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1860-1880: AN HISTORICAL STUDY OF THE TYPES.

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ADULT EDUCATION FOR THE BLACK MAN IN AMERICA,
1860-1880: AN HISTORICAL STUDY OF THE TYPES

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate
School of The Ohio State University


By

Leo McGee, B. A. , M. Ed.

* * * * *

The Ohio State University
1972

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William Dowling, Leo McGee, et al. "Computation Skill
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Leo McGee, "Early Efforts Toward Educating the Black Adult, 1619-1850," Adult Leadership. Educational Press Association of America: Vol. 19, No. 10 (April, 1971).

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION - 1619-1860

A brief historical introduction is deemed necessary in order to provide continuity of thought and a global historical picture, in terms of the need for this study and its academic contribution.

Adult education is difficult to describe and almost impossible to define because it is found in so many different forms and is, when organized, under the sponsorship of such a wide variety of institutions and agencies. For the purpose of this study, adult education will be defined as:

Any process by which men or women, either alone or in groups attempt to improve themselves by bringing about changes in their understanding, skills or sensitivities; or any process by which agents or agencies attempt to help men or women change in these ways.¹

The early advocates of education for black people were of four classes: first, masters who desired to increase the economic

¹Cyril O. Houle, "Definition of Adult Education" (lecture presented at Florida State University, October 6, 1965); William Puder, "A Study of the Types of Adult Education Existing in the Confederate States of America, February, 1861 to May, 1865" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Florida State University, 1968).

efficiency of their labor supply; second, sympathetic persons who wished to help the oppressed; third, zealous missionaries who believed that the message of divine love comes equally to all; fourth, ambitious black men, who aspired to a better life.²

The beginning took place in Jamestown, Virginia with the African slave trade in 1619, when twenty black men were delivered as indentured servants. It has been asserted that "there has been adult education for the black man in this country for three hundred years. Education for the black man in America began with adult education."³

Adult education for blacks in America, for all intents and purposes, probably began when they were taught about their new environment and its peculiar requirements for their labor and service. Methods can be assumed, aside from the white colonial directions, in all probability to have consisted of rather crude observations, trial and error, and exchange of experiences.

From the scanty evidence that exists, it appears that the black adult did not receive formal education in the seventeenth

²Leo McGee, "Early Efforts Toward Educating the Black Adult, 1619-1850," Adult Leadership, Vol. 19, No. 10 (April, 1971); The first three advocates were taken from Carter G. Woodson, The Education of the Negro Prior to 1860 (New York: Arno Press & New York Times, 1968), p. 2. The fourth advocate was initiated by Leo McGee.

³Eugene C. Holmes, "Alain L. Locke and the Adult Education Movement," The Journal of Negro Education (Winter, 1965), p. 8.

century in the colonies. Although a small proportion of blacks were exposed to religious and secular training, mainly in haphazard fashion, in families and homes, apparently no legislative provisions for their education were enacted. Some slaves were provided some training in accordance with desires of individual masters.

As the power of individual planters expanded, many plantations tended to become self-sustaining worlds, and the slaves trained for effective service came to have higher value. The food consumed, clothing worn, tools used, and houses inhabited were all produced by slave labor. This type of development caused an increase in the complexity of slave duties. On-the-job training programs developed within the formal structure in response to the rise in demand and in response to the higher prices elicited in the markets where trained slaves were auctioned. Many carpenters, blacksmiths, weavers, and seamstresses emerged from these training experiences.⁴

The first settlers of the American colonies to offer blacks the same educational and religious privileges they provided for

⁴Abigail Curlee, "A History of the Slave Plantation," Southwestern Historical Quarterly, 26:26;, 1922.

persons of their own race were the Quakers. In the face of opposition, they permitted slaves to attend their meetings even before they decided to stop buying, selling or to free them.⁵

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, America faced one of its first great moral dilemmas: Should slaves be Christianized and if so, would their status then be changed? Christian theory, of course, held that all men were equal in the sight of God and brothers under His fatherhood. But slavery existed and was supported despite this theory of religion. Merchants and slave owners who desired to continue their lucrative profits from the slave trade were reluctant to give up their property. So most religious groups in America sanctioned slavery, while at the same time endorsing policies of Christianization. Policies were likewise endorsed which ruled that the conversion of slaves would not change their status. Many slave owners opposed this effort, believing that Christianity would eventually mean freedom of slaves.⁶

Zealous missionaries, believing that the message of divine love came equally to all, taught slaves the English language so that

⁵Thomas Drake, Quaker and Slavery in America (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950), p. 71.

⁶Marcus Jernegan, Laboring and Dependent Classes in Colonial America 1607-1783 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1931), pp. 39-40.

they might learn the principles of Christian religion. The Church of England made efforts at conversion through its Society for Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, organized in London in 1701.⁷

The free black man, always present in colonial America emerged as a definite factor of influence in the education of persons of his race. He took the lead, for example, in establishing separate churches as a protest against inequalities. The "Free African Society" was organized on April 12, 1787. This institution had the characteristics of a benevolent and reform organization. The "Free African Society" was the first organization by blacks for blacks and was the first step by the black people in the United States toward an organized social life.⁸

Despite the sporadic efforts by benevolent individuals and groups to enlighten black men, there had always been certain reactionary forces at work which impeded their intellectual progress.

⁷Woodson, *op. cit.*, p. 25; C. F. Pascoe, Classified Digest of the Records of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, 1701-1892 (London, 1893).

⁸Charles Wesley, Richard Allen Apostle of Freedom (Washington, D. C.: The Associated Press, Inc., 1935), p. 11; Black preachers Richard Allen and Absalom Jones organized the "Free African Society in Philadelphia on April 12, 1787; Harry Ploski, The Negro Almanac (New York: Bellwether Publishing Co., Inc., 1967), p. 4.

Many citizens opposed their education on the ground that their mental improvement was inconsistent with their position as persons held to service. The teaching of slaves and free blacks to read and write during the ante bellum period was strictly forbidden by law in many states. These laws had been in effect since the early decades of the nineteenth century when, at the time of the Denmark Vesey and Nat Turner slave uprisings, several states had passed a flurry of harshly restrictive laws regarding the education of slaves and free blacks. In 1830, for example, Louisiana forbid the teaching of reading and writing to slaves; in 1831 North Carolina--evidently remembering Nat Turner's religious training by a preacher--had prohibited the teaching of slaves to preach. Virginia did not permit the teaching of reading and writing, nor did Alabama and South Carolina.⁹

There was never put forward any systematic effort to elevate the black man prior to 1860. It is safe to say that less than ten percent of the black adults had rudiments of education in 1860.¹⁰

⁹Edgar W. Knight, Educational Theories and Practice: A Documentary History of Education in the South Before 1860 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1949), pp. 474-476.

¹⁰Woodson, op. cit., p. 228.

Problem Statement - 1860-1880

The period 1860 through 1880 represents a traumatic period in history for the black man regarding his role as a slave and his educational preparation for his role as a free man. During the Civil War and the reconstruction period many benevolent individuals and organizations attempted to provide education for his enlightenment while a slave and as a free man.

During this period education was viewed by blacks as the most significant element for their uplift. Schools were open, to which there was a general rush by blacks to quench their thirst for knowledge. Many gray heads could be seen even in the Sabbath-schools. Such a stampede, such an ardent desire for knowledge was not and possibly will never be witnessed anywhere else in the history of America.

Throughout the South, old men and women could be seen sitting with their children far into the night trying to master the rudiments of education. For many, this was the first opportunity they had been afforded to avail themselves to an educational endeavor.¹¹

¹¹Jay S. Stowell, Methodist Adventure in Negro Education (New York: The Methodist Book Concern, 1922), p. 18.

The first schools organized by the Freedmen's Societies, were indeed primitive affairs. Many of them were started in churches to provide an opportunity for blacks to learn to read the Bible. Many individuals of all ages were able to take advantage of the education provided by these schools.¹²

The Freedmen's Bureau was established by the United States Congress March 3, 1865 as the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands. This Bureau was attached to the War Department and was maintained until 1872, when Congressional action abolished it. It supervised and managed all abandoned lands, and controlled all subjects relating to refugees and blacks. The education of black people became one of its special duties.¹³

The most enduring contribution of this institution was the establishment of schools for higher education of the black man. Fisk, Howard, Hampton and many other institutions had their inception during this period.

The full extent of the diffusion of education for the black adult in America during this period from 1860-1880 is not known. This component of American History has been somewhat overlooked

¹²Ibid., p. 24.

¹³Edward A. Johnson, A School History of the Negro Race in America (Raleigh: Edwards and Broughton, Printers and Binders, 1890), pp. 137-138.

by historians. The full extent of the diffusion of education for the black man in America during this period from 1860-1880 is not known. The problem, then, is to examine the documents, evaluate the content, and present a set of conclusions which ought to illuminate this twenty year period as it relates to the types of adult education for the black man.

The demand for a history of American education for the black man is now great. The systematic denial of a history of the black man has tended to distort the self-image of Americans, white and black. Today the position of Afro-American history as an important segment of American history has become established. It is recognized that American history includes many ethnic groups and not just one. Without being exposed to this complete history neither blacks nor whites are educated for the hard realities of life.

Assumptions

In the conceptualization of this study several assumptions were made:

1. Many black and white individuals and organizations provided adult education activities for the uplift of the black man during the twenty year period from 1860-1880.
2. During this period, education was viewed as the most significant element for the uplift of the black man and there was an unquenchable thirst for knowledge by the

black man. Never before had there been such an ardent desire for knowledge; therefore efforts were made to systematically develop a sustaining educational program for the black man while a slave and as a free man.

3. Individuals and organizations utilized a multitude of approaches in their attempt to instruct the black adult in their educational endeavors.

Limitations

The purview of this historical study is limited to the twenty year period, from 1860-1880. It focuses primarily on the types of educational activities that were provided the black adult. No attempt is being made to do a total historical study of this period.

Questions

The objective of this study was to investigate the following questions:

1. To what extent did black men assist in providing education for members of their race?
2. Who were the individuals, societies and commissions that provided education for the black adult?
3. What methods of instruction were utilized by these individuals, societies and commissions?

4. To what extent did the groups in opposition to the education of blacks succeed?
5. What were the political, social and economic reasons that generated efforts to educate the black man and then the discontinuation of those efforts?
6. What types of adult education curricula did the institutions of higher education for the black man provide?
7. Was there a national systematic effort to enlighten the black man? What was the attitude of the government?
8. What role did the agricultural societies play in the education of the black man?
9. Were there educational activities provided for the physically handicapped black man such as the deaf, mute, and blind?
10. What type of mass education was provided, e. g. newspapers, pamphlets and conventions?

CHAPTER II

RELATED LITERATURE

To this investigator's knowledge, this is the first attempt by anyone to do an in-depth study of the Types of Adult Education for the Black Adult During the Period From 1860-1880. The investigator came to this conclusion after searching the literature for approximately two years for previous studies of this nature. Included also was a computer search of the Education Resources Information Center (ERIC), which provided little information. Aside from a few general historical studies, very little has been written about the subject. The purpose of this chapter is to reflect the nature of previous studies relating to Black History and show how they insufficiently cover the area of adult education during this specific period of time 1860-1880.

Woodson¹ in his study of The Education of the Negro Prior to 1861, concentrated on the broad scope of education. This was the

¹Carter G. Woodson, The Education of the Negro Prior to 1860 (New York: Arno Press & New York Times, 1968).

first attempt to cover all phases of education of the black man. This study indicated that there were brief evidences of adult education on the plantations, but slavery became an industrial rather than a patriarchal institution, and it was generally concluded that education would lead to too much self-assertion. The weakness of this study as it relates to the current investigation is in its attempts to cover education for black youth as well as adults. Therefore, no in-depth concentration was made on adult education. More importantly, he dealt only with black education prior to 1861.

Bond,² did a statistical study of the history, economics and finance, and the educational problems of the black man in America during the period from 1860 to 1930. His study presented a program of action and a plea for educational planning. It attacked the problems of black life in a fundamental and comprehensive manner. This was the first book to place black education in its social and economic setting. This work is complementary to Woodson's study in that it covers the period from 1860 to 1930. However, very little mention was made of adult education per se.

²Horace Mann Bond, The Education of the Negro in the American Social Order (New York: Prentice Hall Inc., 1934).

Grattan's³ book In Quest of Knowledge; A Historical Perspective on Adult Education, was made possible by financial support of the Fund for Adult Education. It is addressed to all persons who are interested in any phase of adult education. Maintaining that adult education has been going on since the beginning of history, the author sketches the Western European background from primitive man to the industrial revolution and also American efforts in adult education. Although he covered the period from 1700 to 1950, he failed to mention the black man.

Knowles⁴ in his book, The Adult Education Movement in the United States covered the history of adult education from colonial days to 1962. He traced the role adult education has played in the development of a national culture, and shows how societal forces have influenced adult trends. The contributions and goals of such organizations as the American Association for Adult Education, the National Education Association Department of Adult Education of the U.S.A. are discussed along with the problems facing adult education and the need to establish a coordinated, continuous program.

³Hartley C. Grattan, In Quest of Knowledge: A Historical Perspective on Adult Education (New York: Association Press, 1955).

⁴Malcolm Knowles, The Adult Education Movement in the United States (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, Inc., 1962).

Knowles almost completely overlooked the contributions of the black man and the adult education activities that were provided for his intellectual growth, although his study does cover the period being investigated in this study.

Bullock⁵ in his book, A History of Negro Education in the South examined the educational opportunities of southern black men from early colonial times to 1967. He argues that an unintended consequence of the slave economy was the creation of opportunities for the black man which led gradually to his emancipation. He also discussed the contribution of the Southern Education Board and the Slater, Jeaneas and Rosenwald funds to the development of a black school system within the framework of white southern approval. In this manner a complete financial and administrative structure for educating blacks "separate but equal" was firmly established. Bullock also covered the period currently being investigated, however, his prime concern was the education of youth and not adults.

Puder⁶ explored the several types of adult education existing within the Confederate States during the Civil War period in his

⁵Henry Allen Bullock, A History of Negro Education in the South (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967).

⁶William Puder, "A Study of Adult Education Existing in the Confederate States of America February, 1861 to May, 1865" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Florida State University, 1968).

study entitled, "A Study of the Types of Adult Education Existing in the Confederate States of America February, 1861 to May, 1865." He not only identified several types of adult education activities, he also described the social, political, psychological and religious conditions in the confederacy that generated adult education and identified certain of the personalities who recognized the need for such activity and made efforts to encourage the education of black adults. Puder sparingly covered the black adult during this period, although an attempt was made to incorporate the two races.

The major development and expansion of the black college belongs to the era which followed the Civil War. Holmes's⁷ study entitled, The Evolution of the Negro College, interprets the events, the social forces and the attitudes of individuals and groups which affected the establishment and development of black colleges and thus determined the character of the opportunities for higher education available to blacks in colleges, universities and professional schools located mainly in the Southern states. Although Holmes covered the educational activities provided by black colleges, he was concerned exclusively with higher education which had its major development after 1865.

⁷D. Oliver Holmes, The Evolution of the Negro College (New York: Arno Press & The New York Times, 1969).

From a historical perspective, many phases of black education have been covered by these studies. They also shed light on the need for other studies, particularly in the field of adult education during the period from 1860-1880. This investigation represents an effort to fulfill that need.

CHAPTER III

PROCEDURE

Data retrieval, a technique of historical research was used in this study. Its purpose is to gather information from primary or secondary sources. A secondary source is one or more times removed from the original observation, (a report from a second-hand witness or a book which summarizes the contents of original reports are secondary sources). A primary source is one which has direct access to an original observation, (an original manuscript or a report from an eye witness are primary sources of information).

To identify and describe the several types of adult education which arose in America 1860 through 1880 for the black adult, the investigator examined, synthesized, and analyzed materials from a number of primary and secondary sources.

An initial inquiry was sent to 75 institutions and agencies requesting information concerning adult education for the black man during the period from 1860-1880. Ninety percent return was received (68). Included in this population were five individuals

considered knowledgeable in this area. Dr. Charles H. Wesley, former President of Central State University and currently editor of The Negro History Bulletin; Dr. Benjamin Quarles, Professor at Morgan State University and author of many books relating to Black History; Dr. Vincent Harding, Director of the Institute of the Black World; Dr. Henry Bullock, Professor at The University of Texas at Austin and author of many books relating to Black History; Dr. Dorothy Porter, Curator of the Morland room, Howard University.

Collections of materials were studied at the Ohio Archives, Columbus, Ohio; The Ohio State University libraries, and Martin Luther King library, Columbus, Ohio; University of California at Los Angeles library, Los Angeles, California; Roosevelt University and University of Chicago libraries, Chicago, Illinois; Central State University and Wilberforce University libraries, Wilberforce, Ohio; Fisk University and Tennessee State University libraries, Nashville, Tennessee; Philander Smith College library, Little Rock, Arkansas.

CHAPTER IV

EDUCATIONAL EFFORTS OF BENEVOLENT INDIVIDUALS AND SOCIETIES

Simultaneously with the beginning of work in behalf of the black man by the church organizations, there sprung up all over America, in Europe and in Great Britain freedman's aid societies and commissions. Their work followed various lines of endeavor, but always through the motive of uplift and benefaction to the destitute. They together with the church societies totaled seventy-nine main organizations, some of them having branch societies which ran into the hundreds.¹ Of the seventy-nine societies listed by Jones, thirty-nine had their headquarters in the North, seven in the South, twelve in Great Britain and other countries. Twenty-one had no headquarters designated. The date of organization of these societies show clearly that the majority of them were measures to relieve the suffering and the unfortunate condition of the black man

¹Thomas Jesse Jones, "Negro Education," U.S. Bureau of Education Bulletin, No. 38 (1916), 297.

until he became adjusted to his new social relationships and had an opportunity to secure educational advantages from public institutions. The following table shows the distribution of dates of opening of the sixty-four societies for which such dates are known.

TABLE 1
NUMBER OF BENEVOLENT SOCIETIES ORGANIZED DURING
THE YEARS FROM 1861 TO 1867²

Year	Number
1861	1
1862	8
1863	9
1864	14
1865	22
1866	5
1867	<u>5</u>
	64

Of this large number of societies, the receipts of sixteen are known for the period 1862 to 1874 to have amounted to \$3,933,278.³ Blacks contributed approximately \$500,000 to the education and uplift of their own people. This was done through their church organizations and through the Freedmen's Societies.

²Ibid., pp. 299-301; Paul Skeels Pierce, The Freedmen's Bureau (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1904), p. 127.

³Ibid., p. 296.

TABLE 2
BLACK CONTRIBUTIONS TO FREEDMEN'S AID,
1862-1870⁴

Organizations	Years	Amount
African Methodist Episcopal Church Society	1862-1868	\$166,660
Presbyterian Church	1865-1866	3,174
	1866-1870	20,848
Baltimore Association, etc.	1865-1866	6,000
	1866-1867	23,371
Louisville Blacks	1865	4,000
South Carolina Blacks	1866-1867	17,000
Eastern Sanitary Commission Blacks	1866	3,200
African Civilization Society	1868	53,737
New England Society	1868-1872	798
Miscellaneous	1866-1868	180,207
		<u>\$478,995</u>

The exact number of associations which assisted in the educational effort of the black man is very difficult to establish, but as many as seventy-nine have been listed.⁵

⁴Ibid., p. 297.

⁵Ibid., pp. 299-301.

TABLE 3

SOCIETIES AT ONE TIME OR ANOTHER ENGAGED
IN FREEDMEN'S AID

Name	Headquarters	Date of Organization
American Baptist Home Missionary Association	. . . . .	1863
American Bible Society	New York	. . .
American Colonization Society	. . . . .	. . .
African Civilization Society	. . . . .	1864
African Methodist Episcopal Missionary Society	Brooklyn	1864
American Freewill Baptist Association	. . . . .	1864
American Freedmen's Aid Commission	New York	1865
American Freedmen's Aid Union	. . . . .	1865
American Freedmen's and Union Commission	. . . . .	1865
The American Baptist Home Mission Society	. . . . .	1832
American Home Missionary Society	. . . . .	1867
American Missionary Association	New York	1846
American Tract Society	. . . . .	. . .
American Union Commission	. . . . .	. . .
Arkansas Relief Committee	Little Rock	. . .
Auxiliary to the New England Society	Warrenton, Va.	. . .
Baltimore Association for the Moral and Educational Improvement of the Colored People	Baltimore	1864
Benezet Freedmen's Relief Association	Philadelphia	1867
Birmingham and Midland Freedmen's Aid Association	Birmingham, England	1865
Boston Educational Commission	Boston	1862
British and Foreign Freedmen's Aid Society	London	1866
Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands	Washington	1865
Cincinnati Contraband Relief Association	Cincinnati	1862

TABLE 3-- Continued

Name	Headquarters	Date of Organization
Cleveland Aid Commission	Cleveland	1864
Committee for Aid to the Freedmen of the West	. . . . .	1863
Contraband Relief Society	St. Louis	1863
Darlington Committee	England	1865
Delaware Association for the Education and Moral Improvement of the Colored People	. . . . .	1866
Freedmen's Aid Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church	. . . . .	1866
Freedmen's Mutual Improvement Society	Charlottesville, Va.	1866
Freewill Baptist Church, Home Missionary Society	Dover, N.H.	. . .
Friends' Colored Relief Association of Philadelphia	Philadelphia	1864
Friends' Association for the Aid and Elevation of the Freedmen	. . . . .	. . .
Friends' Association in Aid of Freedmen	Baltimore	1865
Friends Association of Philadelphia and its Vicinity for the Relief of Colored Freedmen	Philadelphia	1863
Friends' Central Relief Committee	England	1865
Georgia Equal Rights Association	Georgia	1866
Georgia State Educational Association	Georgia	. . .
Hicksite Friends' Association	Philadelphia	1865
Indiana Yearly Meeting of Friends	. . . . .	1864
Ladies' Patriotic Association	. . . . .	1865
Leeds Freedmen's Aid Association	Leed, England	1865
Leicester Freedmen's Aid Society	Leicester, England	1865
Lineda National Temperance Association	. . . . .	1867
London Freedmen's Relief Association	London	1863

TABLE 3--Continued

Name	Headquarters	Date of Organization
Manchester Association	Manchester, England	1865
Methodist Church, Freedmen's Aid Society	. . . . .	1866
Massachusetts Episcopal Association for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge Among the Freedmen and Other Colored Persons of the South and Southwest	Boston	1865
Nashville Refugees Aid Society	Nashville	. . .
National Association for the Relief of Destitute Colored Women and Children	Washington	1863
National Committee of British Freedmen's Aid Societies	London	1865
National Freedmen's Relief Association of the District of Columbia	Washington	1862
National Freedmen's Relief Association of New York	New York	1862
New England Freedmen's Aid Society	Boston	1862
New England Refugees' Aid Society	. . . . .	. . .
New England Yearly Meeting of Friends	New Bedford, Mass.	1864
New Hampshire Freedmen's Relief Association	Concord	1863
Northampton Association	Northampton, England	1865
Northwestern Freedmen's Aid Commission	Chicago	1863
Orthodox Friends Association	Philadelphia	1865
Presbyterian Church, General Committee on Freedmen	. . . . .	1865
Presbyterian Church, Committee of Home Missions	. . . . .	1873
Pennsylvania Freedmen's Relief Association	Philadelphia	1862

TABLE 3--Continued

Name	Headquarters	Date of Organization
Pittsburg Freedmen's Relief Association	Pittsburg	1864
Port Royal Relief Committee	Philadelphia	1862
Protestant Episcopal Freedmen's Commission	New York	1865
Reformed Presbyterian Board of Missions	. . . . .	1864
Savannah Educational Association	Savannah	1864
Soldiers' Memorial Society	Boston	. . .
Southern Famine Relief Committee	Alabama	. . .
Union and Emancipation Society	Manchester, England	. . .
United Presbyterians	. . . . .	. . .
United States Christian Commission	. . . . .	. . .
United States Commission for the Relief of the National Freedmen	Washington	1863
United States Sanitary Commission	. . . . .	1861
United Western Freedmen's Aid Commission	. . . . .	1865
Washington Freedmen's Society	Washington	1864
Western Freedmen's Aid Commission	Cincinnati	1862
Western Sanitary Commission	. . . . .	. . .
Women's Aid Association	Philadelphia	1865
Workmen's Auxiliary of the Midland Association	England	1865

The best known of all the organizations and societies which did extensive educational work among the freedmen are perhaps the American Missionary Association of the Congregational Church,

The American Baptist Home Mission Society, The African Methodist Episcopal Church Society and The Freedmen's Aid Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

American Missionary Association

The American Missionary Association was formed in 1846 through a merger of four earlier bodies--the Amistad Committee, the Union Missionary Society, The Committee for West Indian Missions, and the Western Evangelical Missionary Society for work among the American Indians. Although originally these organizations were not primarily interested in missionary work among black slaves, they shared certain essential social and religious concepts, including an ethical belief in the injustice of human slavery and a desire to pursue missionary work on anti-slavery principles. Before the Civil War, the American Missionary Association worked among blacks in Africa, the West Indies, Canada, and the United States and had carried on certain activities in the slave states. It was so well prepared by this work that at the outbreak of the War it was ready to immediately follow Union Armies into the South. Non-sectarian in character, the chief support of the American

Missionary Association, however, came from the Congregation-
alists, Wesleyan Methodist, and Free Will Baptist.⁶

Before the end of the year 1861, there were representatives
of the American Missionary Association in many places of need.
They were giving both secular and religious instruction. "Eighteen
hundred blacks received instruction under their charge."⁷

In 1862 and 1863 the work of the American Missionary
Association was rapidly extended. Schools were opened at Newport
News, Portsmouth, and Yorktown, Virginia; at Beaufort, St. Helena
and Port Royal, South Carolina; at Washington, D. C.⁸; at St. Louis,
Missouri; at Cairo, Illinois; at Columbus, Ohio; at Memphis,
Tennessee; at Corinth and Camp Shiloh, Mississippi.⁹ The work of

⁶American Missionary Association, Annual Reports 1862-1872 (New York: American Missionary Association), p. 13.

