AFRICAN SYMBOLISM AND FORM ON TWO AMERICAN BLACK COLLEGE CAMPUSSES

By
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Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Architecture at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology February 1980

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abstract
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By
David Lewis Chandler

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ABSTRACT

Some elements in Black Architecture might best be understood through some physical form on American Black college campuses. It is there where vestiges of time in American history can be explored by the architectural observer.

By the use of existing slave trade documents; data regarding African ports participating in the trade practice, and; the tribal origins of the slaves captured we will notice a similarity of architectural styles when this information is compared against the data on structures in America that have been designed and/or built by Blacks.

Black colleges constructed between 1850 and 1900 present the most significant re-
ference aids. Within the list of Black colleges constructed during that time (see appendix), Hampton and Tuskegee Institutes present an infinite array of African symbolism and form. It is through those references, of African heritage, that one might address the qualities of form on any American Black college campus.

This thesis should be used, not only as a collection of information, but also as a guide in determining other levels and elements in judging some qualities of form that may or may not be on any American Black college campus.

Thesis Supervisor: M. David Lee

Title: Assistant Professor of Architecture

Islamic mosque at Jenne (Mali, 14th century)
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"We who are dreamers of time, Harvest the sun with our breath.

The sweat we hose in our tasks Moves the tears over these cheeks, And reminds us again and again Why we live and continue to dream.

A dreamers' time is the universe."

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list of maps
list of photos
INTRODUCTION
One might presume that the multi-ethnic character of America would be reflected in architectural images beyond those derived from European bases. Instead, Thomas Jefferson's Latinized architectural deceptions provided a false reflection of some kind of America that never really existed. It was this Classical architectural cloak on state capitals, and other public buildings, which set the architectural tone for America and consequently squashed any continuum of forms by Blacks and other ethnics. Neither Black nor Red, for different reasons, could be allowed to express themselves and their accompanying values physically. Furthermore, they could not control resources for independent development of any sort. Yet more than simple obstruction of the natural desire to perpetuate a group image through architect-
ural form was involved in the initial stage of Black settlement.

In contrast to the intellectual hopes of some compensating researchers, the Africans brought to America were not, under certain criterion, artisans¹. They were forced to quickly respond to the building practices of the colonizers in the majority. Africans in America were subjected to a generally colder environment, weather-wise, which dictated a change to a building practice fashioned with wood elements and more sophisticated brick. The few practices and images relating to the various African cultures waned eventually through acculturation and lack of practice. However, some indigenous vestiges of African form and character found its way onto the American Black college camp-

Hampton Institute dwelling window (c. 1890)
It is the structures, on those campuses, which demonstrate an architectural heritage and a culture, of natural craftsmen, people, which might otherwise had become extinct.

The formal educating of Blacks began in 1831 with the founding of Xavier College in Louisiana (a Black college). Time presented the founding of more Black colleges with the structures on the campuses built by white philanthropists, with few exceptions. For the most part, where the exceptions are observed, the slaves provided the labor force on those campuses during the pre-emancipation period.

Of the certified Black colleges in America, there are two; Hampton Institute at Virginia and Tuskegee Institute at Alabama, that present a greater situation for discussion concerning African symbolism and form. It was on these campuses that the students received "hands on" training as a part of their educational development. Also, these campuses present a richer diversity of representative African Architecture, art and culture then other American Black colleges of the same period and region.

Of the 92 major African tribes that existed during the slave trade, vestiges of decorative motifs and symbolism from 17 different tribes can be observed on the campuses of Hampton and Tuskegee. The architectural elements can be traced to 9 major form contributors from the 30 known forms that existed at that time. It was the talents of those tribal mem-
bers, with the assistance of countless unknown supporters and instructors, that initiated the foundation and background of what could now be considered as American vernacular Black Architecture.

With the artistic and architectural talents of the African tribespeople imported into this country, then known as "The New World", the building of America's architectural history and culture is very unique. Through the infusion of the attitudes and talents of the colonizers, the Black builder became the expressive creator of the American skyline.

Relying on their African heritage as the foundation for creativity and environmental response, the Black builder became the backbone to the American history of Colonial and Plantation Architecture. It was the Black builder who inherited the responsibility of designing and building a major part of the American South. But the talents of these creators, of architectural beauty, were unconfining as the demand for quality craftsmanship grew across the country.

