared that he would not have any substantive input and that he was being used.

After talking with a number of people and going over the material that was sent us, I am more and more dubious about the project. I have the feeling that it must inevitably be loaded with propaganda. . . . I do not think that there is any chance of accomplishing anything by working from the inside, but perhaps a few resignations might bring about a realization that not everyone is in agreement with the rather high-handed manner in which the thing is being pushed through. (EPP: MH/ECP 6/8/36)

In any case, despite Herskovits' reluctance, members of the New Negro movement did not necessarily need the support of individual anthropologists because anthropology itself supported the movement with its concepts and research.

Part of the militancy of the New Negro movement was fueled by the fact that no matter how hard African Americans played by the rules, or tried to assimilate, they would be lynched and their communities segregated (and sometimes leveled). Artists and intellectuals turned to the blues and spirituals, holiness churches and ring shouts, as well as other traditional cultural practices to offer an empowering way to transform segregation into a form of congregation by challenging the derogatory assessments that the culture of rural Negroes was backward and inferior (Huggins 1971:72–75; Levine 1977:269). As evidenced by *The New Negro*, they also turned to anthropology for lexicon, concepts, and scientific validation. Cultural patterns, specific historical reconstructions, geographical diffusion of rites and rituals, evidence of African survivals and of ancient African civilizations—all became anthropological grist used to produce new interpretations of culture by those New Negroes articulating the heritage project.

But while Boas often engaged in a form of intellectual philanthropy with African American organizations and spoke in glowing terms about ancient African civilizations, he limited his work along these lines. Examining the possible reasons why Negro folklore studies at Columbia declined during the

late 1930s, William Willis suggested that “perhaps Boas sensed the nationalistic strivings in black folklore” (1973:327). The most useful anthropologist for the heritage project was Melville Herskovits. People like Fauset and Woodson used Herskovits’ research on African survivals and his philosophy of cultural relativism to embolden their racial project and validate cultural differences. Micaela di Leonardo notes, however, that his relativism was limited: “Herskovits explicitly confined this orientation to fieldwork, rejecting the ‘moral relativism’ his attackers, primarily [white] philosophers, accused him of espousing” (1998:341). Moreover, he confined his ethnographic research on the retention of African cultural patterns to sites outside the United States.

Boas also circumscribed his relativism. As George Stocking points out, “it could easily be shown that Boas was not a relativist in a consistent sense” (1968:231). And like Herskovits, Boas saw relativism as a methodological tool, not a way to foster cultural pride. In an early discussion of methodology, Boas explained how his relativist orientation was best used only in the field: “the student must endeavor to divest himself entirely of opinions and emotions based upon the peculiar social environment into which he is born. He must adapt his own mind, so far as feasible, to that of the people whom he is studying. The more successful he is in freeing himself from the bias based on the group of ideas that constituted the civilization in which he lives, the more successful he will be in interpreting the beliefs and actions of man” (1901:1).

Parsons, in contrast, did not limit her involvement to collecting stories in the field. She underwrote the research and writing of Fauset, supported the publication of Hurston’s work in the *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, and facilitated the publication of many amateur folklorists in the journal during the New Negro movement. Even the doyen of the heritage project, historian Carter G. Woodson, knew he could turn to her for support. In 1934, he explained to her that he was “making a study of African survivals in America. Taking up the folk-lore, I am saying that many tales told by Negroes in the South were merely translations in modified form of stories handed down to them by the forebears who came from Africa. You have studied this for a number of years and I would like to know what you think?” (EPP: CGW/ECP 10/29/34). Schomburg, Fauset, Hurston, Woodson, and to a certain extent Locke pressed into service the liberal politics, relativistic orientation, and credentials of anthropologists who limited their exploration of African American culture to research and academic journals. Although the intellectuals of the movement were always careful scientists and historians or creative artists and performers, they were clear that scholarship and performance by and about black people involved political stakes that were entwined and woven into the very fabric of the movement to transform race relations and the meaning of being black in America.

