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Addo, Linda D., Ed.D.

The University of North Carolina at Greensboro, 1988

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A HISTORICAL ANALYSIS OF THE IMPACT OF SELECTED TEACHERS ON EDUCATION FOR BLACKS IN COASTAL SOUTH CAROLINA, 1862 TO 1970

by

Linda D. Addo

A Dissertation Submitted to
the Faculty of the Graduate School at
The University of North Carolina at Greensboro
in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Doctor of Education

Greensboro
1988

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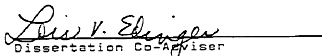
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APPROVAL PAGE

This dissertation has been approved by the following committee of the Faculty of the Graduate School at the University of North Carolina at Greensboro.

Dissertation Co-Adviser John VanHoose

Dissertation Co-Adviser Lois V. Edinger

Committee Members David Strahan

Dale L. Brubaker

March 30, 1988
Date of Acceptance by Committee

March 3, 1988
Date of Final Oral Examination

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The purpose of this study was to present a historical analysis of the impact of selected teachers in black elementary and secondary schools in coastal South Carolina and to examine the question: How was the development of elementary and secondary education in coastal South Carolina for blacks affected, encouraged, and sustained by selected black and white teachers from 1862 to 1970? Subsidiary questions raised and examined in the study were: (1) What was the political, social, and economic environment in which these teachers had to work? (2) To what extent did their roles as teachers and leaders represent a type of social adaptation to a working and living environment complicated by traditional structures? (3) How did philanthropic foundations affect the endeavors of these teachers? and (4) To what extent did these teachers see education as a vehicle for liberation?

The study begins in 1862 with the actions of the War Department to encourage Northern benevolent organizations to establish schools in coastal South Carolina to educate the Freedmen and ends with the 1960s and the impact of the Civil Rights Movement on black educators. The methodology used in this study was the historical method. A historical analysis of the diaries, journals, and papers of the eight teachers selected for this study revealed that these teachers accommodated themselves to a political reality that they could

not change. The subjects of this study were assisted in their efforts by educational foundations. The strategy of these foundations was to change public opinion in favor of a system of public schools for both blacks and whites. This study also demonstrated that while two of the teachers came directly out of the Progressive reform movement, the teachers in this study, whose work in South Carolina predated the Progressive movement, used many of the same techniques. The teachers in this study who were involved in education for blacks before the historic 1954 Brown Decision and the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s utilized education as a vehicle for partial liberation, because they offered their students literacy but not freedom or total liberation.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This writer expresses sincere appreciation to her committee chairpersons, Dr. Lois V. Edinger and Dr. John Van Hoose, who gave so generously of their time and assistance during the process of this study. Both Dr. Edinger and Dr. Van Hoose facilitated the search for primary sources in South Carolina through contacts and networking at the Penn Center, the University of South Carolina, and the College of Charleston. She further expresses her appreciation to other committee members, Dr. Dale Brubacker and Dr. David Strahan, for their interest and guidance. She wishes to thank the staff at the South Carolina State Archives at Columbia, the Caroliniana Library at the University of South Carolina, the Avery Institute of Afro-American Culture, and the Library at the College of Charleston. Special expressions of appreciation are extended to Mr. Emory Campbell, Director of the Penn Community and Cultural Center, and Mrs. Agnes Warren of the Museum staff at the Penn Center, who made the collection of records and photographs at the Penn Center available. A special thanks is given to Mr. and Mrs. Willie R. Faulkner, who made the initial contacts for the writer with the Executive Board of the Penn Center and gave the writer a guided tour of the Sea Islands. To Ms. Bettye B. Beeker, who not only typed this dissertation but also provided some valuable editorial assistance, I owe particular gratitude.

She also wishes to thank her husband, Reverend Peter E. A. Addo, and her children, Eric K. Addo and Christine A. Addo, for their understanding, support, and constant encouragement during the course of this study.

LDA

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CHAPTER I

OVERVIEW OF THE STUDY

Introduction

The most revolutionary result of the Civil War was the emancipation of approximately three million black slaves. Since no provisions were made to ease the transition and adjustment from slavery to freedom, the freedmen were left to find their way in the midst of a majority population in the South that did not wish to see them free. However, in the midst of economic deprivation and discrimination, whenever the freedmen were asked what they wanted or what their hopes and desires were, they usually included education. Governmental officials were among those who were always asking: "What do you want?" Northern journalists were also interested in the freedmen's response to this question.

One Northern journalist, James P. McKaye, asked General Nathaniel P. Banks what the freedmen wanted now that they were free. Banks responded in the form of a letter from Alexandria, Louisiana on March 28, 1864:

> They demand, in the first instance that to whatever punishment they may be subjected, they should not be flogged, (2) that they shall labor only when well treated, (3) that families should not be separated, (4) that their children should be educated (Fishel and Quarles, 1970, p. 242).

Primary sources of the time support General Banks' response. During the Reconstruction Era blacks who served in the state legislatures were usually the most fervent advocates of a system of public education, but efforts to provide schools for the freedmen had begun as early as 1862. The early efforts were initiated by religious and charitable organizations which agreed with blacks that education was the perfect panacea. This idea was expressed in a report issued by the New England Freedmen's Aid Society: "The importance of the work of educating the freedmen, can hardly be exaggerated. Its results will reach into the future...(Cited in Fleming, 1904, p. 174). The federal government also became interested in providing access to education for blacks at this time.

On March 3, 1865, Congress established in the War Department the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, and Congress delegated to the Freedmen's Bureau the direction and supervision of all affairs relating to refugees and freedmen. In May 1865, Major General Oliver Otis Howard was appointed Commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau and the congressional legislation also authorized the appointment of assistant commissioners. In July 1865 Commissioner Howard instructed the assistant commissioners to designate one officer in each state to serve as superintendent of schools in their respective areas. The superintendents were instructed to supervise the education of freedmen and refugees, protect and maintain schools, and encourage benevolent societies

to support schools by providing teachers and other resources. These officials also believed that the blacks had faith in what education could do for them. John Eaton who served as General Superintendent of Freedmen, Department of Tennessee, Assistant Commissioner of Freedmen for the Freedmen's Bureau, and later Commissioner of Education of the United States observed:

> That the negro was stirred with an immediate impluse to profit by his new opportunities is amply proved by the passion for education which was exhibited by young and old. It is true that, to the negro one form of book learning was as good as another. Anyone devoted to his books was on the road to freedom. Anyone ignorant of books was on his way back to slavery (Eaton, 1907, p. 208).

Perkinson (1968) states in his analysis of education in America from 1865 to 1965 that: "The school was to become the panacea for all social problems" (p. 220). This same sentiment was expressed a century later in an address given by then President Lyndon Johnson in a commencement address at Howard University: "Freedom is the right to share fully and equally in American society--to vote, to hold a job, to enter a public place, to go to school." Access to education since the Civil War has enabled blacks to begin to share in the American dream; however, racism and discrimination are still present in American society.

This researcher became interested in access to education and education for blacks since the Civil War while taking a course on the history of education in the United States. The topic selected for research then was access to higher

education for blacks since the Civil War. While doing bibliographical research then, one also became interested in the first efforts to establish elementary and secondary schools for blacks in the South. The first school for freedmen was established at Fortress Monroe, Virginia in September 1861. Fortress Monroe was the first foothold gained by Union forces in the South. The teacher for this school, Mary Peake, was supported by the American Missionary Association. Mary Peake was described as a "free woman of color", who had been educated in England (Bond, 1934, pp. 23-25). However, this school did not continue as a common school but became the nucleus for a black institution of higher education, Hampton Institute. The first concentrated and continuous effort was the Penn School established on Saint Helena Island in South Carolina in 1862. Since Beaufort County and the state of South Carolina did not assume responsibility for the education of blacks on Saint Helena Island until 1948, the Penn School filled the void. Schools such as the Penn School would not have survived if committed teachers had not kept these schools open.

Statement and Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study was to examine the question: How was the development of elementary and secondary education in coastal South Carolina for blacks affected, encouraged, and sustained by selected black and white teachers from 1862-1970?

Subsidiary questions raised and examined in the study were: (1) What was the political, social, and economic environment in which these teachers had to work? (2) To what extent did their roles as teachers and leaders represent a type of social adaptation to a working and living environment complicated by traditional structures? (3) How did philanthropic foundations affect the endeavors of these teachers? (4) To what extent did these educators see education as a vehicle for liberation?

The study will begin in 1862 with the actions of the War Department to encourage Northern benevolent organizations to establish schools to educate the freedmen and will end with the initial impact of the Civil Rights Movement in the 1960's on black educators. The teachers selected for this study believed that if blacks had access to education they would indeed be free and accepted as first class citizens. The subjects of this study like many contemporary educators were motivated and encouraged to persevere by educational theories and philosophies that they believed would encourage rapid social change in the area of race relations and education for blacks.

Significance of the Study

In spite of the faith that blacks and those interested in their plight have had in education as a panacea, the statistical data and scholarly profiles of the black population in contemporary America indicate that access to education

since the Civil War has not assured complete equality. Since the historic Brown Decision in 1954 and the achievements of the Civil Rights Movement of the sixties many Americans believe that laws and the disappearance of de jure segregation are adequate to ensure first class citizenship for blacks.

This was a view held by many blacks and whites in 1862. Slavery was no longer a reality and education was seen as the solution to the problems faced by the freedmen. Federal officials, blacks, teachers, and reformers saw education as the first step in demonstrating that blacks were capable of learning technical skills and in becoming an asset in a mature industrial society. Did teachers and reformers fail because they did not realize that just as educational efforts on behalf of white Americans after the Civil War were entwined with the prevailing economic and social realities, this was also true of their efforts on behalf of black Americans? Did their efforts fail because the philanthropists supported only those educational efforts that could be reconciled with the goals of economic, social, and political realities of the times? Just as these questions were asked in the past and debated these same questions are being asked and debated today.

Many of the contemporary critics of education for the oppressed and minorities maintain that a reason contemporary educational efforts fail is that the schools emphasize and teach that which cannot be reconciled with reality (Goodman,

1966; Kohl, 1969; Freire, 1971; Reimer, 1972; Illich, 1974; and Carnoy, 1974). These critics have written cogent analyses because they were conscious of what has happened in the past. They are also futurists because they are anticipating a future for which we will not be prepared because current educational methods do not meet the needs of the oppressed and the minorities. What we need today and what is needed in the future is what was needed in 1862. Self-directed, disciplined, and responsible people are essential if our society and the world are going to continue to survive.

Of immediate concern are the changes that are currently taking place in society. Futurists (Bell, 1976; Naisbitt, 1982; and Toffler, 1980) have succinctly described these changes. They all describe the shift to the post-industrial society, a society of creation and distribution of information. These futurists also agree that our major institutions such as education will have to change to meet the challenges of the post-industrial society. Therefore, to cope and to do more than survive into the twenty-first century, we need to make sure that blacks and all other minorities in our society experience the kind of education that will make them intuitive and responsible persons. Each person must see himself/herself as important and creative.

In addition to current changes and the prospect of more dramatic change as we enter the twenty-first century,

another reason this study is significant is that the polarization that occurred after Reconstruction has occurred again since the 1954 Brown Decision. Perkinson, in his analysis of American education from 1865-1965, describes the reality in blunt language:

> By 1965 the schools had polarized American society into self-satisfied whites and victimized blacks, into despondent city dwellers and indifferent suburbanites. In their attempts to cope with industrialization by providing equality of opportunity in the success race, the schools once again polarized the society by identifying indeed creating the winners and the losers. And with regard to their political function the schools by 1965 had completely reversed themselves, moving from the original role of preventing governmental tyranny to become a primary agency of the state in pursuit of the national purpose. Once again the result was polarization; this time a polarization of students into conformers or radicals (p. 220).

Thus this study is also significant because for a brief period during Reconstruction the Southern schools were expected to be the primary agency for insuring equality and political rights for blacks. Furthermore, the eight teachers who were the subject of this study believed that if blacks had access to education they would be free and accepted as first class citizens.

Methodology and Scope of the Study

The methodology used in this study was the historical method. History as a scholarly discipline is the record of the past based on the surviving evidence. The researcher who uses the historical method is concerned with data that

are already available. This study incorporates data from both primary and secondary sources. These sources were then subjected to internal and external criticism. The process of external criticism enabled this researcher to determine the authenticity of the sources. Internal criticism involved the evaluation of sources to determine their accuracy and meaning. The evidence was then used to make generalizations and to arrive at conclusions.

This study was written and the past synthesized from the perspective and framework of the "new social history". This perspective rejects the traditional framework: history as the narration and interpretation of politics and political and economic elites. The emphases of the "new history" are social processes and their effects on all groups and individuals in a society. History is the study of the evolution of a particular culture over a period of time (Henretta, 1979, 1293-1296). Thus the "new social history" is interested in all the witnesses and participants --even slaves, minorities, and women--who usually did not have access to power. Extensive bibliographic research was undertaken and research was conducted at the state archives in Columbia, South Carolina, the Caroliniana Library at the University of South Carolina, the Avery Institute for Afro-American Culture and the Robert Small Archives at the College of Charleston in Charleston, South Carolina, and the Penn Center and Museum on St. Helena Island, South Carolina.

The results of this research are presented in a narrative and interpretative form and in the spirit of Lightfoot's technique, "portraiture".

Lightfoot (1983), studied six schools with one question in mind: What makes a good school? She used portraiture to demonstrate how the cultures and characters of these schools emerged. One does not find statistics and controlled experiments in such a study. Lightfoot makes a distinction between what she calls "pure research" and her method, "portraiture":

> In the former, the investigator behaves in a counter-intuitive manner, always the consummate skeptic. He or she tries not to let personal inclinations shape the inquiry. Portraiture, on the other hand, permits these same inclinations to flourish, admits the shaping of the artist, and is less concerned with anticipated problems of replication" (p. 14).

The Design of the Study

This study is a historical analysis of the impact of selected teachers on education for blacks in coastal South Carolina from 1862 to 1970. The original intent of this research was to select only black teachers who were involved in education for blacks in South Carolina beginning in 1862 and ending with the impact of the Civil Rights Movement. This was due to the researcher's assumption that the role of the white teachers had been placed in historical perspective. However, the purpose and intent of this research changed to include both black and white teachers as primary sources were

discovered and as the focus of this research was narrowed to coastal South Carolina. Although the first school was opened at Fort Monroe, Virginia it did not survive as a common school. The Penn School organized in 1862 served as the only elementary and secondary school on Saint Helena Island until 1948. In 1948 state and local authorities decided to build a public school and the Penn School became the Penn Community and Cultural Center. It still survives today as a community and cultural center. South Carolina was chosen because the Sea Islands and some of the coastal areas in South Carolina were liberated and were under Union control by 1862. South Carolina was also among the four former Confederate states that legally sanctioned integrated schools during Reconstruction. Thus this area became the initial focus of those educators, reformers, and missionaries who believed that the most urgent need was to establish schools so that the freedmen could be educated. The objective of the initial search for primary sources was to find journals, diaries, letters, and school records of black teachers who had taught at the Penn School. However, it soon became apparent that the Penn School survived because there were also white teachers whose lives were wholly dedicated to the survival of the school. All of the eight teachers, who were selected for this study, taught in coastal South Carolina. Seven of the teachers were selected because they were involved in providing education for blacks

in coastal South Carolina in spite of local opposition and lack of public support. The eighth teacher, Septima Clark, was chosen because her career spanned the period from World War I to the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s. Furthermore, she was a graduate of Avery Institute, organized in 1862 in Charleston, South Carolina. All eight of the teachers were chosen because there were school records, journals, letters, and autobiographies that were available to provide some insight and answers to the research questions that were the focus of this study.

This Chapter has dealt with an overview of the study. Chapter Two reviews related literature and the key primary sources that were used in this study. Eight teachers were the focus of this historical analysis and were divided chronologically into two groups. These chronological divisions provided the framework and rationale for Chapters Three and Four. In these chapters, the role and impact of each chronological group of teachers was discussed and analyzed by looking at the historical setting, background and recruitment, educational philosophy and curriculum, their roles as social and political catalysts and, where applicable, the influence of philantrophic foundations on their educational endeavors. In Chapter Five the summary, conclusions, and implications are given.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

The review of literature is presented to delineate major differences of interpretation, view point, and historiographical trends in scholarly studies related to this research. The review discusses five germane topics: the history of education for blacks, the Freedmen's Bureau and Reconstruction, educational foundations and black education, contemporary critics of education, and primary sources.

The History of Education for Blacks

The earliest attempt to write a comprehensive history of education for blacks before the Civil War was Carter G. Woodson's The education of the Negro prior to 1861, (1915). Woodson, a black historian with a doctorate in history and government from Harvard University, organized the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History in 1915, and also served as the editor of the association's journal, The Journal of Negro History. Woodson's work is a comprehensive survey of efforts to establish formal schooling for blacks by blacks, abolition societies, and religious and philantropic organizations. It is readily apparent to the reader of Woodson's work that he wrote and was influenced by the Progressive historians who turned to history for lessons from the past that could be used to help Americans cope with the

problems and challenges of an industrialized and urbanized society. Woodson believed that sound historical research could play a role in eliminating prejudice and demonstrate that blacks had been active citizens and participants in American society. Woodson was an excellent researcher and always made extensive use of primary sources.

Two of the basic issues that were of concern to both blacks and whites in 1862 and into the twentieth century were: (1) What kind of education was best for blacks? (2) Should education for blacks extend beyond the elementary level? In regard to the first question, some agreed with Booker T. Washington, the black President of Tuskegee Institute, that the emphasis should be on agricultural education and vocational skills (Washington, 1901). William E. B. DuBois, the first black to earn a doctorate from Harvard University, was the most articulate spokesman for the anti-Washington position (DuBois, 1903). His position was that blacks are human beings and citizens of America and should be given the same opportunities as all Americans. He believed that if blacks were not given the opportunity to attend liberal arts colleges that the "talented tenth" would not be trained. According to DuBois the "talented tenth" were the elite of the race in intelligence and leadership, and this talented elite could not be developed and trained in vocational and agricultural schools. DuBois continued to advocate this thesis until his death in 1963. Further

exploration of these issues and the debate between these two black educators can be achieved by reading Louis Harlan, Booker T. Washington: The making of a black leader (1972) and Francis Boderick, W. E. DuBois, Negro leader in time of crisis (1959).

Most of the attempts to chronicle the development of black public education continue to analyze the two questions just outlined. Until 1967 the most comprehensive history of black education was Horace Bond's, The education of the Negro in the American social order (1934). Bond discussed and analyzed the relation between the attempt to provide education for blacks and the existing social and political order. However, Bond did not share the progressive hope of Woodson that education was the panacea. In 1967 Henry Bullock wrote A history of Negro education in the South, 1619 to the present. His work begins with the development of public schools during the period of Reconstruction and is also an attempt to test what Bullock refers to as a theory of history:

> My work has been made to hang heavily upon the concept of historical accident. I have done so because I believe that the changes in American race relations which we are now experiencing are the result of a 'sneak attack' directed by the larger purpose of human society against the biases of individuals and through the force of a segregated educational system that was never created for such an end (Bullock, p. viii).

Another important thesis of Bullock is that expanding educational opportunity for blacks since the Civil War provided

the leadership for the desegregation process since the 1954 Brown Decision, a process that began with the Civil War and Reconstruction.

A survey of books on the history of American education indicates that Bullock's rejection of education as the liberating force for blacks and the cure-all for the social ills of America has been one of the theses of several books published since 1954 on American education and black education. Harlan (1958) analyzed the relationship between southern racism and northern philanthrophic foundations and the development of the public school systems in Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia. Harlan concentrated on one foundation, the Southern Education Board, and demonstrated that educational reform without other strategies did not make blacks first class citizens or insure separate and equal schools. Although Harlan belongs to the C. Vann Woodward School of Southerners who have written about Southern problems and regional conflict, he also belongs to those historians of American education who have moved away from the thesis that the public school has been or is the panacea. These historians, Tyack (1967), Perkinson (1968), Cremin (1969), Carnoy (1974), Spivey (1978), and Joel Spring (1976, 1987), share a common thesis. They all see the public school not as the byproduct of a natural evolutionary process that was inevitable, but they see the history of the school in America as the narrative of how

the school has adapted to social change. Another current theme especially in the attempts to analyze the development of black education is the work of Franklin and Anderson (1978) that advocates, "focus primarily upon the education of Afro-American communities, leaders, and professionals" (p. 14). Most of the literature mentioned in this section of the review of literature sees the Reconstruction Era as one of the turning points or watersheds in the history of American education.

The Freedmen's Bureau and Reconstruction

There are many books that provide some insight into the educational efforts attempted in the Confederate states and later during Reconstruction. Most of these studies cover the period 1865-1877. John Eaton's Grant, Lincoln, and the freedmen (1907) provided the researcher with some insight into the origin of the Freedmen's Bureau and some of its early efforts. Eaton was the Assistant Commissioner for Tennessee. The pioneer study of the Freedmen's Bureau was Paul Peirce's The Freedmen's Bureau: A chapter in the history of Reconstruction (1904). In 1916 Laura Webster published The operation of the Freedmen's Bureau in South Carolina (Reprinted in 1970). Since World War II a number of studies have been published that deal with the Freedmen's Bureau and its activities. Most of these studies have made extensive use of the primary sources in the National Archives relating to the activities of the Freedmen's Bureau. George Bentley's A history of the Freedmen's Bureau (1955) deals specifically in Chapters

Twelve--Fourteen with the role and impact of the Bureau on black education. Bentley's thesis is that the early efforts to provide schools for blacks would have failed if it had not been for the Freedmen's Bureau and that the Bureau's efforts were significant since it had to work in a hostile environment. In 1968 William McFleely wrote Yankee stepfather: General O. Howard and the freedmen. Howard was head of the Freedmen's Bureau, and McFleely depicts him as a good-natured paternalistic reformer who came South with a messianic complex. However, the Freedmen's Bureau and Howard were assisted in their efforts in the area of education by benevolent and missionary organizations from the North.

Augustus Beard's A crusade of brotherhood: A history of the American Missionary Association (1909) is a complementary account of the motivation and accomplishments of the teachers and leaders of the association who were involved in the great experiment. It is especially valuable because it provided the researcher with some insight into the aims and messianic purpose of the teachers and the association. Although Henry Swint was critical of the union and Northern "do-gooders", his study, The Northern teacher in the South 1862-1870 (1941) is a valuable resource. It provides the reader with some insight into the motivation of the teachers and how they were received in the South. James McPherson's The struggle for equality: Abolitionists and the Negro in the Civil War and Reconstruction (1964) discusses the involvement of abolitionists in black education in Chapters Seven and Fourteen.

John Forest sheds some light on the educational efforts of the Freedmen's Bureau from the perspective of a union officer (A Union officer in the Reconstruction. 1948). Recent works on the American Missionary Association have utilized the available primary sources on the association, and these works also discuss the role of blacks on the work and mission of the American Missionary Association. Among these works are: Knighton Stanley, The children is crying: Congregationalism among black people (1979), and Joe Martin Richardson, Christian reconstruction: The American Missionary Association and Southern Blacks 1861-1890 (1986).