The exciting mark of the Black builders' talents can be seen as far west as California and north as Canada. Some Black builders lended their talents and expertise to the construction of some lived "Black Settlements". However, of the towns that still exist, the Black builders creative talents can still be observed as a birth of architectural and formal beauty as well as a seed for education.
Through time and awareness, the Black builder became the "Black Architect". Prior to 1899, when Illinois established a license procedure for qualifications to practice architecture, there had been none in any state. It was not until 1951 that similar registration requirements (prescribed education and written examination) were instituted in all states. The word "architect" is Greek in origin and was used to denote "master builder or carpenter"; and records indicate that in the early years, of this country, the master builder was likely to be a Black man, either free or enslaved. Perhaps the most respected of the early Black architects was Paul Williams of California. He is not the only Black architect but one of the first, as was Norma Merrick Sclarek: the first Black woman architect.
By chronologically highlighting some of the major environmental concepts concerning Blacks, since their arrival into this country, I hope to give more informed perceptions and analytical patterns to some of the established ideas on Black Architecture. I hope this thesis will start to make tangible physical essences of Blackness\(^2\) in order to build more appropriate settings for its perpetuation. Hopefully, this work can help infuse Black spirit and creativity into areas of Black occupation generating greater feelings of comfort and control. For this purpose, linkages of Africa and perspectives which focus upon it and its universe of peoples can be the only true basis for alternative values and practice in Black communities.
The Europeans did not start the slave trade. African societies practiced a form of slavery for centuries before contact with Europe. Africans sold slaves to each other for export to North America and Asia, across the Sahara and through Ethiopia and Acanian ports. But the sheer volume of the slave traffic across the Atlantic and the brutality with which African slaves were treated renders the European slave trade fundamentally different from anything that took place within Africa itself.

The taking of African slaves by Europeans began almost as soon as European ships began visiting the coasts of West Africa. In 1441, with one of the early voyages, a young Portuguese captain, Antam Goncalvez, decided to return home with a captured "Moor" with which to surprise Prince Henry, in whose service he was engaged.

Those slaves captured for import to the New World were from along the Grain, Ivory, Slave and Gold Coasts of the Gulf of Guinea and the Atlantic Ocean. There are records that indicate that some slaves were gathered as far away as Gambia and Senegal, to the north, also Angola and Congo region, to the south. Each area presents a different cultural
hierarchy that responds to the natural environment and the needs of the people within that part of Africa.

communities and villages where slaves were obtained
MAJOR TRIBES DURING THE SLAVE TRADE

01 YALUNKA
02 YORUBA

1. AMBO
2. ANGAS
3. ASANTE
4. BANGA
5. BANGI
6. BARI
7. BAYA-KARA
8. BIOM
9. BOBO
10. BUNDA
11. BUSHMEN
12. BUSE
13. CALABARI
14. CHAMBA
15. DAKINIBA
16. DILA
17. DURU
18. EDO
19. EKI
20. Fila
21. FULANI
22. GAGU
23. CAMERGOU
24. CREBO
25. GUKU
26. GURU
27. HAUSA
28. HERERO
29. HIKALI
30. HOLO
31. HOTENTOTS
32. IBIBO
33. IBO
34. IGALA
35. IGBO
36. IRU
37. JABA
38. JUKUS
39. KANIVI
40. KATAB
41. KHAZEKHE
42. KISI
43. KONYAR
44. KONGO
45. KUNGBIMA
46. KRU
47. KUBA
48. LLELE
49. LIMBA
50. LOKO
51. MAMPIRASSI
52. MANDINKA
53. MANJAR
54. MATAKAM
55. MASSA
56. MAURE
57. MIBAFA
58. MENDE
59. MERO
60. NKUEKUM
61. MUMYNE
62. NABDAM
63. NAKANSE
64. NEUAL
65. NKOOGO
66. NINGI
67. NOGONUKA
68. NUTE
69. PAPIES
70. PENDU
71. PYGMEES
72. KEN
73. SANGI
74. SHUWA-ARABS
75. SOMOLO
76. KOOGHAI
77. SOUFA
78. SUKU
79. ESU
80. FELLINI
81. TAMBERNU
82. TANGAE/WAJA
83. TEMBE
84. TEBE
85. TIV
86. TOBA
87. TUPOUKRI
88. UIARES
89. TUBU
90. YAKO

ATLANTIC OCEAN

EQUATOR

MALI
1. NIGER
2. CAMERON
3. NIGERIA
4. GHANA
5. TOGO
6. BENIN
7. GHANA
8. SIERRA LEONE
9. GUINEA-CONACORE
10. SIERRA LEONE
500 KM
PRIMARY SLAVE DEPOTS
partly as indentured labor, the Negro came from Africa only as a slave.

In 1619, the English shipped the first twenty Negroes from Africa into Virginia on a ship named "Jesus of Lubeck" twelve years after the settlement of Jamestown. However, these twenty individuals would come to be known as "indentured slaves". This classification is vastly different from that of "slave" in that an indentured slave had a predetermined period of servitude and the slave was in bondage for his or her entire life in most instances.

After a slave was purchased, the immediate task of the "master" was to shelter the new piece of property. A general practice was to construct a string of cabins together in a colony, well beyond the big

arrival and housing

Among some slave captives were sons and daughters of African chiefs. There were craftspersons, woodworkers, iron sculptors, scholars and journeymen. Because of the many tribal dialects, communication amongst the captives was difficult as they were ushered along. It was not until their arrival to America that their possessed skills were recognized. Unfortunately, the abilities of these individuals were not really respected for its quality but for its profit potential.