⁷Paul Skeels Pierce, The Freedmen's Bureau (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1904), p. 26.

⁸Augustus Field Beard, A Crusade of Brotherhood (Boston: The Pilgrim Press, 1909), p. 124; "The Boston Educational Commission, under the presidency of Governor John A. Andrew, aided in the fund which sent more than 70 teachers to the South," 1862.

⁹Pierce, op. cit.

the American Missionary Association was continued and extended. Before the war closed, freedmen of all ages in Florida, in Louisiana, Southern Mississippi and in Kansas were under its care and instruction.¹⁰

In 1864 the teachers and missionaries under the American Missionary Association totaled 250. They increased to 320 in 1865. In 1866 in cooperation with the Freedmen's Bureau the Association financed and directed the activities of 350 workers.¹¹ The work had in that year extended into Texas, Maryland, Kentucky, and Alabama. In 1867 the number of missionaries and teachers had increased to 528 while in 1868 the total was 532.¹² Before the war the association had receipts of approximately \$40,000 yearly. In 1867 this had grown to \$334,500 in cash and clothing to the value of \$90,000.¹³

Between 1867 and 1870, the Freedmen's Bureau allotted \$243,753.22 to the American Missionary Association for its work among freedmen and refugees.¹⁴ Much of this money was spent to establish a group of institutions intended for secondary and professional education, particularly teacher training for young

¹⁰Ibid.

¹¹Beard, op. cit., p. 139.

¹²Jones, op. cit., No. 39, pp. 275-276.

¹³Ibid.

¹⁴House Executive Reports, No. 121, 41st Congress, 2nd Session, p. 31.

black adults. Its oldest school founded before the Civil War as an interracial institution was Berea College in Kentucky. Fish University in Nashville, Tennessee, Atlanta University in Georgia and Hampton Institute in Virginia were perhaps the best known and most successful schools but the association also established normal schools at Charleston, South Carolina; Macon, Georgia; Talladega and Mobile, Alabama.¹⁵

The American Missionary Association early became interested in the education of the needy in the South. In 1857 the young missionary, John G. Fee, who was in Kentucky, wrote to his supporters that:

A college is needed which shall be to Kentucky what Oberlin is to Ohio--a school under Christian influence; a school that will furnish the best possible facilities for those of small means who have energy of character that will lead them to work their way through this world.¹⁶

This letter written from Berea, Kentucky, was the expression of hope which culminated in the opening of Berea College in 1859 with Reverend John A. Rogers as its head. Closed during the war, it was reopened in 1865 under the same principal. In 1868 Berea had an enrollment of two hundred students of whom but one-third were white.¹⁷

¹⁵American Missionary Association, Annual Reports, 1866 (New York: American Missionary Association), p. 11.

¹⁶Beard, op. cit., p. 100.

¹⁷Jones, op. cit., No. 38, p. 284.

The American Missionary Association, from its beginning, was always actively engaged in efforts to improve the condition of the black man. First, it was an anti-slavery advocant; second, it provided relief services for the black man during and immediately following the Civil War. Finally, at strategic points throughout the South, educational institutions were set up for blacks to acquire skills in education. On September 17, 1861 this association opened a school at Hampton, Virginia.¹⁸ This school was the nucleus from which Hampton Institute developed.

During its early stage, Hampton Institute was a small operation. A cottage was secured from the military officers, and a black woman, Mary Peake, was put in charge of the school. The school had an enrollment of three hundred in its first year. When the school outgrew the cottage the American Missionary Association was given the use of the partly destroyed courthouse for educational purposes. After it was repaired, the work was continued there until 1865.

In 1866 General Samuel C. Armstrong, who later became principal of the school, arrived in Hampton as superintendent of the Freedmen's Bureau work in that district. He suggested to the authorities of the association that Hampton was the spot for a

¹⁸Oliver Wendell Holmes, The Evolution of the Negro College (New York: Arno Press and New York Times, 1969), p. 76; American Missionary Association, Annual Report, 1863, p. 37.

permanent and great educational work, and recommended that the valuable estate called "Little Scotland, comprising one hundred and fifty-nine acres fronting on Hampton River and then in the market, be purchased" for the permanent location of an industrial school for the freedmen.¹⁹ The association raised the sum of \$9,000 toward the purchase of this property. At this juncture the executor of the Avery estate (an estate in which there was a legacy of \$250,000 for black education) arrived at Hampton. The executor saw the need of enlargement and gave from this legacy the sum of \$10,000. This gift enabled the purchase of the site of Hampton School.²⁰ Armstrong was asked to become principal of the institution, and he accepted on June 4, 1870. A charter was granted by the General Assembly of Virginia to the institution; and it was incorporated as "Hampton

¹⁹Beard, *op. cit.*, p. 126; Frances Greenwood Peabody, Education for Life, the Story of Hampton Institute (New York: Doubleday Page and Co., 1918), p. 96.

²⁰Ullin W. Leavell, Philanthropy In Negro Education (Nashville: George Peabody College, 1930), p. 35; Beard, *op. cit.*, p. 126; The school at a time of vital need received over \$50,000 from General Howard for improvement, taken from Freedmen's aid funds; A further appropriation by the Freedmen's Bureau of \$13,000 and a gift of \$10,000 by Mrs. Stephen Griggs of New York were made by 1868. Before 1870 the Freedmen's Bureau had made another grant of \$20,000 and in that year \$13,000 more was raised in the North, which \$33,000 was used to erect the building known as "Academic Hall".

Normal and Agricultural Institute".²¹ In 1870 it was placed under the control of a non-denominational board of influential white men of both North and the South.²²

This institution felt in its early development all of the influences that aided in the further enlargement of the system of education for the black man, namely the missionary endeavor of the church, government sanction through the Freedmen's Bureau, private philanthropy in the original purchase money of the permanent location, and the interests of both northern and southern whites as its first trustees.

In the report of the executive committee of the American Missionary Association for 1868 there is given a description of the work at Hampton from which the following excerpts are taken:

²¹Jones, op. cit., No. 39, p. 625; The charter read, "The Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute, for the Colored in the various common school, academic and collegiate branches, the best methods of teaching the same and the best made of practical industry in its application to agriculture and the mechanic arts; and for the carrying out of these purposes the said Trustees may establish departments or schools in the said instructions."

²²Peabody, op. cit., p. 100; Arthur J. Klein, "Survey of Negro Colleges and Universities," United States Bureau of Education Bulletin, No. 7 (1928), p. 885.

This "Whipple Farm" lies upon Hampton Roads. The school and home buildings, valued at \$20,000 occupy a beautiful site upon the shore. They are so furnished and arranged as to offer the students the help to right living which belong to a cultivated Christian home.²³

The aim of education as conceived by those in charge of this experiment and the method of attaining that aim are indicated by the description of the work in agriculture and home economics:

In the farm work, under the constant direction of an educated practical farmer, the graduates of this institution will have learned both the theory and practices of the most profitable methods of agriculture. The female students do all the home-work of the boarding department. Thus, in the home, on the farm and in the school room the students have the opportunity to learn the three great lessons of life--how to life, how to labor, and how to teach others.²⁴

The curriculum, covering a three-year course expressed the severely practical ideas of the faculty, for nothing was included that could not be used daily after graduation. The first year furnished the elementary tool subjects with geography, vocal music, rhetorical exercise, and gymnastics. In the second year these subjects were intensified with the addition of elementary forms of business agriculture, chemistry, soil analysis, and a small amount of teaching. During the third year the study of English language

²³American Missionary Association, Annual Report, 1868, p. 35; Holmes, op. cit., p. 86.

²⁴Ibid., p. 35.

included reading, composition, oration and bookkeeping. The other subjects were continued with the addition of practicing teaching in the Butler and Lincoln Model Schools. In addition to their school work, these young adult students worked four or five hours a day at manual labor for the first and third terms. The expenses were very low. Tuition was \$1.50 a month, rooms 75 cents a month; board, laundry, and lights together \$1.75 per week. Students could earn money for labor of from three to four hours a day at the rate of from four to twelve cents per hour.²⁵

The American Baptist Home Mission Society

The American Baptist Home Mission Society, organized in 1832, united all branches of the Baptist denominations in an effort to evangelize the West where the tide of migration was steadily flowing, thus offering a fertile field for a militant Christian effort. Within a year after the outbreak of the Civil War, an agent of the society visited Fortress Monroe and the adjacent area, studied the conditions of the black people there, and reported its findings. The crisis brought about by the political and social upheaval, which resulted in freeing the blacks in the District of Columbia and the proposed gradual abolition of slavery, was the most important

²⁵Ibid., p. 36.

matter before the annual meeting of the society held in Providence, Rhode Island, May 29, 1862. At that meeting resolutions were adopted that preparation be made at once to send missionaries and teachers into the South and all other accessible areas as rapidly as possible.²⁶

Early in 1862, blacks who sought refuge behind the Union lines were provided instruction in education by the American Baptist Home Mission Society. Teachers of this organization were able to capitalize on the influence that black ministers had on members of their race.

Benjamin Brawley notes some of these activities in his book, A Short History of the American Negro:

The first step of the American Baptist Home Mission Society for refugees who came into the lines of the Union Army was taken in January, 1862 and the first teachers were appointed in June of that year. Whenever they could do so, the teachers brought together black preachers for instruction in the rudiments of learning and for the organization of churches, associations and conventions. The idea of an educated ministry became important when one thought how great an influence preachers have among black people, and how many people were Baptists. Gradually to meet the demand for their education, institutions of higher learning were established. Two devoted to the education of young men, Morehouse College and Virginia Union University; two devoted to the training of young women, Spelman Seminary in Atlanta and Hartshorn Memorial College in Richmond;

²⁶American Baptist Home Mission Society, Annual Report, 1843, p. 17; Holmes, op. cit., p. 120.

four that were co-educational, Bishop College in Marshall, Texas, Benedict College in Columbia, South Carolina, Shaw University in Raleigh, North Carolina and Jackson College in Jackson, Mississippi.²⁷

By 1870 the society had 720 students under instruction in its schools.²⁸ Gifts of money from many resources made possible the purchase of sites and the erection of buildings at many points throughout the South.

Related to the educational effort for the freedmen and later incorporated into the organization of the schools of the Society was the practice of building Ministers' Institutes. These institutes held sessions for groups of uneducated ministers and deacons of the freedmen for a short study (usually about ten days) of fundamental doctrines. As early as May, 1873, one of the Northern Baptist newspapers commented editorially upon the remarkable efforts along this line put forth by E. W. Warren of Atlanta, Georgia. Not only would Warren provide a faculty to conduct an institute of a week or two, but would search the area surrounding the town where the institute was to be held and find those who should attend. After

²⁷Benjamin Brawley, A Short History of the American Negro (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1919), p. 137.

²⁸American Baptist Home Mission Society, Annual Report, 1870, p. 20.

securing their promise of co-operation, he would transport them to the institute, find homes for them in case the distance forbade daily travel, and see that they were returned to their homes.²⁹ He was so effective that in 1875 the Southern Convention officially endorsed his program.³⁰ Warren urged the extensive use of these institutes throughout the South,³¹ and in the following year this activity was begun by the Home Mission Board of the Southern Convention.³² The Society also became interested in this project. At the Philadelphia anniversary in 1875, a committee on Freedmen's Work recommended that the Board encourage white ministers of the South to hold these institutes for the class of people who could not attend any of the Society's schools, and that the incidental expenses involved would be paid by the Society.³³ In 1878, the Society voted to cooperate with the Southern Convention in providing Ministers' Institutes for the freedmen.³⁴

²⁹The National Baptist, Philadelphia, May 27, 1873.

³⁰Appelton's Cyclopaedia, 1875, p. 67.

³¹Southern Baptist Convention, Proceedings, 1878, p. 48.

³²Ibid., p. 1877, p. 58.

³³Home Mission Society, Annual Report, 1875, p. 12.

³⁴Ibid., 1878, p. 19.

It had been the intention of the Society in the previous year to appoint a general superintendent for missions to the freemen, but due to lack of funds and the inability to find the proper man, this had not been accomplished. Furthermore, the Society desired to ascertain if the Southern Baptist Convention would co-operate in the holding of these institutes. In response to a query, Corresponding Secretary W. H. McIntosh of the Home Mission Board of the Southern Convention said that he thought that such co-operation could be effected, but that the matter would be laid before the next meeting of the Board.³⁵ During November 1878, a delegation from the Society toured the leading cities of the South to ascertain the amount of co-operation that could be expected. At Atlanta, Georgia a group of leading white Baptists promised their support; at Marion, Alabama, the Home Mission Board cordially welcomed them and "pledged themselves to co-operation in the important measures under discussion with heartiness which was most gratifying."³⁶ The committee remarked that:

North or South, we have never anywhere, nor by anybody, heard the claims of the colored people on

³⁵Home Mission Monthly, I, p. 60.

³⁶Ibid., I, p. 29.

the sympathy and help of the white brethren more intelligently, or heartily, or strongly urged, than in the meetings of the Southern Board.³⁷

Baptist leaders in Raleigh, North Carolina, and Richmond, Virginia, were also visited, and in each place expressions of co-operation were heard.³⁸

At the meeting of this committee with the Home Mission Board in Marion, Alabama, attended by representatives of the Alabama Colored Baptist Convention, a formal agreement was reached on six points, as follows: (1) that Ministers' Institutes were necessary for those unable to secure regular theological education; (2) that there should be concert of action between representatives of two races in the South and brethren of the Society; (3) that a superintendent for this work was needed; (4) that the South will co-operate in the program and with this superintendent; (5) that arrangements for beginning the task should be made speedily; (6) that some sort of printed manual of instruction should be prepared in order to give outline and uniformity to the studies.

This program was unanimously adopted by the Board of the Southern Convention on November 27, 1878,³⁹ and on February 1,

³⁷Ibid., 1878, I, p. 87.

³⁸Ibid., 1878, I, pp. 87-89.

³⁹Ibid., 1878, I, p. 87.

1879, S. W. Marston was appointed Superintendent of Mission to the Freedmen. His duties included, among other things, the visiting of schools of the Society, counseling with the teachers, attending black conventions and associations, inaugurating institutes, seeking out new openings for labor, and enlisting the co-operation of the whites in the South.⁴⁰ Although not a southern man, Marston compromised his influence with the society at the first anniversary after his appointment by showing a southern trend in this thinking.⁴¹ His reports indicated that he had been receiving the co-operation that had been promised.⁴² In the first full year after this program was begun, it was reported that 1,119 ministers and deacons had participated in thirty-three institutes, and every southern state had been reached with one or more institutes of about three day's duration.⁴³ The society made a major organizational change in the early 1880s as to the method of superintending these operations.

Marston was removed as superintendent and the work was geared into the regular educational and missionary program of the

⁴⁰Home Mission Society, Annual Report, 1880, p. 37.

⁴¹The National Baptist, June 5, 1879.

⁴²Home Mission Monthly, I, 119, 170, 231; Home Mission Society, Annual Report, 1880, p. 37.

⁴³Home Mission Society, Annual Report, 1880, p. 37.

Society. The new plan provided that the principal of each freedman school should arrange for Biblical Institutes during the summer vacation. The South was divided into ten districts, and the various professors were assigned to head them. Marston superintended the Biblical Institute work in the southwest and was also commissioned to raise money for a new freedman school to be located at Marshall, Texas. It was further planned that "immediate steps be taken to secure the co-operation of Baptist State Conventions in the principal southern states, for the appointment and support of a general missionary among the black people of each state or the districts aforesaid . . ." The duties of this general missionary work included co-operation in the Biblical Institutes, missionary work of every kind, attendance at various meetings and conventions in order to represent and forward the program of the Society, securing collections for the Society, seeking students for the schools, attending councils for ordination of black ministers, assisting in finding pastorates for graduates of the schools, and keeping the Society advised on matters of interest.⁴⁴

It became evident that participation in this program meant not only co-operation in Biblical Institutes but in the total activity

⁴⁴Home Mission Society, Annual Report, 1881, p. 54.

of the Society in the South also. Despite this long step toward co-operation, one of the first groups to endorse the plan was the white Mississippi Baptist Convention. For the most part, however, this plan caused most of the state Baptist Conventions to veer away further from co-operation.

TABLE 4
EVANGELISTIC PROGRAM OF THE SOCIETY IN THE
SOUTH FROM 1866 TO 1880⁴⁵

Year	States	No. of Missionaries	Weeks of Missionary Labor
1866	12	94	4179
1867	12	92	3176
1868	13	77	2427
1869	14	64	2202
1870	15	71	2102
1871	12	96	2768
1872	14	96	2835
1873	11	31	1113
1874	15	36	1168
1875	15	47	1612
1876	13	38	1553
1877	12	38	1446
1878	13	38	1268
1879	12	38	1339
1880	13	41	1297

⁴⁵Ibid., 1884, p. 60; In a survey of this first decade after the Society returned to the South, it is difficult to distinguish between the fields of evangelism and education. The above chart is based upon the activities of the missionaries.

TABLE 5
EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM GROWTH OF THE SOCIETY IN THE
SOUTH FROM 1872 TO 1880⁴⁶

Location	School	Teachers		Students		Students for Ministry	
		1872	1877	1872	1877	1872	1877
Wash., D. C.	Wayland Seminary	3	3	85	93	. .	. .
Richmond, Va.	Richmond Institute	5	4	135	95	. .	62
Raleigh, N. C.	Shaw Institute	4	11	180	240	. .	47
Columbia, S. C.	Bennedict Institute	1	4	61	101	. .	14
Augusta, Ga.	Augusta Institute	2	4	44	84	. .	51
New Orleans, La.	Leland University	2	9	230	129	. .	22
Nashville, Tenn.	Nashville Institute	3	6	96	129	. .	. .

⁴⁶Robert Andrew Baker, "The American Baptist Home Mission Society and the South 1832-1894" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 1947), pp. 191-192.

The story of the schools under the Baptist denomination during their formation period, which covered roughly the decade 1870 to 1880 parallels in nearly every particular the histories of the schools under the American Missionary Association. The same eagerness on the part of the students, the same devotion on the part of the teachers, the same hand to mouth existence, these characteristics recur frequently in the reports of all the schools and were common to the work of all denominations. Hence a repetition of conditions already described is unnecessary.

African Methodist Episcopal Church Society

As a result of dissatisfaction at their treatment by the Methodist Episcopal Church, sixteen delegates from Pennsylvania, Delaware and New Jersey, at a convention held in Baltimore, Maryland in 1816, organized as an independent denomination of blacks with the title the African Methodist Episcopal Church.⁴⁷ The Reverend Richard Allen was the first bishop, and until his death he was one of the leading spirits of the denomination. The Cincinnati Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church had been working out a plan for the establishment of an educational institution for the

⁴⁷Carter G. Woodson, The History of the Negro Church (Washington, D. C.: The Associated Publishers, 1945), pp. 72-78.

blacks of Ohio. In 1844 the purchase of 120 acres of land in Wilberforce, Ohio, was made, upon which Union Seminary was built and opened in 1847.⁴⁸

In 1856 this church united with the Methodist Episcopal Church (North) in establishing in Green County, Ohio, Wilberforce University, which in 1863 became sole property of the A. M. E. Church. This school was named in honor of William Wilberforce, the English abolitionist and philanthropist. Financial aid from whites played an important part in the early history of the school. In 1867-1868 the Society for the Promotion of Collegiate Theological Education in the West made a grant of \$1,800 and voted the same amount the next year. Between 1868-1875 the American Unitarian Association gave approximately \$4,000. In the beginning, the instruction was on the elementary and secondary levels.