Edgar W. Knight discusses education in the South from the Southern viewpoint and discusses black education as an aside in many of his works. His works that were relevant for this study were: The influence of Reconstruction in the South (1913), Reconstruction and education in South Carolina (South Atlantic Quarterly, 1919), and Public education in the South (1922). Two other writers have published works that are more balanced in their treatment. These two works provide the reader with a picture of the schools, their administration and curriculum. The two works are: Robert C. Morris, Reading, Writing, and Reconstruction: The Education of freedmen in the South, 1861-1870 (1976) and Ronald Butchart, Northern schools Southern blacks and Reconstruction 1862-1875 (1980). Both Butchart and Morris agree that the teachers from the North had lofty goals but at the same time these teachers

approached their work from a paternalistic perspective. Both Butchart and Morris also discuss the impact of Northern industrialization and urbanization of the "educational missionaries" from the North. C. Vann Woodard, Equality, America's deferred commitment (American Scholar, 1958) and John Hope Franklin, Jim Crow goes to school: The genesis of legal segregation in Southern schools (South Atlantic Quarterly, (1959) discuss the development of segregated schools. Although South Carolina and three other Southern states made integrated schools legal during Reconstruction, most schools, in actuality, remained segregated.

There are many excellent studies that provide background information on South Carolina, its free black population, and the political realities that confronted those who were involved in the effort to provide a system of education for blacks. Among these works are: Edward Sweat, Some notes on the role of Negroes in the establishment of public schools in South Carolina, (Phylon, 1961), Willie Lee Rose, Rehearsal for Reconstruction: The Port Royal Experiment (1964), Joel Williamson, After slavery: The Negro in South Carolina during Reconstruction (1965), Sawyer, The National Education Association and Negro education 1865-1884 (Journal of Negro Education, 1970), George B. Tindall, South Carolina Negroes 1877-1900 (1973), and Thomas Holt, Black over white: Negro political leadership in South Carolina during Reconstruction (1977).

Sweat documents the fact that the blacks who served in the South Carolina legislature during Reconstruction were overt lobbyists and supporters for a system of public education in South Carolina. Rose's study is an intensive analysis of the Port Royal Experiment, and Rose's thesis is that the attempts on the Sea Islands to use the freedmen as laborers and the early efforts to establish schools became the blueprints for many of the ideas that we associate with congressional reconstruction. Sawyer's monograph reveals that the National Education Association in speeches and resolutions supported the effort to establish public schools in the South. However, the National Education Association often compromised on the issue of race and did not challenge the separate but unequal schools for blacks. Tindall's book is an analysis and discussion of blacks in South Carolina after the end of Reconstruction to the beginning of the twentieth century. A major thesis of Tindall is that the withdrawal of federal troops from the South did not mean the sudden end of black participation in local politics in South Carolina. However, he also demonstrates how segregation gradually became the reality. Tindall documents the creation of a separate but unequal school system in South Carolina. While Tindall concentrated on the period after Reconstruction, Williamson concentrated on the period of Reconstruction in South Carolina, and Williamson's thesis is that it was an outside political power that assured blacks that they were free. Furthermore,

Williamson demonstrates that the process of Reconstruction was a complex one for both blacks and whites. Holt's work is an exhaustive analysis of black participation in political affairs in South Carolina during the period of Reconstruction. This study was useful because it provided insight into the role that black politicians played in the debate over public schools. In addition to black politicians and Northern charitable and religious organizations educational foundations often influenced the progress or lack of progress in the effort to provide a system of public education for blacks.

Educational Foundations and Education for Blacks

Educational foundations often served as advocates for a system of public education for blacks. George Peabody, a wealthy merchant and financier, established the Peabody Fund in 1867. The purpose of his foundation was to encourage the development of moral, intellectual, and industrial education for young people in the destitute areas of the South. Between 1867 and 1914 the Peabody Fund invested approximately 3.5 million dollars for these purposes in the South. John F. Slater, a textile manufacturer from Norwich, Connecticut was motivated by the work of the Peabody Fund to establish the Slater Fund. The Slater Fund supported teacher training programs and public schools in the South. J. L. M. Curry served as a consultant for both the Peabody and the Slater Funds. Curry's Difficulties, complications, and limitations connected with the education of the Negro (1895) and A history of the

Peabody Education Fund through thirty years (1898) were useful because Curry discusses the problems and the difficulties encountered as the educational foundations attempted to assist black educational institutions in the South. Curry's account also indicates that he and the philanthropists that he served shared the racial views that were common at the time and approached the problems of black education from a paternalistic posture. Curry also worked closely with the Southern Education Board which brought together many of the Northern philanthropists who were interested in selling the idea of the common school in the South.

In 1902 John D. Rockefeller established the General Education Board. One of the major objectives of this board was to support education in the South and to promote education without regard to race, creed, or sex. Another important fund was the Anna Jeanes Fund established in 1907. Wright, The Negro Rural School Fund, Inc., 1907-1933 (1933) and Jones, The Jeanes teacher in the United States (1937) provide insight into the development of black education in the rural South and also note the role played by individual teachers. Leavell, Philanthropy in Negro education (1930) is a good general treatment of the subject. Two other works also proved useful in understanding the role of the foundations: Rubin, Teach the Freedmen: Rutherford Hayes and the Slater Fund (1959), Fosdick, Adventure in giving: The story of the General Education Board (1962). Many of these same

philanthropists organized the Southern Education Board as a cooperative venture on behalf of public education in the South. Charles Dabney's Universal education in the South, Vol. 2 (1936) is still the most comprehensive analysis of the work of the Southern Education Board. Dabney's account describes the efforts of the Southern Education Board to promote the common school in the South. Harlan (1958) supports the above thesis but another thesis is that the Southern Education Board encouraged discrimination against blacks and a separate school system. The Southern Education Board was organized in 1901 by Northern philanthropists and some Southern educators to lobby and encourage Southern acceptance of the public school. Many of the philanthropists and agents that were associated with the Peabody, Slater, General Education Board, and the Jeanes Fund were also active in the new effort. They hoped to do what the reformers and missionaries of the Reconstruction Era had not been able to do. They were sure that with the right strategy they could confront Southern racism and in the process also encourage white Southern support for black public education.

Contemporary Critics of Education

Many of the contemporary critics of education for the oppressed and minorities maintain that the reason contemporary educational efforts fail is because the schools emphasize and teach that which cannot be reconciled with reality (Goodman, 1966; Kohl, 1969; Freire, 1971; Illich,

1974; and Carnoy, 1974). Goodman believes that education must be voluntary and self-motivated and that contemporary public schools present students with useless knowledge. Kohl's solution is the open classroom where students can discover themselves and teachers can be spontaneous and co-experimentors with their students. Freire believes that contemporary education fails the poor and the oppressed because the school is simply a place where students' minds are filled with information. He calls this the "banking" concept of education. Furthermore, Freire contends that knowledge is independent and not related to the students or the world in which they live. Illich believes that contemporary schools fail because they do not provide students with skills and a humane education. He proposes to reform the school by establishing resource centers and skill exchange networks. Carnoy's analysis and critique are focused not only on the United States but also on oppressed people in other parts of the world. His thesis is that education cannot be a vehicle for liberation since it is the tool used by the dominant class to control the underclass. There are critics of contemporary education who have turned to curriculum frameworks and epistemological questions to critique what happens in the school.

Kohlberg and Mayer (1972) present a convincing case for a framework that comes naturally out of the progressive tradition which they call a cognitive-developmental strategy.

They also demonstrate the fallacy of value neutrality and value relativism. Instead, their strategy accepts the reality of values based on rational ethical principles. Lamm (1972) contends that the role that the school plays in socialization and individualization should be critiqued and understood by analyzing the epistemological dimensions of contemporary curriculum frameworks. Macdonald (1974) believed that the schools should help students to transcend technology by turning inward and seeing themselves as important and creative. Macdonald's transcendental developmental ideology is best approached through what he calls a dual dialectical process. A dialect exists not only between the individual and his environment but also within the individual himself. Being out of touch with one's self is alienation; therefore, the schools must help students to understand themselves. These contemporary critics are also futurists because they are anticipating a future for which society will not be prepared because current educational methods do not meet the needs of the oppressed and minorities.

Primary Sources

The analysis of the primary sources available for this study provide significant insights and perspectives on black education in South Carolina. The primary sources used for this study were mainly the autobiographies, journals, and diaries of teachers both black and white who believed that if blacks were educated it would convince southern whites that

blacks were human. One of the most valuable primary sources for this study was the papers of the American Missionary Association housed at the Amistad Research Center in New Orleans, Louisiana and available on microfilm at the South Carolina Department of Archives and History in Columbia, South Carolina. In addition to these papers this researcher discovered other valuable primary sources in the South Carolina Archives: Freedmen's Bureau Papers (on microfilm), Teachers' Reports to the State Superintendents of Education, and Superintendent of Education Letterbooks, 1865-1890, 1871-1877, 1897-1904.

There are several state and federal reports, reports of governmental officials, and minutes of the South Carolina legislature that have been useful in this study. These sources have provided the researcher with much information regarding black education as a political issue, and the most useful of these sources for this study were: Third semi-annual Report on schools for freedmen (1867), Records of the Assistant Commissioner for The State of South Carolina, Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, 1865-1870, Proceedings of tHe Constitutional Convention of S. C. beginning January 14 and ending March 17, 1868, and Legal status of the colored population in respect to schools and education in the different states (In Henry Barnard, Special report of the Commissioner of Education on the improvement of public schools in the District of Columbia, 1871).

The first federal effort to provide some type of education for blacks was the Port Royal Experiment on the Sea Island in coastal South Carolina. Rehearsal for Reconstruction: The Port Royal Experiment (Rose, 1964) is still the most comprehensive study and analysis of the experiment. It provided vital clues to primary sources and also helped this researcher to understand why the first private efforts to establish schools for blacks were started on St. Helena Island. The Penn School on St. Helena Island survived the end of Reconstruction, and five of the six teachers that are discussed in Chapter Three taught at the Penn School.

The journals and diaries that were useful in looking at the Penn School and at some of the teachers who taught there from 1862 to 1915 were: Elizabeth Botume, First days amongst the contrabands (1893), Charlotte Forten, The journal of Charlotte Forten (Billington, editor, 1961), Letters from Port Royal written at the time of the Civil War (Elizabeth Pearson, editor, 1906), Laura Towne, Letters and diary of Laura M. Towne: Written from the Sea Islands of South Carolina, 1862-1863 (Rupert Holland, editor, reprinted, 1969), Towne, Pioneer work on the Sea Islands (July 1901), Rosa Belle Cooley, Service to Penn School (1917), Cooley, Home of the freed (1926), and Cooley, School acres: An adventure in rural education (1930). At the Penn Center this researcher had access to the Penn School reports miscellaneous 1890-1925. These reports provided information about

the development of the curriculum, the leadership of the school, and its involvement in the endeavor to provide a system of public education for blacks in Beaufort County.

The following primary sources were valuable in assessing the role and impact of selected teachers on black education in coastal South Carolina from 1915 to 1970. The Penn School reports miscellaneous 1890-1926 and the books and articles written by Cooley (1917, 1926, and 1930) shed light on events and the impact of teachers at the Penn School during this period. Then there are the interviews, articles, and autobiography of Septima Clark who was trained at the Avery Institute in Charleston, South Carolina. The Avery Institute was organized by the American Missionary Association with the help of blacks in Charleston who had been a part of the antebellum free black community. She later studied at Columbia University and taught in schools in Charleston, Columbia, and St. John's Island, South Carolina until she was fired in the 1950s because of her political activism. She then became an active organizer for the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and an advocate of the Highlander School in Tennessee. She took the educational philosophy and techniques of the Highlander School and organized citizenship schools for adult blacks during the decades of the fifties and sixties. The following sources were helpful in depicting the impact of this black educator who lived through several periods of great change: Septima Clark, Echo in my soul (1962), Clark,

Literacy and liberation (1964), and Ready from within: Septima Clark and the Civil Rights Movement (edited by Cynthia Brown 1986).

It is interesting to note that since 1954 many of the issues that were debated during the Reconstruction Era have again come into focus. Among these issues are: (1) What kinds of curricula and teaching methods will create conditions whereby all black students regardless of socio-economic level may learn? (2) Do blacks and whites differ in their intellectual capacity? (3) Does access to public education ensure social and economic changes that will benefit blacks? In Chapter Three we begin our search for perspectives and insights from the past through an interpretative analysis of the work and personal accounts of selected teachers in South Carolina from 1862 to 1915.

CHAPTER III

AN INTERPRETATIVE ANALYSIS OF SELECTED TEACHERS 1862 to 1915

Historical Milieu: Reconstruction, Reaction, Adjustment

The year 1862 was significant for South Carolina, for the later Reconstruction of the South, and for the black quest for education. However, this could not be foreseen by blacks or whites in South Carolina in the fall of 1861 as Union troops successfully invaded the coast of South Carolina. It was ironic that these troops landed on the Sea Islands around the Port Royal Sound since there were large numbers of slaves in this area who worked large rice and cotton plantations. The owners of these plantations and slaves were the personification of the planter aristocracy. Plantation owners on the Sea Islands were an apprehensive elite group because the slave population outnumbered the white population. As a result, the slaves in the low country enjoyed a measure of freedom and independence that their counterparts in the high country or inland did not enjoy. They were allowed to cultivate small plots of land and to raise some livestock. When it became apparent that a federal invasion was imminent the planters on the Sea Islands began to leave and made plans for their slaves to move inland with them. While some of the

slaves went willingly, there were many slaves who, after hearing rumors about the approaching invasion, hid in the woods or simply refused to go with their masters.

The commanding officers of the federal force that invaded the Islands had instructions to protect the planters and their property. However, the planters' fear and suspicion of the Union army and the slaves' desire for freedom encouraged revolutionary changes. As soon as the masters left their plantations the slaves returned to them. Just as in other periods of conflict and war, rumors, fears, suspicion, and the necessity of those on the scene to deal with immediate concerns initiated changes that had not been planned or envisioned. As the number of runaway slaves increased and as they began to attach themselves to the federal troops, it became necessary to establish some sort of policy and order. On February 6, 1862 General Sherman issued the following order from Hilton Head, South Carolina:

> Therefore until proper legislation on the subject, or until orders from a higher authority, the country in occupation of the forces of this command will be divided into districts of convenient size for proper superintendence. For each of these districts a suitable agent will be appointed to superintend the management of the plantations by the blacks; to enroll and organize the willing blacks into working parties; to see that they are fed, clad, and paid a proper renumeration for their labor; to take charge of all property on the plantations, whether found there, provided by the government, or counsel from the soil, and to perform all other administrative duties connected with the plantations that may be required by the government.

Here was the beginning of a strategy to deal with the large numbers of blacks who were destitute and bored. The government moved immediately to cultivate the cotton and the Treasury Department sent as its special agent, Edward L. Pierce, to organize the blacks and to use their labor to cultivate the cotton and to expedite its shipping from the Sea Island (Pearson, 1969, pp. v-ix). However, Pierce was interested in more than cultivating and shipping the cotton.

In response to the seriousness of Sherman's Order of 1862 Pierce requested that teachers should be brought in to work with the freedmen and that necessary supplies should be provided. Many Northerners who had formerly worked with abolition groups now began to use their energy to organize Freedmen's Aid Societies. Religious groups organized ecumenical organizations such as the New England Freedmen's Aid Society and the Pennsylvania Freedmen's Relief Association to respond to Pierce's request. Some religious groups. organized before the war to advocate abolitionism, now turned their attention to aiding the freedmen. The most prominent example of such a group was the American Missionary Association, organized in Albany, New York in 1847 as a non-denominational home and foreign missionary society. In home missions the association concerned itself with the Indians and Southern whites and had established the first school for freedmen at Fort Monroe, Virginia in 1861 (AMA Papers, Beard, 1909).

In response to Pierce's request, the American Missionary Association along with the other groups collected supplies and began to recruit teachers to go to the South. Wiley (1938) described the first group:

> The first group of those so commissioned, thirty-one in number, set sail from New York on March 3, 1862. The government made them an allowance of transportation, food, and quarters. Their respective societies paid them salaries of from twenty-five to fifty dollars a month, with the exception of a very few who paid their own expenses. These teachers and superintendents had been carefully selected on the basis of their "enthusiasm and good sense [p. 179].

By the summer of 1862 ninety-three men and women were at work on the islands of South Carolina. They had all been commissioned by Northern benevolent and religious organizations (Pearson, p. vii). Most of these individuals served as teachers, but many of them also served as superintendents. They were not superintendents of education; they were superintendents of blacks who were involved in agricultural pursuits and other economic endeavors. Congress in 1862 decided to remove the administration of the occupied areas in South Carolina from the Treasury Department to the Department of War. This did not have any effect on the teachers; however, those who were serving as superintendents were placed on the federal payroll (Pierce, 1863, p. 300). The federal government would eventually involve itself more directly in these events.

On March 3, 1865 Congress established in the War Department the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands

(Acts and Resolutions, 38 Congress, 2 Session, p. 96, cited in Fleming, 1904). Congress delegated to the Freedmen's Bureau the direction and supervision of all affairs relating to refugees and freedmen. In May 1865, Major General Oliver Otis Howard was appointed as Commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau, a position he held until the Bureau was dissolved in 1872. This first Freedmen's Bureau Act also authorized the president, with the approval of Congress, to appoint assistant commissioners who were later instructed by General Howard to designate one officer in each former confederate state as Superintendent of Schools. The superintendents were instructed to supervise the education of freedmen and refugees, protect and maintain schools, and encourage benevolent societies to support schools by providing teachers and other resources. In October 1865 in an effort toward centralizing the educational efforts of the Freedmen's Bureau, Howard appointed the Reverend John W. Alvord as the Inspector of Finances and Schools. In 1867 Alvord was relieved of his financial responsibilities and given the title of General Superintendent of Education. However, the efforts of the Bureau in the area of education were hampered by a lack of funds. This was remedied somewhat by the Second Freedmen's Bureau Act passed by Congress on July 16, 1866.

Two sections of this Act directly affected black education in South Carolina. The two sections were:

> The "school farms" shall be sold and the proceeds of said sales shall be invested in United States bonds, the interest of which shall be appropriated, under the direction of the Commissioner, to the support of schools, without distinction of color or race, on the islands in the parishes of St. Helena and St. Luke (Acts and Resolutions. 39 Congress, 1 Session, p. 191. cited in Fleming, pp. 321-326).

> The Commissioner of this bureau shall at all times cooperate with private benevolent associations of citizens in aid of freedmen, and with agents and teachers, duly accredited and appointed by them, and shall hire or provide by lease, buildings for purposes of education whenever such associations shall, without cost to the Government, provide suitable teachers and means of instruction; and he shall furnish with protection as may be required for the safe conduct of such schools (Acts of Congress, cited in Fleming, p. 325).

Prior to the Civil War the only free schools in South Carolina were schools for poor white children whose parents could not provide any type of education for them. Now with the help of the Bureau and benevolent societies the state of South Carolina began to establish and lay the foundation for a system of public education. The Bureau was responsible for the appointment of a Philadelphian, Reuben Tomlinson, as Superintendent of Schools in South Carolina in 1865 (Webster, 1916, p. 63). These Bureau schools were usually opposed by local whites who generally believed that blacks would not work if they were educated. On the other hand, there is evidence that some whites realized that an educated black would make a better worker. In those areas of the state where this latter view was the case, white opposition was to the Northern teachers who taught in the schools.

Among the schools established during this period was the Avery Institute begun by the American Missionary Association in Charleston, South Carolina and the Penn School on Saint Helena Island, supervised by Laura Towne, and supported by the Pennsylvanian branch of the Freedmen's Union Commission. After Congress passed the Freedmen's Bureau Act many of the religious groups that had supported ecumenical efforts withdrew their support and formed their own societies. As a result, by 1865 the American Missionary Society was almost wholly supported by the Congregational Church. At a meeting of the National Board of the Congregational Church in 1865 it was decided that the group would contribute 250,000 dollars to aid the freedmen in the South (Stanley, 1979, p. 24).

It also seems that some of the religious groups were encouraged to withdraw from the ecumenical efforts and establish their own societies by the Second Freedmen's Aid Bill. Therefore, on August 7, 1866, a group of Methodist, including both ministers and laymen, met at Trinity Methodist Episcopal Church in Cincinnati, Ohio. "In pursuance with a call, a convention of ministers and laymen met this day, at 2 o'clock p.m. in Trinity Methodist Episcopal Church, Cincinnati, Ohio, to confer in regard to the work of relief and education required in behalf of the freedmen" (Report of the Freedmen's Aid Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, August 7, 1866, p. 5). Reverend J. M. Walden, Secretary of the 1866 meeting explained that if the Methodists established their

own organization they would be able to staff their schools with Methodist teachers and this would make the blacks more receptive to their missionary efforts. Another incentive that Walden mentioned was the fact that according to the Freedmen's Bureau Bill the government had indicated that it would provide independent aid societies with school buildings if they paid the salaries of the teachers.

In John De Forest's account of his work and experiences as an official of the Freedmen's Bureau at Greenville, South Carolina from 1866 to 1867, there is mention of Methodist workers who were first sent out by state and local Freedmen's Aid Societies. De Forest described the faith that blacks had in the efficacy of education for their children: "The most hopeful sign in the negro was his anxiety to have his children educated. The two or three hundred boys and girls whom I used to see around the Bureau schoolhouse--attired with a decency which had strained to the utmost the slender parental purse...." (116).

De Forest also described the work of Charles Hopkins, a black ordained Methodist minister, who on his own initiative had started a school for blacks in an abandoned hotel in 1866. Hopkins was able to get help and payment as a teacher from the New York Freedmen's Aid Society. The hotel was later reclaimed by its owners and the school was closed for a short period of time. De Forest then appealed to the Freedmen's Bureau for help. By 1866 there were three hundred

students attending Hopkins' school. By the fall of 1866 Hopkins was receiving a salary of $25.00 a month from the Methodist Church's Freedmen's Aid Society. Hopkins was the leader in the Greenville area upon whom the Freedmen's Bureau and its officials depended. In addition to individual religious groups like the Methodists who were supporting their own educational efforts in the South some secular organizations such as the National Education Association were also interested in what was happening in the South.

Four months after General Robert E. Lee surrendered, the National Education Association in a meeting at Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, passed a resolution stating that education should be a part of the reconstruction of the South. Sawyer (1970) in a study of the National Education Association and the problem of Negro education after the Civil War demonstrates that the Association at all of its meetings between 1865 and 1884 expressed concern about black education and the establishment of a system of public education in the South. By the time the National Education Association expressed its concern openly the educational efforts had already begun as indicated in 1862; however, Sawyer in her study states that the Association gave respectability to the educational efforts in the South. This aura of respectability did not matter to most white Southerners because they saw the efforts to educate blacks as an attempt to interfere in the internal affairs of the states and as a

strategy to destroy their Southern "way of life". Most white Southerners were not in favor of public education because it would mean they would have to pay high taxes to support such schools. The passage of the Congressional Plan of Reconstruction in March 1867 changed the course of events.