Parsons obviously understood the value of feminist research, but it is not

clear whether she believed that the study of Negro folklore could be explicitly empowering. The ambivalence and hesitation on the part of Herskovits and Boas, on the one hand, suggests a fear that essentialist renditions of the heritage project could spawn a black nationalism undistinguishable from the nationalisms raging in Europe. On the other hand, it suggests a naive understanding of U.S. racism—specifically, of the role that descriptions of African American culture as degraded, pathological, or backward played in the maintenance of white supremacy outside, and divisiveness within, black communities.

Of course Boasian anthropologists were consistently vocal in public forums when it came to challenging ideas about the racial inferiority of the Negro; on ideas about their cultural inferiority, they were conspicuously silent—limiting their discussion to research in the field. Moreover, they simply did not understand that careful exploration of the contours and specificity of African American culture, through history and folklore, could lead to a reflexive and critical study of cultural diversity within American society, and not the propaganda-peppered nationalism they seem to have feared (Herskovits 1946:92). The “classic relativism” of Boas and Herskovits, Micaela di Leonardo argues, was a “fascinating oxymoron” and an exercise in “powerful powerlessness”: “In its heyday, it was a toothless liberalism that spoke judiciously, tolerantly of varying initiation rituals, bodily alterations and adornment, polygyny and polyandry, millenarian movements, crop rotation cycles, while remaining largely silent on both the role of Western power in the political economic settings of these shifting practices and the comfortable position of the Western (or non-Western) ethnographer evaluating them” (1998:342).

The New Negroes on the other hand began to understand the power relations involved in the racial politics of culture as they sought to engage in the cultural politics of race and racism. If one scrutinizes the bibliography Fauset compiled for *The New Negro*, one finds dozens of references to the *Journal of American Folk-Lore* during William Newell’s editorship. There exists an equal number of pieces published in the *Southern Workman* and authored by members of the HFS. Parson’s collection of folklore from Elizabeth City County in 1922 at the dawn of the New Negro movement, and Fauset’s 1925 references to publications at the dusk of the nineteenth century, suture together two different time periods and two different interpretations of African American culture. Franz Boas and the American Folk-Lore Society form the common thread.

Acknowledgments

I would like to thank George Bond, James Ferguson, Bayo Holsley, Maureen Mahon, Moira Smith, Noenoe K. Silva, George Stocking, and my lovely wife Sabrina Thomas

Baker for their assistance, support, and ideas. Special thanks to David Rease and Bayo Holsley for providing research support and to Richard Handler who provided invaluable editorial support. He is doing a great job filling some big shoes. I have given versions of this paper at Wesleyan University, New York University, Columbia University, University of California, Irvine, and the University of Missouri, St. Louis, and each audience provided me valuable feedback. Funding for this research was provided by a Mellon Resident Fellowship at the American Philosophical Society Library and a Ford Foundation Post-Doctoral Fellowship for Minorities. Additional funding was provided by the Institute for Research in African American Studies, Columbia University.

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 RAP Richard Armstrong Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.
 BPP Franz Boas Papers, Professional Correspondence, American Philosophical Society Library, Philadelphia.
 EPP Elsie Clews Parsons Papers, Collection 29, American Philosophical Society Library, Philadelphia.

WORKING FOR A CANADIAN SENSE OF PLACE(S)

The Role of Landscape Painters in Marius Barbeau's Ethnology

FRANCES M. SLANEY

Our consideration leads us to the conclusion that geography is part of cosmography, and has its source in the affective impulse, in the desire to understand the phenomena and history of a country or of the whole earth, the home of mankind.
 (Boas 1887: 647)

... while the collapse of spatial barriers has undermined older material and territorial definitions of place, the very fact of that collapse (the threat of "time-space compression" as I called it in The Condition of Postmodernity) has put renewed emphasis upon the interrogation of metaphorical and psychological meanings which, in turn, give new material definitions of place by way of explanatory territorial behaviour. Explorations of this sort should help clarify the thorny problem of "otherness" and "difference" (made so much of in post-modern rhetoric) because territorial place-based identity, particularly when conflated with race, ethnic, gender, religious and class differentiation, is one of the most pervasive bases for both progressive political mobilization and reactionary exclusionary politics.

(Harvey 1993: 4)

In the 1990s anthropologists have become increasingly preoccupied with geography, with issues of place and space (e.g. Hirsch & O'Hanlon 1995).

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