The "Negro" \(^3\) came to America in chains. While the colonization of the New World was being implemented through the importation of prosecuted and outlawed Europeans
house. Usually a single row of cabins, headed by the overseer's residence comprised these quarters. In most situations, these structures were erected by the slaves themselves.

However, when the quarters were already provided, the quality varied depending upon the sensitivity of the plantation owner, but was usually not very good. As a general provision, the quarters were cramped, crudely built, scantily furnished, unpainted and dirty. These cabins were basically designed as sleeping rooms, rather than centers of family life, they provided shelter and little more. Generally, cabins contained beds made of straw covered boards or mattresses constructed of corn shucks without blankets. Not only were these slave cabins uncomfortable, they were often crowded with at least two families. However, these structures were described by their masters as "adequate" housing.

In part, the problem was overcrowding. but overcrowding or not, the important issue about slave housing was the social view it embodied. Its basic objective was to seal off the Negroes from outside contacts. Not only were the bondsmen's quarters placed close to the main building, but the plot itself was enclosed by high brick walls. The cabinroom, which generally measured 10 feet by 15 feet (see drawing on next page), had no windows to the outside but a single door which provided entrance and whatever fresh air that entered; and wall openings aided in the continual circulation of air, there was no glass in these openings but wood shutters
TYPICAL CABIN LAYOUT
*see p.11 (page 31)

NOT TO ANY SCALE.
attached to the outside. Oftentimes a fireplace provided heat but fireplace provisions was not always the rule.

The single route off the plantation was either through the main building or across the servants' path which was along the side of the building. Consequently, the physical design of the complex compelled the slaves to centrally focus upon the owner and the owner's place. Symbolically, the entire design was concentric, drawing the life of the bondsman inward towards the master. Standing in the middle of the plot the bondsman could see only an image of brick and stone, forbidding reminders of his servile confinement.
These bondsmen came to America with an abundant variety of skills. It was through these skills and manners of expertise that the "construction teams" were formed. Generally, the team got its origin through a group of slaves continually working together to build a structure on the plantation. Their constant close association with one another eventually made the construction process smooth and efficient.

Soon, the common practice for most plantation owners was to rent out their construction team to surrounding neighbors for the purpose of erecting a structure. This team consisted of a "master builder" who generally made all of the decisions about the construction of the buildings (it was not uncommon for the master builder to also be the designer of the building). Another member of the team was the "master carpenter" whose responsibility it was to keep the other workers knowledgeable of how the building was to be put together. Other members of the team included slaves with abilities in ironworking, woodworking, irrigation and inventing.

Once a slave demonstrated that he could be trusted to leave the plantation on long journeys, he might be given the responsibility as the overseer for the
construction team. He would travel with the team and act as a chaperon. Although he too was a slave, he was taught to read, and in some situations, to also write.

Although African slaves ultimately proved to be the most effective solution to the problem of abundant labor in the New World's mines and plantations, they continued to show their desire for freedom and their antipathy to slavery enslavement. But rebellions were few because the slaves were on foreign soil and, in most instances, unfamiliar with the language and customs of the indigenous people.
CHAPTER 2
Many people find it difficult to accept the notion that the traditional buildings of the African continent have merit. The architectural qualities and styles of each tribe, village, settlement, colony, town or city might be very diverse, but also similar in some respects. With the multiplicity of the continent's ecological and natural constraints, the range of possible architectural forms is infinite. However, the ultimate goal of the African builder has always been to make the building function through human esthetics, and respond to the natural environment.

There is a great amount of symbolism in the African approach to architecture. This response goes beyond graphic representation and, in most cases, is represented in the architectural character of a structure or cluster of structures.
major african forms

1. DOMICAL (beehive)
2. CONE ON CYLINDER
3. CONE ON POLES AND MUD CYLINDER
4. GABLE ROOFED (rectangular)
5. PYRAMIDAL CONE
6. RECTANGLE WITH ROOF ROUNDED AND SLOPING AT THE ENDS
7. SQUARE
8. DOME OR FLAT ROOF ON A CLAY BOX (quadrangular or square)
9. QUADRANGULAR, SURROUNDING AN OPEN COURTYARD
10. CONE ON GROUND
African Forms

1
Round plan, free-standing; diameter less than height; walled with mud and/or stone; often with stone foundations; thatched roof (conical or trumpet shaped); arranged in clusters of buildings, usually on the ring pattern, with buildings part of enclosing wall or fence.

Examples: Koalib, Heiban, Tira, Moro, Mesakin, Korongo, Tullishi (Sudan); Rift Valley wall, Engaruku (Tanzania); Matakam, Kirdi, Kapsiki, Namchi, (northern Nigeria, northern Cameroon); Angas, Ron, Birom, (northern Nigeria); Bandiagara escarpment (Mali); Tamgue Mountains (Senegal and Guinea); Atakora Mountains (northern Togo and Benin); Baya-Kaka (Central African Republic).

2
Round plan, free-standing; diameter approximately equal to height; roof of poles leaning against central framework; poles sometimes encased in dry stone work at base; thatching of grass or turves.