The Congressional Plan of Reconstruction divided the South into five military districts with federal troops assigned to each of the districts. The troops were to maintain order and to protect blacks. New state constitutions were to be written and the right to vote was to be exercised by all blacks who were qualified to vote. This was especially significant for South Carolina since the black population outnumbered the white population. When elections were held a large number of blacks were elected to the South Carolina legislature. Holt (1977) has done a thorough analysis of the blacks who served in the legislature in South Carolina during Reconstruction and his study concludes that seventy-four black Republicans were elected to the House and ten black Republicans were elected to the Senate in South Carolina in 1868 (Holt, p. 97). These blacks used their positions to advocate a system of public education not only for blacks but for all citizens of South Carolina. This was especially significant according to Holt:

> There is ample evidence of both black domination and the exercise of controls over black leadership by the white minority. South Carolina was unique among the reconstructed states in that blacks constituted about 60 percent of the population. This population advantage was converted into a substantial numerical

> advantage in the legislature, where Negroes held a two-to-one majority in the lower house and a clear majority on joint ballot of House and Senate throughout the nine year period of Reconstruction. During this same period they held the office of secretary of state (from 1868-1877), lieutenant governor and adjutant general (after 1870) secretary of treasury, speaker of the house, and president pro tem of the Senate after 1872 (p. 95).

During the Constitutional Convention that met in Charleston, South Carolina in 1868, Governor Orr addressed the assembly on what he considered to be important issues that the delegates should consider as they began to write a new constitution for the state. He stressed that the state needed a system of common schools. However, Knight (1913) in his study of the influence of Reconstruction on education in the South concluded that no significance should be attached to the fact that the Governor mentioned common schools: "Practically every executive had from as early as 1811 until as late as the fifties dealt at more or less length on the subject" (Knight, p. 65). What was significant in the Governor's speech was his suggestion that the legislature pass a capita-tax to support a system of integrated schools. When the Committee on Education was organized, a black, Francis Cardozo was elected as the Chairperson. The constitutional convention approved the establishment of "mixed" schools, a tax to support schools, compulsory attendance, a six month term as the minimum session, and a superintendent who would be elected (Knight, pp. 70-71). The sentiment of many white citizens of South Carolina was expressed in a petition sent to Congress in 1868:

> Intelligence, virtue, and patriotism are to give place, in all elections, to ignorance, stupidity and vice. The superior race is to be made subservient to the inferior. Taxation and representation are no longer to be united. They who own no property are to levy taxes and make all appropriations. The property-holders have to pay these taxes without having any voice in levying them. The consequences will be, in effect, confiscation. The appropriations to support free schools for the education of the negro children, for the support of old negroes in the poor houses, and the vicious in jails and penitentiary, together with a standing army of negro soldiers, will be utterly ruinous to the state (Fleming, pp. 455-456).

The whites also asserted in the petition that they would, through every means possible, keep working until they were able to regain political control. With the presidential election of 1876 they did regain control of the state. By the fall of 1876 the Democrats in many of the former confederate states had reasserted themselves and had begun to regain control of the state and local elections. They were determined as the time for the presidential election approached that they were going to elect a president who would be willing to return political control to local Democrats and who would withdraw all federal troops from the South. The Democratic candidate was the wealthy corporate lawyer, James Blaine, and the Republican candidate was Rutherford B. Hayes. Blaine won a majority of the popular vote, but he failed to get a majority of the votes in the Electoral College.

There were twenty contested electoral votes from states such as South Carolina, Florida, and Louisiana. Blaine needed only one of these votes to win. The problem was that in these three states, the Democrats and the Republicans were claiming

that their candidate had won the presidential election. The issue had to be decided by a committee appointed by Congress. It appears that the Republicans and their candidate Hayes made a deal with southern Democrats to get them to support the committee's recommendation that the disputed electoral votes be given to Hayes (Williamson, 1965 and Tindall, 1973). The Democrats in South Carolina called themselves "Redeemers" and current research indicates that they used tricks and illegal measures to ensure a Democratic majority. They were able to unseat the Republican governor Chamberlain and to get Hampton, a Democrat, elected in 1876. The Republicans kept their promise and federal troops were withdrawn from the South. Williamson describes the process that led to the withdrawal of federal troops:

> The position of the Republicans was gradually undermined. Of primary importance was the refusal of the great mass of taxpayers to support the Republican regime, instead paying a portion of their taxes--at Hampton's request--to his officers. Without positive federal intervention, this alone would have caused the fall of the Chamberlain government. Early in April, both Hampton and Chamberlain went to Washington, and conferred with President Hayes. Shortly after they returned, the federal garrison was withdrawn, and every major department passed into the control of the Democracy (p. 412).

Thus, the first Democratic superintendent of education took office on May 1, 1877, in South Carolina. Legally and technically the school system was six years old when this first Democrat assumed control. As stated earlier, the State Constitution of 1868 included a statement that required the state to establish a system of public education to which both

races were to have access. Tindall cogently describes what had been the situation since 1868:

> Justus K. Jillson, a white Republican from Massachusetts, was elected state superintendent in 1868 and served until 1876. By an act of 1868 Jillson was authorized to conduct a census of the youths from five to eighteen years of age. Beyond that nothing substantial was done until the enactment of the school law of 1870, which provided for boards of county examiners and popularly elected district trustees. The system was to be financed by poll taxes, legislative appropriations, and voluntary local taxation. Because of defects in the law Jillson's position was little more than that of a clerk distributing funds and gathering such statistics as he could get rather than that of superintendent of a state system (p. 210).

In spite of the paucity of monetary support, Jillson managed to establish a system that included over two thousand schools (Reports and Resolutions [1876-1877], pp. 339, 341, cited in Tindall, p. 210). Thompson, the new superintendent, had a difficult job. On the one hand there were many whites in South Carolina who were opposed to the system because they believed that it had been forced on them by the federal government and the Radical Republicans. On the other hand there were also those who were opposed to the system because they did not believe that it was the responsibility of the state government to tax people to support public education. Many Northerners breathed a sigh of relief, for they were weary of trying to keep the peace in the South and protecting blacks. Many Northerners believed Wade Hampton and the other "Redeemers" when they stated that they were going to treat blacks fairly. Many Northerners and black South Carolinians believed the new governor when he made statements such as the

following:

> I feel assured that if the colored people of the state would come out, and see and hear for themselves, there will be thousands and tens of thousands, like the colored men of Abbeville, that will join the democratic party in this State. I give them the word of a man, who neither friend nor foe can say ever broke that word, that if I am elected governor of South Carolina, I shall be the governor of the whole state; I shall render to the whole people of this state equal and impartial justice (House Misc. Documents, no. 31, 44 Congress, p. 307, cited in Fleming, p. 411).

The period from 1877 to 1915 was one of accommodation, adjustment, and disappointment. Discrimination was still a fact of life for blacks in America and especially in the South. This was also a period when black leaders could not agree on a common strategy. The major issues as far as a strategy in the area of education can readily be discerned by looking briefly at the positions of Booker T. Washington and William E. B. DuBois.

Washington had been trained at Hampton Institute in Virginia by General Armstrong, who believed that blacks should be trained to take their places as skilled workers in an industrial America. Harlan (1972) who has spent much of his professional life as a historian writing about Washington describes Hampton:

> In the late nineteenth century, when white industrial schools moved toward engineering and professionalism and specialization, the Negro industrial schools took a humbler, less ambitious line of development. They remained simple, undifferentiated, devoted to agriculture and the trades and to the dignifying of labor through doing things of life uncommonly without a murmur (p. 64).

By the 1890s Washington, as Principal of Tuskegee Institute in Alabama, had built a school that was a copy of the Hampton plan. Andrew Carnegie was a consistent financial supporter of Washington and his school. In 1895 Washington was invited by the organizers of the Atlanta Exposition to participate in the opening ceremonies. The Atlanta Exposition was what we today would call a trade fair designed to demonstrate to the North that the South had indeed been redeemed from its agricultural past. The organizers of the event also wanted to prove that the South knew how to take care of its blacks and that blacks were making progress. The statement in Washington's speech that the Southern Redeemers really liked was:

> The wisest among my race understand that the agitation of questions of social equality is the extremist folly, and that progress in the enjoyment of all privileges that will come to us must be the result of severe and constant struggle rather than of artificial forcing ("The Atlanta Exposition Address", cited in Washington, (1910)).

Washington's chief critic was William E. B. DuBois, a native of Massachusetts, and the first black to earn a doctorate from Harvard University. He believed that Washington was being a fool and was too much of a compromiser. He expressed his opinion succinctly in the book of essays called The Souls of Black Folk (1903).

> We shall hardly induce black men to believe that if their stomachs are full, it matters little about their brains.... So far as Mr. Washington preaches thrift, patience, and industrial training for the masses, we must hold up his hands and strive with him. But so far as Mr. Washington apologizes for injustice, North or South, does not rightly value the privilege or duty

> of voting, belittles the emasculating effects of caste distinctions and opposes the higher training and ambition of our brighter minds--so far as he, the South, or the Nation does this, we must unceasingly and firmly oppose them (pp. 40-41).

The ideological debate between Washington and DuBois was symbolic of the dilemma that faced black educators at the end of the nineteenth century and at the beginning of the twentieth century. The schools established by the Freedmen's Bureau and the American Missionary Association and other benevolent groups usually espoused the Washington plan. However, there were those educators who were involved in black education during this period who supported the classical or liberal arts curriculum. DuBois believed that if blacks were not given the same access to a liberal and classical curriculum as white students the black race would be without leaders. In his autobiography, DuBois describes his position:

> I believed in the higher education of a Talented Tenth who through their knowledge of modern culture could guide the American Negro into a higher civilization. I knew that without this the Negro would have to accept white leadership, and that such leadership could not always be trusted to guide this group into self-realization and to its highest cultural possibilities. Mr. Washington, on the other hand, believed that the Negro as an efficient worker could gain wealth and that eventually through his ownership of capital he would be able to achieve a recognized place in American culture and could then educate his children as he might wish and develop their possibilities (p. 236).

The teachers who were the subject of this study had to deal with these issues as well as the historical milieu of their time, and they often had to adjust and compromise. Teachers who dealt with this ideological debate and lobbied for

education for blacks in South Carolina from 1862 until the outbreak of way in 1914 are discussed in the sections that follow.

A Brief Profile of Teachers from 1862 to 1915

Charlotte Forten

The only black teacher who is mentioned consistently in many of the works cited in the review of literature (Reconstruction Era and Freedmen's Bureau) is Charlotte Forten, a black teacher from Philadelphia, who participated in the Port Royal Experiment. Forten kept a journal which Billington edited and published, The journal of Charlotte Forten: A free Negro in the slave era (1953) and Douty (1971) attempted to construct a narrative account of Forten's life as a teacher in the South. While these provide the reader with much useful information, there is no work which describes and analyzes Forten's philosophical perspective or places her in historical perspective. Forten was born into a free black family in Philadelphia. Her grandfather, James Forten, Sr., was born to free parents in 1766 in Philadelphia. He attended the Quaker school established by Anthony Benezet and later volunteered to serve as a powder boy on a privateer during the American Revolutionary War. He was apprenticed to a sailmaker, and at the age of thrity-two opened his own sailmaker's shop. He became a leader of the free black community in Philadelphia.

As a leader of the free black community Forten was always an activist. In 1813, Forten published five letters in the form of a pamphlet to protest a law passed by the Pennsylvania legislature that prohibited a migration of free blacks into the state. He also was vocal in his opposition to the American Colonization Society. One of the major objectives of that society was to establish a colony in Africa so that freed blacks could return to Africa. This was unthinkable to an individual who had never been a slave and who considered himself an American. Forten, who died at the age of seventy-six on February 24, 1842, had eight children. A cursory survey of those eight children affirms that Charlotte Forten came from a politically and socially active family. Charlotte's father, Robert Bridges Forten, was a sailmaker by trade. He enlisted in the 43rd U.S. Colored Regiment in March, 1864, and was assigned to recruit black soldiers for the Union Army in Maryland. He became ill and died in April, 1864, and was buried with full military honors. He was the first black man to be so honored. Robert Forten also had three sisters who were activists.

Charlotte's aunts strongly impressed her. Margaretta Forten was a teacher in Philadelphia and served as secretary of the Philadelphia Female Anti-slavery Society. A second aunt, Sarah Forten, was a leader in the National Convention of Negro Women that met in 1837 to advocate the cause of abolition. A third aunt, Harriet Forten Purvis, became like a

mother to Charlotte after her own mother died. Aunt Harriet was married to Robert Purvis who was a fervent supporter of William Lloyd Garrison, the bell ringer of the American abolition movement. Robert Purvis was a member of the American Moral Reform Society and in 1852 organized the Vigilance Committee of Philadelphia. Thus it is significant that it was with the Purvis family that Charlotte Forten spent most of her time after her mother died. It is also not surprising that Charlotte Forten volunteered to go South in 1862 to teach freedmen [Billington, pp. 6-15].

Forten received a classical education, an education that was not available to her in Philadelphia. She was denied admission to the schools in her hometown so her father sent her to Salem, Massachusetts in 1854 to live with the black abolitionist Charles Lenox Remond and his wife so that she could attend school. She began her journal in 1854 when she went to live in Massachusetts and continued to record her thoughts and reactions in it until her last entry of May 15, 1864 when she left the Sea Island of South Carolina to return home. In Salem she attended Higginson Grammar School and after graduating in 1855 she attended Salem Normal School, graduating in July 1856. At the Higginson Grammar School she made friends with the Principal, Mary Shepard, and entries in her journal indicate that they remained friends after she graduated. Her journal also reveals that although she was born into a free black family she was always conscious of being black and the consequent discrimination, both direct

and subtle, that she experienced in Philadelphia as well as in Salem, Massachusetts. She recorded in her diary her reaction to prejudice that she experienced at Salem Normal School:

> I wonder that every colored person is not a misanthrope. Surely we have everything to make us hate mankind. I have met girls in the schoolroom--they have been thoroughly kind and cordial to me,--perhaps the next day met them in the street--they feared to recognize me; these I can but regard now with scorn and contempt,--once I liked them, believing them incapable of such meanness. These give the most distant recognition possible. I, of course, acknowledge no such recognitions, and they soon cease entirely. These are but trifles. Certainly, to the great, public wrongs which we as a people are obliged to endure (Journal, p. 63).

After expressing sorrow and admitting that she often became depressed when she thought about slavery and discrimination, Charlotte then reminded herself: "Conscience answers it is wrong to despair; let us labor earnestly and faithfully to acquire knowledge, to break down the barriers of prejudice and oppression" (p. 63). Here she expressed a recurring thesis--the belief that knowledge or education would help abolish prejudice and discrimination. She looked forward to the day. "when every colored man shall everywhere be acknowledged and respected, and he shall be treated as a man, and a brother" (p. 63).

Indeed she did acquire knowledge and this is evidenced by several entries in her journal. She received a classical education and the quest for knowledge did not end when she completed her studies at the Salem Normal School. She continued to read and study as is evident from this entry in her journal on February 5, 1956: "Studied Latin this evening,

and again looked over 'Madeline' by Kavanagh, a tale founded on fact" (p. 79). She noted that she was impressed and inspired by Madeline and that the heroine inspired her to do something for others. She expressed it in this manner: "Always the thought of self-culture presents itself first. With that, I think I can accomplish something more--nobler, more enduring. I will try not to forget, that, while striving to improve myself, I may at least commence to work for others" (p. 79). She not only studied Latin but she also studied French (p. 81). She also loved to attend lectures and then would return home to write analyses and comments in her journal. She attended a lecture by Lowell on Dante and was inspired to read the Divine Comedy, a lecture by a Dr. Bellows on the importance of higher education, and a lecture by Ralph Waldo Emerson on the beauty of nature (pp. 81, 96, and 99). Self-improvement was an obsession with Charlotte Forten. The more knowledge she acquired the more incomplete she felt and she expressed this feeling cogently in an entry in her journal on January 2, 1858:

> I wonder why it is that I have this strange feeling of not living out myself. My existence seems not full not expansive enough. I must need some great emotion to rouse the dormant energies of my nature. What means this constant restlessness, this longing for--something,--I know not what?. . .Alas! I shall never, never be able to say--'My minde to me a kingdome, is such perfecte peace therein dothe dwelle' (p. 99).

Thus it is not surprising to the reader of Forten's journal to note an entry where she indicated an interest in responding to the appeal of Edward Pierce to go South and to

teach and participate in the Port Royal Experiment. She appeared before the Boston Education Commission and asked to be sent South, but she did not receive a positive response. She notes in her journal on August 13, 1862 that she was still trying to contact some of the members of the Port Royal Commission but was told that they were out of town. She was a friend of the poet and abolitionist, John Whittier. Whittier wrote her a letter of recommendation and advised her to apply to the commission and he also gave her the names of some of his friends that she could use (p. 121). The month of August passed without Forten hearing from the commission in Boston. She decided to go to Philadelphia because she heard that the Port Royal Relief Association would accept her application and send her South. By September 15, 1862 she was ecstatic and wrote the following in her journal: "They are perfectly willing for me to go. The only difficulty is that it may not be quite safe" (p. 122). On October 27, 1962 she sailed from New York City bound for the Sea Islands.

The letter of instruction to Forten from the commission stated clearly that she and the other teachers were not only to teach but they were also expected to interest themselves in the religious, social, and moral improvement of the families of their students. She was sent to St. Helena Island where was destined to meet Laura Towne and Ellen Murray who would play key roles in establishing the Penn School on the

island. This fact is recorded in her journal: "Went into the Commissary's Office to wait for the boat which was to take us to St. Helena Island which is about six miles from Beaufort. T'is here that Miss Towne has her school, in which I am to teach, and that Mr. Hunn will have his store" (p. 126). Hunn was a Quaker who along with his family went to St. Helena Island to establish a store. Forten's teaching experience on the island was not her first such experience. After graduating from the Salem Normal School she taught at the Epes Grammar School in Salem from 1856 to 1858. However in March of 1858 she returned to Philadelphia because she was ill. While at home she taught at her Aunt Margaretta Forten's school but she taught again in Salem, Massachusetts during the winter of 1860 and the summer of 1861. During this period she did not write in her journal and did not resume writing until she became interested in the Port Royal Experiment. Perhaps the opportunity to teach in the South was the experience or mission that she hoped would help her to feel fulfilled.

Laura Towne and Ellen Murray

As stated earlier Forten was preceded at St. Helena Island by Laura Towne and Ellen Murray. They were white teachers sent by the Freedmen's Association of Philadelphia to teach the freedmen. Towne arrived in April 1862; Murray arrived in June 1862. Laura Matilda Towne

was born in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania on May 3, 1825. Her father was a native of Topsfield, Massachusetts; however, her mother was an English woman. Like Forten, Towne's mother died when Laura was young and her father moved the family to Boston. It was in Boston that the Townes became interested in the abolition movement. Laura Towne's older brother had settled in Philadelphia and the family including Laura returned to Philadelphia because of this brother. In Philadelphia the family attended an Unitarian Church where the pastor, a certain William Henry Furness, preached sermons encouraging the members of his congregation to become active in the abolition movement. Laura became a devout and fervent advocate of the cause. She also attended the Woman's Medical College.

Not much is known about the background of Ellen Murray. There is a passing reference to her in Forten's journal: "I like Miss Murray so much. She is of English parentage, born in the Provinces. She is one of the most whole-souled warm-hearted women I ever met. I was felt drawn to her from the first (before I knew she was English) and of course I like her none the less for that" (p. 129). Murray became the confidante and trusted aide of Laura Towne, and her role is described in Towne's journal: "Ellen always goes to the stores when I do, and will stay, as she says she was commissioned expressly to take care of me and work for me. She makes this an excuse or a reason for insisting upon

sharing every bit of work I do" (Letters and diary of Laura Towne, p. 77). Another white teacher who kept a diary was Elizabeth Hyde Botume who was appointed on October 25, 1863, by the New England's Freedmen's Association to teach at Beaufort, South Carolina (First days among the contrabands, 1893).

Elizabeth Evelyn Wright

The only teacher described in this study who did not teach on the Sea Islands was a black teacher, Elizabeth Evelyn Wright. She was an exception in many ways because she was a native Southerner born in 1872 in Talbotton, Georgia. She started an elementary school that later became Voorhees College located in Denmark, South Carolina. She was the seventh daughter of a black carpenter, John Wesley Wright, and a full blooded Cherokee Indian, Virginia Rolfe. Wright's parents and grandparents were illiterate because they had been slaves and it was against the law to teach slaves to read and write. Her biographer, J. Kenneth Morris, described Wright's elementary schooling as mediocre, however, at the age of sixteen she enrolled in Tuskegee Institute and became a disciple and practitioner of Booker T. Washington's philosophy. Copies of all of the primary sources that Morris collected have been deposited in the Caroliniana Manuscript Collection at the University of South Carolina (Elizabeth Evelyn Wright, 1872-1906, 1893). From

the papers, journals, and school records of these teachers this writer was able to gain some insight into the curriculum of these first schools established for blacks, the philosophy and activities of the teachers, the role of foundations, and the role of these teachers in alleviating some of the social, political, and economic problems of blacks.

Vignettes from Journals, Papers, and School Records

Laura Towne had been commissioned by the Philadelphia society to assist the officials of the United States government in their tasks, and she saw immediately that there was a need for education. She and later her assistant Evelyn Murray began to teach some of the freedmen at the Oaks Plantation on St. Helena Island. As the number of pupils increased, the two women moved their school to the Brick Church on St. Helena Island. The Brick Church was a Baptist church that the slaves built for their masters in 1855 and when the masters fled the island the freedmen took over the church. This researcher was able to do research and study on the campus of the Penn School now called the Penn Cultural Center. The Brick Church still stands and has not changed much over the years. The structures on the campus have been described in a pamphlet as the result of funds provided by the National Trust for Historic Preservation ["Eye witness to History: Structures on the Campus of

Penn School, 1864-1980", Byers). The Brick Church is still being used and it is indeed a two story brick structure. South of the Brick Church are a cemetery and memorials to Towne and Murray. Classes were held in the church until a building was erected for the Penn School in 1864. It is interesting to note that the first structure was a prefabricated building sent by the Philadelphia Society to the island. Towne was overjoyed at the prospect of having a structure at last:

> Our new schoolhouse is now being hurried forward pretty fast, and we hope to get in by the first of the year. How happy we shall be, nobody can tell who has not taught in a school where he or she had to make herself heard over three other classes reciting in concert, and to discover talkers and idlers among fifty scholars while one hundred and fifty more are shouting lessons, and three other teachers bawling admonitions, instructions, and reproofs (Towne, p. 144).

Not only does Towne describe the development of the physical facilities but she also describes many of the people with whom she came in contact on the island. In July 1862 she described the visit of Edward Pierce to her school and also that of his successor General Saxton: "Mr. Pierce's short visit on his return was very pleasant. He came at midnight, in his usual energetic fashion, and stayed some days. General Saxton, his successor, seems a very fine fellow, and most truly anti-slavery" (p. 76). Towne also described what a typical day was like for her on the island.