The history of the origin of the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church is similar to that denomination just discussed. It emanated from the dissatisfaction of the black Methodist at the treatment accorded by their white brethren. It also represented a revolt against the spirit of segregation and discrimination which

⁴⁸B. W. Arnett, The Wilberforce Alumnae (Xenia: The Chew Publishing Co., 1885), p. 3.

began to manifest itself in the Methodist Church toward the latter part of the eighteenth century. This denomination was formed in New York City in 1796.⁴⁹

While the denomination promoted a number of educational institutions after the Civil War, most of them provided rudimentary type activities for young adults.⁵⁰ The college work fostered by the church has been confined to Livingstone College, Salisbury, North Carolina, named in honor of David Livingstone, the missionary and explorer.⁵¹

The school was founded as Zion Wesley Institute at Concord, North Carolina, in 1879, and opened in 1880 with eleven pupils. The home of the principal served for holding classes, no property for the school had been purchased. The next year Bishop J. W. Hood and Mr. J. C. Price raised \$10,000 for the school while on tour of England. A site consisting of forty acres of land and purchased at a cost of \$4,600 was selected at Salisbury, North Carolina.⁵²

⁴⁹D. Oliver Wendell Holmes, The Evolution of the Negro College (New York: Arno Press and The New York Times, 1969), p. 145.

⁵⁰R. E. Clement, The Educational Work of the African Episcopal Church (unpublished Masters thesis, Northwestern University, 1922), p. 10.

⁵¹Holmes, op. cit., p. 146.

⁵²Ibid.

The Methodist Episcopal Church split in 1845 over the question of slavery. When the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, was formed as a result of this action the black membership of the church in the South had no alternative but to go with their masters. This relationship continued until the close of the Civil War. In 1866 the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South's meeting in New Orleans, organized its black members into separate congregation and conferences whenever the blacks desired this arrangement. It also agreed to the formation of a new denomination, should the desire for it be expressed.⁵³ At the General Conference held in Memphis, Tennessee in 1870, the new denomination was set up with the name the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church in America. The separation was not in the form of a revolt and left no ill feelings. It was believed by some of the most influential members of both groups that the separation was best in that it gave the blacks an opportunity to manage their own affairs.

There were four colleges under the auspices of the Colored Methodist Church. However, only one was established during the period of this study. Lane College, Jackson, Tennessee was established in 1878.⁵⁴

⁵³Woodson, op. cit., p. 195.

⁵⁴Holmes, op. cit., p. 147.

Freedmen's Aid Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church

The Freedmen's Aid Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church was organized by Northern Methodists in 1866 and was purely missionary in its purpose. From the beginning it had been prominent in the work in the South.

The Methodist Episcopal Church suffered division on the question of slavery when the conferences in the South found themselves at variance with their Northern brethren on the moral issues involved. After the separation, members of the Northern body became more outspoken in their condemnation of slavery. This sentiment took definite form at Cincinnati in August 1866 in the organization of the Freedmen's Aid Society. The activities of the denomination before that date had been in cooperation with other organizations engaged in the work of elevating the freedmen to which it contributed generously during the Civil War.⁵⁵ At the cessation of hostilities it was decided by the leaders of the church that its work in the uplift of the recently emancipated millions through Christian education could best be promoted by a separate body organized for that purpose, a procedure which was already being followed by several other denominations.

⁵⁵Freedmen's Aid Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Annual Report, 1868, p. 3.

The Missionary Society of the Church performed the function of supplying preachers and the Church Extension Society was diligently applying itself to the task of erecting churches. Thus, together the two societies were performing the purely religious task for which the denomination considered itself responsible. These bodies, however, did not and could not meet the educational needs of the freedmen--a service which was looked upon as necessary if the freedmen were to become self-directing persons and good citizens.⁵⁶ The Freedmen's Aid Society was the agency of the church through which this work was to be accomplished. The idea of forming a distinct denominational agency was stimulated by similar action on the part of the United Presbyterians, the Reformed Presbyterians, the United Brethren, the Baptists, the Congregationalists and the Protestant Episcopal Church, each of which made plans to care for the interests of its own followers through separate organizations while aiding in the general uplift movement.⁵⁷

During slavery the religion of blacks was largely the religion of their masters, who interpreted its teaching as justifying slavery. "Servants be obedient unto your masters," was looked

⁵⁶Ibid., p. 4.

⁵⁷Ibid., p. 5.

upon as a divine injunction to the slaves to continue their state of involuntary servitude. The Methodist Church in the North took the opposite attitude and looked upon the war and its results as the working of Divine Will.

The entire power of the Methodist Church was to be placed behind its chosen agent in the field of black education as indicated by the message to the denomination issued by the Board of Bishops in session in New York City on November 8, 1866. The message states clearly the conception of the responsibility not only of the Methodist Church but of all other Christian denominations which emancipation and its aftermath had created.

In the early reports of the society there occurred from time to time remarks which indicated that rivalry between the Protestant and Roman Catholics was one of the strongest incentives to denominational zeal and one of the important reasons why each Protestant denomination felt that it must provide schools of its own to ward off what it looked upon as the menace of Romanism. The report of the secretary of the board of the Freedmen's Aid Society in 1871 contains an example of such expressions, and illustrates the bitterness of feeling on this subject that existed at that time.⁵⁸

⁵⁷Ibid., p. 5.

⁵⁸Ibid., 1871, pp. 9-10.

The policy of the society, as of the denominations, was to meet the educational need where it was found by promoting elementary education, and as soon as possible, to train teachers and preachers with the minimum equipment necessary to take up the task of educating and evangelizing the masses. The schools were located where they were most needed and in accordance with the desires of the Freedmen's Bureau, which gave timely aid to these early ventures. By 1869 schools had been established as follows: Tennessee, seven; Georgia, twenty; Alabama, four; Kentucky, two; Louisiana, four; Virginia, three; South Carolina, nine; North Carolina, one; Mississippi, eight. These schools employed 105 teachers and enrolled 2,000 students, many of which were adults.⁵⁹

In addition to these lower schools, the Society had established six colleges and normal schools, two Biblical institutes, and one orphans asylum. The schools designated as colleges for young adults included Central Tennessee College of Nashville, Tennessee (later Walden University), Clark University at Atlanta, Georgia, Claflin University at Orangeburg, South Carolina, and Shaw University at Holly Springs, Mississippi (later Rust College).⁶⁰

⁵⁹Ibid., 1869, pp. 6-7.

⁶⁰Holmes, op. cit., p. 105.

The extent to which blacks gave their funds to aid the promotion of these schools is indicated by the following statement from the report of 1870:

They have aided liberally in building churches, erecting schoolhouses, sustaining teachers, supporting the aged and infirm, providing homes. It is wonderful with what clearness they recognize the importance of schools and churches to their highest usefulness and happiness. The black people during the past year have contributed fourteen thousand dollars to the schools under our care, and the next year they will, without doubt, double the amount. They board the teachers and meet the incidental expenses of the school, while the Society pays the salary and traveling expenses; so that nearly one-half of the cost is sustained by them and in some instances nearly two-thirds of it.⁶¹

The report for 1871 showed a distinct reduction in the income of the Society, which caused some alarm on the part of those primarily interested in carrying forward the educational work so well begun. The receipts for the first five years were as follows:

First year	. . . . .	\$37,139.89
Second year	. . . . .	50,167.24
Third year	. . . . .	93,513.50
Fourth year	. . . . .	82,719.49
Fifth year	. . . . .	<u>51,568.43</u>
		\$315,108.55

The marked decline in income from the third to the fifth year was due to the loss of contributions by the Freedmen's Bureau.

⁶¹Freedmen's Aid Society, Annual Report, 1870, p. 12.

⁶²Ibid., 1871, p. 28.

Those in charge of the work, however, realizing that unless the income increased the expansion of their educational program would be hampered, decided to seek a closer relationship with the church organization with which it was somewhat loosely joined. They believed that the whole situation would be improved if the Freedmen's Aid Society became one of the recognized units of the church organization and was placed under the jurisdiction of the General Conference instead of being allowed to remain a semi-independent body, operating with the good will and endorsement of the denomination. In order to establish the desired relationship and thus create an obligation on the part of the church to adequately support the educational work among blacks, the board of directors of the Freedmen's Aid Society sent to the General Conference a memorial setting forth the justification for the request that the society be received into full connection. The reasons given for such action were:

- (1.) The Society has performed a great and good work with a small amount of money.
- (2) The Society was called into existence for the performance of work essential to the success of our Church enterprise in the South, and which did not legitimately come within the province of any of our benevolent enterprises.
- (3) Efficiency of this Society would be greatly increased by its recognition.
- (4) The Government, which, at the beginning, gave liberal appropriations to the educational work among the freedmen, does not now furnish any assistance in the support of our schools.

(5) Permanence and stability would be secured to our educational interests. (6) The liberality and exertion of other churches, in this cause, should incite us to greater diligence and enlarged benevolence. In conclusion, the

Memorialists say, in a work like this, which is manifestly similar to that which Methodism was originally called by providential agency: It is not enough that our missionary appropriations equal those of other denominations. It becomes as, in view of our history, numbers, wealth, professions, and facilities, to head the hosts of God's people in establishing schools and colleges, erecting churches, and in doing all that is needed for the evangelization of this impoverished people.⁶³

The General Conference of 1872, in response to the request of the Society, constituted in one of the benevolent societies of the Methodist Episcopal Church, endorsed its constitution, and inserted in the church discipline certain articles referring directly to the society and calling attention to its work as one of the definite obligations of the entire church.⁶⁴ Following this action, the income of the Society rose in ten years from \$51,568,⁶⁵ to \$157,003.⁶⁶

The American Missionary Association, the American Baptist Home Mission Society, the African Methodist Episcopal Church

⁶³Ibid., 1872, p. 36.

⁶⁴Ibid., pp. 37-40.

⁶⁵Ibid., 1871, p. 28.

⁶⁶Ibid., 1883, pp. 8-14.

Society and the Freedmen's Aid Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church all responded with a supply of teachers and funds for the overall uplift of the black adult. The educational work started by them continued to grow under their direction, and many black institutions had their inception during this period.

CHAPTER V

U.S. GOVERNMENT IN ADULT EDUCATION

Port Royal Experiment

Perhaps the earliest attempt to deal with free black adults in the lower South was in the area of Port Royal, South Carolina. In October, 1861, a naval expedition with an army of 14,000 set out to capture this port. The news of the expedition caused residents to evacuate inland, opening up the entire region of the "Sea Islands" to Union troops. Plantation owners left many acres of almost mature cotton standing in the fields and abandoned about 40,000 slaves. General Thomas W. Sherman, in command of the expedition, appointed General Rufus B. Saxton to administer the affairs of the freedmen.

The Secretary of the Treasury, Salmon Chase, sent an agent, Edward Pierce, to this area to supervise the work of harvesting and general cultivation.¹ Pierce ordered that all standing crops

¹Edward L. Pierce, "The Freedmen at Port Royal," Atlantic Monthly, XII (September, 1863), 296; "The Port Royal Journal of Charlotte L. Forten, 1862-1863: Social Experiment," The Journal of Negro History, XXXV (July, 1950), pp. 233-264.

be harvested for the benefit of the blacks and that they be paid in wages. He also promoted relief work and by the middle of February had secured the service of three teachers to work on Hilton Head Island.

The district of the Sea Islands and parts of the adjacent coast in the possession of the army were divided into three sections and placed under the supervision of fifty-five district superintendents. General Saxton began to look about for means of furnishing instruction to blacks of all age levels, and since the Government had at that time assumed no responsibility for education of the freedmen, he appealed to citizens in Boston, New York City and Philadelphia.

The response was immediate and generous. On February 7, 1862, the Boston Educational Commission was organized. Public meetings were held which resulted in the formation of three freedmen's aid societies, the Boston Education Commission, on February 7th; the Freedmen's Relief Association at New York on February 22nd; and the Port Royal Relief Commission, on March 3, 1862. On the same day that this last society was organized in Philadelphia, fifty-two teachers, missionaries and superintendents (40 men and 12 women) sailed from New York to Port Royal.²

²Commissioner of Education, "Condition and Improvement of Public Schools," Special Report-Department of Education (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1871), p. 385.

To these persons transportation and boarding were furnished by the Government, which also, after a short time, paid the salaries of superintendents. Upon their arrival at their field of labor schools were immediately established, the salaries of teachers being paid by societies which had sent them out.

Other teachers were soon sent out by the Philadelphia Society, and in the following June, 86 persons were reported in the field. On the 28th of the last mentioned month, this work was transferred to the War Department and placed under the supervision of General Rufus Saxton, then military governor of South Carolina. The Reverend J. W. Alvord, general superintendent of schools under the Freedmen's Bureau, made the following statement in his third semi-annual report, January, 1867. "From information at our command, it is safe to assert that at least 30,000 black persons, men, women and children have learned to read during the last year."³

At Port Royal, the first experiment with free labor as an educational activity for black adults was tried. The freedmen were put to work in the fields and in picking and baling cotton. They were paid at a rate of one dollar for every hundred pounds of cotton which they delivered. It is shown by the fact that in less than three days

³Ibid.

more than \$50,000 worth of cotton was stored in one steamboat. All the cotton was raised by blacks and the bags were made by them. The bags of cotton were carefully marked so that in case the owner of the plantation should prove his loyalty to the Federal Government, he would be credited with a compensation. The report of the confidential agent showed that the product of black labor at Port Royal in 1861 was over a million dollars.⁴

This was the beginning of an experiment in freedom that gradually spread to other parts of the occupied Confederacy during the War, and to the entire South when emancipation was consummated in 1865. Elizabeth Pearson speaks to the intensive mass education program that was carried on for black adults at Port Royal:

In other aspects also the Port Royal experience established precedents for the transformation of chattels into free men, soldiers and citizens. The first regiment of freed slaves was recruited on the islands. The sale of land once owned by slaveholders to the former slaves was first carried on there. The education of the freedmen was undertaken more intensively on the islands than anywhere else during the war. The first experience of former slaves in the process of voting took place at Beaufort when the Sea Islands elected delegates, including four black men, to the Republican National Convention in 1864.⁵

⁴Charles H. Wesley, Negro Labor in the United States, 1850-1925 (New York: Vanguard Press, 1927), p. 90.

⁵Elizabeth Ware Pearson, Letters From Port Royal, 1862-1868 (New York: Arno Press and New York Times, 1969), p. i-ii.

The strategies utilized by the Government and benevolent groups to encourage total freedom of the black man, in all walks of life at Port Royal, South Carolina, may well represent one of the initial and most significant mass adult education efforts ever attempted.

Union Army as an Educational Agent

During the first year of the Civil War, Government officials and Northern whites denied Northern blacks entry as soldiers. President Lincoln supported the denial and summed up his reasons in two public statements. James McPherson refers to this issue in his book, The Negro's Civil War:

In the first year of the war many Northern blacks offered their services to the Union Government as soldiers. But the Government and the Northern people considered it a "white man's war" and refused to accept the offers. Nevertheless black leaders continued to urge the necessity of enrolling black troops. They believed that if the black man proved his patriotism and courage on the field of battle, the nation would be morally obligated to grant him first-class citizenship. As Frederick Douglass put it, 'Once let the black man get upon his person the brass letters, U.S., let bullets in his pockets, and there is no power on earth which can deny that he has earned the right to citizenship in the United States.'⁶

Lincoln summed up both types of opposition to black enlistment in two public statements. On August 4, 1862, an Indiana delegation offered the Government two regiments of black men from their state, but the President declined the offer. 'To arm the Negroes,' he said,

⁶James M. McPherson, The Negro's Civil War (New York: Pantheon Books, 1965), p. 161.

'would turn 50,000 bayonets from the loyal Border States against us that were for us.' Six weeks later Lincoln told another delegation that 'If we were to arm Negroes, I fear that in a few weeks that arms would be in the hands of rebels.'⁷

On July 17, 1862, Congress passed two acts providing for the enlistment of blacks as soldiers. The first was the Confiscation Act, which empowered the President "to employ as many persons of African descent as he may deem necessary and proper for the suppression of this rebellion." The second was a Militia Act repealing the provisions of the 1792 law barring black men and authorizing the employment of free blacks as soldiers.⁸

Many Northern whites opposed the enlistment of black soldiers, but on August 25, the War Department nevertheless authorized General Rufus Saxton, Military Governor of the South Carolina Sea Islands to raise five regiments of black troops on the Islands, with white men as officers. Blacks were urged to enlist to fight for their own freedom and to prove to the world that the black race deserved liberty.⁹

⁷Ibid., p. 164.

⁸U.S. Statutes at Large, XII, pp. 589-592.

⁹Dudley T. Cornish, The Sable Arm: Negro Troops in the Union Army, 1861-1865 (New York: Pantheon Books, 1956), pp. 80-84.

Blacks were often assigned to a disproportionate amount of heavy labor and fatigue duty. This stemmed in part from the Government's original plan to use black soldiers mainly as garrison troops and labor battalions in order to release white troops for combat. After black soldiers had proved themselves in battle, such a policy made no sense. But it was continued nevertheless in part because of the anti-black prejudices of many officers.¹⁰

The most galling discrimination against black troops was in the matter of pay. The South Carolina and Massachusetts regiments had enlisted under a War Department promise that they would receive the same pay as white soldiers. A Militia Act of July 17, 1862, stated that blacks would be paid ten dollars per month, three dollars of which could be deducted for clothing. White privates received thirteen dollars per month plus a clothing allowance of \$3.50.¹¹

Blacks were disheartened and angered by this decision. In an interview with President Lincoln on August 10, 1863,

¹⁰"War Letters of C. P. Bowditch," Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings, LVII, 1923-1924, p. 431.

¹¹Fred A. Shannon, The Organization and Administration of the Union Army, 1861-1865 (New York: Pantheon Books, 1928), pp. 71-72.

Frederick Douglass protested against the inequality of pay. Lincoln replied as Douglass later recalled that:

The employment of black troops at all was a great gain to the black people--that the measure could not have been successfully adopted at the beginning of the war, that the wisdom of making black men soldiers was still doubted--that their enlistment was an offense to popular prejudice . . . that the fact that they were not to receive the same pay as white soldiers seemed a necessary concession to smooth the way to their employment at all as soldiers, but that ultimately they would receive the same.¹²

On June 15, 1864 Congress enacted legislation granting equal pay to black soldiers. The law was retroactive to January 1, 1864, for all black soldiers and retroactive to the time of enlistment for those blacks who had been free on April 19, 1861.¹³

The Union Army became a type of school for the freedmen who had joined as soldiers and for those who had flocked into its lines from enslaved conditions. The Army, however, had no overall educational program for black soldiers, although suggestions were made that such a program ought to be developed. What schooling the black soldiers received while in federal service was in

¹²Frederick Douglass, Life and Times of Frederick Douglass (Hartford: Pantheon Books, 1882), pp. 386-387.

¹³Liberator, May 29, 1863.

general the result of the interest of his officers, who, aware of blacks' need and desire for education, tried to provide for that need and fulfill that desire.

Long before black Americans became Union soldiers their eagerness for the rudiments of education was well known. To this eagerness the South had replied with state laws making it a crime to teach blacks to read and write. Frederick Douglass was an exception to the general rule of South black illiteracy because he had been fortunate enough to share his small white master's lessons with him.¹⁴

Thomas Wentworth Higginson noticed this hunger for education when he took command of General Rufus Saxton's First South Carolina Black Volunteers in the closing months of 1862.¹⁵ Colonel Higginson saw his men gather around their campfires at night, sometimes with a black woman (perhaps one of the advanced students) spelling slowly out of a primer, and he observed that:

¹⁴Frederick Douglass, op. cit., written by himself . . . Chapter X and XI passim. As a young slave in Maryland, Douglass put his illegally gained knowledge to work at night and on Sundays, teaching his fellow slaves to read and write, well away from the plantation house at a great risk of flogging or worse.

¹⁵The War of Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies, 128 Vols. (Washington 1880-1901), Section II, p. 3.

Their love of the spelling book is perfectly inexhaustible, they stumbling on by themselves, with the same patience which they carry into everything. The chaplain is getting up a schoolhouse, where he will soon teach them as regularly as he can. But the alphabet must always be a very incidental business in a camp.¹⁶

Higginson's observation of the blacks' eagerness for education was far from unique. At almost every camp or station where black soldiers trained or served the same phenomenon appeared. Regimental and company officers often took time from their more military labors to instruct their men; officers' wives assisted in the work; chaplains did a heavy share.

Many chaplains were among those who voiced concern for the freedmen and who expressed the belief that education was absolutely essential if they were successfully to make the transition from their former status as slaves to that of responsible citizens. These men were convinced, furthermore, that national policy should include education of the black man as an objective both during and following the War, for they argued, without minimal

¹⁶Thomas Wentworth Higginson, Army Life in Black Regiment (Boston: T. R. Marvin Sanborn, Carter, and Maine, 1890), pp. 24-25.

educational achievement the former slave would be open to continued exploitation.¹⁷

Many chaplains acted voluntarily, in an unofficial capacity, to assist the freedman in his struggle to attain three basic goals-- education, economic stability, and social equality and acceptance. While their approaches to the problems of the black man varied, emphasis almost invariably was placed on the need for elevation through education. Chaplain A. B. Fuller of the 16th Massachusetts Infantry found it convenient to combine religious and secular instruction by organizing a Sunday School for blacks. Undertaking this project in the vicinity of Warrenton, Virginia, where his regiment was encamped during the autumn of 1862, Fuller was encouraged by the progress of his black students, stating that there was good reason to believe that education could bridge the gap between slavery and freedom.¹⁸

¹⁷Richard F. Fuller, Chaplain Fuller: Being a Life Sketch of a New England Clergyman and Army Chaplain (Boston: The Pilgrim Press, 1864), pp. 198-208.

¹⁸Ibid., pp. 193; The chaplain was killed at Frederickburg, Virginia, by Confederate sharpshooters; Service Record, Files of the Adjutant General's Office, National Archives, Record Group 94.

William K. Talbot, a hospital chaplain stationed at Beaufort, South Carolina, found time despite the multiplicity of his regular duties to teach black adult convalescents confined to his hospital. "I am able," he reported, "to spend two or three hours daily teaching the black convalescents how to read, write, and figure." It was a fascinating and rewarding endeavor, he continued, as the avid thirst for knowledge which the black soldier demonstrated was ample evidence of an ambition which had been denied fulfillment under slavery. Education was, in his opinion, the key to a successful transition from slavery to freedom.¹⁹

Chaplain William Eaton of the 12th United States Black Troops maintained a school for the men of his regiment despite the difficulties which arose from their assignment. The regimental duty, which involved guarding more than eleven miles of railroad near Kingston Springs, Tennessee, spread the men out over such an area that it was difficult to maintain regular classes. "Notwithstanding these peculiar circumstances," he reported,

¹⁹Monthly Report, dated September 30, 1864; Letters received, Files of the Surgeon General's Office National Archives, Record Group 679.