Examples: parts of Eritrea (Ethiopia); Wanji (Tanzania).
3
Round plan, free standing; diameter equal to or greater than height; walls of mud and/or wattle, bamboo or palm fronds; thatched conical roof (convex or concave profile); often with verandah full or part way round; arranged in clusters of buildings within surrounding fence, hedge or wall.

Examples: Kipsigis, Nandi, Luo Kikuyu (Kenya); Mangbettu (Zaire); Tiv, Nupe, Jukun (Nigeria); settled Fulani (Guinea, Nigeria, Cameroon); Dourou, Tikar, Toupouri, Massa (Cameroon); Kinga, Safwa, Nyamwezi (Tanzania); Grebo (Liberia); Tonga, Venda (South Africa); Gurage, Galla (Ethiopia); Ila (Zambia); Dagomba, Korkomba (Ghana); Kisi, Susu (Guinea); Azande, Shilluk, Bari (Sudan); Mandinka (Mali, Senegal, Guinea, Ivory Coast); Yalunka (Sierra Leone).

4
Round, oval or rectangular plan with hemispherical or lozenge-shaped profile; basic framework of hoops; covering of skins, mats and/or thatch of grass, leaves or mud over brushwood; can usually be dismantled; often found in association with cattle kraals; usually arranged symmetrically.

Examples: Masai (Tanzania, Kenya); Twa (southern Cameroon, Zaire); Herero, Ambo (Namibia); Namaquo, Pondo, Zulu, Thembu, Xhosa (South Africa); Swazi (Swaziland); Shuwa Arab (Chad, Nigeria); Somali (Somali Rep.); Gheleba, some Galla, Bileni (Ethiopia); some Tuareg (Niger); Songhai (Mali, Niger); Sotho (Lesotho).
5
Rectangular plan, free-standing; framework of 1-4 parallel arches strengthened by horizontal cross-pieces resting at ends on poles between forked posts; covering of plaited mats; very often used as portable tent; large version sometimes immobile.

Example: Some Tuareg (Niger).

6
Rectangular plan tent; framework of two to four rows of parallel forked sticks surmounted by horizontal cross-pieces; occasionally arches instead of middle sets of poles; covering of skins or blankets under tension.

Example: Some Tuareg (Niger); nomadic pastoralists (Sudan, Ethiopia, Somali Rep.).

7
Round plan, free-standing; conical roof and no walls; framework of straight sticks (guinea-corn stalks, bamboo); sometimes thatched.

Examples: Fulani dry-season houses (northern Nigeria); Kinga area (Tanzania); Lutoko (Sudan); some Saho (Ethiopia).
8 Round plan, free-standing; framework of flexible poles embedded in ground at base and tied at top under tension; known as 'beehive' type; usually slightly convex profile; thatch sometimes of banana leaves but more usually of grass or reeds, either stepped or plain; sometimes low perimeter wall inside building; sometimes central support; often divided internally by partitions; same design as house; often with porch.

Examples: Dinka (Sudan); Haya, Chagga, Pare (Tanzania); Ruanda (Ruanda); some Acholi, Ganda (Uganda); Rundi (Burundi); Fulani (Nigeria); Kanuri (Nigeria, Chad, Niger); Dorze, Sidamo (Ethiopia); Kamba (Kenya); Luguru (Tanzania); Tubu (Chad).

9 Round plan, free-standing; two storeys high; walls of roughly dressed stone set in mud mortar; wooden lattice windows; drip course between each story; slightly domed mud and pole ceiling, thatched roof.

Example: some Tigre (Ethiopia).

10 Round plan, free-standing; two storeys high; walls of small round boulders set in mud mortar; second storey reached by external stone staircase; within, walled courtyard with two-storey entrance porch; thatched roof.

Example: some Tigre (Ethiopia).
11
Round plan, free-standing; flat roof; walls of mud or mud and straw; flat roof of poles and mud and straw; found in tight clusters, usually built into surrounding wall; painted and incises decoration on walls common. (Granaries often had thatched covers.)

Examples: some Dogon (Mali); Lobi, Nankanse, (northern Ghana); southern Upper Volta (around Po); northern Upper Volta (around Ouahigouya).

12
Round plan, free-standing; 'shell' mud roof and no walls; slightly convex profile; sometimes embossed patterns on exterior; arranged in clusters within surrounding wall.

Example: Mousgoum (northern Cameroon); Tallensi grinding rooms (Ghana); Bangadji kitchens (Chad).

13
Oval plan, free-standing; asymmetrical peaked thatched roof supported by conical mud pillar and mud arch; walls of mud and wattle.

Examples: some Kagoro, Jaba, Katab, Ikulu, Moroa (northern Nigeria).
14
Oval plan, free-standing; mud and/or wattle walls; thatched saddle-back roof with semi-conical ends; sometimes on stilts.

Examples: pockets of coastal areas and lake shores of southern Liberia, Guinea Bissau, Senegal, Tanzania; central Ivory Coast, Nyasa (Tanzania).