After rising and having breakfast Laura usually fed her three mocking birds and then went to the stores to

garner supplies to take with her as she visited the plantations. She usually got up at six and by nine was ready to travel from plantation to plantation to care for sick freedmen. She indicated that she and Ellen Murray would return home by two and then have lunch and get ready for school. In the mornings the children and the adults were usually involved in cultivating the cotton and other crops. We must not forget tnat one of the major motives for the Port Royal Experiment was to help the Union War effort. Can not you visualize the scene that she describes at the end of the day:

> We snatch a lunch and begin school. I have the middle class, Ellen the oldest and the youngest. At four, school is out for the children. Ellen then takes the adults while I go doctoring down to the 'nigger houses' or street of cabins. As soon as I get home (generally with six or seven little negro girls and boys--or babies--tugging to my dress and saying, 'my missus'--the little things that can scarcely speak each having chosen a favorite 'missus'), I run up the flag and the men come for their guns. This is about six o'clock. They drill an hour or so, and then I take the guns again. They are kept in the room next to mine, under lock and key (p. 87).

Towne was the wonder woman on the island. Forten described her: "She is housekeeper, physician, everything, here. The most indispensable person on the place, and the people are devoted to her" (Forten, p.130). Laura also devised clever ways to assist the war effort. She would exchange needles and thread for fruit and other foodstuffs that she would then send to the wounded soldiers in the hospitals (p. 116).

Towne's letters also give some idea of how she really felt about the blacks to whom she devoted her life. In a letter written in 1864 she described a dinner attended by two black teachers, a Miss Lynch and a Mr. Freeman, from the North. Towne indicated that the conversation flowed easily the same way that it would have flowed if her guests had been Northern whites: "I suppose it would seem strange to you to sit down with two colored people, but to us it is the most natural thing in the world. I actually forget these people are black, and it is only when I see them at a distance and cannot recognize their features that I remember it" (p. 146) Just as Forten was motivated by ideals and a need to be fulfilled, it is almost apparent that Towne was likewise motivated. From her letters one may conclude that she did not receive a salary and did not consider accepting one until the fall of 1865. She indicated in a letter dated September 1, 1865 that the commission had written her again about accepting a salary. She was reluctant to accept a salary because she was aware of her reputation as a volunteer: "Besides, I have now got the credit for being a volunteer, all over the country, and to sneak in for a salary seems too bad" (p. 166). However, in this same letter she indicated that she could not continue to live without and she would have to accept the salary. She did begin to receive a salary as evidenced by this comment in a letter dated March 27, 1867: "First place, I had rather

sell than borrow, and money is absolutely necessary, just now when the old people must be fed, and my salary won't come in for a while--not till May" (p. 179).

Towne and Murray were also interested in the temperance movement and organized a Temperance Society at their school. Towne indicated that they were afraid that the older boys would not join, but they did. The society met every two weeks with Ellen Murray as the president and with Laura Towne as the secretary. The meeting usually consisted of teaching the children temperance songs, writing compositions on the subject, and inviting an outsider to make a speech. Towne indicated that even the small children wanted to join but that they allowed only the students who were old enough to follow parliamentary rules to join (pp. 216-217). The Temperance Society was usually included in the Penn School's visit to Beaufort to decorate the soldiers' graves.

Although the Penn School needed money Towne did not want to turn the school over to the state because if the state controlled her school they would not use Northern black teachers. She criticized the school trustees: "There are too many here who want the places and the school trustees are not men capable of appointing by qualification" (p. 220). By 1870 she had established a normal department to train teachers and her letters indicate that the state was already hiring some of her graduates. By 1874 Towne

had been appointed a district trustee for the state schools and the custom was to hold a town meeting to decide school matters. Towne described such a meeting that met in June 1874:

> I have another day ahead that I have to prepare for. There is to be a meeting of the people to consider school matters, and I shall have to mount platform and give some account of my stewardship as clerk of the board of school trustees, besides having to recommend measures for next year, the amount of tax to be voted for, and the proper division of the money raised (p. 236).

An entry dated July 2, 1876 described a successful presentation that she had made to the annual district meeting. She was elated because her report with her suggestions was approved. They approved her recommendations that included a three-mill tax and a list of suggested textbooks for the next term (p. 249). Due to the political situation as the Redeemers attempted to regain control, times were unusually hard for the blacks on the island. Laura Towne was always there to lend a helping hand. In a letter written on May 21, 1875 to her family Laura Towne described a situation that she had not encountered before. She observed that for the first time blacks were coming to her saying: "Miss Towne, I hongry" (p. 247). She hastened to note that most of them were people who had never asked for anything before. She described for her family how she distributed the food that she had access to:

> I take only the very old, and motherless, except in some cases where there are very large families. The allowance is the same as in slavery times--a peck of grits a week, no "Fixings", sugar or salt, etc. These do without or find elsewhere. Mr. Robinson lets me have the grits at $1.05 a bushel, and this is lower than I could get it at Savannah, freight paid. (p. 247).

She was aware of the political events during the local elections of 1876. An entry in her diary dated October 29, 1876 described a trip that she made to Beaufort on the same day that Wade Hampton the Democratic candidate for governor was holding a mass meeting. She observed that few of the blacks on St. Helena Island attended the meeting although the Democratic Party had announced that it would pay the ferry fee for all who wanted to attend. She listened to Hampton's speech and thought it strange that he addressed most of his remarks to blacks. He admonished the blacks to forget any oaths that they had made in the past and that if they wanted to see South Carolina progress they should vote democratic in the coming election (pp. 253-254).

An entry in her diary dated November 8, 1876, described the election and some of the dirty tricks that the Democrats used to get the blacks to vote for their candidates. The trick that really disturbed her was the circulation of ballots entitled "Union Republican" without any presidential candidate's name on the ballot. The ballot had county Democratic names on it and the name of Wade Hampton for governor (p. 255). By November 26, she noted that there was chaos as far as school affairs were concerned: "The School

Commissioner has not come either, so the public school affairs languish, and I have more fret than work;..." (p. 256). However, she proceeds to describe all the positive things that were still happening at the Penn School. She expressed satisfaction with the order and curriculum in her school, but she continued to express her anger at the new governor and the Democratic officials who were now in office. Note her colorful description of a speech made by Wade Hampton, the new governor: "In Hampton's speech at Columbia, he gave an ass's kick at the dead lion, when he said he should not occupy the State House till he had had the fire engines in, and the convicts scrub the place out" (p. 261). She was also angry because she knew she could not write or speak publicly in South Carolina in 1877 and express how she really felt. She believed that her priority was to keep the school open so she accommodated herself to the existing political and social situation.

However, her diary reveals that by July 1877 she had found a way to take action and to resist the new order of the Redeemers by the use of a clever strategy. Although the state legislature had forbidden district school meetings for the purpose of levying a tax for schools, Towne and her local supporters held one on July 14, 1877. She made sure that the most influential blacks were present and that the powerful local businessman and supporter of the Penn School, MacDonald, was present. Towne presented some resolutions to

the district meeting for approval:

> They were to the effect that St. Helena might be excepted from the operation of the new law which forbids district taxes, because the people here are taxpayers, there being on the island five thousand blacks and not fifty whites, twelve hundred and eighty black children of age to attend school, and only seven white children, and because the few white people here are as anxious for schools as the blacks, and as willing to pay the tax voted at these meetings. This is to be published in the newspapers, and will show not only the injustice done in forbidding people's providing for the public schools adequately,--and as handsomely as they please,--but also that the St. Helena folks are awake to their rights (pp. 269-270).

The resolutions were passed unanimously. Towne noted in a letter to Philadelphia dated August 12, 1877 that the only newspaper in South Carolina that published the St. Helena Resolutions was the Journal of Commerce published in Charleston. She also informed her family that she heard from a friend that the Ledger, a paper published in Philadelphia, had published her resolutions and she asked that a copy be mailed to her (p. 271). She also wrote letters to the editor of some Northern newspapers protesting the policies of the Redeemers (pp. 273-274). She noted in an entry dated September 18, 1877 that she had been reappointed a trustee for the school district but she lamented the fact that the public schools still were not being funded adequately (p. 276).

It is interesting to note that in an entry dated May 11, 1878, she mentioned a letter from a former student who attended the Penn School. The student was writing from

the studio of an artist in New York City. The student wanted a letter of recommendation to support his application to the New York Academy of Design. Towne indicated that the student, Andrew Seabrook, was working as a waiter (p. 294). She frequently referred to the closing ceremonies at the end of each school term. In 1879 she noted that there were several important visitors including their state senator, a Mr. Collins. She was elated that all present expressed surprise at what her students had achieved. She especially noted the Senator's comment: "Mr. Collins said it was no wonder Beaufort County was going ahead of any other in the state, when it had such a school, etc., etc.,--nuts, of course, to us (p. 296).

It is interesting to observe that up to this point there has been no mention of Charlotte Forten. Forten returned to Philadelphia in May 1864 due to ill health. She made the following comment in her journal: "The Southern dream is over for a time" (Forten, p. 199). Her journal ends with this entry for May 15, 1864. In December 1878 she married the Reverend Francis J. Grimke who was pastor of the Fifteenth Street Presbyterian Church in Washington, D. C. from 1878 to 1885. In 1885 he and Charlotte for health reasons moved to Jacksonville, Florida where they served the Laura Street Presbyterian Church. In 1889 they returned to the Fifteenth Street Church in Washington. Charlotte Forten Grimke died on July 23, 1914.

Elizabeth Hyde Botume

Laura Towne mentions another teacher, Elizabeth Hyde Botume, who taught in the schools in Beaufort. Botume wrote an account of her experience (First days among the contrabands. 1893). She received her appointment from the New England Freedmen's Aid Society on October 25, 1863. Her description of her first sight of the freedmen as her boat arrived is touching:

> Every doorstep, box, or barrel was covered with them, for the arrival of a boat was a time of great excitement. They were dressed--no, not dressed, nor clothed, but partly covered with every conceivable thing which could be put on the back of a person. Many of the men had strips of gay carpeting, or old bags, or pieces of blanket, in which they cut arm-holes and wore as jackets. Their pants were tied below and above the knees and around the waist with pieces of rope to keep them on. Words fail to describe their grotesque appearance. Fortunately they were oblivious to all this incongruity. They had not yet attained distinct personality; they were only parts of a whole, once massa's niggers, now refugees and contrabands (p. 32).

She also observed that the people in the North who sent her really did not understand the magnitude of the work that needed to be done. However, she was impatient and ready to begin for she had left everything to come South to help the blacks. This new recruit from the North was also impressed with the zeal of the blacks for education, and she was particularly impressed with a former slave, Tamor, who wanted her family to learn: "Us wants to larn, fur we've been in darkness too long, an' now we're in light, us want to larn. I wants to go to school too myself, ef I kin larn" (p. 57).

The first few weeks provided an opportunity for Elizabeth Botume to learn and discover many new things and to gain new insights. During the first week she wanted to make a roll for her class and she began to ask the students their names. She thought it was strange because the students would only give her one name. She discovered that they did not have last names and that when one of the older boys attempted to explain what she meant by a surname the students began to add the surnames of their former masters to their first names. Many of the students did not use the names of their former masters and simply created a surname for themselves. Botume soon discovered that this did not solve her problem and for the next four days when she called the roll she would get a different name and they would not answer to the name that had been given to her previously. The other major problem that she had to deal with during the first weeks was the problem of regular attendance.

She observed: "Whilst the zeal of these people for learning never flagged, they had no possible conception of time, or the fitness of things" (p. 68). She thought that her problem would be solved if she told them to come after breakfast, but then she discovered that the concept of breakfast was unfamiliar to them. However, she proved to be ingenious in finding solutions to these problems that stood in the way of getting the school day started. She decided to tell them to come to school as soon as they got up every

morning. This strategy worked and to her surprise this is what happened the next morning:

> The next morning by daylight I heard a low chattering and suppressed laughter, and looking out my window I saw the piazza was filled with black heads. An eager crowd was waiting for me. Every morning after that the whole "gang" came to escort me to school. Usually one older than the rest would come to the door and announce, 'Us waiting on you, ma'am' (p. 68).

Botume began to wonder who was taking care of whom. She also soon discovered that her students needed to learn more than how to read and write in order to survive. She began to hold sewing classes on Saturdays and to minister to other needs that her students and the families had. Like Laura Towne she often serve as a doctor, nurse, and social worker when needed. It is interesting to note that in the journal of Charlotte Forten there is no mention of the types of activities that Botume and Towne were involved in beyond their schools. However, all three journals reveal that the schools and the teachers also taught many adult students and that the work beyond the school would not have been possible without the financial and material help from the members of the Freedmen's Aid Societies in Boston and in Philadelphia. All of the journals and letters mentioned money, the knitting and sewing of clothes, and the collection of books and other materials.

There is evidence in the journals that if it had not been for social pressure many white parents especially in areas where there were no free schools would have sent their

children to the schools with the blacks. Botume described an incident that occurred at her school. One day two white girls asked if they could attend her school and she told them yes. She was curious and wanted to know how they found out about the school and they told her that their mother's cook told their mother how her children were learning in the school. For two months her new white pupils attended regularly and were learning how to read and then they stopped. Botume visited the mother and she admitted that she was satisfied with the school but that the family was being ostracized for attending school with blacks. The mother could not understand why her peers allowed their young children to play with black children but objected to them attending school together. The mother indicated that her husband could not take the pressure from his peers: "I would not care for myself, but the young men laugh at my husband. They tell him he must be pretty far gone and low down when he sends his children to a 'nigger school'" (pp. 257-258). Botume did not comment on the situation or mention it again in her journal and she concluded her journal by discussing the 1868 election.

Her observations concerned the significance of the election since this was the first time that Southern blacks were accorded the right to vote. Botume informs her reader that she is not writing a "political paper" but that she is attempting to describe the political climate. She described

how the whites in and around Beaufort behaved during the election. She indicated that the whites did not attempt to look at things in a positive light but rather blaming everything on the blacks, "In those first days of Reconstruction the white people in our vicinity were much given to fault finding. With them the greatest of all sinners was the 'inevitable nigger'" (p. 271). However, in spite of the opposition the schools for blacks thrived and the efforts benefited not only blacks but also helped to encourage and marshal public opinion in support of a system of public schools in South Carolina. This generalization is also supported if we look at the career of the black educator, Elizabeth Evelyn Wright.

<u>Elizabeth Evelyn Wright</u>

The most significant event in the life of Elizabeth Wright was her experiences at the Tuskegee Institute in 1888 when she entered the school at the age of sixteen. According to Wright: "I was at Tuskegee only a short time before I made up my mind to be the same kind of woman that Booker T. Washington was a man" (Wright Papers, Caroliniana Library, Vol. I, p. 63). Her experience also made her cognizant of two problems that blacks had to deal with in the South: (1) The opposition of whites to black education and to paying taxes to support a system of public education that included blacks. (2) Blacks as a group lacked skills

and had limited economic resources (Vol. I, p. 69). An attempt to solve and deal with these two problems and to find solutions motivated her as a teacher. The solution for Wright was to establish a school that would provide an opportunity for blacks to acquire the necessary industrial skills.

Wright was always frail and sickly and in 1893 had to leave Tuskegee for a year because of her health. During this period she also worked as a part-time teacher in a black school in McNeill, South Carolina. The school had been started by a wealthy woman from Massachusetts, Almira Steele. Wright's experience was similar to that of her mentor, Booker T. Washington when he gained firsthand knowledge of how blacks lived around his school. The poverty, dirt, and lack of education shocked Wright. She concluded that the right kind of education would enable blacks to get jobs and live like human beings. Wright had to work to pay her fees at Tuskegee and for such students Washington provided a way for them to take a full course load. There was a night school for students like Wright who usually worked ten hours during the day and went to school at night. Not only did she acquire knowledge and skills but she also learned how to live an orderly and disciplined life.

> From the time she set foot on the Tuskegee campus her days were filled with new experiences. There were lessons in personal hygiene: Lizzie had always assumed that the offensive body odor of blacks complained of by whites was a racial characteristic. But now at Tuskegee she learned to bathe, wash her hair, brush her teeth and change and wash her underwear regularly (Morris, p. 20).

Elizabeth Wright's quick mind and her willingness to work to pay her way impressed Booker T. Washington's wife, Olivia Davidson Washington, who also had experienced much hardship in her attempt to acquire an education. Olivia Washington was born a slave and after emancipation her mother moved the family to Albany, Ohio where Olivia attended Albany Enterprise Academy. After graduation she and her brother and his wife moved to Hernando, Mississippi to teach freedmen. Their efforts were opposed by the Klu Klux Klan and her brother and sister-in-law were murdered by the Klan. She taught for a short period in Memphis, Tennessee and later enrolled in Hampton Institute. It is interesting to discover that President Rutherford B. Hayes' wife provided the scholarship that enabled Olivia to complete her education at Hampton. At Hampton, Olivia Washington impressed a Northern philanthropist, Mary Tileston Hemenway, who sent Olivia to Framington State Normal School in Massachusetts (Harlan, pp. 125-127). Thus it is easy to see why Mrs. Washington became interested in Elizabeth Wright and enlisted Judge Kelly, Justice of the Second District Court of Plymouth, Massachusetts to provide a scholarship for her

new protege. Wright and Judge Kelly remained friends until her death. After graduation from Tuskegee, Wright returned to McNeil, South Carolina to teach in the Steele School.

The Steele School was the only school for blacks in the area even though there were schools for whites. Elizabeth and her co-worker, Hattie, soon realized that their resources were limited and that there were no funds to pay their salaries. Elizabeth devised a clever strategy to solve this problem. She contacted the local school superintendent, Mr. Fitts, who was sympathetic to the cause, and he advised her to try to obtain a teaching certificate from the local school board in Hampton County. Mr. Fitts presented the matter to the board and the strategy worked because Wright received a teaching certificate dated on November 14, 1894 and now this meant she was entitled to a salary of $19.50 a month. However, her solution was just a temporary one because in January the superintendent wrote Wright to inform her that the local school board did not have adequate funds and that her January check would be her last one. This incident supports a generalization made earlier in this study that there was not a commitment on the part of local and state authorities to use tax money to support black schools. The school was eventually closed and Wright began to make plans to open an industrial school.

She began to hold a night school for young men who worked during the day while she and Hattie still taught in

the Steele School during the day. However, there were concerns on Wright's mind other than the students that she taught during the day and at night. Again following the example of her mentor, Booker T. Washington, she began to organize a conference for black farmers in the area. At her first conference held in 1895 there were forty-two present. The purpose of the conference was to educate them about the mortgage and peonage laws in South Carolina and to get the farmers to realize that they needed to know how to read and write so that it would not be so easy for whites to take their land or to make them slaves to a credit system that turned them into helpless individuals.

She decided to open a school in her house since she could not use the local school building to organize her own school with her own special curriculum. Her special curriculum would include not only academic subjects but also industrial subjects, e.g., brick masonry, carpentry, and farming. She called a mass meeting of the black community but only two local residents dared attend; therefore, she continued to teach at the local district school. When the fall term began, the school for blacks met in the black Huspah Baptist Church. Wright became ill and Mrs. Steele sent her to a sanitarium in Michigan to recuperate (Morris, pp. 68-71). After Wright returned she was forced by two incidents to finally accept the fact that Hampton County would not tolerate a black woman who wanted to open an

industrial school for blacks. She was also disturbed because blacks also questioned her motives.

The incidents that convinced her to leave Hampton County occurred in 1897 after she returned from Michigan. She had received a promise from a local white man that he would sell her a tract of land on which to build her school if she had the first payment by a certain date. There were trees on the land and Wright knew something was wrong when the owner allowed some men to cut the trees since the trees had been part of the deal. She decided not to buy the land and then a few days later another incident occurred that convinced her and her friend, Jessie, that they should leave Hampton and look for another site. Elizabeth and Jessie were walking down a street in Hampton when they were insulted verbally by a white man and Jessie was so angry that she hit the man with her umbrella. Many years later Jessie described what happened when they left Hampton.

> We decided at once to seek another location. Accordingly, Miss Wright and I wandered from place to place like two lost children, seeking food and shelter among the people. In an article about their search for another place, she wrote, 'when we were together, every evening, we sought the Lord for wisdom....' (Morris, pp. 71-72).

Their search for a place ended in Denmark, South Carolina. It was a small town with a population according to Morris of about 500 people. Wright began to feel that Denmark was the right place after she addressed a group of blacks at the local Baptist Church. What surprised her was their acceptance of her project to establish an industrial school.

Wright demonstrated more wisdom and insight in Denmark than she had in Hampton where both blacks and whites were opposed to her idea. In Hampton she had begun her planning by appointing a committee of blacks to work with her; however, this time she decided that she would work alone until she had a tract of land and then start the school. She had also decided that she would need the help and approval of an influential white citizen. The white who became her advocate and supporter was State Senator Stanwix Greenville Mayfield. Mayfield thought that the idea of establishing an industrial school for blacks was an excellent one and he indicated to Elizabeth that he would support her efforts if she could get Booker T. Washington to write her a letter of recommendation. The Senator later sold her a tract of land and Elizabeth went to the black churches in the area and appealed for help. The school opened in temporary headquarters over a store on April 14, 1897. At this time there were no public schools in Denmark for blacks or whites (Annual report of the Superintendent of Education of the state of South Carolina, 1897, pp. 14-15). The county school board was happy that there was a possibility of a school for blacks that would not cost the county anything. The State Superintendent for Education was W. D. Mayfield who was also the brother of Senator Mayfield. On the local and state level white leaders were happy because the school in Denmark would operate according to the Washington

philosophy. This was pleasing to them since Washington's "Atlanta Exposition Speech" indicated that he was an advocate of an educational program and a philosophy that would not interfere with the Southern way of life (Morris, pp. 87-92). In her report to the Board of Trustees of her Denmark Industrial School in May 1900 Wright describes her school:

> Our attendance has been very large this term. We had an enrollment of two hundred and seventy-five students. Fifteen boarded on the grounds and as we could not accommodate any more, homes had to be gotten out in town with families for sixteen from adjacent towns, which we regretted, for they could not get the desired instruction in tidiness and other domestic training, which they so much needed (Morris, p. 121).

The name of the school was later changed to Voorhees in honor of a new benefactor from the North, Ralph Voorhees, from Clinton, New Jersey. The school continued to thrive and Wright hired a graduate of Tuskegee, Martin Menafee, to teach some of the industrial arts classes and to also serve as treasurer and business manager for Voorhees. Wright and Menafee eventually became husband and wife. When Wright died in 1906 at the age of thirty-four she left a legacy, a school that would eventually become an accredited liberal arts institution. Although the school always offered courses other than courses in industrial arts, Wright was always careful to publicly emphasize only the industrial arts courses. She understood the environment in which she had to work and her papers and her biography provide a view of the political, social, and economic reality of South

Carolina in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century.