"we keep up a daily school with encouraging results." Books, papers, and other materials were supplied by the Christian Commission and the Pennsylvania Freedmen's Aid Commission, and the classes were conducted in the tent of the sutler accompanying the regiment.²⁰

The chaplain of the 3rd Rhode Island Heavy Artillery, The Reverend Frederic Denison, was involved in a cooperative educational effort with the Reverend Solomon Peck, Secretary of the American Baptist Missionary Union. These men, hoping to aid the black adults in the vicinity of Beaufort, South Carolina, left behind by masters who fled the Sea Islands in the face of imminent occupation by Union forces, used the large Baptist Church in Beaufort as a schoolhouse during the week in order to provide black men with an opportunity for a basic education. Both Peck and Denison reported excellent progress by black students in their charge and were pleased at the growth in enrollment.²¹

²⁰Monthly Reports, dated October 31, 1864 and February 28, 1865, Letters Received, Files of the Adjutant General's Office, National Archives, Record Group 94.

²¹Reverend Frederic Denison, Shot and Shell: The Third Rhode Island Heavy Artillery Regiment in the Rebellion, 1861-1865 (Boston: The Pilgrim Press, 1879), pp. 131-132.

Another enterprise, far more extensive, was that conducted in the Mississippi Valley by Chaplain John Eaton of the 27th Ohio Infantry. On November 11, 1862, Chaplain Eaton received an order from General U. S. Grant which placed him at the head of what was to become the most elaborate and extensive of all efforts on behalf of the freedmen.²²

As Grant prepared during the autumn and winter months of 1862 for his push south against the Confederate fortress city of Vicksburg, Mississippi, he felt impelled to find some means to care properly for the blacks who came into Union lines in increasing numbers. While his concern was military as well as humanitarian-- he did not wish to have his army impeded in its pursuit of military objectives by the necessity of diverting its energies to the task of providing for the multitude of destitute blacks--this in no way detracted from his accomplishment in behalf of the freedmen.

²²Special order No. 15, dated November 11, 1862, read as follows, "Chaplain Eaton of the 27th Ohio Infantry is hereby appointed to take charge of the contrabands that come into camp in the vicinity of this post (La Grange, Tennessee), organizing them into suitable companies for working, see that they are properly cared for and set them to work picking, ginning, and baling all cotton now cut and ungathered in fields. Suitable guards will be detailed by commanding officers nearest where the parties are at work to protect them from molestation. For further instructions the Officer in charge of these Laborers will call at these Head Quarters." Files of the Adjutant General's Office, National Archives, Record Group 94.

Thus Grant, through Chaplain Eaton, launched the most systematic and continuous organized effort on behalf of blacks undertaken throughout the war.

In explaining his instructions to Eaton (November 12, 1862), Grant stated his intention to turn a potential menace into a positive aid to the Union armies. The freedmen could perform many of the camp duties then being done by soldiers and could also lend assistance in roadbuilding, bridge repairs, the construction of fortifications and the like. Women could be employed as laundresses, hospital aids, and cooks.

The appointment of Chaplain Eaton to the supervision of this project made him personally responsible for the administration of black affairs from November, 1862 until the spring of 1865 when the Freedmen's Bureau assumed the task.²³

Eaton believed that while the first responsibility in his new assignment was to provide material necessities, employment and protection to blacks, this was first in order only and not in importance. He believed that mental and moral enlightenment of the freedmen was the truly great object to be secured through his labors, and that the achievement of at least a rudimentary school system for

²³John Eaton, Grant, Lincoln and the Freedmen (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1907), pp. 13-15.

their education would produce ultimately the greatest benefits for the former slaves and the nation. "Accordingly from the very first, efforts were made to secure the assistance of army chaplains, and such other men as were likely to feel the importance of this matter." The aid of benevolent persons either as individuals or in groups, was also welcomed by Eaton. Some of those he singled out for praise were the American Missionary Association, the Western Freedmen's Aid Commission, and the Society of Friends.²⁴

Progress was at first slow, uncoordinated, and very limited, due to the instability of the military situation in the valley and the fact that there was no real central authority over these efforts to educate the freedmen. Since Eaton's control was informal and hence minimal (as a chaplain he did not have rank with command), success depended upon cooperation among the many independent agencies and individuals working side by side to achieve the same ends but under different auspices. An increase in the number of volunteer workers followed the capture of Vicksburg, and subsequent occupation of Natchez which guaranteed Union control of the territory bordering the Mississippi, thus improving security of those involved in this charitable work.²⁵

²⁴Ibid., pp. 192-193.

²⁵Ibid., pp. 193-196.

General Grant welcomed these volunteer teachers. He provided assistance in the form of transportation, quarters, rations, and classroom facilities whenever military considerations made it possible for him to do so. This achieved a dual purpose, for in addition to facilitating and encouraging the work of those engaged in educating the freedmen, it also brought the agents of the society into closer contact with Eaton, as it was through his Freedmen's Department that requests for such aid were channelled. In September of 1863, Secretary Stanton gave formal authorization to the aid program which Grant had undertaken on his own authority.²⁶

Despite this aid and the increasing size of the volunteer teaching force there was much duplication of effort. A shortage of funds and facilities also hampered the work. Still further there were difficulties arising from the jealousies and friction which are unavoidable when so many independent agencies are working on the

²⁶Ibid., p. 194; Special Order No. 63 from the War Department, dated September 29, 1863, read in part as follows: "VI Transportation will be furnished for persons and goods for the benefit of these people (blacks) on Government Transports and Military Railroads within the Department on the order of the General Superintendent (Eaton)." "VII Citizens voluntarily laboring for the benefit of these people, saving as they do to the government, cost of labor in providing for their care, will, when properly accredited by the General Superintendent, be entitled to rations, quarters, and transportation on Government Transports and Military Railroads within the Department."

same problems in the same area. This situation prevailed until September, 1864, when the need for a centralized authority to control and systematize all efforts for the education of blacks was recognized by the War Department. Eaton, in his capacity as General Superintendent of Freedmen,²⁷ was accordingly designated to serve as the coordinator of all educational efforts in the Department.²⁸

Aside from the general desire among freedmen to learn what had previously been forbidden, there were obvious practical advantages to them as soldiers in knowing how to read and write. Joseph T. Wilson, himself a black soldier in the 2nd Louisiana Native Guard and later a member of the 54th Massachusetts Infantry, recorded that his comrades:

²⁷Eaton, *op. cit.*, pp. 26-27; Eaton had been appointed to this position on December 17, 1862. General Order No. 13 read in parts as follows. "Chaplain John Eaton, Jr., of the 27th Regiment Ohio Volunteers, is hereby appointed General Superintendent of Contrabands for the Department."

²⁸Order No. 16, dated September 26, 1864, read in part as follows: "To prevent confusion and embarrassment, the General Superintendent of Freedmen will designate officers, subject to his orders as Superintendent of Colored Schools, through whom he will arrange the location of all schools, teachers, and the occupation of houses and other details pertaining to the education of Freedmen. All officers commanding, and others will render the necessary aid," Printed copy filed in Eaton's Service Record, files of the Adjutant General's Office, National Archives, Record Group 94, Official Records, Series I, Vol. XVIII, Part 2, pp. 395-396.

Unlettered themselves . . . became daily more and more impressed, through their military association, and by contact with things that required knowledge, with the necessity of having an education. Each soldier felt that but for his illiteracy he might be a sergeant, company clerk, or quartermaster, and not a few, that if educated, they might be lieutenants and captains. This was not an unusual conclusion for a brave soldier to arrive at, when men no braver than himself were promoted for bravery.²⁹

With this attitude moving among the growing ranks of black soldiers, it is not surprising to find reports that The New England Speller should have been in great demand among those troops and that the knapsacks of dead black soldiers often contained "a spelling book and a Testament," books distributed in great numbers by the Christian Commission and other northern philanthropic organizations.³⁰

²⁹Joseph T. Wilson, The Black Phalanx: A History of the Negro Soldiers of the United States in the Wars of 1775-1812, 1861-1865 (Boston: Pilgrim Press, 1891), pp. 503-504; Wilson devotes a chapter to a discussion of "The Black Phalanx at School."

³⁰J. G. Forman, The Western Sanitary Commission: A Sketch of Its Origin, History, Labors for the Sick and Wounded of the Western Armies, and Aid Given to Freedmen and Union Refugees, with Incidents of Hospital Life (Boston: Pilgrim Press, 1864), p. 95; "During the fall and winter of 1863-64, General William A. Pile, organized three brigades of black troops, at Benton Barracks (Missouri) and in order that they might have every benefit that was possible, during the period of their organization and drill, the Commission purchased three thousand copies of Sargents Standard Primer, for their use and teachers were provided to instruct them in reading."

In view of desires for education by blacks and especially in view of the practical advantages of literacy, to the individual black soldier, it is hardly surprising to discover that all manner of educational projects sprang up in every Department where black troops were raised. Northern newspapers during the latter half of the Civil War contained many accounts similar to this:

One very good feature in this regiment is the organization of schools. Each company is organized into a separate school, which is taught by teachers hired for that purpose from the North. They are paid by a voluntary contribution from the soldiers of from fifty cents to one dollar per capita each month. The soldiers evince great interest in their books, which they take out on picket with them. They are under excellent discipline, and like military service very much.³¹

How great was the desire of the blacks of this particular regiment to gain some education is clear when it is remembered that these soldiers who paid from fifty cents to one dollar every month to hire teachers received only seven dollars a month from the Federal Government for their services.

This longing for education was not exclusively characteristic of black regiments raised in the South. The historian of the

³¹The Chicago Tribune, January 18, 1864, discussing the First Alabama Regiment of Black Infantry recruited at Corinth in May of 1863; its designation was changed March 11, 1864, to 55th U.S. Black Troops.

55th Massachusetts Infantry, a regiment manned by blacks from the Northern states, observed that:

A great desire existed among those who had been deprived of all educational privileges to learn to read and write, and through the labors of Dr. Henry Bowditch, Boston physician and abolitionist, and others, a school was established to teach those who desired to learn. Many availed themselves of this, and many were assisted by their company officers and their latter informed fellow-soldiers, so that a decided improvement in this respect was effected among the men during their stay at Readville.³²

To help secure trained officers for Pennsylvania's black regiment, a Philadelphia committee headed by Thomas Webster established the Free Military Academy of Chestnut Street in the fall of 1863. This academy gave instruction in infantry tactics, army regulation, mathematics, geography and history. Both soldiers and civilians were its rapidly changing student body. The training given on Chestnut Street must have been excellent. Of its first ninety-four graduates to appear before General Casey's board in Washington only four were rejected.³³ In spite of the original opposition by President Lincoln to enlist black men, the indications are that the

³²Wilson, *op. cit.*, p. 505; Both the 54th and 55th Massachusetts regiments assembled and received their preliminary military training at Readville, a few miles South and West of Boston.

³³George Washington Williams, History of the Negro Race in America from 1619 to 1880 (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1882), p. 295.

Union Army did go far toward preparing thousands of black men for their future lives as citizens and self-dependent free men and heads of families. It has been asserted that "Federal military camps were the places where blacks received their first instructions in popular ideals from the North, in loyalty to the Union and in politics."³⁴

Those examples indicate the general nature of the efforts by Union chaplains, officers and other concerned individuals in the education of blacks and their optimism regarding the beneficent effect of education upon blacks. Many black adults were aided greatly in the traumatic transition from dependent bondage to independent and responsible citizenship by this education. And education was an enduring contribution, a truth aptly expressed in the words of Chaplain Eaton: "Whatever education has been accomplished among the people cannot be taken from them"³⁵

Land Grant Colleges

Congress passed an act on July 2, 1862, which was known as the First Morrill Act. This act granted to each state thirty thousand

³⁴William Watson Davis, The Civil War and Reconstruction in Florida (New York: The Baker and Taylor Company, 1913), p. 236.

³⁵John Eaton to Edwin Stanton, October 20, 1864. Copy filed with Eaton's Service Record, Files of the Adjutant General's Office, National Archives, Record Group 94.

acres of public land per senator and representative in Congress to which the state was entitled by apportionment under the census of 1860:³⁶

All money derived from the sale of these lands was to be invested by the state in securities bearing interest at not less than 5 per cent except that the legislature of the state might authorize the use of not more than 10 per cent of capital for the purchase of sites for the college or experimental farm. The interest was to be used for the endowment, support, and maintenance of at least one college where the leading object should be to teach such branches of learning to young adults, as are related to agriculture and the mechanic arts in order to promote the liberal and practical education of the industrial classes in the several pursuits and professions in life.³⁷

It has been held that the Morrill Act authorized the purchase of apparatus, machinery, textbooks, reference books, and materials used for the purpose of instruction; and for the payment of salaries of instructors in the branches of learning specified by Land-Grant Acts. In the case of machinery, such as boilers, engines, and pumps, which were used to serve both instructional and other purposes, the fund could only be charged with an equitable portion of the cost of said machinery.³⁸

³⁶B. F. Andrews, The Land Grant of 1862 and the Land Grant Colleges, Bulletin No. 13 (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1918), p. 10.

³⁷Ibid.

³⁸K. Miller and J. R. Gay, Progress and Achievements of the Colored People (Washington, D. C.: Austin Jenkins Co., 1907), p. 238.

The act prohibited the expenditures of any portion of these funds for the purchase, erection, preservation, or repair of any building or buildings under any pretense whatever, and the salaries of purely administrative officers, such as treasurers, presidents, and secretaries.³⁹

The first Morrill Act providing for agricultural and mechanical colleges in all the states, unfortunately did not provide for a division of federal funds on racial lines. As a result of this omission the funds received were, in most cases, used for the development of those colleges from which blacks were excluded.

Three states, however, shortly after the Civil War, set a portion of the funds for the support of land-grant colleges to serve the black population. In 1871 the state of Mississippi received \$188,928 for its scrip under the Morrill Act. It gave three-fifths of this amount to what was then called Alcorn University and the remaining two fifths to the University of Mississippi, which were designated as the white land-grant college. Finding that the regular state appropriations added to the land-grant fund Alcorn's income was greater than its needs, the legislature, in 1874, transferred the federal fund to Oxford University, another black school in

³⁹Ibid.

Mississippi. In 1878 the grant was returned to Alcorn University with its name changed to Alcorn Agricultural and Mechanical College.⁴⁰

In 1872 Virginia sold its scrip for \$285,000. After much debate the legislature decided to grant one-half the yield of the income from this fund to Hampton Institute, which was designated as the black land-grant college of the state.

The third state to establish a black land-grant college was South Carolina. In 1872 the scrip granted to that state by the Federal Government was sold for \$191,800. The reconstruction legislature, controlled by blacks, granted the income of this fund to Claflin University, a school established and maintained by the Freedmen's Aid Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church. For some reason the fund was used for other than educational purposes, thus depriving Claflin of the expected income. In 1879 the state restored the land-grant endowment by money received from taxation and organized a white land-grant college to receive one-half the income while Claflin received the other half.

⁴⁰U.S. Office of Education Bulletin, 1930, No. 9, II, p. 837.

Freedmen's Bureau

Many representatives of religious and benevolent organizations came to realize through actual experience that the lack of systematic, centralized administration was a definite hindrance to the work, and joined in a growing movement for federal action. The work was too vast for private agencies, and required and demanded governmental assistance. It was a time of general excitement and anxiety and, amid such circumstances, some agency was needed to undertake the organization and central administration of the work of helping freedmen and refugees of all classes.⁴¹

The need for a governmental agency to deal specifically with the problems of emancipation seems to have been felt at least three years before such a bureau was actually created. Just twelve days after President Lincoln had issued the Emancipation Proclamation, a bill to establish a Bureau of Emancipation in the War Department was introduced in the House of Representatives. This bill was referred to a Committee on Freedmen's Affairs on January 19, 1863, where it was debated and its report authorized, but at the adjournment of Congress on the fourth of March no action had been taken.

⁴¹T. D. Eliot, Report to the House of Representatives (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1968), p. 9.

At the opening of the first session of the Thirty-Eighth Congress, another bill to establish a Bureau of Emancipation was introduced and was referred to a select committee of nine members. This bill proposed to create in the War Department, a bureau to which would be assigned "all matters concerning persons of African descent, and all persons who by proclamation, by law or by military order had, or should become entitled to their freedom."⁴² This measure passed the House of Representatives, but was so modified by amendments in the Senate that no agreement could be reached between the two bodies.

Although the need for such a bureau was widely felt, there was considerable opposition to its creation. It was argued that its functions were too sweeping and revolutionary for a government of expressed and limited powers; that its organization would open up a vast field for corruption, greed, tyranny and abuse, inviting exploitation of the very people whom it was designed to aid.⁴³

Many proven friends of the freedmen argued that such governmental expression of special consideration for the freedmen

⁴²Congressional Globe, 38th Congress, 1st Session, p. 708.

⁴³Ibid., p. 760.

would actually retard their development toward independence and self-reliance.⁴⁴

In the second session of the Thirty-Eighth Congress, debate on the subject was resumed. On February 28, 1865, the Conference Committee of the Senate reported what was virtually a new bill, creating a Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands. On March 1, 1865, this compromise bill was ordered printed,⁴⁵ and on March 3, 1865, it was passed by both houses of Congress in spite of strong opposition. It was signed by President Lincoln on the same day.⁴⁶

The Freedmen's Bureau was established by the United States Congress March 3, 1865, as the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands. This Bureau was attached to the War Department and was maintained until several years after the close of the Civil War. It supervised and managed all abandoned land and controlled all subjects relating to refugees and blacks. The education of black people became one of its special duties.⁴⁷

⁴⁴New York Times, February 9, 1865.

⁴⁵Congressional Globe, 38th Congress, 2nd Session, p. 1402.

⁴⁶Ibid., p. 1419.

⁴⁷F. Watson, The Encyclopedia and Dictionary of Education (London: Sir Issac Pitman and Sons, 1922), p. 1180.

During the War other societies operated with all the vigor that the military situation would permit without being under the direct control of the government, but after the Freedmen's Bureau was organized, it became a guardian over all of them.⁴⁸ The Bureau embraced a six-fold program:

- (1). . . distributing rations and medical supplies;
- (2) establishing schools and aiding benevolent associations;
- (3) regulating labor contracts
- (4) taking care of confiscated lands;
- (5) administering justice in cases where blacks were concerned; and
- (6) the payment of bounties to soldiers.⁴⁹

The Bureau operated without funds for education during its first year of operation. It was able to assist in the education of blacks only by supervision and transportation of teachers, and the occupation of buildings in its possession for schools.⁵⁰ Congress was pleased with the first year's operation of the Bureau, and on July 16, 1866, it passed a Supplementary Freedmen's Bureau Act which stated:

That the commissioner . . . shall at all times cooperate with private benevolent agencies of citizens in aid of freedmen . . . and shall hire or provide by lease

⁴⁸T. P. Jackson, "The Educational Efforts of the Freedmen's Bureau and Freedmen's Aid Society in South Carolina," Journal of Negro History, 1922, Vol. VII, No. 1, p. 4.

⁴⁹Ibid., pp. 3-4.

⁵⁰Ibid., p. 14.

buildings for purpose of education whenever such association shall without cost to the Government provide suitable teachers and means of instruction, and he shall furnish such protection as may be recruited for the safe conduct of such schools.⁵¹

Further the commissioner of this bureau shall have power to seize, hold use, lease or sell all buildings and tenements . . . and to use the same or appropriate the proceeds derived therefrom to the education of the freed people.⁵²

General Oliver O. Howard was the commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau, and J. W. Alvord was the General Superintendent of Education. The duties of the Superintendent of Education were to collect information on education, encourage the organization of new schools, find homes for teachers, and supervise the entire educational program. Congress appropriated five hundred thousand dollars to the Bureau in March, 1867, for the construction and repair of schools and asylums.⁵³

Schools were soon started by blacks and whites under the auspices of the bureau, comprising day, night, sabbath and summer school. In addition, there were industrial schools and colleges aided by bureau funds. The schools were held in barracks, barns, basements, courthouses, churches, and in the open air. In one

⁵¹Ibid., pp. 14-15.

⁵²Ibid., p. 15.

⁵³Ibid., pp. 13-15.

case, at least, classes were held in the room in which two teachers slept, cooked, and ate.⁵⁴ John W. Alvord, former Army chaplain reported, while superintendent of schools for the Freedmen's Bureau in 1870, that there were 149,581 blacks in schools with 3,300 teachers.⁵⁵ These numbers included attendance in all types of schools which were conducted by both the Freedmen's Bureau and the freedmen's associations.

Initially, the majority of the teachers were white. But it was reported in 1870 that out of 3,300 teachers, 1,324 were black.⁵⁶

It was reported that:

The typical freedmen's school opened with prayer, scripture reading, and the singing of hymns and patriotic airs, such as 'The Battle Hymn of the Republic' and 'John Brown,' the school was usually in session from four to six hours divided equally between morning and afternoon. Many schools held night classes for adults.⁵⁷

⁵⁴American Missionary Magazine, IX, 2 (February, 1865), p. 38.

⁵⁵Charles Wesley and Patricia Romaro, Negro Americans in the Civil War (Washington, D.C.: The Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, 1967).

⁵⁶Ibid.

⁵⁷Henry Lee Swint, The Northern Teacher in the South (New York: Octagon Books, Inc., 1967), p. 77-93.

The teachers taught women to knit, to sew. With all their emphasis on the three R's and upon practical skills, the Northern teachers never lost sight of the true aim of the entire movement the 'proper education of the freedmen.' Teaching did, indeed, extend into the controversial fields of sociology and politics. In other words, blacks were taught to support the party of their friends through the ballot and to assume their place as the social and political equal of the Southern white man.⁵⁸

The educational activities of the Bureau were considerably enlarged and placed upon a firmer legal base by provisions of the second Freedmen's Bureau Bill, passed July 16, 1866, over the veto of President Johnson. Areas of cooperation with private benevolent agencies were broadened and the Bureau was able to increase both the service and the financial assistance afforded schools and teachers. A direct appropriation of \$521,000 for educational activities was provided during that year, and additional income was made available from funds derived from the sale or lease of property formerly held by the Confederate States.⁵⁹

The pattern of educational activity remained the same. The Bureau did not engage directly in the process of education, but

⁵⁸Ibid.

⁵⁹J. W. Alvord, Reports on Schools and Finances of Freedmen, 1866-1870 (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1870), p. 2.

confined its activities to the help and protection which it could give the numerous individuals and societies working in the interest of the ex-slave.