15
Round or oval plan, free-standing; corbelled stone construction; untrimmed sandstone blocks, doleritic boulders or trimmed doleritic slabs.

Examples: some Sotho-Tswana (Lesotho, Botswana); some Ghoya and Tuareg (South Africa).

16
Round plan; one, two or three storeys in height; built coalescing to form 'tower' houses; walls of puddled mud; flat roof and upper floors of poles, straw and mud.

Examples: Somolo, Ssola, Tambernu, Somba (southeastern Upper Volta, northern Benin, southern Mali).
17 Crown plan, (concentric circles) free-standing; central court or impluvium; mud walls; thatched saddleback roof.

Examples: Diola (Senegal); Manjak, Pappcis (Guinea Bissau); Dida, Guro, Gagu (Ivory Coast).

18 Square plan, free-standing; conical roof; walls of mud or mud and palm fronds; thatched roof of grass or reeds.

Examples: Bamileke, Bamoun (Cameroon); Abajda Ibo (Nigeria).

19 Rectangular plan, sometimes free-standing, thatched saddleback or lean-to roof; walls of planks, bamboo, cane, matting or cane and matting; walls sometimes plastered internally; roof thatch of palm leaf mats, reeds, bark, palm fronds, sometimes on stilts.

Examples: widespread in River Zaire Basin, e.g. Wela, Poto, also Nyakusa (Tanzania); Ijo, Yako, Oroatto Ibo (Nigeria); forest areas of southern Cameroon.
20
Rectangular plan; often arranged contiguously around a central square open kraal; walls of wattle or stone and mud; flat or waggon-shaped mud and wattle roof supported on forked uprights just outside walls or on walls; can be known as 'tembe' style.

Examples: Gogo, Mbugwe, Alawa, Burundi, Rangi, Hehe (Tanzania); Sabei (Uganda); some Tigre (Ethiopia).

21
Rectangular plan, free-standing; thatched saddleback roof; buildings often arranged facing across a small court with some of the sides facing court open or pillared; walls puddled mud or wattle framework plastered over; relief murals common form of decoration.

Examples: Ibo, some rural Hausa (Nigeria); Asante (Ghana); southern Togo; southern Benin; southern Ivory Coast.

22
Rectangular plan; thatched saddleback roof; units built round court or impluvium having continuous roof; walls of puddled mud or mud and wattle; sides facing court or impluvium sometimes open or pillared.

Examples: Bini, Yoruba, Eko (Nigeria).
23
Rectangular plan; mud brick walls; flat or vaulted mud roof reinforced with wood or palm fronds; sometimes two-storeyed; buildings arranged within walled courtyards, sometimes forming part of courtyard wall.

Examples: urban Hausa, urban Kanuri (Nigeria); Upper Niger towns such as Ojenne, Timbuktu (Mali); southern Mali; western Upper Volta; Mauritania.

24
Rectangular plan units; one storey high but built coalescing and on top of one another; mud brick or puddled mud walls; flat mud roof reinforced with wood and palm fronds; sometimes found with style 3 built on top.

Examples: northern Ivory Coast, Mali, Upper Volta, northern Ghana, e.g. Bobo, Dagari.

25
Square plan; free-standing; walls of poles or palm fronds and mud; hipped roof thatched with grass or reeds.

Examples: Lozi (Zambia); Pende (Zaire); Tikar (Cameroon).
26
Square plan; free standing; thatched hipped roof framework of flexible poles embedded in ground at base and tied at apex under tension; slightly convex profile; thatch of grass; often with elaborately carved door frames.

Examples: Holo, Suku (Zaire, Angola).

27
Rectangular plan, free-standing; walls of roughly dressed stone set in mud mortar; reinforced with horizontal wooden beams and short round cross-pieces; flat roof of mud and poles.

Example: some Tigre (Ethiopia).

28
Rectangular plan, free-standing, with stone rubble and cement walls; thatched roof; multi-storey; often with elaborately carved wooden doors.

Examples: East African coastal towns (Tanzania, Kenya).
29
Rectangular plan, free-standing; hipped roof; thatch of palm leaf mats sometimes with two long sides lapped over other two; walls of wattle and mud; sometimes with carved wooden door posts sometimes on stilts.

Examples: coastal regions of Kenya, Tanzania, Nigeria, Benin Rep.; lake shores (Zaire, Tanzania); central Zaire.

30
Square plan; tall pyramidal thatched roof; thatch of broad leaves.

Examples: Ngelima, Nalya (Zaire).
form contributors

There were many tribal contributors to African form on America's soil. Of the known 92 tribes that existed during the slave trade, 17 were a prime target for the slave poachers and approximately 5 of those 17 tribes were outstanding contributors of the architectural quality on the two Black college campuses in America that were studied.

Community layouts mirrored the laws of nature and the forces of philosophical thought. So humane were African towns and cities that they were regarded by their inhabitants as concrete expressions of their inner thoughts about man, nature and the cosmos. The Africans were also adept at maintaining that feeling of smallness and rural intimacy, even in areas of high population density.

the 17 tribes...