In 1896 the South Carolina legislature passed a law that made legal what was already a reality, segregated schools. The law stated: "Separate schools shall be provided for children of the white and colored races, and no child of either race shall ever be permitted to attend a school provided for children of the other race" [School Law of 1986]. The illiteracy rate in the state was forty-five per cent and there was only one other state that had a higher illiteracy rate and that was Louisiana with a rate of 45.8 per cent. South Carolina also was the state that paid the smallest amount per annum per capita expenditure on education in 1897, 47 cents, while Massachusetts paid $4.31, South Dakota, $4.21, and California, $4.31 (Twenty-ninth Annual report of the Superintendent of Education of the state of South Carolina, pp. 14-15).

There were many persons in the state who were concerned about this state of affairs and on April 11, 1903 a conference on education was held in Columbia, South Carolina. There were fifty-four city and county superintendents of education, the Governor, the State Superintendent of Education, and the presidents of eight colleges including the black president of Benedict College present. They wrote a declaration that was addressed to the citizens of the state of South Carolina. In the declaration they emphasized that

a democratic government could not continue to exist unless there was a system of free schools to provide a literate citizenry. They stated that they believed that the state had made a noble effort to provide a free system but that the factual data indicated that they had not been successful. The declaration cited the following facts:

> (1) The length of our school term is 88.4 days per annum; the average in the United States is 145. (2) The average salary of teachers per month in South Carolina, $31.25; in the United States, $48.00; salary per annum in South Carolina, $128.12; in the United States, $338.00. (3) Average cost of education per capita for enrolled pupils in South Carolina, $3.65; in the United States, $20.29. (4) The statistics also show that 35.9 per cent of the entire population and 13 of every 100 whites over ten years of age are classed as illiterate (Cited in Morris, 1983, p. 175).

The conference did not have black education in mind and if one surveys the reports of the Superintendents of Education for the next five years there was no mention of black education (Reports in State Archives). Thus the efforts of the teachers on behalf of black students and black schools were significant. Black students would have been ignored if these valiant black and white teachers had not persevered. The April 16, 1905 issue of the "Bamberg Herald" announced that a girl's dormitory was almost complete at the Voorhees Industrial College for colored youths and that a contract had been signed to build a boys' dormitory. The newspaper further noted: "In addition to this they have a large school building and chapel and the grounds are nicely kept.

The school is under the management of Lizzie Wright and M. A. Menafee, both of whom are well thought of by the white people of this section" (Morris, p. 179). By 1916 the school was called the Voorhees Normal and Industrial School. There were departments of Mechanical Industries, Agriculture, Military Training, Nurses' Training, and Normal Training. Just as Voorhees continued to develop and to continue to serve the needs of black youths in Samberg County, so did the Penn School continue to prosper.

Laura Towne continued as Principal of the Penn School until her death in 1901 and her friend and fellow co-worker, Ellen Murray, was retired by the trustees of Penn School in 1904. The Penn School Reports provide cogent insights into the work of Towne and Murray into the twentieth century. By 1890 the graduates of the Penn School were being employed as teachers: "Our graduates last year all found employment in the schools of the county and even in more distant places such as John's Island, etc." (Penn School report, 1890, p. 6). Here Towne was referring to the graduates of the normal department. After graduation from the Penn normal school, graduates would take an examination administered by the County Public School Board. The examination included the use of the English language, elementary algebra, arithmetic, physiology, and the history of the United States and South Carolina (Penn School report, n.d.) The report of 1901 was written by Murray because Laura Towne was too ill to work

or write. There was also a Temperance Society that met the first Monday in every month. It included men, women, and student of Penn School as members. It is not surprising that temperance was a concern since it was also a concern for Botume and the other teachers that have been discussed in this chapter. It seems that the teachers believed that alcoholic beverages were the source of many of the problems that plagued blacks, an assumption that was common to many American social reformers. Towne and Murray were concerned with the total development of their students. This was demonstrated as they worked to establish a library at the Penn School.

The first library for the school was donated by Edward Pierce in 1888. Remember that Pierce was the official sent to the Sea Islands in 1862 to decide what should be done and it was his idea that teachers should be invited from the North. It seems that he continued to support the Penn School until his death. His name is mentioned several times through the years in the school reports. The library established by Pierce was destroyed by fire. The school report of 1901-1902 contained the following statement: "The first library for Penn School was given by the late Edward Pierce of Boston in 1888. It was destroyed by fire a few years ago" (School report. 1901, p. 13). Murray who was writing the 1901-1902 school report noted that a new library had been built. The report indicates that the library was

used by the entire community and not just the students. Murray also observed that: "History, biography and poetry appeal most strongly to the people. Fiction they care little about, though a few appreciate Shakespeare" (p. 14). The books were sent to Philadelphia to a Miss Lucy Davis who catalogued them and then mailed the books to the Penn School (p. 19). According to the school report of 1906 there were 1373 books in the library. In addition to the library there were several other ways that the school ministered and served the needs of the community. They organized farmers' conferences and established a cooperative.

The constitution of the farmers' conferences provides us with some understanding of what their objectives and concerns were. A copy of the constitution is included in the school report for 1902-1903. At least the teachers at the Penn School had convinced the black farmers that they had to assume responsibility for their plight and to work to find solutions. Their objective as stated in the constitution: "Its object should be to provide the moral, material, and education progress of its entire community. Believing as we do, that we ourselves are our own worst enemies, we pledge here and now, from this time forth, to use every effort" (p. 15). Other concerns that were mentioned in the constitution were the mortgage system and the need to produce more food for their own needs so that

they would not have to buy food and other staples from local merchants on credit. They pledged to work to improve their local schools and to work to secure better teachers and preachers. The Farmers' Conferences were not to get involved in politics and this was stated in the constitution: "This conference is in no sense a political organization, and politics will not be permitted to enter into the discussion in any form whatever" (p. 15). The aim was to make the graduates and the adults in the surrounding community self-sufficient. Murray also introduced some of the antebellum arts to the school and to the islanders.

Murray was disappointed that the art of basket weaving was no longer a common skill among the islanders and decided to reintroduce the art. She believed that it was a way for the islanders and the students at the Penn School to make money. The school report of 1901-1902 described how Murray introduced the art of basket weaving: "The art of making simple baskets was revived in the school last week. She (Murray) engaged one of the old Negroes to teach a few of the pupils" (p. 15). Basket weaving has indeed been preserved. They can still be purchased today by tourists in the historic district of Charleston as well as along Highway 17. Some of the baskets were part of the Penn School exhibit sent to the Charleston Exposition in 1902 where they won a gold medal. While Towne and Murray emphasized practical projects and skills they did not during their tenure

introduce industrial training. Industrial training would be added during the tenure of Towne and Murray's successors, Rossa B. Cooley and Grace B House, who came to the Penn School in 1904. As noted earlier, Laura Towne died in 1901 and the trustees retired Ellen Murray in 1904. Thus an era ended at the Penn School and a new one would begin under Cooley and House who would serve the school until 1944. They were imbued with the ideals of the Progressive era and became advocates of the Booker T. Washington and Hampton Institute philosophy. Since their tenure lasted until World War II they will be discussed in Chapter Four. A description of the curriculum and the philosophical orientation and perspective of the schools and the teachers discussed in this chapter follows.

Curriculum and Philosophy

Most of the books and other educational materials that the Freedmen schools used were published by the American Tract Society (Butchart, 1980 and Morris, 1976). The American Tract Society was organized in 1860 as a nonsectarian organization that was evangelical in purpose but by 1868 it was almost wholly controlled by the Congregationalists. The society published spellers and readers that were similar to those that were being published for whites; however, the books were: Freedmen's primer, The Freedmen's spelling book, and The Lincoln primer.

The third Freedmen's reader paraphrased Bible stories in simple language and structured them so that they were also evangelical. It included some black characters; for example, Toussaint L'Ouverture and Paul Cuffe. L'Ouverture was a slave on the French island of Saint-Dominque (now Haiti) who led the slaves in revolt in August 1791. The students read that Toussaint led a revolt, but the passage also emphasized that after leading the revolt he did not seek revenge. Paul Cuffe was a free black and a native of Massachusetts who owned a shipyard and used his own funds to transport free blacks to Africa. It appears that his biography was included to uphold the work ethic. The stories in the reader were also designed to encourage the development of stable families. The titles of some of the stories were: "Duty to the Aged" and "The Marriage Tie" (Buchart, pp. 136-138). The freedmen's schools also had a newspaper that was published for use in their classrooms. It was called "The Freedman" and was also published by the American Tract Society. A typical issue usually included poetry, penmanship and arithmetic exercises, stories, news, an emphasis on religion, and temperance. Butchart considered the masthead of the newspaper significant because it consisted of two pictures, one of a white family and one of a black family. The picture of the white family projected a positive image, a father seated with his family at a table reading from a Bible; in contrast, the picture of the black

family projected a negative image. The blacks in the picture were grinning, poorly dressed, and obese. To add insult to injury, the black men and women were referred to as "uncle" and "auntie" and the children as "pickaninnies" (Butchart, pp. 140-146). Even in the federal schools they were perpetuating stereotypes.

This researcher had the opportunity to examine an alternative to the above materials, Lydia Maria Child's The Freedmen's book. Child was a supporter of William Lloyd Garrison and a member of the New England Freedmen's Aid Society. It is obvious that her objective was to demonstrate to blacks that they were human and intelligent. Her book included stories about a diverse group of black achievers; for example, Charlotte Forten's grandfather, James Forten, Sr., Phillis Wheatley (colonial poet), Benjamin Banneker (clockmaker, astronomer, and diplomat). Furthermore, the material in her stories was realistic because some of her stories dealt with the hypocrisy of both whites and blacks. The African Methodist Episcopal Church's Civil society also published a monthly newspaper that was used in some of the schools. It contained reading lessons, grammar lessons, and an emphasis on black pride. The editorial board of this publication believed that blacks should be taught only by black teachers and the members of the board were openly critical of the white teachers who were teaching in the freedmen's schools. However, most black

groups were appreciative and supportive of all teachers irrespective of race who were involved in the schools in the South. The journals and papers of these teachers also provide thumbnail sketches of the curriculum and teaching procedures.

Charlotte Forten described in her journal and the articles that she wrote for The Atlantic Monthly (1864) how eager her pupils were to learn: "I never before saw children so eager to learn, although I had had several years' experience in New England schools. Coming here as other children go to play" (The Atlantic Monthly, reprinted in Lockwood, 1969, p. 71). After the formal lessons which were taught in the traditional manner, Forten and Towne would discuss and present character sketches of people they believed the children should know about. Forten described one of those occasions:

> Before teaching them the 'John Brown' song, which they learned to sing with great spirit, Miss T. told them the story of the brave old man who died for them. I told them about Toussaint, thinking it well they should know what one of their own color had done for his race. They listen (sic) attentively, and seemed to understand (Atlantic Monthly, p. 71).

In addition to lessons and character sketches all the teachers considered singing and plays important parts of the curriculum in their schools.

Towne described the Christmas celebrations at her school in her diary and in the letters that she wrote to friends and relatives in the North. In a diary entry dated

December 25, 1862 Towne described a song that John Whittier wrote for the students at the Penn School because Forten asked him to write one. Whittier's hymn was an expression of gratitude to God for their freedom and a plea for special blessings from the baby Jesus. A constant refrain in the hymn were the following lines: "We're free on Carolina's shore; we're all at home and free" (Towne, pp. 96-97). After the play and singing each child received a gift of clothing. In addition to memorizing songs it is evident from the diary that Towne believed that there was a body of knowledge to be learned and her method of instruction focused on rote memorization of facts and rules. It is also evident that she wanted to make sure that the children could impress visitors, especially potential donors to the school. Edward Pierce, the agent of the Treasury Department who conceived the idea of establishing schools in the conquered area, visited the Penn School on March 9, 1863. Towne was happy that her pupils were able to impress Pierce. We find the following statement in her diary: "Mr. Pierce came and examined our school. He asked the children questions which they answered readily" (Towne, pp. 107-108). As the reader will discover in the next chapter of this study, Towne and Murray's successors, Rossa Cooley and Grace House, were critical of Towne's pedagogical techniques. They accused Towne of emphasizing the learning of isolated facts and information that would not help Towne's student survive or learn

the practical skills that they needed to survive and make a living. Towne's diary is evidence that her methods were the same methods that were used in schools in other sections of the country: "We are going to have a grand school exhibition before we close, with dialogues, exercises in mathematics, in grammar, geography, spelling, reading, etc., etc. We are cramming for it" (p. 163). In a letter of June 13, 1865 Towne expressed great joy and happiness because her students had read a history of the United States and also knew the parts of speech. She also frequently requested her Northern supports to send her books. Among the books she requested were Bronte's Wuthering Heights, Hugo's Toilers, biographies, and histories. Elizabeth Botume's account of her tenure as a teacher also reveals that the curriculum in the freedmen's schools was a classical and traditional one.

The children in Botume's school were scheduled to be vaccinated for smallpox; however, Botume did not attempt to have explained what was going to happen. She soon discovered that it was a mistake not to explain the process to the children. She assumed that the children would simply cooperate if she made it part of the school routine. The children did not understand and they all left the school. Botume then visited the homes and discussed what was going to happen with the parents and the next day in school she showed them her own vaccination scar and explained what the doctor planned to do. The students were then ready to

cooperate. Like Towne, Forten, and Murray, Botume had assumed that there is a body of knowledge to be transmitted and memorized and that the teacher is the authority figure to be obeyed. However, Elizabeth Wright's philosophy was different. As indicated earlier in this chapter, Wright was a native black Southerner, and a graduate of Tuskegee Institure and a disciple of Booker T. Washington.

Wright believed as Washington that what the Southern black needed was not a classical education, but an education that would teach them the skills that they needed to survive. Wright's students did learn how to read and write but they also learned the practical skills that they needed to provide for themselves and their families. Wright's course at Tuskegee included spelling, American literature, English literature, algebra, history, the constitution and school laws of Alabama, geography, reading, grammar, geometry, mental philosophy, and methods of teaching. Her nonacademic work included drawing, printing, bookkeeping, cooking, housekeeping, sewing, and how to set and serve tables. The male students at Tuskegee also took carpentry, brick masonry, and studied agricultural methods. Wright introduced these same courses in her school and in her report to the Board of Trustees she discussed her philosophy that academics and training for life should take place simultaneously.

> This view is always kept in mind, to try to reach the masses and to provide such an education for them which will most benefit them for the duties of life. We feel that to accomplish the most good, industrial training along with an academic course should be given, and as we go from locality and see the condition of things, we feel it is our duty to advise our people and try to show them a better way of living, and as the youth of today will soon be the men and shall take our places, therefore the school is trying to provide for them through mental and religious training. Each day we are realizing more fully that a high school education is for the few and industrial training for the masses (Cited in Morris, 1983, pp. 120-121).

Summary

As the twentieth century began Wright was no longer an exception for there were many Tuskegee graduates teaching in schools in the South who were realists and pragmatic in their approach to black education. In addition to the graduates of Tuskegee there were the graduates of Hampton Institute who were also realists and pragmatists. The Washington philosophy by 1900 also had the support of many philanthropists and some of these philanthropists and teachers will work to change the traditional philosophy of schools like the Penn School. Although the five teachers discussed in this chapter used the traditional methods that were commonplace at the time, they made a tremendous contribution. These teachers made it possible for the freedmen on the Sea Islands to learn how to read and write. Furthermore, all of these teachers demonstrated the ability to adjust to the social and political reality in which they found themselves, and they also demonstrated that the freedmen could learn.

CHAPTER IV

AN INTERPRETATIVE ANALYSIS OF SELECTED TEACHERS 1915 TO 1970

Historical Milieu: Change, Confrontation, and Revolution

The years 1915 to 1970 were tumultuous ones for blacks. During this period the numbers of blacks migrating to the North increased significantly. Since the end of the Civil War the North had attracted large numbers of blacks but it was World War I and the concomitant economic and social changes that stimulated black migration northward. The demands of the wartime economy and the increased demand for labor were also factors that encouraged blacks to move northward in large numbers. Many Southern whites who witnesssed this massive migration believed that the prediction made after the Civil War was at last becoming a reality because some whites had predicted in 1866 that by 1920 there would not be any blacks in the South. Blacks soon discovered that the North was not the "Mecca" that they envisioned. They discovered that rioting and lynching occurred in the North and that they had not escaped discrimination. However, because de jure segregation did not exist in the North and because there were more jobs and educational opportunities

blacks who left the South were convinced that the decision to leave the South was a wise one.

They were especially convinced that their decision to leave was a wise one when they read or heard about the violence and the lynchings that still plagued the South. Blacks who had migrated North from South Carolina in particular were convinced that they were better off in the North following an incident which occurred in Abbeville, South Carolina in 1916. This incident which disturbed blacks in every county and city in South Carolina, involved Anthony Crawford, a black farmer who owned over four hundred acres of land. He was a leading layman in the local African Methodist Episcopal Church, and he also provided the financial support for a black school on his land. He was chased by a white mob because he cursed a white man who refused to give him what Crawford felt was a fair price for his cotton. The mob was determined to kill Crawford because he had dared to "talk back" to a white man. Crawford attempted to defend himself with a hammer, and he did use the hammer to strike a fatal blow on the head of the ringleader of the mob. For forty-five minutes the mob kicked Crawford and plunged a knife into his back and then they lynched his lifeless body. After this incident, blacks sold their cotton in Abbeville but they would not buy anything in the stores (Ballard, 1987, pp. 156-158). Blacks were now more literate and cognizant of the world in which they lived. They read more and as their

relatives migrated to the North they introduced their Southern black "cousins" to black newspapers. Black migration to the North was a sociological event which interested the Department of Labor.

The Department of Labor commissioned James H. Dillard, Director of the Jeanes and Slater Funds for Negro Education in the South to study the progress of black migration. The Dillard Study provides the reader with some insight into why blacks migrated and describes as well conditions in some of the Southern states especially South Carolina and Mississippi. Dillard and the investigators readily understood why the migration occurred but they were also surprised that the migrants still loved the South.

> Nevertheless these migrants love the South; many of them write back longingly of their homes; still they break their old ties and face a new life in a strange land for the sake of the larger, freer life which they believe awaits them, and, particularly, their children. It has taken something more than money to move these masses of people, though money is a necessary condition for the movement and is the immediate occasion of the exodus; but the Negro's list of grievances that prepared him for this migration is a long one (Negro migration in 1916-1917. 1919. Cited in Fishel and Quarles, 1970, p. 395).

The report emphasized that money or higher wages was not the only motivation: "There is a good deal in the statement of a leading colored woman of Florida: 'Negroes are not so greatly disturbed about wages. They are tired of being treated as children; they want to be men.'" Many southern blacks hoped that if blacks enlisted in the army that this would bring democracy to the South: "Yet amid all

this I shall ever love the good old South and I am praying that God may give every well wisher a chance to be a man regardless of his color, and if my going to the front would bring about such conditions I am ready any day...." ["Letters of Negro migrants of 1916-1918," 1919, pp. 290-340]. Although blacks did fight to help make the "world safe for democracy" it did not result in blacks becoming first class citizens. The war did, however, mark the end of one of the great reform movements in the history of the United States.

That reform movement was Progressivism. It affected national and local politics and reform efforts from the 1890s to the 1920s. It was a reaction to the rapid pace of industrialization, corruption, and the reality that the United States was becoming a world power. It is difficult to isolate one source of the progressive movement, for there were several sources. However the social settlement movement is usually cited as one source because it was the most representative of the progressive spirit. [Button and Provenzo, 1983, pp. 194-199]. The settlement movement in America was inspired by the first settlement house, Toynbee Hall, established in England. Toynbee Hall was in the slums of London and it was a place where educated men and women worked to share their knowledge with the poor. These "social workers" used the settlement house to teach the practical skills that the poor needed to survive and to improve their lives. The most famous settlement house in the

United States, Hull House, was organized by Jane Addams in Chicago in 1889. There immigrants were taught how to read and write, a day-care center was provided, and arts and crafts were taught. The purpose and nature of education were redefined: "Addams had as her purpose the regeneration of urban society. Her program was educational in the broadest sense. Hull House was to represent a center for practical education and culture" (Button, p. 195). The redefinition of education by progressive reformers in the settlement houses to include practical subjects and skills needed in an industrial society had an impact on education. Lillian Wald, who ran the Henry Street Settlement House in New York City, lobbied successfully to get the city of New York to provide doctors for the schools. The first classes for handicapped children were established in New York City as a result of the efforts by progressive reformers. Progressive reformers other than those involved in the settlement movement also had an effect upon education. Representative of this group was Jacob Riis.

Riis was a Danish American newsreporter in 1890 when he published How the other half lives. His book was a graphic description of the sordid life of the immigrants in New York City. However, Riis' book was more than a description of the evils of urban life; it projected the message that democratic institutions and values were in danger unless the schools and the physical environments in the cities were

improved. Riis believed that schools should teach the importance of the home and the community and that the school curriculum should be redefined to include industrial education. Thus out of the Progressive Movement came many ideas to reform the curriculum and organization of the schools. Representative of these ideas were: (1) The National Education Association's recommendation in its 1893 report, "Committee of Ten", that the purpose of education is to prepare students for life. (2) The Herbartian movement that used the ideas of the German philosopher Johann Herbart to advocate the importance of subject matter rather than the nurturing of mental discipline. (3) John Dewey's thesis in his _The school and society_ (1890) that the curriculum needed to be changed to meet the needs of society and that the school should prepare students for their roles in a democratic society. Dewey advocated the integration of subjects and that students should search for knowledge themselves and "learn by doing" (Button, pp. 194-214). While many progressive reformers were interested in social and educational reforms they were a diverse group, and it has not been easy for historians to agree and provide a definitive answer to the question: Who were the progressive reformers?

A survey of the historiography of the movement reveals that until the publication of Mowry, _The California progressives_ (1951) the progressives were perceived as a mass of people in rebellion against "special interests", corruption

in government, and the disappearance of economic opportunity. Mowry's thesis was that the progressives in California were not "the people" but a small group of professional and business leaders who believed that the rise of the common man and the realization of democratic ideals were being destroyed by big business and the labor unions. Mowry's thesis was later (1955) applied to the whole movement by Hofstadter in The age of reform.

Other scholars have described the progressives as businessmen and scholars who wanted to make efficiency an ideal in government, business, and in every aspect of American life (Hays, 1957), and still others have described the progressives as conservatives (Kolko, 1963). However, recent scholarship (Thelen, 1972 and Crunden, 1982) describes the progressive reformers as a diverse group. There were Democratic progressives who saw Woodrow Wilson as their advocate and who agreed with him that the special privileges enjoyed by business should be attacked. There were Republican progressives who followed Theodore Roosevelt, concentrated on the modernization of political institutions and also attacked governmental corruption on the local, state, and national levels. The movement also included women and organized labor. In the North white and black progressives worked together to try to alleviate alienation and problems caused by urbanization. Racial attitudes and segregated institutions in the South prevented

that section from realizing fully the changes that were occurring in the North and other sections of the country.

Not only were progressive reformers interested in social improvements, but they approached their reform from a rational perspective. Efficiency became the slogan for many progressive reformers as they sought to extend the concept of scientific management to society as a whole. Many of the reformers turned their attention to education and began to apply the concept of scientific management to the schools. They were convinced that they were on the right path because several research studies of the schools indicated that the schools were inefficient.