It appeared that there was an interest throughout the North in the welfare and future of the black man. A large number of men and women left their homes in the North to live and work among them, and nearly six million dollars were contributed for their schooling within a period of ten years.⁶⁰

It is reported that many motives compelled this giving:

Some who gave were confirmed abolitionists who considered education as the next logical step toward complete freedom. Some others were moved by pity for the helpless position of the ex-slave in the chaos and suffering which followed the War. Still others were concerned with the necessity of educating the black man if he was to become a functioning citizen of the Republic. There were some who were concerned with the economic advantages which might be expected when a large number of educated blacks would form a vast new market for Northern manufactured products.⁶¹

For the many organizations, motivated by these and other reasons to participate in the education of the ex-slaves, the Freedmen's Bureau acted as a central clearing house to harmonize effort, to eliminate duplications, and to bring areas of need into contact with sources of supply. The Bureau was able to give material aid to persons engaged in education, to encourage and assure organizations

⁶⁰Op. cit.

⁶¹Ibid.

which wished to contribute, and to promote wiser utilization of resources.

The material aid which the Bureau gave to persons and organizations engaged in educational activities centered in the housing arrangements which it was able to make. As long as possible, the Bureau continued to make abandoned and confiscated buildings available for occupation by schools, teachers, wives and soldiers on duty with the Bureau, and refugees.⁶² At the time of the organization of the Bureau, and for a short time afterwards, there were many such buildings available for these purposes, but after the War, as pardons were issued, former owners rapidly reclaimed their property.⁶³

As the number of such buildings decreased, the Bureau first endeavored to fill requests for school buildings by securing hospitals and public buildings from the government. Later, toward the middle of 1868, when the return of property to confederate owners was about complete, other methods of securing the necessary school structures had to be devised.

The commissioner was directed to rent or lease buildings for school purposes whenever teachers and means of instruction could be secured without cost to the government.⁶⁴ By the end of 1868, an

⁶²House Executive Documents, No. 1, 39th Congress, 2nd Session, p. 707.

⁶³Ibid.

⁶⁴U.S. Statutes at Large, XIV, 1866, p. 173.

agreement between the societies and the Bureau had been reached whereby the Bureau would underwrite the rent of schools at the rate of ten dollars per month for each class of thirty or more students.⁶⁵ Sometimes the freedmen were able to build a schoolhouse or to secure a church or some other building in which a school could be held rent-free. In such cases, the "rent" paid by the Bureau was actually used to pay other expenses involved in conducting the school. This arrangement continued until September, 1870, when the funds of the Bureau had been spent or assigned.

A few items from the rent account of the Bureau may give some indication of the extent of this service. In November, 1868, the Bureau paid the American Missionary Association \$870.00 for rent for schools in Washington, D. C. For the same month, \$132.00 was paid in Macon, Georgia.⁶⁶ In December, 1868, \$584.86 was paid for rent of schools in Talladega, Alabama, and \$321.34 in the State of Mississippi. The total rent paid by the Bureau between January 1, 1869, and June 30, 1869 through the American Missionary Association alone was \$56,693.00.⁶⁷

It should not be assumed, however, that the Northern associations were the only cooperating agencies in the educational

⁶⁵American Missionary Association, January, 1870, p. 43.

⁶⁶Ibid., p. 28.

⁶⁷Ibid., p. 13.

program of the Bureau. The freedmen themselves, the planters who hired them, and local friends and authorities gave sufficient assistance.⁶⁸

In some areas, freedmen bore a considerable proportion of the cost of their schools. In the city of Little Rock, Arkansas, it was reported that in 1866, the amount received from this source was thirty-three percent of the total cost of instruction.⁶⁹ At the same time, the Assistant Commissioner of Education for Kentucky estimated that blacks in that state were paying at least \$1,500 a month for the support of schools.⁷⁰

As a result of the generous response to appeals for aid to the freedmen and refugees in the territory occupied by Union Armies, there were, when the Bureau was established, a number of schools already being maintained by benevolent agencies of the North. The Commissioner of the Bureau had neither the desire nor the resources to take over this work but stated that his aim would be to "systematize and facilitate" the work of benevolent and religious organizations. In reporting the educational activities of the Bureau,

⁶⁸Senate Executive Documents, No. 27, 39th Congress, 1st Session, pp. 56-57.

⁶⁹Alvord, op. cit., January, 1867, p. 25.

⁷⁰Ibid., p. 30.

General Howard explained that while the Bureau had provided protection and transportation for teachers, transportation of books and clothing, and where possible, school buildings, the "immediate patronage and funds for work have been mainly from benevolent associations of the North.⁷¹ The exact number of the associations with which the Freedmen's Bureau worked is very difficult to establish, but as many as seventy-nine have been listed.⁷²

Higher Education

In the total educational program of the Bureau, special attention was given to higher education. Two factors seem to explain this situation. The first was the continuing need for teachers in the freedmen's schools. Nearly every report of the Assistant Commissioner and Superintendent of schools mentions the handicap of the lack of personnel, a serious handicap from the beginning of the educational work which seems never to have been overcome.⁷³ The white men and women from the North could not be recruited in numbers large enough to satisfy the need for teachers

⁷¹House Executive Documents, No. 1, 39th Congress, 2nd Session, p. 716.

⁷²Julius H. Parmelee, Freedmen's Aid Societies, 1861-1871, (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1917), pp. 298-300.

⁷³Alvord, op. cit., January, 1870, p. 3.

and many who came, anticipating the termination of Bureau support, expected to stay only a short time.⁷⁴ Moreover, although the native Southerner rarely reconciled himself to the presence of Northern white teachers, a native black was not the target of this type of resentment. Hence, the securing of black adult teachers was soon found to be desirable.⁷⁵

The second factor was that where local governments began to assume any responsibility for black education, their first efforts centered about elementary education, leaving benevolent and missionary societies free to turn their efforts toward higher education. Accordingly, the beginnings of a number of black liberal arts colleges and universities of a later day may be noted in the records of the Freedmen's Bureau.

The Freedmen's Bureau played a significant role in the founding of Howard University in Washington, D. C.⁷⁶ From its origin, it was a favored project of the Commissioner and received more than \$500,000 from the Bureau. Bureau aid made it possible

⁷⁴American Mission, XII, March, 1868, p. 63.

⁷⁵Oliver O. Howard, Autobiography (New York: The Baker and Taylor Co., 1908), p. 391.

⁷⁶Oliver Wendell Holmes, The Evolution of the Negro College (New York: Arno Press and The New York Times, 1969), pp. 49-54.

for the trustees of the University to execute the contract for purchasing the land upon which the University was located. The cost of the first building for college classes, of two dormitories, and of the medical building was also met by the Bureau.⁷⁷ It was the value of this investment which later influenced the government's decision to provide support for Howard University from federal funds in the budget of the Interior Department.⁷⁸

The Bureau's assistance in establishing schools followed a rather characteristic pattern. The society, denominational group, or independent board of trustees would confer with the Bureau officials, secure title to a site and begin establishing or enlarging its school. The Bureau would then make funds available for the building. Some activities of this kind are listed as illustrative of this pattern.

In 1867, the Freedmen's Bureau erected the first building of Atlanta University and paid for transportation of the teachers whom

⁷⁷House Reports, No. 121, 41st Congress, 2nd Session, pp. 28-34.

⁷⁸Walter Dyson, A History of the Federal Appropriations for Howard University (Washington, D. C.: Howard University Press, 1927), p. 12.

the trustees of the University had hired. During the first two years of its existence, the Bureau contributed \$52,410 to Atlanta University.⁷⁹

Avery Institute founded in Charleston, South Carolina in 1866, received \$17,000 from the Bureau to build on land purchased by the American Missionary Association with funds willed to the Association by Reverend Charles Avery.⁸⁰

Biddle Memorial Institute, later Biddle University, and now Johnson C. Smith University in Charlotte, North Carolina was aided by a grant of \$10,000 from the educational funds of the Bureau in 1867 when the school was organized by the Presbyterians.⁸¹

Berea College in Berea, Kentucky, although established before the Civil War, received \$26,000 from the Freedmen's Bureau between 1867 and 1870 for its building program.⁸²

In 1868, two brick buildings, one of which was formerly a confederate gun factory, were made available by the Freedmen's

⁷⁹Myron C. Adams, History of Atlanta University (Atlanta: Atlanta University Press, 1930), p. 19.

⁸⁰American Missionary Association, XII, July, 1868, p. 145.

⁸¹Howard, op. cit., p. 404.

⁸²Ibid.

Bureau to Central Tennessee College which later became Walden University and still later was absorbed by Meharry Medical College.⁸³

Fisk University in Nashville, Tennessee, was first established as a high school for blacks in 1866. Its first building was a converted military hospital secured for the school by the Freedmen's Bureau and moved by the Bureau to a lot which had been purchased by the Western Freedmen's Commission and the American Missionary Association of New York.⁸⁴ By October of the following year, the city of Nashville had taken over the support of common schools and the Fisk School was incorporated as Fisk University.⁸⁵

Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute was from its start a project of particular interest of the Bureau. It was aided by contributions from the Bureau for building and permanent endowment. In 1870, General Samuel Armstrong, the principal of the school, noted in his first annual that "nearly \$100,000 had been expended in permanent improvements for which we may thank the Freedmen's Bureau and Northern benefactors."⁸⁶

⁸³Alvord, op. cit., July, 1867, p. 52; Holmes, op. cit., p. 109.

⁸⁴American Missionary, March, 1866, p. 59.

⁸⁵Ibid., October, 1867, p. 48.

⁸⁶Samuel C. Armstrong, Education for Life (Hampton: Press of Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute, 1913), p. 53.

The Bureau made "generous donations" in land and buildings to Storer College in Harpers Ferry. In the spring of 1869, when a few men conceived the plan of establishing Strait University in New Orleans, the Freedmen's Bureau and the American Missionary Association purchased the ground and the Bureau assured them the erection of buildings valued at \$20,000.⁸⁷

At the time of its organization, the St. Augustine Normal and Collegiate Institute, founded in Raleigh, North Carolina, the Episcopal Church, received considerable aid from the government.⁸⁸ In March, 1870, \$2,500 was allotted to St. Augustine for construction.⁸⁹

Lincoln Institute, now Lincoln University in Jefferson City, Missouri, was established with funds which soldiers of the Sixty-second and Sixty-fifth Black Regiments had contributed from their mustering-out pay. On March 28, 1870, the Freedmen's Bureau allotted \$5,000 to this Institution in addition to "considerable aid already given."⁹⁰

⁸⁷Catalogue of Straight University (New Orleans: L. R. Simmons Co., 1870), p. 31.

⁸⁸Howard, op. cit., p. 409.

⁸⁹Accounts Current of School Fund, BRFEAL, No. 87.

⁹⁰Ibid.

The Talladega, Alabama, Normal School, later Talladega College, founded by the American Missionary Association, was helped by the Bureau to secure, at a cost of \$34,000, a college property of thirty-four acres and a pre-war brick building which had been built by slave labor as an exclusive school for boys.⁹¹

Wilberforce University, begun in the fifties by the Methodist Episcopal Church, was recognized early by the Bureau as a good place for training teachers. Encouragement and financial aid were given to it and, for the same reason, to Oberlin College and to the Lincoln University in Pennsylvania.⁹² Wilberforce was granted \$3,000 in 1869 and \$25,000 the following year, the latter sum by special congressional action.⁹³ Because neither of these institutions was in former slave territory, the aid was subsequently questioned on the ground that these gifts were not within the terms of the laws setting up the Bureau.⁹⁴

⁹¹American Missionary Association, Annual Report, 1871, p. 45.

⁹²Howard, op. cit., p. 141.

⁹³Holmes, op. cit., p. 141.

⁹⁴House Reports, No. 121, 41st Congress, 2nd Session, p. 30.

Other institutions which received relatively large amounts of financial aid from the Bureau included Ballard Normal School, Claflin University, Lemoyne College, Knoxville College, Elizabeth City (N. C.) Normal School, Maryville (Tenn.) Normal School, Swayne School, Emerson School, Stanton Normal School, Tougaloo College, The National Theological Institute, and St. Martin's Female Academy.⁹⁵ In a summary report in 1869, General Oliver Howard, Commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau, stated that at least one normal school for the training of young black adults to be teachers had been established in each state.⁹⁶

From 1868 to 1870, various proposals were made to terminate the work of the Bureau completely. Early in 1870, General Howard proposed that the educational activities of the Freedmen's Bureau be transferred to the Bureau of Education and that an appropriation be made to put its records in order.

This proposal led Fernando Wood, to remark during a discussion of a bill to implement such a plan, that General Howard had become "rich" through his connection with the Freedmen's Bureau and that this proposal was simply a scheme by which he could gain control of another large sum of money.⁹⁷

⁹⁵Accounts Current of School Funds, BRFAL, No. 87.

⁹⁶House Executive Documents, No. 142, 41st Congress, 2nd Session, p. 11.

⁹⁷Congressional Globe, 41st Congress, 2nd Session, p. 2461.

Representative Wood's remark, reported in a daily paper,⁹⁸ prompted General Howard to write a letter to Wood inviting an investigation of his administration of the Freedmen's Bureau. Representative Wood read General Howard's letter on the floor of the House, and while admitting that he had no personal knowledge of the affairs of the Bureau, said that his statement was founded upon "general report and common rumor." He then read a list of fifteen specific charges supporting his allegation that General Howard had been guilty of negligence.⁹⁹

Wood reported:

The charges involved General Howard's use of Bureau funds in the construction of Howard University; his disposal of land belonging to the University corporation (land purchased originally with Bureau funds); his involvement, with certain other Bureau officers, in a company formed to manufacture the bricks, alleged to be defective, used in the construction of the buildings of Howard University and the Freedmen's Hospital in Washington; the rent paid by the Bureau to Howard University for office space; the three salaries reportedly received by General Howard--from the army, the Bureau, and from Howard University; his handling of certain financial transactions involving bonds of the

⁹⁸Washington Chronicle, April 1, 1870.

⁹⁹House Reports, No. 121, 41st Congress, 2nd Session, pp. 2-3.

First Congregational Church and of the UMCA and land purchased in Washington for the improvement in what Representative Wood termed the 'Freedmen's Bureau Ring.'¹⁰⁰

These charges were referred, by resolution to the House Committee on Education and Labor which was instructed to investigate the charges and was given authority to send for "persons and papers."¹⁰¹ For nearly three months, the Committee questioned witnesses and examined documents. Three thousand pages of written testimony were taken. On July 13, 1870, the report of the committee and minority report were ordered printed.¹⁰²

The committee divided on party lines. The majority report explained away the charges and, declaring that the policy of the United States toward freedmen "a source of just national pride," acquitted General Howard of all charges preferred against him. This report stated further that in "successfully organizing and

¹⁰⁰Congressional Globe, 41st Congress, 2nd Session, p. 2461.

¹⁰¹Ibid., p. 2463.

¹⁰²House Reports, No. 121, 41st Congress, 2nd Session, p. 4.

administering with fidelity, integrity and ability the Freedmen's Bureau," General Howard was deserving of the gratitude of the American people.¹⁰³

The minority report declared the majority of the Committee had prevented a fair and full investigation of the charges referred to by objections to pivotal questions, the arbitrary limitation of testimony, and the refusal to subpoena certain witnesses.¹⁰⁴ The minority took particular objection to the refusal by the majority of the Committee to permit an examination of General Howard's personal bank account. Yet, notwithstanding these difficulties, the minority maintained that sufficient testimony had been received to sustain, with a slight exception, all the charges made by Wood.¹⁰⁵

The minority report maintained that the aid given to Howard University, totaling more than five hundred thousand dollars, was a misuse of funds designated by Congress for the aid of educational institutions actually incorporated for loyal refugees and freedmen.¹⁰⁶ The minority maintained that it had been the intent of the law to aid

¹⁰³Ibid., p. 21.

¹⁰⁴Ibid., p. 27.

¹⁰⁵Ibid.

¹⁰⁶U.S. Statutes at Large, XIV, 1867, p. 545.

only institutions which already existed at the time the appropriation had been made, and that institutions aided should have been incorporated for the education of "loyal refugees and freedmen," but that Howard University met neither of these requirements.¹⁰⁷

The minority report offered evidence to support its opinion that General Howard was guilty of each of the charges preferred, and recommended that a copy of the testimony be forwarded to the Secretary of War with directions that a court-martial be ordered for General Howard's trial upon the charges, but although the minority report was printed, no action was taken on its recommendations.

During 1871 and 1872, the work of the Bureau was confined to the collection and payment of rewards and other money due black soldiers and the supervision of the Freedmen's Hospital in Washington. Some advisory aid was given educational work.¹⁰⁸ By March, 1872, the operations of the Bureau were almost completely suspended; very nearly the entire force of clerks and agents was discharged, local offices were closed, and payments of rewards and other money virtually ceased.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁷House Reports, No. 121, 41st Congress, 2nd Session, p. 29.

¹⁰⁸House Executive Documents, No. 10, 43rd Congress, 1st Session, p. 3.

¹⁰⁹Ibid.

General Howard had continued to request an appropriation to enable him to complete the records of the Bureau and prepare them for transfer, but in as much as it was planned to place the Bureau affairs under the direct control of the Secretary of War, the Secretary did not endorse General Howard's request. He preferred that the transfer be made immediately.¹¹⁰

On March 7, 1872, General Howard was sent to Arizona on a peace mission to the Indians there. On June 10, while he was still away from Washington, the Civil Expenses Allotment Act of the War Department was passed, including an appropriation for the Freedmen's Bureau made on the condition that the Bureau be terminated on June 30, and the business of bounty payments as well as the records and equipment of the Bureau be transferred to the War Department.¹¹¹

In seeking to understand and to evaluate the educational influence of the activities of the Freedmen's Bureau, consideration must be given the interplay of varied social and economic influences. Reconstruction meant a redefinition of the status of economic, social and racial groupings in the South. The future of institutions depended upon the relative influences of many elements involved in this redefinition.

¹¹⁰Howard, op. cit., p. 446.

¹¹¹Ibid.

The significant social groupings and forces involved included the native slaveholding and non-slaveholding white population and the black population, free and freed. The Federal Army and the Freedmen's Bureau, two interrelated socio-political entities representing social forces from the North were introduced as a result of the War.

Many of the native whites carried over a feeling of protective superiority toward the black man. A number of planters, sure of themselves and of their ability to control blacks had advocated limited suffrage and education at public expense as long as it was believed that the education of the black man could be controlled and directed in favor of the maintenance of certain social and economic relationships. This group considered the black man ungrateful and disloyal when he turned to Northern soldiers as friends as protectors.

The second element was the group of non-slaveholding white people. For the first few years after the Civil War, many interests of this class were also the interests of blacks. Some elements in this class were willing to accord extensions of political rights and privileges intolerable to the more conservative class of

former slaveholders. In the beginning, the issue was conservatism versus radicalism not white against black, yet the dislike of having anything like social equality with the black thrust upon them was always present--a feeling which later developed or may have been promoted into racial antagonism.

The position of the black man in the drama has received various interpretations in accordance with conflicting theories of racial differences. DuBois says:

An individual's estimate of the events of reconstruction depends on whether he believes that the black man in America and in general is an average and ordinary human being who under given environment develops like other human beings, or regards him as a distinctly inferior creation who can never take part in modern civilization and whose emancipation and enfranchisement were gestures against nature.¹¹²

The Freedmen's Bureau proposed leadership toward two goals--economic security and integration into the social order with the same comparative standing of the whites. The idea of economic independence with "forty acres and a mule," or the equivalent, was the first important drive as far as leaders were concerned. Some Republicans supported this goal as an expression of an apparently

¹¹²W. E. B. DuBois, Black Reconstruction (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1935), p. i.

genuine interest in the economic rehabilitation of freedmen. Others seemed to promote it in a spirit of vindictiveness or as a bait for party support. But soon the possibility of land ownership for any but a very fortunate few began to fade and education itself became the symbolic goal.

Blacks themselves sought education as a safeguard against a return of slavery, seeming to believe that educated men are rarely slaves and that only educated men are free. There had been adult education, both formal and informal for a few blacks during slavery, however, the majority had been denied access to book knowledge. At the same time the practical value of being able to read and write had been continually demonstrated by those slaves who had learned to calculate or to keep accounts for their masters, and in some instances even to forge passes which allowed them to remain out of quarters after curfew. Moreover, acquaintance with Greek and Latin, symbols of leisure and refinement among white people seemed particularly desirable goals. Thus when emancipation became an accomplished fact, the freedmen evinced a general desire to obtain an education. The Freedmen's Bureau was launched as a humanitarian act to facilitate the effort by blacks to gain total freedom.

Freedmen's Bank

The Freedmen's Bank and Trust Company, chartered by Congress on March 3, 1865, was from a white stimulus to black business activity. The Act of Congress creating the Bank was signed by President Lincoln on the same day on which he signed the Act creating the Freedmen's Bureau.¹¹³

The hope of everyone, therefore, seemed to center in the Freedmen's Savings Bank. To this institution the black soldiers fresh from the field of battle, the farmer, the day laborer, and the washerwoman, all alike brought their earnings and deposited them in the Freedmen's Bank. So great was the black man's wish to save, that the deposits in the Freedmen's Bank increased from three hundred thousand dollars in 1866, to thirty-one million dollars in 1872, and fifty-five million dollars in 1874.¹¹⁴

The Bank aimed to train black business men and to encourage blacks in the acquisition of property. Between 1866 and 1871 a total of thirty-four branches were established. Thirty-two of them were in Southern States.¹¹⁵

¹¹³Abram L. Harris, The Negro as Capitalist (Philadelphia: The American Academy of Political and Social Science, 1936), p. 29.

¹¹⁴William Wells Brown, My Southern Home: The South and Its People (Boston: A. G. Brown and Co., 1880), p. 199.

¹¹⁵Harris, op. cit.

The specific circumstances that led to the organization of the Freedmen's Bank was the establishment of military banks as depositories for the savings of black soldiers and free laborers.¹¹⁶ Blacks did not occupy positions of authority in the bank until around 1870. In Richmond and Norfolk, Virginia, as well as Washington, D. C., black business men and property holders were members of the advisory councils and boards of trustees. Many were also employed as clerks, tellers and bookkeepers at the Central Office and at the numerous branches. They were also being trained to take over the bank eventually. As a result of this training there was built up a nucleus of blacks with business talent.¹¹⁷ General Oliver Howard once referred to the Freedmen's Bank as the "best adult educational institution" he knew. Many thousand blacks learned the habits of thrift.¹¹⁸

Legally the Freedmen's Bureau and the Freedmen's Bank were separate institutions. However, John W. Alvord, first secretary and later president of the Bank, was also Superintendent of Schools in the Freedmen's Bureau. A Congregational minister

¹¹⁶Ibid., p. 26.

¹¹⁷Ibid., p. 45.