- Asante
- Bamileke
- Bushmen
- Dagomba
- Diola
- Dogon
- Edo
- Fula
- Hausa
- Ibo
- Kanuri
- Kru
- Loko
- Manjak
- Yaonde
- Yoruba

● Denotes significant tribes
bricks

Unlike some traditional African buildings of wood, bamboo and weaving, bricks composed of carefully selected mud that is mixed with water and chopped straw was the common construction material. This composition was sun-dried until hardened. The mortar was prepared in a similar fashion but had to be mixed several times over a period of about two weeks.

Burnt bricks were known in isolated parts of Africa in a band stretching from the Upper Niger areas through Bornu to Darfur and the Nile region. Where burnt bricks were used, the walls were load-bearing and the buildings were rectangular in plan with the flat roofs supported in the center of the building by brick pillars.

The evolution of Sudanic architecture had been greatly accelerated by the introduction of burnt brick wall construction. It led to a dramatic move away from walls made of weaker thatch, reinforced earth, or wattle and daub. Burnt bricks were sun-dried in the western Sudan or kiln dried in central Sudan.
Decoration implies conscious effort on the part of the creator to order his materials into a type of design which will be pleasing to the eye. This design may also have some magical or religious significance, but this is not always apparent to the outside observer. African decoration was not the product of one man's imagination: the designs had usually become standardized through generations of use, which would tend to iron out any imperfections in the relationship between the design and its materials.

African architectural decoration is more...
commonly applied to the features of:

- homestead entrances
- granaries and grinding sheds
- sacred, ceremonial and community buildings
- wives' rooms
- doorways
- inner walls
- roof pinnacles

Decoration is of considerable psychological significance, and interesting that it tended to occur at points of potential social stress. Buildings which, like chief's houses, temples, shrines and club houses were a power focus for the community, were almost invariably highly decorated.

Decoration also seemed to be applied to points of high structural stress. Apart from obvious critical points like lintels and jambs, it is possible that even the bowls set in the roofs of certain Hausa
and Swahili buildings might have originated as early warning mechanisms for potential unstable roofs. On buildings with conical thatched roofs the pinnacle was a particularly vulnerable point for collapse and leakage. Often (for instance, among the Azande) a finial specially woven in thatch or basketwork was applied, but in some areas the points were covered with upturned pots (e.g. Gwari, Kanuri, Masaba, Nupe), carved posts or figures (e.g. Masaba, Pende), gourds (e.g. Kanuri), or ostrich eggs (e.g. Shona, Nyamwezi, Kanuri).

Dressed wooden door frames, where they occurred, were often much heavier than was needed to support either the door or the surrounding wall. Along the East African coast elaborately carved "Zanzibar" doors
are found, not only on the multi-story stone buildings but also on the much smaller mud and wattle houses. There the door and frame are always the first part of the building to be erected. Apart from the Swahili, elaborately carved doors were executed by, amongst others, the Venda, Yoruba, Nupe, Ibo and Dogon. The Bamileke, Tikar, Suku and the Holo had very elaborate frames but somewhat insubstantial doors.

The drawings have illustrated some of the more common decorative motifs. These can be analysed in many different ways, but one approach is to think of them as falling into the following two main categories:

1 Cellular design, usually made up of two alternating, serially repeated units, one being the positive and the other its negative (one light, one dark, for instance; or one raised and the other incised). The design is based on geometrical shapes and completely covers the surface on which found.

2 Intricate linear design based on curved lines, often with much interlacing. The design is applied to a neutral ground.

Some might want to identify the second category with the influence of Islam; but the fact that it is also found amongst peoples like the Ibo and the Asante who have almost totally eschewed Islam makes it difficult to accept that view without qualification.
lived and few exist today.

The more significant migrating locations were Richmond, Virginia; Mound Bayou, Mississippi; Grambling, Louisiana, and; Boley, Oklahoma. Vestiges of those efforts still exist today.

There was however another kind of slave migration, that of the "organized slave communities". Although the aims and purposes of these communities had some similarity to the Black settlements, they varied widely in size, were diverse in their method of operation and displayed a variety of organized bases. The earliest of these communities were simple efforts at white philanthropy. They were little more than settlements of manumitted slaves, set free and colonized
directly or indirectly by their masters, a "Black Utopia" or sorts. In no case were they eminently successful as colonizing ventures, but merely the projection of an idea.
The formal physical history of the Black college began with the founding of Xavier University in New Orleans, Louisiana in 1831. This opening was the springboard for the numerous founding of some 125 predominantly Black colleges and universities (see appendix) in the United States over a 100 year period.

A practice among the agriculturally oriented Black colleges was to teach the students the importance of having their minds educated while having their hands trained. The students were taught the basics for an everyday existence, i.e.; general housekeeping, farming, cooking, sewing and grounds maintenance. Some institutions
provided instruction in iron and woodworking in addition to teaching the students the procedures of repairing farm implements and helping in maintaining the buildings.