Representative of these studies was Ayres' Laggards in our schools (1907). Ayres used statistics to demonstrate that the schools were failing to educate students and that there were too many "over-age" students in schools. He believed that many of the ills of society could be attributed to the fact that the schools were producing graduates who could not cope with the problems and challenges of an industrialized and democratic society. Ayres' solution was to see the school as a factory and to apply the principles of scientific management that were so popular in the business world. The "Bible" for these reformers of education was Frederick Taylor's Principles of scientific management (1911). The Taylor principles included the following: (1) Develop a science for each element of a man's work

(2) Scientifically select, train, teach, and develop the worker (3) Cooperation and (4) Equal division of the work and the responsibility between management and workers. The mechanisms of scientific management were standardization, time and motion studies, bonus plans, and planning. Bagley (1907), Spaudling (1909), Bobbitt (1913), and Cubberly (1916) were among those who advocated the application of the principles of scientific management to the schools. An analysis and description of the teachers who are the subject of this chapter will give us some indication of the influence of these ideas on the education of blacks in South Carolina. The current consensus among scholars is that progressivism as a movement had its greatest impact in the North and the West.

Neither the progressive movement nor black participation in World War I abolished racism. Many of the black veterans of the war were disappointed when they returned home to communities that still denied their rights. Events in the year 1919 demonstrated to blacks that America had not changed. There were serious race riots in Washington, DC, Longview, Texas, and Chicago, Illinois. Seventy-six blacks were lynched in 1919, the largest number of blacks to be lynched for a decade. Blacks no longer willing to passively accept violence and discrimination were responding with a new militancy. In Tennessee and Alabama whites called off planned attacks against blacks when they learned that the

During the presidential campaign of 1924 the Progressive candidate, Robert Lafollette, and the Democratic candidate, John W. Davis, made statements appealing to blacks. Both candidates emphasized that they would respect all people regardless of color or creed and some blacks voted for the Democratic Party's candidate. This trend continued as large numbers of blacks voted for the Democratic presidential candidate, Alfred E. Smith, in 1928. During the election the Republican Party made a strong appeal to white voters in the South and as a result of this effort many of the black delegates and officials of the Republican Party in the South lost their positions. However, it was Franklin Delano Roosevelt who was able to "wean" blacks as a group away from the Republican Party. Although the New Dealers did not have a conscious civil rights program, the programs that they pushed through Congress benefited blacks.

Two other factors also convinced blacks that Roosevelt was their friend: (1) He brought a large number of black advisors to Washington and (2) His wife, Eleanor Roosevelt, worked closely with and supported many of the causes of Mary Mcleod Bethune, the black president of Bethune-Cookman College in Daytona Beach, Florida. Mrs. Roosevelt visited black colleges and invited blacks to the White House. Furthermore, the Second World War and the Depression demonstrated to white Americans that in a time of crisis black and white Americans could work together in harmony.

Fishel and Quarles refer to this era as a revolutionary one: "The twenty years between the inauguration of Franklin D. Roosevelt and the eve of the Supreme Court desegregation decision were the two most revolutionary decades in the history of the American Negro up to that time" (p. 453). The numbers of blacks in the civil service increased and this was a welcome change for blacks. This was a dramatic shift from the administration of Woodrow Wilson when he issued an executive order segregating bathrooms and eating facilities used by employees of the federal government. Blacks also remembered that Wilson made a conscious effort to decrease the numbers of blacks employed by the federal government. Thus as far as blacks were concerned Roosevelt and the Democratic Party had demonstrated that things were changing. Blacks were convinced that things had changed when the Democratic Party in 1948 added a civil rights plank to its platform which resulted in a split in the Democratic Party and the formation of a third party movement led by Strom Thurmond, Governor of South Carolina.

The Republicans were sure that they would win the election since the Democratic Party was divided and newspaper editorials in all sections of the country predicted that the Republican candidate, Thomas Dewey, would defeat Truman. However, Truman was convinced that Americans would not reject him and the Democratic Party simply because of the civil rights plank, so he took his case to the American

people. Truman was right and in his own elected term as President he gave his support to a congressional committee to study the impact of racism on the military, housing, social institutions, and employment. The published report, To secure these rights, documented the existence of racism in every aspect of American life and recommended that the President and the Congress push legislation and sanction efforts to eliminate discrimination in American life. Truman implemented the recommendations of the committee by issuing several executive orders that, for example, integrated the military and established fair employment practices for businesses that held government contracts.

While all of these changes were occurring the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) had been working since World War I to get the federal courts to declare the separate but equal policy in education unconstitutional. The NAACP had been organized in 1910 by Northern progressives. The only black official of the organization for many years was the black historian and sociologist, William E. DuBois, Director of Research and Publicity. The NAACP had two major goals: (1) Abolition through legal means of all forms of segregation and (2) Establishment of equal education for all students in America without regard to color or creed. As the NAACP attacked segregation in higher education many Southern white educators and politicians concluded that the one strategy that

they could use to avoid integrated schools was to make sure that black schools in the South were adequate. Franklin succinctly describes the futility of the Southern strategy:

> The determination of the South to provide better public schools for Negroes brought its resources to one of its major problems in a tardy and inadequate fashion. Not only were the Negro schools so inadequate that it would take years to achieve even a semblance of equality, but by 1951 the NAACP had decided to attack the very principle of segregation as unconstitutional and a clear contravention of the 'basic ethical concepts of our Judaeo-Christian tradition' (p. 421).

The Supreme Court rendered two decisions on segregation in schools. In 1954 the Court in Brown vs. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas declared that segregated schools were unconstitutional because they denied blacks equal protection of the laws as guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution. The 1955 Brown Decision established guidelines for the movement toward integrated schools (Brown Decision cited in Fishel and Quarles, pp. 499-501). Northern and Southern blacks did not assume that access to equal educational opportunities would eliminate racism and discrimination. The sit-in movement, freedom riders, marches, and nonviolent protests were evidence that blacks believed that protests were necessary to stimulate social change and that education by itself could not destroy racism. However, at the national level and among some black leaders there was the belief that a by-product of integrated schools would be an integrated society. The school was seen as the panacea. There were also many business leaders who organized and

supported philanthropic educational foundations who saw the school as a panacea.

Educational Foundations

The Board of Trustees of the Penn School wrote to the General Education Board for support. The General Education Board was an example of the new type of educational philanthropy which developed during the period of Reconstruction. The first such foundation was the Peabody Education Fund, organized in 1867. It was named after George Peabody who organized the fund with an initial gift of one million dollars and bonds from the state of Mississippi. Peabody later contributed an additional $1,384,000 (Leavell, 1930, p. 59). The goals of the fund were clearly stated at one of the first meetings of the trustees of the fund:

1. Common school education was to be promoted immediately, by such means and agencies as could be utilized or created for this end.
2. Assistance should be given to the establishment of a permanent system of public education in the South.
3. The endowment of scholarships to students training to become teachers should be made, and the establishment of normal schools should be stimulated.
4. Assistance should be given to the promotion of education in the application of science to the

> industrial pursuits of man (Peabody Education Fund, 1867-1909, I, p. 16, Cited in Leavell).

Thus the Peabody fund paved the way for other foundations and, in a sense, convinced suspicious white Southerners that its efforts would be beneficial. Peabody and the trustees made sure that one half of the trustees were Southerners. The first general agent of the fund was Barnas Sears, President of Brown University, who earlier in his career had succeeded Horace Mann as the Secretary of the Massachusetts State Board of Education. Sears was an appropriate choice since one of Peabody's objectives was to stimulate and gain public support in the South for the common school movement supported by public funds (Perkinson, pp. 27-28). Sears established the policy of granting money only to those areas that could match the grant from the foundation. One source concluded that the influence of the foundation was positive and negative. The fund did help to create support and sentiment for the common school movement in the South. At the same time, because Sears was against "mixed schools" and helped to support an alternative to the few integrated schools, the efforts of the fund did not promote educational equality (Perkinson, pp. 28-29).

The General Education Board that the Penn trustees appealed to for support had been incorporated on January 12, 1903. John D. Rockefeller was the key figure who assumed the leadership in organizing this new foundation. Prior to

the organization of the General Education Board Rockefeller was one of the major supporters of the American Baptist Education Society. Leavell's thesis is that Rockefeller had earlier been concerned with supporting only religious educational institutions but that as his fortune increased he began to feel a great sense of public duty and saw the need to support efforts beyond the religious sector [p. 67]. The General Education Board concentrated mainly on black higher education and public schools in the South. Before venturing into the South the Board did an educational survey of the South. As a result of the survey the trustees of the General Education Board concluded that it would not be a good idea to establish a separate system of schools outside the domain of public support in the South: "A superimposed system would lack that fundamental quality of support which is essential to the educational advancement of all the people" [Leavell, pp. 68-69]. Rockefeller and the trustees also committed themselves to support private Southern schools. They were especially interested in those private schools that trained teachers.

The efforts of the General Education Board continued the propaganda for public schools started by the Southern Education Board which was organized at the turn of the century by Northern capitalists and Southern progressive educators. Both the Northern capitalists and Southern educators believed that public education was the key to ensure

the economic development of the South. The South was an underdeveloped region and if progress was to be made all students regardless of color would have to be educated. The Southern Education Board did not have funds to distribute; its main function was to change public opinion in the South and to gain support for public education. William Baldwin, President of the Southern Education Board, gave blacks the following advice: "Avoid social questions; leave politics alone; ...know that is a crime for any teacher, white or black, to educate the negro for positions which are not open to him" (Carnoy, 1974, p. 292). Harlan (1958) has done perhaps the most extensive and scholarly study of the Southern Education Board. His thesis is that the Board did motivate, "...native Southerners to improve their schools according to standards prevailing among their Northern neighbors, and that at the same time the gap of discrimination widened between white and Negro, town and rural schools" (p. xv). Thus while the Southern Education Board organized a propaganda campaign for mass education, private foundations such as the General Education Board gave grants to support educational efforts in the South.

The General Education Board believed that the major emphasis should be industrial training for blacks. Carnoy supports and documents this fact using the records of the General Education Board and the speeches and letters of some of the trustees of the Board (pp. 291-297). This

generalization is also supported by what happened after the Penn School trustees appealed to the General Education Board for assistance. The Board in 1903 sent one of its agents, Wallace Buttrick, to look at the Penn School. At the time of Buttrick's visit the school was still under the leadership of Ellen Murray. Buttrick reported to the General Education Board that the school's program was not of great educational value and that it did not promote the moral progress of the students. He recommended that Murray should be replaced with someone who understood what industrial training was all about. Ellen Murray had assumed leadership of the school after Laura Towne died. Murray conceived of industrial education as her friend Laura Towne had conceptualized it. Industrial education simply meant cooking, sewing, elementary carpentry, and the fundamentals of agriculture.

Buttrick recommended that Dawkins, a black graduate of Hampton Institute and teacher of agriculture subjects at Penn, should replace Murray. However, Jacoway (1980) concludes in her detailed study of the minutes of the Penn Board of Trustees that Frissel was opposed to Dawkins because he was black. Hollis Burke Frissell was Principal of Hampton Institute and Chairperson of the Board of Trustees of Penn School. To support her claim Jacoway quotes from a letter that Jenks wrote to Cope. Jenks and Cope were Northern white businessmen who were members of the Penn Board of

Trustees. Jenks was sharing with Cope Frissell's opinion about a black principal for the Penn School. Jenks quoted Frissell: "Even at Tuckegee under Mr. Washington himself the defects of negro control are very apparent" (Jenks to Cope, July 6, 8, 1903, in the possession of Mrs. James McBride Dabbs, Rip Raps Plantation, Mayesville, S. C., cited by Jacoway, p. 53). It was decided that Murray would stay on but that two white teachers from Frissell's staff at Hampton Institute would be hired to implement the recommendations of the General Education Board.

In the Penn School reports two other funds are mentioned, the John F. Slater Fund and the Anna T. Jeanes Fund. Wealthy industrialist, John F. Slater, Norwich, Connecticut, established his fund in 1882. In a letter to the first trustees of the Slater Fund, Slater stated that the success of the Peabody Fund encouraged him to establish the Slater Fund. "The sum of $1,000,000 was appropriated for the establishment of the Slater Fund for the general purpose of uplifting the lately emancipated population of the southern states, and their posterity, by conferring on them the blessings of Christian education" (Papers and documents of the Slater Fund, 1894, cited by Leavell, p. 62). Rutherford B. Hayes was the first chairperson of the Slater Fund's Board of Trustees. In 1906 the Slater Fund gave five hundred dollars to support the salaries of teachers in the agriculture department of the Penn School (Penn School report, 1906, p. 28).

Leavell in his study concluded that most of the teachers aided by the fund were involved in industrial and vocational training.

The Anna T. Jeanes fund was established in 1907 by Anna Jeanes, a Quaker from Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Jeanes already had a reputation as a benefactor of some of the educational foundations. In 1905 she donated $200,000 to the General Education Board and in 1906 $10,000 was given to Hollis Frissell for Hampton Institute. Jeanes endowed her own fund because she wanted to help the small rural schools in the South (Leavell, pp. 71-73). Ellen Murray established contact with both of these funds before she died. After Rossa Cooley became head of the Penn School she would continue to seek support from the Slater and Jeanes Funds.

In 1904 Rossa B. Cooley and Frances Butler were hired. Frances Butler fell ill with malaria and died one month after she arrived on the island. The trustees soon hired Grace House who was from a distinguished New York-New Jersey family that could trace its roots back to the colonial period. Her father was John House, a missionary in Greece and Turkey, and the founder of the American Farm School in Salonica, Greece. Grace House grew up in Turkey and later attended Dana School in Morristown, New Jersey and in 1896 became a student at Columbia University. At Columbia she was perhaps influenced by John Dewey and other progressive educators. The president of Teachers College, Columbia at

this time was James Earl Russell who worked closely with the General Education Board (Cremin, p. 175). House joined Cooley in 1905 and the two women devoted the next forty years to dedicated service at the Penn School.

The Penn School: Rosse Cooley and Grace House

With this background we now turn to Cooley's School acres: An adventure in rural education, 1930, and the annual school reports of the Penn School for some understanding of the philosophy, curriculum, and achievements of the Penn School under the leadership of Cooley and House. Cooley believed black schools had failed to prepare blacks to earn a living and to maintain stable communities because the curriculum and the emphases of the schools were wrong. She believed that traditional and purely academic education was not adequate to meet the needs of black students. Her aim was to bring together the school and the community. She called this the "third revolution" that occurred at the Penn School. The "first revolution" was that of the founders, Towne and Murrary, who demonstrated that former slaves could learn. The "second revolution" occurred when some of the principles of vocational education from Hampton Institute were introduced at Penn. Of course, she was excited and privileged to recount the story of the "third revolution":

> And then--a third phase--the story of the succeeding years, when we in turn have been pioneering at Penn itself, and have been carrying out an experiment which is being watched by educators with mounting interest, bringing the school to the farms, and making this oldest of Negro schools in a sense the newest--an all-island school, an all-the-year school, merging school and community into a common adventure (Cooley, 1930, pp. 4-5).

Cooley lamented the fact that the object of the school under Towne and Murray was to teach reading, writing, religion, and to train teachers for the county schools.

Cooley described how the community outside the school was virtually untouched by what happened at the Penn School. Recitations on the theory of household hygiene and the practice of teaching did not prepare the students to change or affect their communities (pp. 18-19). The students and their parents had simply been learning how to barely make a living from the soil. They were not learning how to use their hands. It is interesting to note that Cooley felt that this was not peculiar to Southern black education, and she stated it in her account: "How many white children in America went through our public schools during these same decades with little consideration of how their education might fit them for the life they must fit into" (p. 20). She also criticized the American missionaries who established schools or taught in mission schools, "...an education that is plastered on, regardless of the life and the needs of the people" (p. 20). Therefore, this researcher was not surprised to learn that one of the first projects

of Cooley and House was to determine what happened to the young people on the island. They had one of the Penn School graduates conduct a survey of the plantations to determine what the young people did who left the island. "I might say one third are still in the North; one third came back damaged; one third came back in their coffins, no good to anybody" (p. 20).

Cooley then lamented the fact that Towne and Murray were not familiar with the "creative experiment at Hampton Institute". Cooley believed that great things could have been accomplished if Towne and Murray had adopted the Hampton Institute philosophy of educating the whole personality. However, Cooley did not blame Towne for her failure because Towne had not known or fully understood the Hampton philosophy. Cooley provides an answer that this researcher could not find in the school reports of the Penn Archives. Cooley explains why Towne, as she realized that her life was almost over, sent for Hollis B. Frissell, the white president of Hampton Institute and formed the first Board of Trustees for the Penn School.

> At the time when Miss Towne knew she must lay down her work and that eventually it must be entrusted to other hands, she looked beyond the rim of the islands. She welcomed the suggestion of her niece, Mrs. William F. Jenks of Philadelphia, to seek advice from Dr. Hollis B. Frissell of Hampton. She had stayed at her post till the finish (pp. 22-23).

Thus, Frissell, as a trustee of the Penn School helped to usher in the "third revolution". Cooley made sure that when

she hired new staff members they were teachers who were graduates of Hampton. One of those she hired was Joshua Enoch Blanton who came to rehabilitate the school farm; Blanton later became principal of the Voorhees School that was discussed in Chapter Three of this study.

Cooley and House were determined to merge learning and the community and to provide an education experience that would be meaningful for the students. Cooley described what she observed when she arrived.

> Pages of history were recited with hardly a word changed; long lines of presidents and dynasties could be given, dates included, without hesitation. The blackboards were covered with examples in cube root and algebra; a group of the most advanced pupils were deep in Latin prose. Later we heard a class recite in physics though the little schoolhouse could boast of no laboratory (p. 36).

Cooley also described the long list of historical facts that the students memorized so that they could pass the county examinations. What disturbed Cooley was the fact that they were learning, "isolated fact learned not because they fitted into life but because they fitted into the examinations". The most graphic illustration of Cooley's critique of the Towne-Murray philosophy was her description of the day the students at the Penn School would dress as English kings and queens and then recite the rulers of England in order. Sometimes they would recite the list backward to demonstrate at the annual school's exhibition that they knew all the English kinds, in proper order (pp. 36-37). Cooley does acknowledge that the traditional methods that Towne

and Murray were using were used in schools all over America. Cooley and House were like other progressive reformers and believed that there was a need for education in its broadest sense at the Penn School. They believed that to change the curriculum at the Penn School, so that it would be education in its broadest sense, industrial education had to be introduced.

The first strategy that Cooley devised to weave industrial education or her philosophy of education naturally into the existing structure involved the pay of school fees. The first task was to teach everyone that education costs money. She discovered to her surprise the Towne and Murray had charged a fee of ten cents a year and had increased the fee to one dollar by the time Cooley and Murray joined the staff. Cooley suggested and Murray accepted the idea of raising the fee to five dollars asking the parents to still pay the usual one dollar with the understanding that their children would work at the school to earn the other four dollars. Cooley understood the problems and the hardships that the fee increase caused because the islanders did not handle much money and were entangled in the crop-loan, store-credit economy of the South. Cooley soon discovered that her students and the community began to accept the idea that the worth of a school was to be measured by the amount of fees, and they also began to realize that if a new school building was to become a reality, school fees would have to

be paid. Cooley described the change: "It soon became the custom for all the children to work out the four dollars. Farm tools and scrubbing brushes for the first time took their place beside the books" (pp. 39-41).

The next major task was to get the students to come to school on time. Since the inception of the Penn School through the tenure of Cooley and House school began at eleven o'clock. To break the island tradition of being tardy, Cooley and House called the students together one afternoon prior to dismissal. The purpose of the assembly was to explain and illustrate to the students how much time had been lost and how much they had missed because they were usually late. A clever strategy was devised: "And then we told them they could be late once a week. I think that seemed like a sort of gift to them. In fact we gave them five days a month, but after that they were to turn themselves out of school if they didn't 'catch the line' as it entered Darrah Hall" (p. 42). It worked and the opening of school was gradually changed to an earlier hour until it became nine thirty.

The next major problem that Cooley and House had to solve was to change the student' attitudes toward their school books. Towne and Murray had not allowed the students to take books home because the school had few books. However, Cooley and House gradually changed this practice. The first year they required each child to purchase one book and

each year thereafter gradually increased the number of books that had to be purchased. "Today every child owns the usual quota of schoolbooks and so proud are they of these possessions that they are determined to carry them home every night." This practice also increased the use of the school library. All students had the opportunity to experience a library hour accompanied by their teachers who would guide them and show them how to use the library (pp. 43-44). Cooley was demonstrating that one could close the gap between what the children learned in school and what they faced in every day life. She had also demonstrated that you could change behavior and teach new values by demonstrating in concrete ways the value or meaning of the new behavior or method.

The Hampton trained teachers on the staff demonstrated in concrete ways the value and the practical use of the knowledge that their pupils were learning. These teachers discovered that the students had no interest in their math lessons because the concepts were too abstract. Cooley discovered that for years the students had been memorizing the meaning of cord, carpet measurement, and an acre. The Hampton trained teachers took their students out to the woodpiles and actually showed them what a cord of wood was. Instead of dealing with carpet measurement the emphasis was to understand the concept of an acre. The teachers actually walked an acre with their students. The folly of trying to

teach carpet measurement was revealed to Cooley when she discovered that none of her students on the island had carpet in their homes nor had they seen carpet. The children began to enjoy what they were learning: "...these boys and girls gradually began to like the change from books and memory to the world about them" (p. 45). One teacher discovered that her pupils had never seen or realized that tadpoles became frogs. A washbowl was put in a corner of the classroom and the children could actually watch the transformation from tadpoles to frogs. The students became so excited that they would arrive early so that they could see what had happened in the night. One of the most touching consequences of this venture into nature study was described by Cooley.

> One of the old fathers, drawn to that corner by the strange tales his children told him, came to my office on his way home saying: 'Dese teachers sho' teach we a heap ob ting. I ben lib yuh all my life an' huccome I ain't know pollywog tu'n to frog' (p. 46).

While Cooley was happy with what she had been able to accomplish at this point in her tenure at Penn School, she continued to lament the fact that not all the teachers were following the Hampton Institute philosophy since Ellen Murray still retained nominal control. This changed when Ellen Murray died on January 14, 1908. Cooley was now free to implement other ideas that she had; for example, she established the St. John School on the Penn School campus. The St. John School was an ungraded school used to train

prospective teachers. The ungraded school also served as a laboratory to help Cooley determine what some of the problems were that plagued the ungraded county schools. The Jeanes Fund supported this effort. Thus the Penn School affected and influenced public education. Not only did the school affect and influence public education on the island, but it also began to influence the surrounding community in other ways. This is what Frissell, Cooley, and House had envisioned would happen if they operated the school according to the Hampton Institute philosophy.