¹¹⁸Walter L. Fleming, "The Freedmen's Savings Bank," Yale Review, Vol. 15 (May, 1906), pp. 40-67.

and outspoken prohibitionist, he strongly appealed to Oliver Howard. He used each of his offices to help the other, and Howard was glad to support him in both his capacities.

At Alvord's suggestion, Howard heartily recommended the bank to his subordinates in the Freedmen's Bureau. In every depositor's passbook was printed Howard's endorsement of the Bank and his "welcome" to it as "an auxiliary to the Freedmen's Bureau." To most blacks this signified that the Bank was connected with the Bureau, that is, that it had the Government's financial support. That idea was enhanced when several assistant commissioners recommended the Bank to freedmen as a safe place to deposit their money, and ordered local agents to encourage blacks to put their savings in the Bank.¹¹⁹ Orlando Brown even sent two of his assistants to find black regiments to secure for the Bank as many deposits as possible from the final pay of the soldiers, and Bureau agents sometimes asked army paymasters to encourage depositing.¹²⁰

The Freedmen's Bureau also helped the Bank by furnishing it with office space, both in Washington and in the Southern cities

¹¹⁹Walter Fleming, The Freedmen's Savings Bank (N. C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1927), p. 48.

¹²⁰Brown to Alvord, March 1, 1867, in Bureau Records, Education Division, Papers relating to Education.

where it had branches. Both Howard and some of his assistant commissioners gave salaried Bureau positions to Bank officers.¹²¹ Thus the Bureau reduced the Bank's operating costs, but in doing so it helped the Bank to expand when retrenchment would have been sounder policy. By the time the Bureau was withdrawn from the South, the Bank was suffering financial embarrassment, and in 1874, it collapsed completely. It has been asserted that its failure was due partly to the general business depression, however, it appears that the real cause of the Bank's difficulty was loose management it had suffered and the intimate business connection between some of its leading officials and the infamous District of Columbia government "ring".¹²²

Meanwhile, the operation of the law requiring all monetary rewards for black soldiers to be paid directly by Freedmen's Bureau agents had not ended the cheating of black veterans. Generally the claim agent took care not to violate the law, but still they were able to trick freedmen into promising lucrative fees for "expediting" their claims. Blacks frequently received their money

¹²¹Howard to W. A. Booth, February 4, 1867, in Bureau Records, Education Division, Papers relating to Education.

¹²²House Reports, 44th Congress, 1st Session, No. 502, Serial 1710.

in the office of a Bureau agent, only to transfer much of it to some charlatan waiting outside the door. To guard against such practices, Howard ordered the local agents to deduct from the reward payment any legal fees due to a claim agent or attorney, pay it to him, then give the balance to the black man with specific advice not to pay any more to the lawyer.

Later Howard also required the agent to help the veteran convert his check into currency, "and not leave him to do it himself, and thus put him in the power of sharpers and unprincipled men."¹²³ Occasionally, Bureau agents and assistant commissioners actively sought to aid black veterans by publishing in newspapers the names of men to whom money was due. Alvord wanted to try to protect the black veterans from cheats by having their pension and reward money deposited in the Freedmen's Bank, but there was no legal provision for that, and it never was done. He did succeed in getting Howard to appoint several of the Bank's cashiers Bureau agents for the payment of rewards, and they probably persuaded many of the freedmen to deposit their money. In view of the Bank's later

¹²³Whittlesey to Horace Morris, June 1, 1869, in Bureau Records, Letter sent, 5:413.

career, this was only robbing Peter the claim agent to pay Paul the speculator in District of Columbia real estate.¹²⁴

The first announcement of the closing of the Freedmen's Savings Bank had a paralyzing effect upon the blacks everywhere. Many who had purchased small farms, or dwellings in cities and towns, and had paid part of the purchase money, now became discouraged, surrendered their claims, gave up the lands, and went about as if every hope was lost. It was their first and their last dealings with a bank during this period. The failure of the Freedmen's Savings Bank was a national calamity.

In March, 1874, Frederick Douglass was prevailed upon to assume the presidency, with the idea that his influence and prestige would restore confidence, but it was too late as the bank was already insolvent. Not satisfied with robbing the deluded black people out of the bulk of their hard earnings, commissioners were appointed soon after the failure, with "appropriate" salaries, to look after the interest of the depositors, and these leeches ate up the remainder.¹²⁵ Whether truly or falsely, the freedmen were led to believe that the

¹²⁴Alvord to Howard, January 22, 1870, in John W. Alvord, Letters from the South Relating to the Freedmen (Washington, D. C.: 1870), p. 27.

¹²⁵Brown, op. cit., p. 199.

United States Government was responsible to them for the return of their money with interest. Common justice would seem to have call for some action in the matter. No such action took place.

The most significant outcomes of the Freedmen's Bank venture was the development of a nucleus of blacks with business skills and the desire by blacks to determine their own destiny. Within a decade and a half after the failure of the Freedmen's Bank, black leadership was asserted in the organization of fraternal insurance societies and banks owned and managed by blacks.

CHAPTER VI

INDUSTRIAL EDUCATION

Only a few Africans introduced to the American colonies received instruction in the skilled crafts prior to the 1720s. However, some advances were made thereafter.¹

With the growth of large plantations after 1800, the increasing division and specialization of labor became both feasible and desirable in the South. Because of economic necessity, increasing numbers of slave holders dropped or ignored ideological injunctions prohibiting the use of bondsmen in skill trades. This was particularly true in extended economic units, in urban centers and the upper South. As a result, blacks tended to monopolize a number of crafts and trades, especially those related to agriculture and construction.²

¹Marcus Wilson Jernegan, Laboring and Dependent Classes in Colonial America, 1607-1783 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1931), p. 11.

²Kenneth M. Stamp, The Peculiar Institution, Slavery in the Ante-Bellum South (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1956), p. 31; E. Franklin Frazier, The Negro in the United States (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1957), p. 175; Charles H. Wesley, Negro Labor in the United States (New York: Vanguard Press, 1927), *Passim*.

On-the-job training programs developed within the formal structure in response to the rise in demand for and to the higher prices elicited in the markets where trained slaves were auctioned. Many carpenters, weavers, and seamstresses emerged from these training experiences.

The inclination of certain owners to respond to the sheer challenge offered by a slave's brightness of mind and gift of talents gave added impetus to the invasion of the plantation society by sentimentalism. Many masters placed such slaves under the tutelage of master craftsmen.

It was not long before the growing number of highly trained slaves became redundant, exceeding the capacity of many owners to involve them in their productive enterprise. Consequently, these black men were often maintained as status symbols for their owners, who frequently found it necessary to provide some means of holding and supporting them. Out of the pressure of circumstances came a policy of "hiring out" slaves to employers who needed them.

Blacks who achieved skilled status performed a variety of occupations.³ They enjoyed, a number of economic and social prerogatives not usually open to slaves; had relatively greater

³Gunnar Myrdal, et. al., An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem in Modern Democracy (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1944), p. 280.

physical freedom; and did not appear to be as demoralized as their unskilled contemporaries.⁴ The development of slaves in skilled occupations was of direct and extended benefit to slave holders and was usually perceived as a threat to the economic and social status of white artisans.⁵ The formation of this occupational group was responsible in great part for the later pattern of near exclusion of blacks from skilled occupations. Thus in urban centers such as New Orleans, the historian Charles B. Rousseau⁶ observed in

The Negro in Louisiana:

The Negro who in ante-bellum days performed all types of labor, skilled and unskilled, found himself gradually almost eliminated from the various trades. Unionization in the South often led to the redesignation of 'black jobs' as 'white man's work,' and even excluding blacks from entire industries. On the other hand, the number of blacks deployed in this manner in the pre-Civil War South was relatively small. The majority of blacks, slave or free, were not trained in craft skills.

In the North, blacks were generally excluded from skill-craft jobs by employers, usually at the behest of white artisans. This was due, in turn, to the fear on the part of white craftsmen

⁴E. Franklin Frazier, Black Bourgeois: The Rise of a New Middle Class in the U.S. (Glenco: The Free Press, 1957), p. 13.

⁵Myrdal, op. cit., p. 73.

⁶The exact proportion of black craftsmen to black population, slaves or free is unknown.

of being displaced from their occupations by otherwise unfree labor.⁷ As a consequence, blacks were not allowed to compete for such employment, the interdict becoming more pronounced with the formation of craft unions.⁸

In the South education through the apprenticeship approach was not frowned upon as were the more deliberate attempts to teach reading and writing to blacks. In the Confederacy, as it had been in the South for many decades, it was against the law to teach the black man, whether child, free black, mulatto or adult, to read, write and to calculate. The laws had been in effect since the early decades of the century when, at the time of Denmark Vessey and Nat Turner slave uprisings, the states had passed a flurry of harshly restrictive laws regarding the education of slaves; in 1831, North Carolina, evidently remembering Nat Turner's religious training by a preacher had prescribed the teaching of slaves to

⁷Charles Lionel Franklin, The Negro Labor Unionist of New York (New York: Columbia University Press, 1936), pp. 18-20.

⁸Franklin, op. cit., pp. 71-77.

preach. Virginia did not permit the teaching of reading and writing, nor did Alabama and South Carolina.⁹

During the War, however, and for many years before, slave owners and others as well, had winked at the letter of the law. As a consequence a number of slaves had become literate, in several ways. These became educated, further, to various skills by means of apprenticeship on-the-job techniques in government factories, cotton mills, forges, foundries, fortifications, iron mines, saltpeter caves, and in other trades, and mechanic arts.

Yet, one thought remained paramount in the minds of all Southerners; the ever-present threat of servile rebellion. The Turner-Vessey revolts had proved to many Southerners that the black man remained constantly alert to the possibility of total freedom.

It did not escape the view of some thoughtful persons in the South that training the black slave as an artisan and a mechanic was utterly unfitting him for slavery . . .
In urban and rural communities where slavery existed,

⁹Edgar W. Knight, et al., Educational Theories and Practices, Vol. 5 of A Documentary History of Education in the South Before 1860 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1949), pp. 474-476.

the slave mechanics were the leaders in black life . . .
 Training in the mechanic arts taught them to think and
 to depend upon their own resources.¹⁰

So the Southerner was placed in an anomalous position by his environment. He was forced to train blacks to their tasks, if he desired any sizeable quantity of skilled or semi-skilled work to be performed; and at the same time, he did not want the black man to become too skilled or too learned, lest he become too aware, or endowed with leadership.

Arkansas law provided, in the Revised Statute of February 23, 1839 for the binding out of free blacks and mulattoes.¹¹ The Arkansas law relating to black apprenticeship spelled out carefully a prohibition against the teaching of reading and writing to black people:

In lieu of education the master of any free black apprentice, shall be required to give any male free black apprentice, on his arriving at the age of twenty-one years, the sum of \$150, and to any female apprentice, the following property, or the value thereof in money, viz., one bed, to be worth \$12, and one suite of clothes to be worth \$15; to be paid when said apprentice shall arrive at the age of eighteen years.¹²

¹⁰Charles H. Wesley, Negro Labor in the United States, 1850-1925 (New York: Vanguard Press, 1927), pp. 21-22.

¹¹Josiah Gould, A Digest of the Statutes of Arkansas (Little Rock: Johnson and Yerkes, State Printers, 1858), p. 150.

¹²Ibid., p. 557.

During the Civil War the plantation system tended to break down slowly as increasing numbers of masters, owners, and overseers went to war. More and more white women, and children began to work the fields, letting the black crews assume the responsibility for heavier work. Later, the more faithful, dependable blacks, chosen for their past loyalties and degree of training were allowed to act as overseers and foremen.

Increasingly, blacks came to be trained and hired out reluctantly as laborers for the military: cooks, wagoners, teamsters, ambulance drivers, stretcher bearers, and hospital attendants. They played their roles beside their white counterparts on the battlefields, yet not without considerable objection from white hospital personnel.

Apprentice-trained blacks were utilized in great numbers by the railroad, not only to repair bridges, track, and railbeds, but in the semi-skilled and skilled occupations as well. There were black brakemen, conductors, and engineers during the Civil War but their "traces vanished like the smoke of the trains they rode after the War."¹³

¹³Robert C. Black, The Railroad of the Confederacy (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1952), pp. 30-31.

Slaves were also trained for jobs in the manufacture of gunpowder, rifles, and heavy ordnance. Of the 400 workmen at the Naval Gun Works in Salem, Alabama, during the last months of the Confederacy, 310 were blacks; and in September, 1864, the iron mines in the Confederate States East of the Mississippi were operated by 4,301 blacks and 2,518 whites.¹⁴ Blacks were used to construct military forts such as Forts Henry, Donelson and Wagner; to erect river obstructions; and to build gunsites.¹⁵

Increased usage of black labor by the railroads and in government manufacturing plants was matched by a growing use of black know-how and muscle in Confederate civilian industries. During the early months of summer and the fall of 1861, when early Confederate victories had brought a heady sense of independence to the South, small industries began to establish themselves in towns and cities throughout the eleven Confederate States.

As the need rose for skilled workers to replace those who had volunteered or had been conscripted, the needs for apprentice training rose also. In the cotton mills, the foremost manufacturing industry of the wartime Confederacy, training needs and personnel

¹⁴B. Irvin Wiley, Southern Negroes, 1861-1865 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1938), p. 113.

¹⁵Ibid., p. 111.

needs were answered through the apprentice training, or the on-the-job training of black slaves wholly owned by the company. At the Saluda Manufacturing Company in Columbia, South Carolina, during the Civil War--and before the War, as well--some 98 operators were hired and trained to operate spindles and looms.¹⁶ All of the operators were slaves because the owners felt that slave labor was cheaper for cotton manufacture than free white labor.

The average maintenance cost of each slave per year, it was estimated did not exceed \$75. The management of the Saluda Mills was pleased with the performance of the new black hands, none of whom had ever seen a cotton factory before:

They were put to work as new hands, receiving no greater facilities for learning and performing their duties, than is always allowed to such hands; and I have never seen an equal number of entirely new hands become efficient operatives in less time.¹⁷

The manager of the concern before the war and during the struggle, J. Groves, was of the philosophical notion, and in a report to the local newspaper, he set down some introspective observations of industrial learning, training, and the cognitive capacity of black slaves:

¹⁶Richard W. Griffin, "The Saluda Manufacturing Company, 1832-1865," Cotton History Review, 2, October, 1961, p. 235.

¹⁷Columbia, South Carolina, Daily Telegraph, May 23, 1849.

It is true that it requires skill and intelligence to manage cotton machinery to advantage; so it requires skill and intelligence to manage a farm or plantation to advantage. It does not follow, that because the person who works with the hoe, does not understand why one kind of compost is put in one place and a different kind in another, that therefore he cannot do justice to the plants with his hoe--neither does it follow, that because the operative is not versed in the sciences in the mechanic arts, that therefore he cannot be efficient at the spinning frame or the loom, as an operative.

I know very well, that in the selection of hands for the mills at the North, preference is always given to those who have enjoyed the advantages of intellectual culture; the entire want of which would be considered almost sufficient to disqualify the applicant for any service in the mill. But what deficiency denotes in the white population of Massachusetts, is an index to a very different state of things from that which the same deficiency denotes in South Carolina.

In the former state, there is a school brought within reach of every man's door, and he is permitted, nay entreated, to send his children to school and to have them educated 'without money and without price.' If therefore, such opportunities are allowed to pass unimproved, it is not difficult to divine in habits such persons must have been drilled. The same deficiency intentionally among blacks, bear no such evidence of indolence and recklessness of valuable acquisition to which they are necessarily restricted, their imitative faculties become trained and obedient to the will, so that whatever they see done they are very quick in learning to do, without entering into any philosophical inquiry as to the method of doing it.

Our carding and spinning rooms are furnished with black hands almost entirely, and they perform their duties as promptly and as well as any hands I have ever seen.¹⁸

¹⁸Columbia, South Carolina, Daily Telegraph, May 23, 1849.

Throughout the South, slaves were trained and employed. At the Arcadia, Florida, cotton mills where 5,000 pieces of cloth were turned out weekly, and at other cotton factories in Greenville, Mississippi and Scottsville, Alabama.¹⁹

A second industry of importance in the South was the manufacture of chewing tobacco. Slaves were employed widely in chewing tobacco factories in Lynchburg, Danville, Petersburg, and Caswell County, North Carolina. Half of the 50 to 150 slaves in each of the factories were wholly owned, the others were hired from their owners at annual rates of \$100 to \$200, with food, board and medical care. In these processing plants slaves were trained as "twisters," "stemmers" and "dippers," and in other jobs.²⁰

A vitally important wartime industry--from it came the torpedoes, submarines, plates for ironclad vessels, propeller shafts, cannon, field pieces, railroad iron, and spikes--was the Confederate iron manufacturing industry in the Confederacy's largest industrial center, Richmond. Richmond offered an excellent location for the Tredegar Iron Works, the Belle Island Nail Works, the Richmond Armory, and later for the Confederate States

¹⁹Wesley, op. cit., p. 15.

²⁰Clement Eaton, A History of the Old South (New York: Macmillan Co., 1966), p. 429.

Laboratory because coal supplies were close at hand, and supplies of superior iron could be easily obtained from the Valley of Virginia. The heart of the Richmond manufacturing complex was the sprawling Tredegar Iron Works on the banks of the James River. Housed in a cluster of wooden and brick buildings, the Tredegar factory was to become the mainstay of the Confederacy's ordnance establishment under the direction of a Joseph Ried Anderson.

At the outbreak of the War, the Tredegar Works, under Anderson's direction, was rapidly hiring and training as many black workers as it could recruit for its foundries, puddling furnaces, rolling mills and forges. Although half the labor force at Tredegar Works was already comprised of slaves in various stages of on-the-job training, Anderson was determined to obtain others from plantation owners and "gang" leaders at rates ranging in 1860 from \$175 a year and up. These hiring rates for unskilled blacks--when they could be obtained--increased greatly during the four years of the War, and Anderson was never able to obtain enough black labor to meet his increasing demands.²¹ These black slaves were then taught the skills of puddling and rolling by other trainees and white puddlers and rollers, usually from the Northern states. These latter as had been seen, continually resisted and resented the

²¹Ibid., p. 433.

training routines instituted by Anderson, and the competition of trained and skilled black slave labor in the Tredegar Works. The resentment of Northern and Southern white mechanics at Tredegar Works over Anderson's industrial training of black slaves was a natural, almost inevitable outgrowth of the Southern cultural taboos against racial equality; his use of apprentice training techniques inevitably pitted the white skilled worker against the black skilled worker and unskilled students. The competitive relationship, both physical and psychological in nature, must have created tension continuously every hour of the working day during the War.

Without large numbers of black laborers, it is difficult to see how Anderson and his associates could have maintained their industrial empire through four years of war. They held key jobs in practically every phase of the company's operation, from the mining of iron ore and coal to the final banding of the Tredegar cannon. Industrial slave labor was certainly one of the Confederacy's indispensable economic resources.²²

The adult education activity of the Tredegar Iron Works, under the supervision of Joseph Reid Anderson, included not only the extensive apprenticeship training program, conducted on the job, but an off-hours program that included a Tredegar Reading

²²Charles B. Dew, Ironmaker to the Confederacy (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1966), pp. 263-264.

Room for the mechanics and the Tredegar division of the Grand Temperance Society of Virginia, Anderson's answer to the Southern alcoholism problem.²³

Despite the unusual scope of his training program in May, 1861, Joseph Reid Anderson was still in need of skilled finishers, mechinists, blacksmiths, molders, chippers, filers, vise and lathe hands, and brass molders. For these jobs he had at one time imported Northerners and foreign immigrants, but now, with the advent of the war, that supply had been cut off. In increasing numbers the Northern mechanics deserted the shops to return home, and other skilled workers were lured from the plant by the competitive wages of the Army and Navy ordnance shops located in Richmond.²⁴

Although he continued to enlist increased "classes" of apprentices, Anderson's demands for semi-skilled and skilled laborers mounted daily. Throughout the War, Tredegar advertised for black laborers to train; but slave owners failed to respond because they felt their workers would be ill-treated, abused and underfed.

²³Ibid., p. 314.

²⁴Kathleen Bruce, "Economic Factors in the Manufacture of Confederate Ordnance," Army Ordnance, 6, 1925-1926, pp. 166-168.

To add to an already vexing problem many of the white mechanics were continually called into the armed forces; in this manner Anderson lost his best cannon rifler, and the entire staff of the blacksmith shop, ten in number.²⁵ Though Anderson was aware that it would be impossible to replace the men, there was little he could do. He wrote large numbers of letters to the several Confederate bureaus, but to little avail.

The best apprenticeship performance standards in the Confederate South, as in most instances of on-the-job training, arose out of the characters and personalities of the trainer and the trainee. If there were strength of character, integrity, purpose, and a talent for teaching in the tutor, then the student--if he had character and purpose and was willing to exert himself and respond to the challenges offered by his teacher--might come to possess skills as a musician, engineer, farmer, blacksmith, seamstress, or even a steamboat pilot.

Conflicting Philosophies of Black Schools Founded
After the Civil War

During slavery, blacks received most of their industrial training on the plantation under the apprenticeship system which was

²⁵Dew, op. cit., p. 92.

separately financed, operated, and controlled by each plantation owner. The types of occupation that were taught to slaves varied from plantation to plantation, because the general idea behind giving slaves such training was to make each plantation or community as self-supporting as possible. The slaves themselves had very little to say concerning the type of industries to be taught them, or who should receive the industrial training.²⁶

Immediately following the Civil War, this country was faced with a dilemma. Should blacks be given "classical education" or "industrial education."²⁷ Although this difference of opinion was not expressed widely until after the slaves were freed, several persons who were interested in black education made an issue of it before the war. The free blacks of the South had hoped that the Southern whites would let them have industrial schools. Frederick Douglass advocated industrial schools for blacks when Harriet Beecher Stowe offered some money for either a black industrial school or a classical school. Stowe wanted the industrial school to be a series

²⁶W. E. B. DuBois, et al., The Negro Artisan (Atlanta: University Press, 1902), pp. 13-21.

²⁷G. Myrdal, et al., An American Dilemma (New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1944), pp. 888-889.

of workshops, where blacks could learn some of the handicrafts-- learn to work in iron, wood, and leather--and where a plain English education would be taught.²⁸

After the War white Southerners, who were in favor of permitting blacks to get an education, wanted it to be the type of education, which they called industrial education, that would make them better servants and laborers. The New England school teachers who did most of the teaching of blacks after emancipation wanted to educate them as they themselves had been educated in the North; they favored the "three R's" at the elementary level, with such subjects as Latin, Greek, geometry and rhetoric coming in at the secondary and college level. General Armstrong, former principal of Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute, wanted to see the skilled artisan traditions continued that existed among blacks during slavery. He therefore advocated industrial education.²⁹

Armstrong received financial support from the Northern white industrialists, because they felt that the teaching of blacks

²⁸Frederick Douglass, The Life and Times of Frederick Douglass (Boston: Dewolfe, Fisks & Co., 1895), p. 315.