One concern that Booker T. Washington had was what these young men and women could do when they returned to their homes. What were the industries that these students, and their parents, had a common interest in. The academic value of handwork at Tuskegee, and other Black institutions of higher learning, was treated with great care; as denoted by archival records that demonstrated the quality of construction for the buildings on these campuses. In a number of instances, on the majority of Black college campuses, the construction of buildings was done by students; with the instructors of various trades within the institutions acting as advisors in the construction process.
Hampton

Hampton Institute was founded as the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute in April 1868 by its first principal, General Samuel Chatman Armstrong. The Freedmen Bureau had assigned General Armstrong the task of helping to solve the problems of the many thousands of former slaves who had gathered behind the Union lines in the Virginia peninsula.

A part of the Institute's rich heritage is attributable to the history of the first slaves brought to America. They were landed a few miles off the banks of the school. Here, one of the earliest English civilizations on this continent was established. The second church built in America
stands in the town of Hampton and during the Civil War, Hampton was regarded by the freedmen as a city of refuge.

For the first decade Hampton's work was directed mainly towards a Normal education. On the farm, in the shops or in the housekeeping departments, the moral character of labor was strongly emphasized. Academic Hall, Virginia Hall, barns and dormitories were constructed during this period. When the Indians became students at Hampton in 1878, Wigwam and Winona Lodges were erected. Huntington Industrial Works, Pierce Machine Shops, the Stone Building and a dormitory for girls were built in the latter part of the 1880's.

The making of teachers continued to be emphasized during the early 1900's but
the training was broadened on the side of manual training for the trades and agricultural instruction. The Newport News Shipyard played an important part in the development of the Institute. As about 1899, through the efforts of Mr. Collis P. Huntington, a trustee at the school, the shipyard gave some of the young men the opportunity to get practical training in wood and ironworking.

Hampton has always been a community school. Its graduates, from the very beginning, learned to recognize the educational value of manual labor. They were trained by General Armstrong's philosophy "education for life".
Tuskegee Institute, was founded in 1881 by Lewis Adams, a former slave, and George W. Campbell, a former slave master, who had envisioned the need for the education of Negro youth in Macon County, Alabama. Consequently, they engineered the passage of the Act which appropriated $2,000 annually for teacher's salaries for such a school. Their call for a leader was answered by Hampton Institutes' principal, General Samuel Chapman Armstrong, who sent Booker T. Washington.

The Slater Armstrong Memorial Trades Building, which dimensions 283 feet x 315 feet and is two stories in height, was drawn by a colored man, who was an instruc-
tor at the school. A total of 800,000 bricks were required in its construction and each brick was manufactured by the students in the kiln while learning the trade of brickmaking. All the bricks were laid into the building by the students who were being taught the trade of brick masonry. The plastering, carpentry, painting and tin roofing were done by the students while learning these trades. The whole number of students who received training from this building alone was 196.

The building is enlaidened by electricity with all other electric fixtures being put in by students who were learning the trade of electrical engineering. All power to operate the machinery was produced by a 125 horsepower engine and a 75 horsepower boiler. This machinery was not only
operated by students who were learning the trade of steam engineering but was installed by those students under the guidance of their instructor. At Tuskegee, when a new building was to have been erected, the schools' various trades combined their talents for a common cause.

All of the brick work for the majority of buildings on Tuskegee's campus was done by the students. It is safe to state that the students were involved, in all aspects of the construction process, for every detail and construction decision.

The theory was taught in the classroom and the practical test was always close at hand. There were 118 lessons in the foundation and fundamental principle of the trade in the brick masonry education. The students
were taught how to make estimates of different kinds of work. There was also a required course in architectural drafting, with research being done through trade journals and structural theory.

Throughout these fields of industrial and productive activities, the following ideals were kept constantly in mind: 1. to teach the dignity of labor; 2. to teach the trades thoroughly and effectively; 3. to supply the demand for trained industrial leaders, and; 4. to assist the students in paying all or part of their educational expenses.

The most important structures on Tuskegee's campus are Porter Hall, a three story framed structure and the first building erected after the opening of the Institute; Thrasher Hall, a three story brick building.
that, though poor in appointments, is rich in tradition, and; Carnegie Library, a beautifully proportioned brick structure which is the center of academic interest. The Honorable Collis P. Huntington Memorial Building is one of the largest buildings on the campus.
conclusion
I have attempted to provide the reader with elements and information that could aid in the support of theories that relate to the statements:

A - There is physical evidence to substantiate the thesis that African symbolism and form has been immortalized on at least two American Black college campuses and probably others.

B - Open an architectural dialogue that could be expanded to incorporate structures not customarily associated with the Black builder or craftsman during the nineteenth century and earlier.

The substantiation of African symbolism and form goes beyond any physical element represented, there were also social and humanitarian responses that evolved.