The School Buildings and Curriculum

The agricultural projects on the farm were successful and were used at demonstration sites for the farmers in the surrounding community. It was difficult at first to convince the students that farming was or should be a legitimate part of their educational experience. Cooley created what she called "study farms": "The block was measured off by the agriculture boys and put into crops that an island farm should carry-crops for food for the home and stock, crops for cash-and for land improvement" (p. 52). Not only did Cooley's students learn new farm methods, but she also provided them experience in keeping a record of expenditures and receipts. Today the methodology that the Penn School used to teach agricultural methods would be called "teaching across the curriculum". Cooley and her

staff also included mathematical computation, bookkeeping, and nature study in the agricultural curriculum. Cooley also decided that other industrial and vocational areas should be added to the curriculum: "If the farms were to come to school, surely the farm tools and home necessities should have a place in the school curriculum" (p. 53).

Thus the Cope Industrial Building was built by the students and men from the community and dedicated in 1912 on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the Penn School. It was named for Francis Cope, A Quaker from Philadelphia, who was also a member of the Penn Board of Trustees. The building was designed by John House, a nephew of Grace House. John House was an architect in the firm of Peabody and Ludlow in New York. Cooley and House were especially proud of the Cope Building because the construction was supervised by Joshua Blanton, the superintendent of the Penn School Farm, and the masonry work was done by Harris Burwell and Anthony Watson who were graduates of the Penn School (Annual reports. 1910-1911, pp. 6-8, cited in Cooley, School acres. p. 53). Cooley described the construction process:

> Under Hampton graduates they worked, the walls of oyster shell concrete rising to song and laughter. It was a normal development, using their own steer carts to carry sand and oyster shells, the sand brought to the school landing on the school's boat from nearby oyster factories. And so island resources, muscles, and spirit were utilized and 'WE Building' took its place in the school's equipment to make possible a larger service to the island (p. 53).

The Cope Building also housed a class that taught African basket weaving, a shop to mend farm tools, blacksmith and wheelwright shops, a carpentry class, and a cobbler's class. As time passed the Penn Farm introduced and demonstrated the mowing machine, the rice thresher, and the tractor (pp. 52-58). Cooley always reminded her teachers that if they were not careful, "industrial education can at the hands of some teachers, become so materialistic that an unfair advantage is taken of the pupils. But the intellectual and spiritual values are there in every task performed, if eyes can see them" (p. 64). Cooley and her staff always made sure that the intellectual and spiritual values were not neglected and that the experiences that the students had at the school reinforced and supported the social, political, and economic life of the surrounding community.

There was one problem that it took Cooley several years to solve after coming to the Penn School: "Parents kept their children out to work in the fields and sometimes only half those enrolled would be in attendance when planting was at its height" (Cooley, p. 68). In 1917 Cooley and House solved this problem by dividing the school year into four ten week terms. Each of the four ten week terms coincided with a season of the year, thus there were the autumn, winter, spring, and summer terms. The autumn term began in October and for three weeks the students would attend

classes and then there would follow what was known as "home week". This week was also known as "potato week" because the students and their families were involved in harvesting the potato crop. Each teacher was to visit the homes of all her pupils during this week. The teacher used the visit as an opportunity to discuss school work, the corn crops, and the home garden. The home garden was to be an acre of the parents' land that the student was to cultivate using the principles learned at the Penn School. Cooley referred to the home garden project as "Acres for classrooms".

> These acres have become our best classroom. You should go out to Frogmore Plantation where the son of one of the boys in my first class in agriculture at Penn has his acre. This was the father who balked at our early efforts at bringing farming into the school work, but now that same father stands back of his boy and his home acre. It lies directly behind the house, has a neat fence all around it, and is raising crops all the year round now [p. 71].

During the winter term, the major agricultural effort was to release the students for a week so that they could help their parents plow their fields. Before the Penn School began its agricultural outreach to the community the custom on the island had been to plow the fields only in the spring. This was a tradition that the islanders learned during the days of slavery because the masters would let their fields lie vacant until the spring. However, due to the influence of the Penn School and the visit of the teachers to the homes during the winter term, fields were now plowed in the fall, spring and summer [pp. 73-75]. The

spring term was interrupted by "Planting Week" and the end of the spring term was marked by "Exhibition Day". However, this exhibition day was different from the one that was the tradition during the tenure of Towne and Murray. The students were no longer required to demonstrate that they could memorize isolated facts. Exhibition Day became a traditional event that even whites in the community would attend. There were academic exhibitions as well as agricultural and vocational exhibits. Dramas were written in which the students were the actors and the purpose was to teach the community something that would be useful. Another event that occurred during Exhibition Day was graduation and the presentation of certificates. Thus by 1918 Cooley and House had succeeded in merging the school and the community (Cooley, pp. 74-90 and Annual reports, 1914-1918).

The elementary students at the Penn School were divided into three groups: (1) Beginners and those who had previously failed (2) Dependables who had demonstrated that they could work independently and (3) Leaders who could assume responsibility and supervise other students while they themselves were learning. The high school students were divided into two groups: (1) Those pursuing studies and (2) Those involved in practical work. This plan for dividing the students was not original with Cooley and House. Cooley in her many articles and books always gave credit to Dr. and Mrs. John House who had developed this plan at the

American Farm School in Salonica, Greece [Cooley, pp. 160-164]. Cooley and House also realized that if the parents did not understand and appreciate what they were trying to do, then what the students were learning at school would be useless. "So long as schoolgirls or schoolboys are learning far in advance of their parents so that there is a gulf instead of a bridge between them, a lot of our education can fall by the wayside. But when they find those parents keeping abreast of the times, too, the whole family are 'climbing upstairs' together" [Cooley, p. 94].

Adult Education

The Penn School was involved in adult education that helped to bridge the gap between the students and their parents. There were literacy classes that met in the Penn School Library on a regular basis. There were homemakers' clubs that were usually organized after a Penn teacher talked with one of the women and then the interested woman would contact other interested women and they would agree to meet in one of the homes. The homemakers' clubs played an important role as the islanders became interested in food crops rather than just cultivating cotton. Many of the women learned about gardening in their clubs with help from Penn teachers. The women in the clubs were taught how to can the produce from their gardens and why a balanced meal was important for their families. Rossa Cooley described the

change and impact of the clubs and the school on the island women:

> As education moved forward, the home began to come into its own, so the hard monotony on the acres of cotton has become varied with the gardens, the canning, the sewing, the meetings at the school and in the homes, and many an island woman now not only has her pantry well stocked with canned vegetables and fruit but keeps as many engagements in the course of the week as her city cousin. You would find her trudging with her young people the long miles in the evening to see the Christmas Mystery Play at the school, find her at the local canning club meeting, and at the local Parents Association; find her always deep in her own little community but with her mind facing the school to let no new idea escape (pp. 96-97).

Another important way that the school influenced and affected the surrounding community was through its classes for midwives. By 1915 in order to become a midwife in South Carolina one had to hold a state certificate. The Penn School helped to train midwives under the new system. Local midwives were also encouraged to keep records of births and deaths. Another important goal of the midwife classes at the Penn School was to make the midwives and the islanders aware of their role in reducing the infant mortality rate. Cooley indicates that they were successful: "A survey made recently under Dr. Thomas J. Woofter, Jr., of the Research Department of North Carolina, showed our infant mortality to be forty-eight per one thousand; we realized the tangible results of this effort to lift the old service to new estate" (Cooley, p. 98).

The Penn School also assumed the leadership in getting the adults to participate in the 1922 Better Homes in America Campaign sponsored by the United States Department of Agriculture. A demonstration cottage was built on the school grounds followed by a demonstration week. The project was a practical demonstration of how a home should be maintained, decorated, and cleaned. The Penn School community won third prize in the national contest and Herbert Hoover wrote a letter of commendation: "It may interest you to know that 961 communities observed Better Homes Week this first year of the campaign. We hope St. Helena will be represented annually in this important work, and that you will carry out the very interesting program you have suggested" (cited in Cooley, School acres, pp.99-100). The Penn School and the St. Helena Community continued to participate for a number of years and they continued to win prizes. Cooley quotes from an essay written by a third grader to demonstrate the impact of the Better Homes Campaign: "In order to have better homes we must follow rules, we must have everything clean about us. I am going to plant two trees in front of my yard" (p. 100).

As the adult education program increased in size Cooley and House realized that what they needed was a community center to house the adult education activities. As early as 1921 the students at the school and the community began to collect oyster shells and stacked the shells in a "pile of

faith". Construction on the building began in 1923 and the building was dedicated in 1925 and named the Frissell Memorial Community House (Annual reports, 1921-22 and 1925-26). The Frissell Center became the center of all adult activities and many school activities: Temperance Meetings, Nursing and Hygiene Classes, the St. Helena Cooperative Society, County Teachers' Association and Training, Midwives Class, Better Homes Committee and Community Classes. However the expansion into the community and the increasing costs incurred by keeping the school open all year intensified the financial problems of the Penn School.

Jacoway concludes in her study of the Penn School that the lack of money was always a problem at the school because of poor management of available resources and the lack of real commitment on the part of the trustees. Francis Cope and George Peabody were never reluctant to contribute money when the school faced a financial crisis, but they did not attempt to establish an endowment for the school. The General Education Board had been giving $10,000 a year to support the school but after 1920 the trustees of the board began to question the annual expenditure since it was contrary to the philosophy of the board. The Penn School had not demonstrated that it could stand on its own nor had the trustees of the school been able to establish an endowment. Jacoway's search of the minutes of the meetings of the Penn trustees revealed that Cope was in favor of

establishing an endowment but that Peabody and Frissell were opposed to an endowment because it would make the school secure and the appeals in the North would no longer be necessary on a regular basis. If appeals were not made in the North then Northerners would not understand the "Negro Problem". Jacoway describes the "peculiar" situation of the Penn School:

> And so, though the missionary era was fast receding, Penn chose to base its existence on the continued interest and goodwill of wealthy individuals (mostly northern), counting every new contributor as a convert to the cause. In essence, then, Penn accepted responsibility for raising sensibilities in the North as well as for educating the children, regenerating the farms, and reshaping the culture of the St. Helena community. Consequently, Penn remained unendowed, and the pursuit of funds continued at the old relentless pace (p. 165).

The Great Depression intensified the problems of the school. A bridge was built connecting the island to life on the mainland, World War II alleviated the depression, the boll weevil destroyed the cotton, the young moved to the cities, and the Penn School community was no longer self-sufficient. Cooley and House did not realize that times had changed and that their "children" were not children and that the larger society was changing. Rossa Cooley and Grace House retired in 1944 and were succeeded by Howard and Alice Kester. The Kesters had made a reputation for themselves as a result of their involvement in interracial activities in the South and with the Congregational Church. Howard Kester was an ordained Congregational minister and a

graduate of the Princeton Theological Seminary where he had accepted Reinhold Niebuhr as his mentor. The Kesters were soon at odds with the members of the Penn Board of Trustees. Although the Kesters and the trustees were similar in their moralistic outlook they differed in their view of society. "The ultraconservative patricians who had sustained the Penn School endeavor over the years had a world view and an understanding of social processes at least 180 degrees away from Kester's. Their view of society was hierarchical; his was egalitarian" (Jacoway, p. 245). However, Kester and the trustees agreed that they needed someone from the outside to evaluate the Penn School. Dr. Ira D. Reid, chairperson of the Department of Sociology at Atlanta University in Atlanta, Georgia was chosen to do the evaluation. The report was critical of the Penn program and concluded that the academic program was inferior compared to what the county could provide and suggested that the state should assume the academic program. The report suggested that the Penn School should concentrate on community programs such as adult education, recreation, and social welfare programs (Reid, "Evaluation", cited by Jacoway, pp. 246-252).

In 1948 the state of South Carolina and the county of Beaufort assumed the responsibility for educating black children on the island of St. Helena. Classes continued at the Penn School until a public school was built in 1953. Agnes Sherman, Coordinator of the York Bailey Cultural

Center, describes what happened to the old Penn School:

> In 1951 Penn became known as Penn Community Services, Inc. A community development program with emphasis on health, the Rossa B. Cooley Health Clinic, Library Services, and the Penn Nursery School were started. The facilities on Penn's campus housed conference groups. Penn was the only facility in South Carolina where biracial groups could meet during the 50s and 60s. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. and his staff met here often to formulate strategies for social change in the South and rest of the country. The historic march on Washington, D. C. in 1963 was partly planned on Penn's campus. After 107 years of the institution's existence, John Gadson, Sr., a Black man was made Director of the agency in 1969 (A brief history of Penn School, 1972, p. 2).

Thus ended the saga of two teachers who dedicated forty years of their lives to a dream and a vision. Imbued with the ideas of the progressive reform movement and the ideas of John Dewey, Cooley and House labored for forty years. However, like their predecessors, Towne and Murray, their experiment gradually died as they became old and as the social, political, and economic environment changed in South Carolina and the country at large. However, they did the best that they could within the prevailing social, economic, and political environment in which they found themselves. We must not forget that Forten, Towne, Murray, Botume, Wright, Cooley, and House were products of the time in which they lived. However, these teachers were courageous to dare to provide education for blacks when it was not a popular idea and resources were limited. In a changing political, social, and economic environment after World War II and the historic Brown Decision, Septima Clark was able to add another chapter in education for blacks.

The Life and Contributions of Septima Clark

Prior to 1954 Clark had not moved beyond the traditional concept of education. However, after 1954 the world in which Clark lived was changing and Clark was able to change. Clark, a black teacher in the public schools of Charleston, South Carolina, was fired in 1956 because of her membership in the NAACP and her other civil rights activities. Septima Poinsette Clark was born in 1898 in Charleston, South Carolina to a father who had been a slave and to a mother who had never been a slave. During the Civil War Clark's father served the Confederate army as a water boy and was about seventeen years of age when the war ended. Clark's father eventually became a caterer and she describes him as a gentle person: "My father came out of slavery non-violent. He was a gentle tolerant man who knew how to make the best of a situation" (Clark, 1986, p. 88). Clark's mother was born into a free family in Charleston but she was reared in Haiti. Clark says that when she was ten years old she decided to become a teacher and that she loved children and was known in her neighborhood as "Le Ma".

Clark attended Burke Vocational Institute for one year and then took an examination and was admitted to the Avery Normal Institute. Although Burke was considered a high school it had only the sixth through eighth grades. "A high school for blacks didn't come in Charleston until 1912. That's when we got our first high school. It was such an

event that President Taft came down to the dedication of the first building of this high school, Burke Vocational Institute" (Clark, 1986, p. 100). After one year at the Burke Vocational Institute, Clark took an examination and was admitted to the ninth grade at the Avery Normal Institute. The Avery Normal Institute was not a new school, for it was established by the American Missionary Association in 1865. The early history of the Avery Institute differed from that of the Penn School because the first principals of the institute were black.

The American Missionary Association first appointed Thomas Cardozo as principal and he was succeeded by his brother, Francis Cardozo. The Cardozo brothers were members of a family that had been free before the Civil War. Francis Cardozo had attended a school in Charleston that was for free blacks; he later studied theology at the University of Glasgow in Scotland where he graduated with honors. In 1864 he served as pastor of the Temple Street Congregational Church in New Haven, Connecticut and the next year he became principal of the Avery Institute. Francis Cardozo remained at Avery for three years; he resigned in 1868 to become Secretary of State for South Carolina. However during his tenure as principal he determined the role of the Avery Institute and what its curriculum should be (Drago and Hunt, n.d., p. 3).

Cardozo believed that the major role of the Avery Institute was to prepare teachers and to prepare students for college. The curriculum was a traditional one and included courses in Greek, Latin, philosophy, algebra, geometry, botany, English literature, and government. Unlike the Penn School, the Avery Institute was unique because when it was organized its faculty was black and its first principals were black. However this did change after Cardozo left and from 1868 to 1913 all the principals were white, but there continued to be black teachers on the faculty. According to Drago and Hunt, "Avery perhaps came to embody principles later associated with W. E. B. DuBois' belief that the struggle for racial equality would be waged most effectively by a 'Talented Tenth', a college trained, politically active, and socially responsible black vanguard" (p. 5). Septima Clark, a graduate of the Avery Institute, also taught at her alma mater and she also attributes her later political activism to her experiences at the Avery Institute as a student and later as a faculty member.

Clark was hired by the first black principal of Avery since Francis Cardozo, Benjamin F. Cox. Clark describes how she was hired:

> It happened one day-to review that experience briefly-that Mr. Cox, the principal under whom I had been graduated from Avery, came to my house and asked me if I would consider teaching at Avery the next school year. He had a vacancy in one of his sixth-grade positions. The salary was only $30 a month, but I would be living at home and I could save on board and transportation. and I would be teaching in the city, and

> living conditions would be immeasurably better. Then, too, I would have a chance to learn about teaching in an urban community (1962, p. 59).

The reason that Clark noted that she would have the opportunity to teach in the city was because in 1916 she had taken a job as a teacher on one of the sea islands, Johns Island. On Johns Island there were fourteen schools for blacks with a staff of one or two teachers. She found the conditions primitive, and her description of her experience on the island were similar to the experience of the teachers at the Penn School.

The schools on Johns Island were crude structures with open fireplaces; crude wooden benches without backs served as seats for the students. The schools were supervised by three trustees and each year one of the trustees was responsible for maintaining the school, "...to do minor repairs on the building and equipment, if you could call what we had to work with equipment, and to furnish an axe, a water bucket and dipper, a table and chair, and later firewood" (Clark, 1962, p. 36). Clark was expected to provide her own chalk and erasers. She was given a register in which to list the names of her students.

It seems the register was the school system's voucher system and the teacher had to turn the register in every month. The monthly register had to be signed by Clark and two of the trustees in order for her to receive her pay. Though the pay was small Clark was able to maintain herself and also help her family.

> Negro teachers were paid salaries of $25 a month; principals got $30. I was rated a principal. I paid eight dollars a month for board and lodging and I allowed myself two dollars spending money; the $20 I sent home. And usually with the two dollars, or most of it, I bought meat and poultry that I sent home on the returning launch. But white teachers with comparable certificates were paid $65 a month (Clark, 1962, p. 37).

There were 132 students in Clark's school and she had a staff of two other teachers who were also graduates of the Avery Institute. Clark experienced the same attendance problems that plagued the Penn School until Cooley and House changed the schedule. Clark and her staff also worked with the parents and other adults to help them improve themselves and she attributes her experiences on the island in this her first teaching job with providing her with her mission: "So, as I look back more than four decades to my experiences as a teen-age teacher, I realize that it was the Johns Island folk who, if they did not set me on my course, surely did confirm me in a course I had dreamed of taking even as a child, that of teaching and particularly teaching the poor and underprivileged of my own underprivileged race" (Clark, 1962, p. 52). Clark's experiences helped to further prepare her for a career as a teacher and political activist.

During her first year as a teacher at Avery Institute Clark had the opportunity to participate in a petition drive that resulted in the hiring of black teachers to teach in the black public schools of Charleston. The local branch of the NAACP and Benjamin Cox, the first black principal of Avery

since Francis Cardozo, were convinced that black teachers should teach in the black public schools. A certain T. E. Miller, who during the Reconstruction era had been a representative from South Carolina to Congress and later president of the State Colored Agricultural and Mechanical College in Orangeburg, South Carolina came to Charleston to help organize the NAACP campaign on behalf of black teachers. Clark describes her role in this effort.

> Mr. Miller came to Principal Cox and asked him if he would ask his teachers to undertake a door-to door canvass to obtain signatures to a petition asking that Negro teachers be employed to teach in Negro schools. That's when I got into the fight. I volunteered to seek signatures and started visiting the grass roots people. I worked Cannon Street, a very long street, from Rutledge all the way to King. Soon we brought in a tow sack-we called it a croaker sack, I remember, back in those days-with more than 10,000 signatures to the petition. I remember the number because of the fact that a white legislator known then as One-Eye Tillman had declared Mr. Miller would never be able to get 10,000 signatures in all Charleston [1962, p. 61].

The campaign was a success and by 1920 black teachers were being hired to teach in the black public schools in Charleston and by 1921 black principals were also being hired.

During her tenure at Avery, Clark met her future husband, a sailor from North Carolina. She and Nerie Clark had two children before he died early in their marriage. However, only one child a son survived because their daughter died when she was one month old as the result of a hernia operation. Clark stayed with her in-laws in North Carolina and attended summer school at the then North Carolina

Agricultural and Technical College in Greensboro in 1922. She taught in Mars Hill, North Carolina and after her husband was discharged from the Navy they moved to Dayton, Ohio where the husband became ill and died in 1925. Clark returned to Hickory, North Carolina and to her job at the black school in Mars Hill. In 1928 Clark returned to Charleston and her former job on Johns Island. During the summer she was attending summer school in Columbia, South Carolina at an extension school under the auspices of the state college. She decided to accept a job in Columbia and taught here from 1929 to 1947 (Clark, 1962, pp. 73-76).

Teaching in Columbia, South Carolina

Clark enjoyed the eighteen years she taught in the public schools of Columbia, South Carolina. Her principal the first few years was a certain C. A. Johnson who had conducted the summer school extension courses for black teachers. Clark really appreciated the building meetings and the professional meetings that Johnson held after school for his teachers. The purpose of the building meetings was to discuss the routine things that were necessary for the orderly operation and improvement of the school and at the professional meetings, "...the teachers would work on problems of teaching, such as remedial reading, methods of effectively presenting arithmetic or geography or other subjects, all kinds of teaching plans and methods" (Clark, 1962,

p. 76]. According to Clark many of the teachers criticized the principal for holding the meetings since the meeting were held twice a week for three hours at the end of the regular school day. However, Clark did not complain because she was learning so much and she later attributed her success in passing the state teacher's exam to the fact that she had learned so much at the after school training sessions. In addition to the chance to improve herself professionally there was something else that Clark had an opportunity to participate in that she was really excited about.

> But more important to me than the teacher-training programs and even the teaching itself, as far as my own development was concerned, I believe, were the opportunities I had to participate in civic activities. My participation in the programs of the various civic groups not only strengthened my determination to make my own life count for something in the fight to aid the underprivileged toward the enjoyment of fuller lives, but also gave me excellent training in procedures that could be used effectively in the struggle [Clark, 1962, pp. 76-77].

Clark was an active member of the NAACP in Columbia and took an active part in some of the controversial campaigns of the organization. She is proud of the fact that she was involved in the NAACP campaign and court case to get South Carolina to equalize the salaries of black and white teachers. It was a successful effort: "And our efforts paid off, not only in the satisfaction of having made a good fight, but also in actual cash. The courts decided with us. When I went to Columbia, my salary was $65 a month. When I left I was getting almost $400 a month" [Clark, 1962, pp.

82-83]. As soon as the court decision became public the State of South Carolina began to require teachers to take an examination. Clark took the examination and made an A and they tripled her salary. Clark continued to study and finally accumulated enough credits through night classes and summer study to receive a bachelor degree in 1942 from Benedict College in Columbia, South Carolina. In 1946 Clark received a master of arts degree from Hampton Institute in Hampton, Virginia and a year later, in 1947, when she left Columbia to return to Charleston she was earning a salary of $4,000 a year. During the entire time that Clark was in Columbia she also taught a night class for adults who could not read or write. Clark enjoyed her work and life in Columbia, but she decided to return to Charleston because she believed that her elderly mother needed her.