²⁹Myrdal, et al., op. cit., 889.

industrial education would make them competent workers, with intelligence and skill such as were demanded of Northern industrial workmen.³⁰

A struggle between the conservative and radical groups of black leaders became focused on the issue of industrial education versus classical education for blacks. At the turn of the Century, a controversy developed between Booker T. Washington and W. E. B. DuBois, the younger intellectual. Washington, the most famous pupil of Armstrong, became the champion of industrial education, he was backed by Southern whites and the bulk of Northern philanthropics. DuBois, a graduate of Fisk and Harvard Universities, headed the group of black intellectuals who feared that most often the intention, and in any case the result, of industrial education for blacks would be to keep blacks out of the higher and more general culture of America.³¹

Dubois opposed what he viewed as the narrow educational program of Washington . . . He accused Washington of preaching a 'gospel of Work and Money to such an extent as apparently almost completely to overshadow the higher aims of life' . . . 'If we make money the object of man-training, we shall develop money-makers but not necessarily men; if we

³⁰K. Miller, Out of the House of Bondage (New York: The Heath Publishing Co., 1914), pp. 151-152.

³¹Ibid.

make technical skill the object of education, we may possess artisans but not, in nature, men. Men we shall have only as we make manhood the object of the work of the schools--intelligence, broad sympathy, knowledge of the world that was and is, and of the relation of men to it--this is the curriculum of that Higher Education which must underlie true life.³²

Other opponents of Armstrong's and Washington's philosophy of industrial education criticized it from the standpoint that the class of artisans they wanted to develop was being outmoded at the time they were enunciating it.³³

Those individuals who favored industrial education and founded industrial schools for blacks after the Civil War based their actions upon several mixed incentives. These motives were: (1) the giving of financial aid to those students who were working their way through school, which many considered an excellent moral tonic; (2) using students' labor to reduce the expenses of maintaining the school; (3) training females for housework; (4) teaching blacks for future self-support; (5) learning by doing things to clarify ideas, to furnish physical exercise, and to aid the mental processes.³⁴

³²J. H. Franklin, From Slavery to Freedom (New York: Alfred A. Knoff, 1948), pp. 389-390.

³³Ibid.

³⁴DuBois, op. cit., p. 28.

Irrespective of which opinion was correct, the most significant outcome of the dispute was the development of black ideologies.³⁵

The industrial schools for blacks were not only hampered by the opposition toward industrial education that prevailed during the time that most of them were founded, but also by the lack of funds to provide for adequate equipment and secure properly trained teachers. Practically all apprenticeship programs were closed to blacks after the Civil War. Therefore industrial schools had to have a longer and more extensive industrial education program than otherwise required, in order for their graduates to be able to compete with other artisans.³⁶

Black industrial schools' offerings varied according to their geographical locations. Bennett wrote:

The few Northern schools for young black adults train principally for city occupations, but the Southern schools are bending every effort to discourage their pupils from seeking city employment. The leaders of the race believe that the future welfare of the black man depends upon his ownership of farm land and the intelligent cultivation of it. Thus the teaching of agriculture and rural trades is the leading feature of black vocational schools. Those students who intend

³⁵Myrdal, op. cit., p. 889.

³⁶C. A. Bennett, et al., Vocational Education (Peoria: The Manual Arts Press, 1913), Vol. II, p. 343.

to live on farms are given in addition to agriculture, instruction in the trades to the extent of making them independent of outside help in conducting their farms. Those who intend to follow a trade are given full instruction in that and allied trades, enabling them to go directly into the industry as journeymen without apprenticeship.³⁷

Industrial Education in Universities, Colleges and
Normal Schools

The purpose of this section is to identify and describe a representative group of universities, colleges and normal schools that provided industrial education for blacks that were primarily young adults.

The most influential of the industrial schools for blacks during the period investigated is Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute. The influence of Hampton was not measured by the number of students, graduates or teachers, but by its use as a model for scores of kindred schools that were established throughout the South. Hampton demonstrated to the country the value of the union of work and study and the fact that a manual labor school could be operated successfully.³⁸

³⁷Ibid.

³⁸R. Northrop, Industrial Education in the South, National Education Association Journal of Proceedings and Addresses of Session of the year 1889 (Topeka: Kansas Publishing House, 1889), pp. 631-632.

Penn Normal and Industrial School,
St. Helena Island, South Carolina

St. Helena Island has been a pioneering district as far as black history is concerned. It was one of the first Southern communities to have black landowners, home builders and wage earners. At the beginning of the Civil War, the large plantations of the Island were hurriedly abandoned because of the presence of the Union fleet in that area. Many of the landowners never returned. The Government sold to the former slaves much of the abandoned land, and by 1867 there were about 2,000 black landowners on the Island. One of the first black schools in the South had been opened on the Island, and by 1864 there were thirty schools for blacks in the conquered territory. One of many teachers on the Island during that time was Miss Laura M. Towne who founded the Penn Normal and Industrial School.³⁹

Miss Towne had been trained as a nurse in her native city of Philadelphia. She came to St. Helena Island on April 15, 1862, as a wartime nurse. After reaching the Island, she found so much confusion among the newly freed slaves, that she added teaching

³⁹G. A. Kuyper, "The Powerful Influence of a Notable School," Southern Workman, Vol. LV, No. 1 (January, 1931), p. 30.

to her many other daily duties. She was accompanied in this additional task of educating blacks by a close friend, Miss Ellen Murry.⁴⁰

These two ladies started the Penn School before the creative experiment of Hampton Institute in Virginia was founded.⁴¹ The institution was first opened as Penn Normal and Industrial School when the Pennsylvania Freedmen's Association sent a schoolhouse in sections to St. Helena Island for the school. This building was erected opposite a brick church on the Island and named Penn School in honor of William Penn.⁴² A small building was erected near the main building of the school by men of the institution under the direction of a carpenter who had learned his trade during slavery. This building housed the printing shop, and this was the beginning of industrial education on the Island.⁴³

The St. Helena Island school taught both its pupils and their parents the habits of working intelligently. It encouraged gardening, wholesome preparation of food, a desire for neatness, and a

⁴⁰R. B. Cooley, An Adventure of Rural Education (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1930), p. 10.

⁴¹Ibid., p. 21.

⁴²Ibid., p. 11.

⁴³Ibid., p. 21.

conviction of the nobility of labor. Basketry, home nursing, and homemaking were integral parts of the curriculum of the school from its beginning.⁴⁴

The course in basketry was taught by Alfred Graham, who had learned his trade on the plantation during slavery. This course consisted of sewing together rushes, that grew in the tidal rivers around the Island, into baskets. Blacksmithing, wheelwrighting, and carpentry students received most of their training doing repairs on community projects. Students were also allowed to bring their own possessions into these shops and repair them during class hours. The cobblers of the shoeshop repaired all the shoes of the students in the school. All shop courses were joined with academic courses.⁴⁵

Hampton Normal and Agriculture
Institute, Hampton, Virginia

General Samuel Armstrong was the moving force in the establishment of the school at Hampton, Virginia as the Hampton Institute. Hampton was opened under the auspices of the American Missionary Association on April 1, 1868, with a matron, a teacher, and fifteen pupils. On the 26th of the same month, the enrollment

⁴⁴Kuyper, op. cit., p. 32.

⁴⁵Cooley, op. cit., pp. 54-55.

and increased to thirty young adults, who did manual work in the morning and attended classes in the afternoon. The men did farm work and women did housework. The students worked in groups; each group worked two days in the week and attended classes the other four. Students were given credit for their work toward the payment of their school expenses.⁴⁶

Manual labor was a vital part of this new institution. From the beginning of Hampton, Armstrong viewed labor in the school as a triple force:

(1) In its moral aspect; strengthening the will and thus inculcating a sense of self-reliance and independence, relieving labor from the odium which slavery had cast upon it in the minds of blacks, keeping strongly sensual temperaments out of mischief, and giving habits of regularity . . .

(2) As a means whereby the pupil might earn the education that should fit them to be teachers and leaders and earn it so far as possible by their own work.

(3) As a means whereby the student might learn while in the school how to support himself after graduation by the work of his hands as well as by his brains, thus affording an example of industry to his people.⁴⁷

⁴⁶L. P. Jackson, "The Origin of Hampton Institute," Journal of Negro History, Vol. X, No. 2 (1925), p. 167.

⁴⁷Ibid., pp. 156-157.

The overall aims of the institution were defined by

Armstrong:

To train selected black adults who shall go out and teach and lead their people, first by example, by getting land and home; to give them not a dollar that they can earn for themselves; and to these ends, to build up an industrial system for the sake not only of self-supporting and intelligent labor, but also for the sake of character.⁴⁸

Hampton Institute was chartered by the General Assembly of Virginia in 1870 as a corporation to be governed by a trustee board of seventeen members, who were empowered by the charter to elect their own successors.⁴⁹

The charter, granted in 1870, specified the purpose of Hampton to be:

The instruction of blacks in the various common schools, academic and collegiate branches, the best methods of teaching them, and the best mode of practical industry in its application to agriculture and the mechanic arts.⁵⁰

⁴⁸H. J. Bhabha, Special Report on Manual in Schools of General Education (Bavalore: The Government Press, 1908), p. 96.

⁴⁹I. E. Clarke, Art and Industry: Education in the Industrial and Fine Arts in the U.S., U.S. Department of Interior: Bureau of Education, Part 4 (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1898), p. 611.

⁵⁰F. T. Struck, Foundation of Industrial Education (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1930), p. 344.

The Virginia Legislature designated Hampton Institute as the school for blacks in Virginia to receive funds from the Land-Grant Act. In 1872, the State of Virginia granted to the school its first aid under this act. The Board of Trustees at their regular meeting on June 12, 1872, made the following resolution in compliance with the provisions of the grant:

Resolved. 1. That the trustees of the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute accept the trust reposed in them by the General Assembly of Virginia, in the Act approved March 19th, 1872, entitled, 'An act to appropriate the income arising from the proceeds of the land scrip accruing to Virginia under act of Congress of July, 2, 1862, and the acts amendatory thereof, on the terms and conditions therein set forth.'

Resolved. 2. That in view of this appropriation, the trustees hereby stipulate to establish at once a department in which thorough instruction shall be given, by carefully selected professors, in following branches, namely, Practical Farming and Principles of Farming; Practical Mechanics and Principles of Mechanics; Chemistry, with special reference to Agriculture; Mechanical Drawing and Bookkeeping; Military Tactics.⁵¹

Candidates for admission to the institution had to be at least seventeen years of age and be able to pass an entrance examination in arithmetic, English and geography. The admission fee was \$20.00, the boarding fee was \$10.00 a month, and the full tuition

⁵¹M. F. Armstrong and H. W. Ludlow, Hampton and Its Students (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1874), p. 28.

fee was \$100 a year. Many concessions and scholarships, however, were given to students.⁵²

Because of the inability of most students to pay for instruction received, tuition was made free, and friends were solicited to provide academic scholarship of seventy dollars and an industrial scholarship of thirty dollars for each pupil. A student who was considered unworthy of the scholarship aid was dropped from the school. Students were expected to write letters of thanks to their benefactors. The tuition or scholarship donation was for the salaries of teachers and had nothing to do with the students' lodging bill.⁵³

The annual expenses of Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute amounted to \$180,000; \$100,000 of this was provided for by interest on the endowment fund, the Land Grant Fund, the Slater Fund, and an annual appropriation by Congress toward the support of Indian students. The deficit of \$80,000 was made up from subscriptions and contributions solicited from the public.⁵⁴

⁵²Bhabha, op. cit., p. 98.

⁵³Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute Catalogue, 1898-1899, pp. 11-12.

⁵⁴Bhabha, op. cit., p. 98.

Manual labor was required of all students, for the sake of discipline, instruction, and the defrayal of expenses. Students in the academic courses usually worked one school day each week, and a whole or half day on Monday, thus securing four days for study weekly and from one and a half to two days for work.⁵⁵ There were three classes of students--work students, day school students, and trade students. The work students were those who, because of financial reasons, could not afford to join the academic department, agricultural classes or trade classes. They were given an opportunity to work for wages six days in the week for twelve months and attend night classes for eight months. As the wages earned by the work students amounted to \$15.00 to \$20.00 a month and the boarding fee was \$10.00 a month, the work students not only paid their board for the year, but accumulated a balance which helped to pay their board during the second year, when they entered day school and took up the academic, agricultural, or trade courses.⁵⁶

Schofield Normal and Industrial School,
Aiken, South Carolina

After the close of the Civil War, Martha Schofield, a Quaker, left Bucks County in Pennsylvania to serve in the Freedmen's

⁵⁵Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute Catalogue,
1878-1879, p. 13.

⁵⁶Bhabha, op. cit., p. 98.

Bureau, which at that time was carrying on pioneer educational work on the Sea Islands of South Carolina. She became an invalid by malaria in 1868 after she had arrived at the inland town of Aiken, South Carolina. She made her disability of sickness an advantage by educating black adults who gathered about her with a strong desire to learn. This was the beginning of the Schofield Normal and Industrial School.⁵⁷ "This institution in time became one of the most influential, not only in South Carolina, but the entire South."⁵⁸

The school was started in a small farm building that was rented for that purpose, and was later moved into two substantial brick buildings and two frame buildings in Aiken. The school was supported by endowment and by voluntary contributions from every state in the Union.⁵⁹ There were 281 acres of farm land located three miles from Aiken that were owned by the school.⁶⁰

⁵⁷"Martha Schofield and Negro Education," Southern Workman, Vol. LX, No. 4 (April, 1931), p. 150.

⁵⁸T. P. Jackson, "The Educational Efforts of the Freedmen's Bureau and Freedmen's Aid Society in South Carolina," Journal of Negro History, Vol. VIII, No. 1 (January, 1922), p. 10.

⁵⁹E. H. Reisner, A Discriptive List of Trade and Industrial Schools in the United States (New York: National Society for the Promotion of Industrial Education, 1910), p. 121.

⁶⁰U.S. Department of Labor, Trade and Technical Education, Seventeenth Annual Report of the Commissioner of Labor, 1902 (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1902), p. 326.

The purpose of the Schofield School has been stated:

. . . the result of a need for an institution to train blacks to meet the problems and conditions of life they have to confront, and to make them better fitted to meet the duties that will come to them as parents or citizens. In the country places, in the towns and villages of the South. In our school blacks receive thorough training and industrial instruction, ways and means, that fit them to take up the duties of everyday life.⁶¹

Good character was the only requirements for admission, provided students lived near enough to the school so that it did not necessitate their living in the boarding department. All students who lived too far from the school to commute were required to board.⁶²

The offerings of the industrial department were carpentry, blacksmithing, harness making, shoemaking, and printing. All students were required to take an industrial course or work on the school farm. The school course covered ten years, of which four were devoted in part to specialized industrial work.⁶³ All boarding students had the opportunity of learning their trades during the afternoons and on Saturdays. Although each vocational industrial

⁶¹Ibid.

⁶²Ibid.

⁶³Reisner, op. cit. , p. 121.

course was four years in length, it might have been extended if students were irregular in attendance or backward in their work. Certificates were given after the completion of a trade course.⁶⁴ The printing office was the oldest and most important of the industrial departments, and for many years was self-supporting. This was an encouraging thing to the management of the printing office because it was competing with three other printing establishments in Aiken. Most of the printing trade of the school came from hotels and business houses of Aiken.⁶⁵

Lincoln Institute, Jefferson City,
Missouri

The Lincoln Institute was the realization of a dream of the officers and men of the Sixty-Second United States Black Infantry that was stationed at Fort McIntosh, Texas. This regiment was made up mostly of men who came from Missouri and were known as the Missouri Volunteers. The men put on a financial drive to establish a school in Missouri before they left Texas. Five thousand dollars were raised for the project. All of this was contributed by

⁶⁴U.S. Department of Labor, Trade and Technical Education, op. cit., p. 327.

⁶⁵U.S. Bureau of Education, Report of the U.S. Commissioner of Education, 1893-1894, Vol. 1 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1896), p. 1022.

enlisted men of Sixty-Second Infantry except \$1,034.00, which was given by their officers. An appeal was made to the Sixty-Fifth Black Infantry, then stationed in Louisiana, for financial aid for the school; and they contributed an additional \$1,324.50.⁶⁶

The soldiers set forth the purposes of the school as follows:

1. The institution shall be designed for the special benefit of the freed blacks.
2. It shall be located in the State of Missouri.
3. Its fundamental aim shall be to continue study and labor.⁶⁷

A committee for setting up the school was organized on January 14, 1866, and by June 25, 1866, the institution was incorporated. The organizing committee became the Board of Trustees for the newly-created institution. Lieutenant Richard B. Foster was a prominent figure in the organization of the school, and was also the secretary of the organizing committee. He became the first principal of the school when it opened in Jefferson City on September 17, 1866, in an old building.⁶⁸

⁶⁶Lincoln University Bulletin, May, 1925, Vol. XXIX, No. 4, p. 19.

⁶⁷Ibid.

⁶⁸Ibid.

For the first few years the school rented the building where it was being housed, and it met many obstacles. In June, 1871, a new three-floor brick building, sixty by seventy feet was erected upon a prominent hil just outside the city limits of Jefferson City. This building and a campus of twenty acres made up the Lincoln Institute.⁶⁹

In 1872 the school received aid from the state of Missouri for the training of teachers for the public schools. In 1879 the school became a state institution when its property was deeded to the State of Missouri. After this, Lincoln received large appropriations from the state.

The object of the industrial department was to offer young men an opportunity to receive instruction in the mechanic arts and become proficient in trades. To accomplish this aim all male students in the normal course were required to take industrial education courses, and special courses were provided for those who wished to become skilled mechanics. The industrial courses were arranged parallel with the normal and college preparatory courses.⁷⁰

⁶⁹Clarke, op. cit., p. 699.

⁷⁰DuBois, op. cit., p. 55.

Through the junior classes they were taught woodwork and blacksmithing, and through the Senior preparatory classes they were taught machine shop.⁷¹

Alcorn Agricultural and Mechanical
College, Alcorn, Mississippi

The Alcorn Agricultural and Mechanical College, formally known as Alcorn University, had its beginning in 1830 as Oakland College, for the educating of young white adult male students. Oakland, a Presbyterian school, closed its doors at the beginning of the Civil War due to the shortage of students, and sold its plant to the state for the education of young black adults. The college was re-named Alcorn University in 1871, in honor of James L. Alcorn, who was the Governor of Mississippi.⁷² In 1878, the State Legislature reorganized and changed the name of the school by the passage of the following acts:

Be it enacted by the Legislature of the State of Mississippi, that the institution known as Alcorn University is hereby established as and declared to be, an agricultural college for the education of blacks of the State and to be hereafter known as the Alcorn Agricultural and Mechanical College of the State of Mississippi.

⁷¹Ibid.

⁷²Alcorn Agricultural and Mechanical College Catalogue, 1952-1953, p. 7.

Be it further enacted, that each said Boards of Trustees shall possess all the power necessary and proper for the accomplishment of the trusts reposed in them, viz.; the establishment and maintenance of a first-class institution at which the young black adult of the State of Mississippi may acquire a common school education and a scientific and practical knowledge of agriculture, horticulture, and the mechanic arts, also the proper growth and care of stock, without however, excluding other scientific and classical study, including military tactics.⁷³

Alcorn was located in Clarborne County, four and one-half miles northeast of Rodney, Mississippi, on the Mississippi River. The school was built on 295 acres of land, of which 70 acres were campus.⁷⁴

The Alcorn Agricultural and Mechanical College offered three courses of study; the academic course, the agricultural course, and the scientific preparatory course.⁷⁵ The scientific preparatory courses were industrial education courses. The blacksmithing and carpentry courses covered four years; and the painting, printing, and shoemaking courses each covered a three-year period. The school year was thirty-six weeks in length. All trade students were required to take academic courses, but there was very little

⁷³Ibid.

⁷⁴Clarke, op. cit., p. 380.

⁷⁵U.S. Department of Labor, Industrial Education, Eighth Annual Report of the Commissioner of Labor, 1892 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1893), p. 121.

correlation between the academic studies and the trade courses. In all trade courses, eighteen and three-fourth hours per week were given to academic work in common school subjects, and twenty and five-twelfths hours to practical trade work. School was in session from 7:00 a.m. to 12:30 p.m. and from 2:00 p.m. to 5:00 p.m., five days a week. The school year was divided into three sessions, and students were allowed to enter at the beginning of any of these sessions.⁷⁶

Drawing was required in the first year of all scientific courses; after which it was an elective in most trade courses. The drawing that was given in the freshman year was free-hand, drawing from patterns; and in the senior year, drawing and designing actual machines.⁷⁷

Alabama State Normal School for Colored
Students, Montgomery, Alabama

The Alabama State Normal School for Young Black Adult Students was the outgrowth of the Lincoln School at Marion, Alabama. Normal school classes began at Lincoln School in 1871, and in 1873, the State Board of Education took over the Lincoln School buildings

⁷⁶Ibid., Twenty-Fifth Annual Report, 1910-1911, p. 331.

⁷⁷Clarke, op. cit., p. 379.

from the American Missionary Association and established a State Normal and University for Black Students.⁷⁸ After the state had taken over the school the Supplementary Enactment No. 54 was passed by the State Board of Education on December 15, 1874, which stated in part:

. . . . It being the intent and purpose of this Act to provide for the Liberal Education of the black race in the same manner as is already provided for the education of the white race in our University and College.⁷⁹

State Normal School for Colored Students had both a normal school for educating teachers for the state public school system and an industrial school for the training of skilled workers. Graduates of the mechanic arts courses were usually able to start working at their trades immediately after graduation without undergoing a period of apprenticeship. Carpentry, cabinetmaking, blacksmithing, wagon and carriage building, and printing were the industrial education courses offered.⁸⁰

⁷⁸Alabama State College for Negroes Preliminary Announcement for 1952-1953, August, 1952, p. 4.

⁷⁹Ibid.

⁸⁰U.S. Department of Labor, op. cit., 1902, p. 283.

Branch Normal College of the Arkansas
Industrial University, Pine Bluff,
Arkansas

Education in Arkansas took on profound significance to blacks on April 25, 1873, when a legislative act sponsored by State Senator Clayton became a law, thus planting the seed that in later years grew into the only state-supported college for blacks in Arkansas.⁸¹ The bill of Senator Clayton read in part:

The Board of Trustees of Arkansas Industrial University are hereby authorized to take into consideration the interests of the state especially the convenience and well-being of the poorer classes, and to select a suitable site and locate thereon a Branch Normal College which location, owing to the principal College's being located in the northwestern portion of the state, shall be made southwest or south of the County of Pulaski.⁸²

The Branch Normal College was opened September 27, 1875, in a rented frame building on the corner of Siener and Linsey Streets in the city of Pine Bluff, with the Professor J. C. Corbin as principal and an enrollment of seven students.⁸³

Students were appointed from the counties of Arkansas to the Branch Normal College. The same number of students from each

⁸¹Arkansas Agricultural, Mechanical and Normal College Bulletin, August, 1950, Vol. XVII, No. 1, p. 24.