There are building markers across America that denote a broad heritage. It consists of a culmination of races and cultures, all intertwined in a web of architectural identification and landmark significance. Many historical sources have complicated the understanding of some facts by their inconsistent identification or definition of certain architectural elements, dates and participants.

The slave craftspeople that came to this country centuries ago had an art form, diverse architectural styles and impressions and a sensitivity to nature.

It is for that reason that the vestiges of African symbolism and form represented on some Black college campuses is so important. Structures, on those campuses,
provide a linkage to a history that might otherwise be overlooked. By gathering additional data on African form, symbolism and motifs, an even greater degree of understanding can be developed.

The dialogue can be taken a step further by the identification of structures not restricted solely to the Black college campuses. There are structures throughout this country that were designed and constructed by Blacks between the years 1850 and 1900.

The slave infusion into American architecture is strong and evident in some of these other building types. Physical form relationships can be seen on the Yucca Plantation "Melrose", Louisiana; The Paul Cuffe Farm, Massachusetts; Smoke House, Willia Williamsburg; and a number of other structures throughout the country.

There were also slave architects such as Louis Metroyer; Horace and Napoleon; Robert R. Taylor and many others who contributed to the architectural vocabulary of America.

Thus, architectural characteristics such as the steep, sloping hip roofs, porches with wide overhanging roofs, central fireplaces and the use of earth and moss to construct walls suggest that elements of African architecture may have been introduced by the slave builders.
footnotes
1 All Africans could be classified as skilled workpeople and craftspeople, when judged against other tribes within the African continent. This title was stripped from their individual heritage when forced to readjust their creativity and skills to unfamiliar disciplines of construction and crafts.

2 The qualities and characteristics that add to the arts and history of the Black race.

3 The word "Negro" is indicative of a struggling period for that race. More importantly, it was a time of misunderstanding between Blacks and the white race. Greater definition is available from T.T. Fortune’s book “Black and White” (1884). Unfortunately, the present day situation still negates any truly harmonious situations, however, an understanding of the races has accepted "Black" as a replacement for Negro.

4 Many of these structures still stand, permitting an inspection of the old shell of the dwellings, though not its ante-bellum furnishings. In addition, real estate transfers sometimes included sketches of buildings which provided contemporary confirmation of their estimated size. In St. Louis an insurance map of 1870 gives the outside measure-
ments although not room sizes, of its housing. See for example, block 119, plots 520, 518, 615 in C.T. Aubin, A. Whipple & Co's Insurance Map of St. Louis, MO.

5 Many local historians trace this early southern architecture with the residences on the street and yards or piazzas behind to Spanish or French influences. Yet this explanation does not account for the appearance of the same scheme in cities quite removed from that background.

Nor was this design characteristic of only downtown residences. In the 1840's Robert Playfair, for example, described housing in Louisville away from the commercial areas as "elegant" and "situated in gardens and pleasure grounds, with apartments diverging behind the main building for the slave servants." Robert Playfair, Recollections of a Visit to the United States and British Provinces of North America in the Years 1847, 1848 and 1849, p. 190.

6/7 Records indicate that in the early years of this country the master builder and carpenter were likely to be Black men, either free or enslaved.
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Folk Housing in Middle Virginia: Henry Glassie, University of Tennessee Press, Knoxville, 1975.


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African materials and technology...

woven cleft wood, split bamboos, palms, raffias, creepers etc. Often plastered over on inside.
Wood, bamboo palm fronds, grass, bullmores, tied to framework, of wood, bamboo or palm fronds. Stones sometimes used as infilling. Sometimes plastered over on inside or on both sides.
Cleft planks, arranged vertically or horizontally, between upright poles. Horizontal planks sometimes lapped.

Puddled mud laid in courses. Roof supports sometimes embedded in walls.

Roughly dressed stones or sundried bricks, either rectanguloid or pear shaped, embedded in mud mortar. Often plastered over on both sides.
Dressed stone blocks, dry set, used as facing over rubbles core or for whole wall.
Rubble wall set with mortar plastered over on both sides. Openings and corners edged with dressed stone.
Stone rubble walls reinforced with wooden planks held in place by short wooden cross pieces. Solid rock walls sometimes dressed to imitate this technique.
roofs

Thatched roofs - circular plan
Thatched roofs - rectangular plan

Tied or woven split palms, bamboos, cleft wood or bundles of grass or reeds. Whole framework embedded in ground at perimeter or supported on forked uprights or load bearing walls. Thatched with reeds grass, palm leaves, banana leaves, marantaceous leaves. Sometimes double thatched - e.g. first layer palm, second layer grass. Or covered with skins or mats.
Mud roofs over matting or straw over framework of split wood or palm fronds sometimes thatched over.

Mud domes, no reinforcement sometimes thatched over.
tents

Woven cloth, skins or mats placed or stretched over framework of hoops and/or horizontal poles supported on forked uprights.

stone roofs

Corbelled stone beehives of either bolder or dressed slabs. Stone domes, and barrel vaults, of coral or granite rubble and lime cement or rock hewn.
Black Colleges and Universities in the United States...

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