Charleston, South Carolina and the NAACP

In Charleston Clark continued her political activism because she was convinced that education without political power would not liberate blacks. She was assigned to teach the seventh grade and was later put in charge of a group of children who needed remedial work in reading and, of course, Clark enjoyed her teaching and believed that her students were making progress. Clark became chairperson of the black YWCA's committee on administration and immediately became the center of controversy. Clark had the nerve to invite

Elizabeth Waring, the wife of federal Judge Julius Waties Waring, to speak at the black YWCA. Clark was seen by some whites going to the Waring house to extend the invitation to Mrs. Waring. As a result, Clark began to receive obscene phone calls. However, the Warings were not afraid as Judge Waring was already an unpopular man in Charleston because he was the judge who ruled in favor of equalizing the teachers' salaries and also ruled that Democratic white primaries were illegal in South Carolina. Waring was a Southerner and most white Southerners expected him to defend and support the "southern way of life" in his decisions. However, Judge Waring surprised everyone and Clark once asked him what made him change.

> You know, a judge has to live with his conscience. I would sit in the courtroom, and I would see black men coming in that I knew were decent men and they were considered bums and trash because they were black. And I would see white men that I knew were bums, and they were considered gentlemen. I just couldn't take it any longer (Clark, 1986, p. 24).

After Mrs. Waring spoke at the black YWCA, the Warings became outcasts in Charleston. The Warings invited blacks to their home and Septima Clark invited the Warings to her home. Clark was not surprised that whites criticized her but she was surprised that her black neighbors were so afraid of the Klan and violence that they criticized her for inviting whites to her house. The principal and the teachers at Clark's school criticized her and on one occasion when the principal saw her leaving the Waring house he made

the following comment: "That's a dangerous thing to do. How in the world could you do it" (Clark, 1986, p. 28). The Warings finally moved to New York City where they both died in 1968. However, their bodies were brought back to Charleston. Clark described their funerals: "He was buried in January, and she died in November. He had two hundred blacks and twelve whites at his funeral, and she had nine of us at hers" (Clark, 1986, p. 29). In his will, Judge Waring left his retirement money to the College of Charleston to provide a scholarship for a black student to live on campus. The College of Charleston did not use the money until 1976. Although the Warings left Charleston in 1950, Clark's association with them and her political and civic activism designated her a radical. Clark lost her job and the right to teach in South Carolina in the aftermath of the 1954 Brown Decision.

After the Brown Decision all teachers in South Carolina were asked to fill out a questionnaire. One of the questions asked the teachers to list the organizations to which they belonged. Many of the black teachers who belonged to the NAACP were afraid to admit that they belonged to what white South Carolinians considered a subversive organization. Septima Clark did list the NAACP on her questionnaire and in 1955 the South Carolina legislature passed a law stating no city or state employee could belong to the NAACP. Clark was not surprised when she received her dismissal

letter. "It wasn't too long before I got my letter of dismissal. The Board of Education wrote me that it would not be renewing my contract to teach remedial reading at the Henry Archer School. My goodness, somehow or other it really didn't bother me" (Clark, 1986, p. 36). Clark tried to get the teachers to protest the dismissals but they were afraid, but Clark now understood what needed to be done. Blacks needed to be trained instead of pushed into something they did not understand. Clark accepted a job at the Highlander Folk School.

The Highlander Folk School

The Highlander Folk School was organized by two white Tennesseans, Dr. Lilian Johnson and Myles Horton. Dr. Lilian Johnson and young Myles Horton organized the Highlander Folk School in 1934 on Johnson's farm which was located about fifty miles northeast of Chattanooga, Tennessee in a little town called Monteagle. Horton had just finished college and spent a year in Denmark. Clark describes their meeting.

> Over in the little town of Savannah, Tennessee, some hundred miles east of Memphis, a young man had been growing up. This fellow, a native white Tennessean named Myles Horton, had now finished high school and college and had spent a year in Denmark. Somewhere along the line he had become obsessed with the idea that all men are brothers, and that they could and should live together as brothers, regardless of race, nationality, or economic condition. And somewhere he had heard of Dr. Lilian Johnson and her views that paralleled his. So he came eastward into the Cumberland region and met her. It was a meeting of kindred spirits (Clark, 1962, p. 125).

The Highlander Folk School became a place where whites and blacks could participate in workshops and learn how to deal with social, political, and economic issues that needed to be resolved in their communities. The school also had an adult literacy program. The education experiences were designed to help miners, farmers, and ordinary workers develop a new sense of self and dignity. In 1956, Clark became the director and organizer of adult workshops that were held at Highlander and throughout the South. "The school's first objective was to encourage these people to make use of the school to improve their personal lives and social conditions, and to apply the principles and spirit of democracy to everyday life" (Clark, 1962, p. 136).

Clark encouraged blacks in Charleston and Johns Island to attend some of the workshops at the Highlander Folk School. One of the blacks that Clark had worked with in a number of projects on Johns Island was Esau Jenkins. Since 1948 Jenkins had been teaching the islanders how to read the constitution and in 1948 he also organized the Progressive Club which was a self-help club that paid the bail of blacks who were arrested for insignificant crimes because of racism. The members of the Progressive Club also organized a cooperative and opened their own grocery store. After the 1954 Brown Decision, Jenkins saw the need to teach the islanders to read so that they could qualify to register to vote. In 1957 Septima Clark suggested that Jenkins attend

the United Nation's Workshop at the Highlander Folk School (Woodruff, 1984). Clark taught in the island Citizenship Schools and she presented the idea to Myles Horton whereupon the Highlander School loaned Clark and Jenkins the money--without interest--to purchase a building for the Citizenship School. Clark devised a workbook for the Citizenship Schools that discussed the South Carolina election laws, tax laws, and other important information. Clark gathered the information, "And then I took this information, which is often couched in sentences and words rather difficult for the grass roots folks to comprehend, and rewrite it in simple, easily comprehensible words" Clark, 1962, p. 150).

The Citizenship Schools

Clark began in earnest to train teachers to go out and organize Citizenship Schools throughout the South. As she traveled Clark also challenged the laws and traditions that supported segregation: "I traveled by bus all over the South, visiting those teachers and recruiting new ones. I always took the fifth seat from the front to test the buses. They asked me to move, but I didn't" (Clark, 1986, p. 60). After Highlander was raided by the state police, Horton and Clark decided that the citizenship program should be moved in case the school was closed. Horton met with Martin Luther King and it was decided that Clark and the idea of the Citizenship Schools would be used to train workers to

go into the South. From 1961 to 1970 Clark worked for the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) through the United Church of Christ because the SCLC could not receive foundation grants. Clark, through Andrew Young, now Mayor of Atlanta, arranged to get permission from the United Church of Christ to use a center that the church owned in Liberty County, Georgia. The center was about 295 miles from Atlanta. The center was called the Dorchester Cooperative Community Center (Clark, 1986, p. 62). Until the Voting Rights Act of 1965 was passed, the Citizenship Schools taught blacks how to answer the questions that the Southern states required blacks to answer before they could register to vote.

> All of the states had different election laws. Georgia had thirty questions, and people who wanted to register had to answer twenty-four out of thirty. Alabama had about twenty-four questions they had to answer. One of them was: 'Give the definition of thief.' One teacher said she never could give the definition because the registrar wanted her to say, 'A thief is a nigger who steals.' Because she couldn't say that, or didn't know that she should say that, she never could pass (Clark, 1986, p. 67).

The teachers that the Center trained were ordinary black men and women who were respected in their communities, who could read aloud, and who could write their names in cursive. According to Clark between 1957 and 1970 there were 897 Citizenship Schools. Where did these schools meet? They met in beauty parlors, in homes, and outdoors under trees (Clark, 1986, pp. 69-70). Out of these schools came the leaders at the grass roots level who really formed the base

for the Civil Rights Movement. Clark's achievement is stated succinctly in her own words:

> In 1962 the SCLC joined four other groups-the Congress Racial Equality (CORE), the NAACP, the Urban League, and the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)-to form the voter Education Project. In the next four years all the groups together trained about 10,000 teachers for Citizenship Schools. During this period almost 700,000 black voters registered across the South. After the Voting Rights Act passed in 1965, registration increased very rapidly. At least a million more black people registered by 1970. But it took until the election of 1972 for the first two blacks from the Deep South to be elected to the U. S. Congress since Reconstruction. They were Andrew Young, who helped me set up all those Citizenship Schools, and Barbara Jordan, from Texas (Clark, 1986, p. 70).

Septima Clark's career as a teacher for forty years in traditional schools, later as a faculty member of the Highlander Folk School and as the organizer of Citizenship Schools for the SCLC for fourteen years, is an example of a teacher who developed a "pedagogy for the oppressed" to use Freire's term (Freire, 1970, pp. 57-74). She moved beyond the philosophy of Forten, Botume, Wright, Towne, Murray, Cooley, and House, who were attempting to completely regulate the world and the knowledge that entered the minds of their students. Clark realized that being in the world with others has two possibilities. Clark as a teacher did not avoid genuine dialogue with her students and the community in which she worked. Her students were motivated to act to change the reality in their environments that needed to be changed and not to simply adapt themselves to a political and social reality that needed to be challenged. The other seven

teachers who were the subjects of this study were limited in the options that they could offer their black students because of the political and legal environments in which they found themselves. Septima Clark was in a more viable position because of the 1954 Brown Decision and the Civil Rights Movement.

Summary

In this chapter the careers of Rossa Cooley and Grace House are described as representative of committed teachers who adapted to the political environment in which they found themselves. Just as the teachers discussed in Chapter Three of this study, Cooley and House provided blacks with access to education in an area, St. Helena Island, where the local and state authorities had not assumed full responsibility for education for blacks. They were concerned with providing their students with the knowledge and skills to survive. Cooley and House did not so much motivate their students to challenge the existing social and political order as to live better within it. This was a realistic position since the separate, but equal, doctrine was the law of the land. Only after 1954 could Septima Clark, in her career as a teacher, advocate education and political activism as avenues toward liberation.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, IMPLICATIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Summary and Conclusions

This study has provided a historical and interpretative analysis of selected teachers who taught in South Carolina, 1862 to 1970. Although this study was limited to a specific historical period and state, it has also demonstrated that there were some problems and issues that have plagued black education so intensely that they were chronic. If education for blacks and for all Americans was to improve, an understanding of the institution called "American education" was needed. An understanding of its whole was possible only if all parts were understood. For those who wished to bring the reality of education for blacks closer to its ideal, their first step was to turn to the past. A historical and interpretative analysis provided a profile of the first efforts of selected black and white teachers and a profile of a Southern state, South Carolina, where they worked. These early efforts were initiated by religious and charitable organizations.

These organizations and the teachers that they supported shared with the newly freed slaves the belief that education was the solution and a panacea. However, after

Reconstruction ended in 1877 with the withdrawal of troops, there was a tendency in South Carolina to ignore the educational aspirations of blacks and to give meager support to black schools established prior to 1877. As this study has demonstrated, there were black and white teachers, especially those associated with private schools supported by charitable organizations and private philanthropy, who kept many of these schools open.

These teachers believed that if black students were "educated" they could become useful citizens. What was needed was a "balanced education" that trained the mind and the hand. As this study has demonstrated, the teachers and schools did not achieve this balance. They either emphasized traditional education or they only emphasized industrial education. All the teachers that were the subject of this study, except Septima Clark, lived and worked in South Carolina at a time when it would have been futile and impossible for them or their students to challenge directly the existing order. However, these teachers and schools should be commended for affirming that blacks should have access to schools and for attempting to fill the void. Forten, Towne, Murray, Botume, Wright, Cooley, House, and Clark all taught, worked and, in some cases, organized schools for blacks in spite of local opposition. In areas where there were no schools, their efforts eventually gained support from the local authorities. These teachers were

always cognizant of the political reality in which they lived and worked. Furthermore, these teachers had to accommodate themselves to a political reality that they could not change. However, the manner in which they often manipulated events and the local power structure was a type of social adaptation to a world complicated by de jure segregation and the belief that blacks were inferior to whites and could not learn. These teachers were assisted in their efforts by educational foundations and Northern business interests.

These educational foundations and the Northern business interests who supported them believed that public education was the key to ensure the economic development of the South. The agents of these foundations saw the South as an underdeveloped region and concluded that if the region progressed, then all students--black and white--should have access to a system of free public education. These foundations generally placed emphasis on industrial training. The policies and programs of these foundations did not encourage blacks and the teachers who taught in black schools to challenge or change the existing social order. However, as this study has demonstrated, the Southern Education Board, General Education Board, the Jeanes Fund, and the Slater Fund made a contribution to the development of black public education in the South and not just in the state of South Carolina alone. While these foundations supported many of the private efforts, they also realized that the most effective

strategy was to encourage the development of a system of public education for all children in the Southern states. The agents and philanthropists such as Rockefeller and Anna Jeanes did not want to superimpose a system of black schools upon the South supported by private efforts. The most effective strategy was to change Southern public opinion in favor of a system of public schools for both blacks and whites. This study has also demonstrated that these educational foundations supported industrial education, construction of buildings, and the efforts to train teachers for the public schools. The agents and philanthropists associated with these educational foundations were supporters and advocates of the Progressive reform movement.

It has been shown in this study that the teachers advocated and attempted to implement some of the ideas of the progressive reformers. Furthermore, many of the ideas and strategies used by these teachers were the same ones that were associated with John Dewey and the Progressive Education Association. Cooley and House were concerned that their students experience an education that was relevant to the lives that they had to live. Just as Dewey sought to merge learning and the community this was also the strategy of the teachers after 1915. The new schedule devised by Cooley which coincided with the planting and harvesting seasons on the island, the basket weaving classes, and the use of practical skills classes to teach across the curriculum

were similar to some of the experiments attempted by John Dewey. For example, at the University of Chicago Laboratory School, Dewey introduced the idea of teaching across the curriculum in the textile area. While the students learned about textiles by learning how to weave and process them themselves, they also had history, reading, and arithmetic lessons that were related to the experiences in the Textile Laboratory (Button and Provenzo, pp. 206-207). There were many teaching strategies discussed in this study that indicated many of these teachers identified with the ideas of the progressive reformers. The homemakers' clubs, the literacy classes, and the farm cooperatives organized at the Penn School and at the Voorhees School were typical of the approaches used by the progressive reformers who worked with the settlement movement. While it was evident that Cooley and House came directly out of the progressive reform movement, the teachers in this study, whose work in South Carolina predated the progressive movement, used many of the same techniques. In fact, Sotume, Wright, and Towne were within the progressive reform tradition even before there was a progressive movement.

Whether progressive or pre-progressive, black or white, one final question that was a purpose of this study remains to be answered: To what extent did these educators see education as a vehicle for liberation? This study has demonstrated that liberation for blacks from 1862 to 1970 meant

freedom and literacy, freedom from slavery before 1865 and freedom from prejudice after 1865. Freedom from prejudice meant the positive enjoyment of social, political, and economic rights. Thus the teachers in this study who were involved in education for blacks before the historic 1954 Brown Decision and the Civil Rights Movement utilized education as a vehicle for partial liberation. They could offer their students literacy but not freedom or total liberation, because the legal and political climate before 1954 sanctioned segregation. However, the education provided was liberating in the sense that it provided blacks in coastal South Carolina with the means to survive and to adapt and adjust to a reality that they could not change. The education provided by the teachers and schools in coastal South Carolina was also liberating because it prepared blacks to work through the existing legal and political system to change that same system.

The attempts to provide education for the freedmen beginning in 1862 were usually attempted by those who believed that education would end racism and change American society. The attempts to provide education for blacks that were the subject of this study in a specific state, South Carolina, were valiant and while racism was not eliminated there were some changes. It was only after the historic 1954 Brown Decision and the Civil Rights Movement that teachers involved in education for blacks could begin to

advocate education and political activism as avenues toward liberation. Thus the process of reflection through the "lens of the past" provided by this research has demonstrated that education for any group that is still oppressed cannot actually be liberating. However, the ideas of some of the contemporary critics of education in conjunction with the process of reflection provided by this research have implications for the future and suggest and imply how education can serve as an avenue toward liberation.

Implications

When the nature of knowledge, its impact on an individual, and its role in self-actualization is studied, one is dealing with the epistemological dimensions. Zvi Lamm (cited in Gress and Purpel, 1978, pp. 124-141) states that after epistemological approaches are adapted to the needs of the school a transformation takes place and three formulas are the results: (1) Knowledge is meant for use (2) Knowledge has intrinsic value and (3) Knowledge is a means in the process of individuation (p. 125). Lamm explains individuation: "The meaning attributed to this concept by psychologists operating with it today is closely associated with the meaning of the concept of self-actualization. Individuation is a process in which the individual actualizes his unique personality and crystallizes his unique identity" (Gress and Purpel, p. 128). The first two formulas have one

common denominator for "instruction is regarded as a bridge between knowledge and the learner" (Lamm, p. 127). Knowledge is the most important element; therefore, manipulation and instruction of the student usually follows to accomplish this process. Acculturation and socialization are the natural by-products of the first two formulas.

Lamm states: "We do not learn humanity by acquiring social roles or by internalizing the principles, values, and norms of a specific culture. Humanity is a given datum present in human beings and education is the process designed to enable the individual to actualize his own humanity" (p. 129). The teachers in this study who advocated a traditional education did not produce thinkers and philosophers in large numbers nor did the emphasis on vocational education produce large numbers of black workers with the skills needed in an industrialized society. The charitable organizations that supported these teachers and schools were sincere, but liberation and self-actualization were not among their objectives. The relationship between humanity and self-actualization is what Macdonald called "centering". "Centering as the aim of education calls for the completion of the person as the center of meaning that utilizes all the potential given to a person. It in no way conflicts with the accumulated knowledge of a culture; it merely places this knowledge in the base or ground from which it grows" (Gress and Purpel, pp. 113-114). Lamm has concluded that

the instructional approach that can be developed from the radical epistemological position is self-regulation.

> The principle of self-regulation renounces manipulation of the student's motivation on the assumption that the drive to activity is an inborn human characteristic and as long as this primary motivation is allowed to remain alive it will lead to exploratory behavior in an environment when the necessary conditions for learning are created (Lamm, p. 138).

Kohlberg and Mayer (cited in Gress and Purpel, pp. 59-94) identify three frameworks that have inherent in them responses to the epistemological concerns of educators. First, the advocates of the romantic framework believe that the existence of the self is the primary fact and that what comes out of the inner self is the most important dimension of development. Therefore, the school environment should not be too restrictive and the self is what determines the standard of values. Second, there is the instructional approach that Kohlberg and Mayer call cultural transmission. "Education consists of transmitting knowledge, skills, and social and moral values of the culture" (Gress and Purpel, p. 61). The student must learn through the educational system the discipline that is necessary to promote order and ensure the continuation of the society in which the student lives. Third, there is the progressive instructional approach which "holds that education should nourish the child's natural interaction with a developing society or environment" (p. 62).

The three instructional approaches can be represented by different metaphors. The Romantic theorist uses the metaphor of organic growth and consequently cognitive development unfolds through prepatterned stages. Out of the progressive instructional approach there develops a metaphor that is dialectical: "The child is not a plant or a machine; he is a philosopher or a scientist-poet" (p. 64). The educator who espouses the cultural transmission instructional approach uses the metaphor of the machine and sees the environment as input and the child as emitting output behavior. Thus, cognitive development is the result of directed teaching and learning. It is interesting to note that Kohlberg and Mayer present a convincing case for an instructional approach that comes naturally out of the progressive tradition.

Kohlberg and Mayer use the term cognitive-developmental strategy to describe their instructional approach or framework. This approach accepts the reality of values based on rational ethical principles. Consequently, the values of parents and the society are not the final determinants of educational goals. This is a non-elitist position because the goal is to get all students to develop and participate in the development of the principles that they come to value. Unlike the educators who advocate the romantic and the cultural transmission approaches, progressive cognitive-developmental educators are open about their approach and

invite criticism as they attempt to get their students to learn and cope with the reality in which they find themselves.

This writer would agree with Macdonald [Gress and Purpel, pp. 95-123] that the progressive approach and any derivatives thereof and the radical approach will not produce students who are intuitive, creative, and responsible. Macdonald critiques both approaches: "The progressive position assumed that democracy was the ideal social reality and continued its analysis of the interaction process with that assumption in mind. The radical model, on the other hand, is essentially based upon an analysis of why democratic ideas are not realized, thus emphasizing environmental assertions" [p. 96]. Macdonald also critiques the developmental approach: "Thus, developmental theory is culture and society bound, and it is bound to the kind of system that structures human relationships in hierarchical dominance and submission patterns and alienates the person from his own activity in work and from other people" [p. 98]. Furthermore, if individuals are to do more than survive and cope they must transcend the existing environment with its problems and turn inward. Therefore, Macdonald advocates an instructional approach that he calls a transcendental developmental ideology which empowers students to see themselves as important and creative.

The transcendental developmental framework is best approached through what Macdonald calls a dual dialectical process. A dialectic exists not only between the individual and his environment but also within the individual himself. Being out of touch with one's self is alienation. The concept of personal knowledge is the major epistemological aspect of the transcendental framework. We are reminded again that the aim of education, according to Macdonald, should be "centering": "Centering as the aim of education calls for the completion of the person as the center of meaning that utilizes all the potential given to a person. It in no way conflicts with the accumulated knowledge of a culture; it merely places this knowledge in the base or ground from which it grows" (p. 112-114). Perhaps this is the kind of education that all students need now and into the twenty-first century. If we look at our country and the world we can see what challenges the twenty-first century will present. Today we can control the physical world so that survival is not our major concern. We can produce more food than we can eat. Even regular space travel is a distinct possibility in the future. However, the prospect of nuclear destruction, the reality of international terrorism, genetic engineering, and the changed nature of war due to modern technology are indicative of what the major concerns of educators should be now and into the twenty-first century. Educators and their students must

learn to control their irrational propensities. What is needed now and into the twenty-first century are self-directed, disciplined, and responsible people if America and the world are going to survive into the twenty-first century.

Recommendations for Further Study

There are many possibilities for future research and study: (1) A historical and descriptive analysis of Francis Cardozo, Principal of the Avery Institute, and black Reconstruction politician (2) A study of selected teachers from other Southern states such as North Carolina and Virginia (3) A comparative study of some of the graduates of the Penn School and the Avery Institute. The majority of teachers in this study were from the North. Northern teachers, both black and white, were prolific writers of letters and journals. However, the search for sources for this study suggests that a profile and insight into many of the Southern black and white teachers can be culled from sources other than journals and letters. The records and letters of Superintendents of Education and the correspondence between individual teachers and state officials provide valuable insights and information and (4) The criticisms of the current critics of education for the oppressed and minorities need to be examined in light of these conclusions and conditions in the larger study.

In deciding how to ensure the survival of the public school now and into the twenty-first century, research into the areas identified above will need to be considered. Although this study was limited to a specific period and state, it has demonstrated that there are some problems and issues that have plagued education for blacks so intensely that they are chronic. If education for blacks and for all Americans is to improve, an understanding in its entirety of the institution called "American education" is needed.

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