⁸²Ibid.

⁸³Ibid.

county were appointed to the Pine Bluff school. All students were appointed by the County Court. Those who were appointed were entitled to four years of free tuition upon the payment of a five dollar matriculation fee at the time of entrance.⁸⁴

The school was established for the training of young black adult teachers for efficient service in the black public schools of the state, and the curriculum was set up accordingly. The normal course was four years in length, and was designated to be equivalent to a standard four-year college course. In addition to the normal department, there was a preparatory department and a mechanic arts department.

The aim of the Mechanic Arts Department was to teach young adult students to become skilled tradesmen, such as carpenters, pattern-makers, molders, blacksmiths, and machinists. While the student learned the basic knowledge of his trade, he also acquired a background in the languages, history, mathematics and drawing. Throughout the course of four years in the shops, the students spent an average of ten hours a week doing actual trade work. While the time spent in the shop appeared to be small, the administration was of the opinion that students under constant instruction for skilled

⁸⁴Ibid.

teachers would pass from one exercise to another as soon as the work was well done, and in this way, would make rapid progress.⁸⁵

This study investigated industrial education that was primarily for young black adults in the United States between 1860 and 1880. There were several attempts made by free blacks in the North to establish industrial schools in that section of the country, but none of them materialized to a significant degree. Apprenticeship programs in the North were practically closed to black people. The schools mentioned in this study, through their industrial education program, attempted to provide employment for blacks while in school and to develop skilled black artisans.

⁸⁵Clarke, op. cit., p. 688.

CHAPTER VII

BLACK PRESS AND BLACK CONVENTIONS AS
EDUCATIONAL AGENTS

The role that national, state and local black conventions played in the development of America, in many ways, have been overlooked. The convention movement began around 1830 and lasted until the end of the nineteenth century. They were composed of black leaders of the day, many of whom were connected with black newspapers.¹

It was at the conventions that the calls for justice and demands for reform were hammered out and it was in the black press that their resolutions and proceedings were printed. Usual happenings of minor significance were often considered justification for calling a local convention to discuss the implications involved, or to issue resolutions or manifestoes on the subject. Something

¹Martin E. Dann, The Black Press 1827-1890 (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1971), p. 17.

attracting the interests of larger bodies of black people might easily call forth a state or national convention. There were conventions for every conceivable purpose. Every cause had its adherents, and every devotee felt that he must be heard.

Blacks living in the Northern states entered wholeheartedly into the convention movement of the day. Local conventions were usually more or less informal as to membership and often drew their participants from intellectual or religious groups. If organization had not proceeded as far as the districting of the state, these same local groups might send delegates to state conventions, or they might pool their resources and send only one or two representatives. In fact, delegates to national conventions were often chosen to represent local interests, rather than the interests of larger regions, or of states.

In many cases, state and national conventions might not be composed of delegates from equal or comparable districts, but might be made up entirely of those from a few specific localities who had the means or the necessary support to attend. Furthermore the opinions and decisions reached in the name of the assembly did not always represent a cross section of concerns of the people for whom the delegates purportedly spoke. But if there was a divergence in this respect between the real and the desired, the

conventions yet served as effective propaganda agencies for the promotion of the causes for which they were called.

Devoted to mass education of blacks, conventions used several adult education methods for making their ideas known; debate on the assembly floor, public lecture, group discussion, and petitions to state legislatures and to Congress. By these various means the public became indoctrinated on the issues involved. And if one convention served at cross purposes to another, general progress was yet encouraged because the public was thus informed on all aspects of a given problem.

Regardless, however, of whether the convention was restrictive or democratic, it still provided a means for expression of black thought which would not have been possible in biracial assemblies. There were, then, several factors which led blacks to feel that they must have their own assemblies if they were to reach the goals desired. Prejudice against people of African descent was on the rapid increase in the North around the mid-1870s. Job competition between blacks and whites was aggravated by the influx of European poor, at the same time that skilled and unskilled laborers of a darker hue were crossing the Mason Dixon Line from the South. Blacks, usually discriminated against in this scramble for livelihood, crowded into city ghettos, where their dire poverty encouraged the

practice of petty crime, and seemingly lent credence to the growing belief of the whites that black people were not to be trusted. Prejudice engendered in the day-to-day attempt of two racial groups to find sustenance for the body was greatly encouraged by the theory long held--or at least advocated--by slaveholders, that blacks belonged to an inferior race and were therefore not to be accepted socially in a predominantly caucasian America. Biracial cooperation in the years preceeding the Civil War was materially hindered by this growing prejudice--a prejudice which was apparent even in the organized antislavery societies.

The second basic factor in the development of a separate black convention movement--and one of equal importance with the first--was a growing demand for self-expression which had been denied to the black man. Numbering only about 59,000 in 1790, there were some 319,000 free blacks by 1830. This stupendous increase had been accomplished largely through manumission in the South and mass legal emancipation by state legislatures or by judicial decisions in the North. With freedom went the privilege of moving where necessity dictated or desire impelled, and the already sizeable black population of such cities as Philadelphia, New York, and Cincinnati received large influxes from the surrounding farm areas, or from the South, as the case might be.

The third condition which influenced the development of separate black conventions was the existence of specific problems which affected the black man alone, or were intensified in regard to him. As the great majority of free people of African descent were not more than two generations away from slavery. Free blacks might--and did--find themselves whisked off to slavery because of inadequate safeguards in their home states. Poor for the whites, education was worse for the blacks, if indeed, it was to be had at all. Besides the general reform issues, then, the black man had a whole list of abuses which he wished to correct, and he felt that he, himself, must expose.

The issue of slavery was spoken to by Howard Bell:

The National Convention met twelve times before the end of the Civil War. The free black felt that there were certain things which were more specifically applicable to him than other Americans; he chose naturally to pay attention to those needs. Emanating from these national conventions was the repeated reminder that slavery still tarnished the image of a Christian democratic nation; that those blacks who were free were in all too many cases only nominally free; that the nation judged a man not by his capabilities but prejudiced him by the color of his skin.²

²Howard Holman Bell, Minutes of the Proceedings of the National Negro Convention, 1830-1864 (New York: Arno Press and New York Times, 1969), Intro., p. i.

During the entire era there was seldom a national conclave that did not preach the value of temperance, morality, education, economy and self help. They asked not for special consideration but for equality of opportunity to practice the skills acquired through that education or training. They wanted the right to bear witness in court and they wanted access to the jury box. They insisted that freedom of the body without full and unrestricted suffrage would leave the black man half slave and only half free. The last national convention to meet before the end of the Civil War was in Syracuse on the eve of the presidential election in 1864. That meeting left no doubt of a united black front with a determination to see that they would no longer be excluded from the advantages of liberty and democracy. By that time full citizenship, including suffrage, had become the dominant issue, for without suffrage there was no assurance of redress of grievance.³

Prior to the Civil War, these conventions were held only in the North, because such gatherings of blacks in the South were prohibited. But with the end of the War, this institution was carried to the South and during Reconstruction such conventions of black people were common occurrences.⁴ The black press was a crucial factor in bringing leaders together and in disseminating information about these meetings.

Following the Civil War, black people began to look with new hope to political institutions for a redress of grievances, for inclusion in the political life of the country, and, perhaps most crucially, for the protection of the federal government. Heartened by modest attempts at political reform the black press reflected a cautious optimism. As before, its task was not only to vindicate the

³Ibid.

⁴Dann, op. cit., p. 22.

black community to prove that blacks and whites could live and work together, but also to provide the mechanism for self-evaluation.

The important role that newspapers played in disseminating information is described by Martin Dann:

Black newspapers printed information on such subjects as farming, business practices, household hints, and meetings of local interest. At the same time, the editors displayed a growing wariness of the white community. When the South tried to improve the Black codes in 1865 as de facto reenslavement, the press resisted and argued strenuously, but in vain, for its rights as black Americans. For a brief period in the late 1860s and early 1870s, it seemed that black people might be given a chance. But such hopes were crushed when Hayes, in order to win his election in 1876 to the Presidency, promised the white Southern leaders that he would not interfere with their attempts to suppress the black population. Yet a growing mistrust of the North and their federal government, the black community remained loyal to the Republican Party, under which they had achieved 'emancipation'.⁵

The black press throughout its history brought to its readers an awareness of oppressive conditions, while it emphasized the success of black men and women. Black newspapers urged their readers to work for their own progress, for recognition in their profession as black men and women, with dignity and self-respect. The accomplishments of black people as doctors or lawyers, teachers or workmen, became a major theme in these papers. In such a way, the press was able to instill a positive sense of progress and future of black people which was imperative to resisting persistent attempts by white racists to undermine the black community.

⁵Ibid.

Only two black newspapers were established during the Civil War period. One of which was The Colored Citizen, published at Cincinnati, Ohio, by John P. Sampson. It was commonly referred to as the "Soldiers' Organ," and was widely disseminated among the soldiers. The Colored Citizen ceased publication in the latter part of 1865.⁶

The second paper established on the Western coast was The Elevator, which was begun by Phillip Bell, April 8, 1865, in San Francisco, California. The paper started its mission thus: "We shall labor for the Civil and Political enfranchisement of black people --not as a distinct and separate race, but as American Citizens." The publisher encouraged advertisements and quoted his rates as being 60 cents for an insertion and 25 cents for each subsequent insertion.

Bell had been connected with the journalistic field for twenty-five years, and as a result was experienced in the work. His editorials were of high quality. His paper was neatly printed and contained contributions relating to science, art, literature and drama. In fact, it is said that Bell himself was well-versed in dramatic criticism.⁷

With the emancipation, a new period in black journalism began. For nearly forty years, newspapers had been published by

⁶George W. Gore, Negro Journalism (Ann Arbor, Michigan: University Microfilms, 1971), p. 9.

⁷Ibid., p. 10.

blacks who had obtained their freedom, but the circulation of these papers among the black race was limited. Emancipation marked the realization of the goal of the black press prior to that time, and with the ushering in of freedom many of the newspapers ceased publication. There was, however, still another great, if not even more important task for the black press--the education of the masses of blacks. This task the surviving newspapers, together with many new ones, set out to accomplish.

The first notable development of the period was the beginning of black newspapers in the South, where the large majority of blacks were located. The first black newspaper published in the South was The Colored American of Augusta, Georgia, issued for the first time in 1865.⁸ The following paragraph from its prospectus will suffice to show the paper's attitude and policy:

It (The Colored American) is designated to be a vehicle for the diffusion of Religious, Political and General Intelligence. It will be devoted to the promotion of harmony and good-will between the whites and blacks of the South, and untiring in its advocacy of Industry and Education among all classes; but particularly the class most in need of our agency. Accepting, at all times the decision of public sentiment and Legislative Assemblies, and bowing to the

⁸Ibid.; Warren Brown, Check List of Negro Newspapers 1827-1846 (Jefferson City: Lincoln University Journalism, 1946), p. 10.

majesty of law, it will fearlessly demonstrate against legal and constitutional proscription by appeal to the public sense of justice.⁹

With the beginning of black journalism in the South, papers sprung up in other states: The Colored Tennessean and The True Communicator, of Baltimore, being among the more noted ones. Many of the papers were short-lived; others changed hands and names frequently and continued for several years.

The year 1868 saw the founding of The Charleston Leader, at Charleston, South Carolina. By 1870, the black press began to make itself felt. In Mississippi, James L. Spellman and John Lynch began The Colored Citizen. December, 1870, marked the founding of The New Orleans Louisianian by P. B. S. Pinchback, who in 1873 became Governor of Louisiana, being the only black ever to hold this position.¹⁰

August, 1861, John J. Freeman started The Progressive American, in New York City, which existed for ten years. The one outstanding achievement of this paper is the fact that as a result of its fight for black teachers in the public schools, twenty-three were

⁹Gore, op. cit., p. 11.

¹⁰Ibid.; Pinchback died in Washington, D. C., December 22, 1921.

appointed. Between 1865 and 1880, over 30 newspapers were being published in 21 states. The papers of the period were ably edited and were the product of some of the most highly educated blacks.¹¹

TABLE 6
BLACK NEWSPAPERS THAT WERE IN OPERATION
BETWEEN 1860 and 1880¹²

Name of Paper	Location	Date Founded
The Advance	Montgomery, Ala.	1877
American-Citizen	Baltimore, Md.	1879
American Sentinel	Petersburg, Va.	1880
Arkansas Dispatch	Little Rock, Ark.	1880
Arkansas Freedman	Little Rock, Ark.	1869
Athens Blade	Athens, Ga.	1879
Black Republican	New Orleans, La.	1865
Bulletin	Louisville, Ky.	1879
California Eagle	Los Angeles, Calif.	1879
Charlestown Journal	Charlestown, S. C.	1866
Colored American	Augusta, Ga.	1865
Colored Citizen	Topeka, Kan.	1878
Colored Citizen	Cincinnati, O.	1863

¹¹Ibid.

¹²Brown, op. cit., Passim.

TABLE 6-- Continued

Name of Paper	Location	Date Founded
Colored Tennessean	Nashville, Tenn.	1866
Commoner	Washington, D. C.	1875
Conservator	Chicago, Ill.	1878
Echo	Savannah, Ga.	1879
Elevator	San Francisco, Calif.	1865
Freedman's Chronicle	Hartford, Conn.	1873
Georgetown Planet Weekly	Georgetown, S. C.	1873
Globe	New York, N. Y.	1880
Huntsville Gazette	Huntsville, Ala.	1872
Loyal Georgian	Augusta, Ga.	1866
Missionary Record	Charleston, S. C.	1871
Negro Gazette	New Orleans, La.	1872
Negro Watchman	Montgomery, Ala.	1874
New National Era	Washington, D. C.	1869
New York Age	New York, N. Y.	1880
Ohio Falls Express	Louisville, Ky.	1878
People's Advocate	Washington, D. C.	1876
Progress	Helena, Ark.	1880
Savannah Tribune	Savannah, Ga.	1875
Savannah Weekly Echo	Savannah, Ga.	1879
South Carolina Leader	Charleston, S. C.	1865
Topeka Call	Topeka, Kan.	1880

TABLE 6--Continued

Name of Paper	Location	Date Founded
Topeka Tribune	Topeka, Kan.	1880
La Tribune de La Nouvelle- Orleans	New Orleans, La.	1864
Union	New Orleans, La.	1862
Virginia Star	Richmond, Va.	1877
Watchman	Memphis, Tenn.	1878
Weekly Louisianian	New Orleans, La.	1870

Along with the founding of newspapers in the post Civil War period came a flood of pamphlets. Sharing the spotlight with politics, the church claimed a voice in the development of the black press and this period saw the birth of many church newspapers.

Thus a reading-hunger possessed the black man after freedom came.¹³ It is well within the realm of truth therefore, to say that the activities of the black press during this period played an important part in the education of the black race.

Even as literacy increased among blacks, there were still large numbers who depended upon oral transmission of the news of

¹³Booker T. Washington, The Story of the Negro (New York: Doubleday, Page and Co., 1909), p. 136.

the day. After a black read or heard the reading of a newspaper published by his race, he would carry the news to others.¹⁴

The history of the black press and convention is, in many respects, a history of thought--as well as the action--of what was even then America's greatest racial minority. Their function was almost exclusively to educate the black masses in light of their own problems and their relationship with white America.

¹⁴Frederick G. Detweiler, The Negro Press in the United States (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1922), p. 52.

CHAPTER VIII

ANALYSIS

Findings:

Identified during the course of this study were a number of activities which met the definition of adult education proposed by Cyril O. Houle:

Adult education is any process by which men or women, singly or in groups, attempt to improve themselves by bringing about changes in their understanding, skills, or sensitivities; or any process by which agents or agencies attempt to help men or women to change in these ways.¹

Within the purview of this definition the following adult education activities for the black man were identified: (1) apprenticeship training on farms, in factories, in private and state schools and universities; (2) military, religious, rudimentary and medical instruction by officials of the Union Army; (3) economic, religious rudimentary and higher education supported by the Freedmen's Bureau and by black and white benevolent individuals and societies;

¹Houle, op. cit., (Discussed in Introduction of this study).

(4) mass education of blacks by the educative use of newspapers, pamphlets, special black lecturers and black conventions.

The results of this study tend to support Verner and Booth's contention that adult education tends to develop an answer to some social crisis or urgent need.²

Discussion of Findings

1. To what extent did the black man assist in providing education for members of his race?

The greatest influence of blacks in the education of persons of his race was through religious denominations, black conventions and the black press. The most influential black religious denominations were: The African Methodist Episcopal Church, The African Methodist Zion Church, and The Colored Methodist Episcopal Church.

The history of the black religious denominations in America is a story of a struggle against odds, resulting from poverty and economic discrimination. These groups demonstrated their desire to direct themselves by establishing and maintaining organizations independent of the great parent bodies from which they sprang.

²Coolie Verner and Alan Booth, Adult Education (Washington, D. C.: Center for Applied Research in Education, 1964), p. 4.

It was mainly unfair treatment by the parent bodies and the desire for independence and self-control that accounted for the existence of black denominations. Because of their independence, these denominations, for the most part, were compelled to finance their various enterprises, such as churches, missions and schools, from income derived from a constituency whose economic status was lower than most groups in the United States.

In spite of the serious disadvantage under which this group of schools had to secure support, they rendered splendid service to the education of the black race and, in comparison with other colleges for blacks supported by denominational boards.

2. Who were the individuals, societies and commissions that provided education for the black adult?

During the period 1860-1880, the Union Army, Northern benevolent societies and denominational bodies, the black church, the Freedmen's Bureau, foreign organizations, and individuals such as General Oliver O. Howard, Frederick Douglass, General S. C. Armstrong and J. W. Alvord engaged in emergency measures in an attempt to extend educational opportunities to blacks. From these initial efforts, there emerged a class of schools engaged in providing the rudiments of learning to the blacks of all ages.

The Union Army became a type of school for the freedmen who had joined as soldiers and for those who had flocked into its lines from enslaved conditions, while the able bodied men were used in military and naval services and the women were used in hospitals, the majority--the untrained, the sick, the decrepit and the children, were left unattended. These persons were placed in camps and given rations. They were given such clothing as could be found there or was forwarded from the North for their use. Some blacks, having served in related capacities during slavery, leased plantations and cultivated farms.

A variety of educational programs were carried out for black soldiers. Plans for these programs had been discussed and presented publicly in the North by abolitionists, educators and relief organizations. Some of the more intelligent Union officers were the responsible agents in the schools for soldiers and freedmen.

At Port Royal, South Carolina, the first experiments in the mass education of the freedmen took place while the Civil War was in progress.

The question of the establishment of an agency by the government to care for the needs of the freedmen was frequently before Congress. The Freedmen's Bureau and the Freedmen's Bank and Trust Company were chartered by Congress in March, 1865.

The Bureau was attached to the War Department and was maintained until several years after the close of the Civil War. It supervised and managed all abandoned lands, and controlled all subjects relating to refugees and blacks. The education of black people became one of its special duties. This organization assisted in establishing many schools for blacks which included many institutions of higher learning. General Oliver O. Howard was the commissioner of the Bureau and founder of Howard University in Washington, D. C. Other significant individuals in the education of the black adult during the period 1860-1880 were Frederick Douglass, black lecturer and an abolitionist; J. W. Alvord, General Superintendent of Education for the Freedmen's Bureau; General S. C. Armstrong, founder of Hampton Institute, Hampton, Virginia.

The Freedmen's Bank aimed to train black business men and to encourage blacks in the acquisition of property. Although few blacks were employed in the bank when it was first established, an increasing number obtained positions after 1870. They were employed as tellers and bookkeepers and were trained to take over the complete operation of the bank eventually. The bank failed in 1874 with deposits of fifty-five million. The first announcement, therefore, of the closing of the Bank had a paralyzing effect upon the blacks everywhere. It was their first and last dealing with a bank during this period of time.

3. What were the methods of instruction utilized by those individuals, societies and commissions?

It was discovered that methods of instruction utilized by individuals, societies and commissions to educate blacks can be placed in one or more of the following categories:

- a. Apprenticeship or on-the-job training.

This method of instruction was greatly used by plantation owners to increase the value of slaves; the Freedmen's Bank to train tellers, clerks, bookkeepers and blacks to ultimately take over the complete operation of the bank; Union and Confederate Army and industry for physical and economic support of the Civil War. Increasingly blacks came to be trained and hired out as laborers for the military, as cooks, wagoners, teamsters, ambulance drivers, stretcher bearers, and hospital attendants. Apprentice trained blacks were utilized in great numbers by the railroads as brakemen, conductors and engineers. Blacks were also trained for jobs in the manufacture of gunpowder, rifles and heavy ordnance.

- b. Rudimentary instruction or three R's, social and political.

The typical freedmen's school opened with prayer, scripture reading, and singing of hymns and patriotic songs such as "The Battle Hymn of the Republic" and "John Brown," the school was usually in session from four to six hours, divided equally between

morning and afternoon. Many schools also held night classes. The teachers taught women to knit and to sew. With all their emphasis upon the three R's and upon practical skills, the Northern teachers never lost sight of the true aim of the entire movement--"proper education of the freedman." In other words, teaching did extend into the controversial fields of sociology and politics. They were taught to support their political allies by the use of the ballot.

c. Free labor

At Port Royal, South Carolina, the first experiment with free labor was tried. The freedmen were put to work in the fields and in baling and rolling cotton. They were paid at the rate of one dollar for every hundred pounds of cotton which they delivered. This was nothing less than an experiment in freedom for the ten thousand slaves who had worked the long staple cotton plantation on the South Carolina Sea Islands. The Port Royal experience established precedents for the transformation of chattels into free men, soldiers and citizens.

d. Mass education

The black conventions were composed of leading black men of the day, many of whom were connected with black newspapers. This accounts for the importance of black papers by the convention and their sponsorship of them. It was at the conventions that the calls for justice and demands for reform were hammered out and

it was in the black press that their resolutions and proceeding were printed. Not only did they seek to present a consensus of the black community, but they were the basis of an organized political response to American racism and were considerably effective in uniting the black population. Black newspapers and pamphlets were crucial factors in bringing leaders together and in disseminating information about these meetings.

e. Socialization and underground tutorial instruction

Many slaves believed that education was the most important element to their uplift, and they used all the opportunities to become literate that the informal system afforded them. A house servant learned through necessity how to distinguish among the different newspapers his master ordered him to select, and slaves who served as foreman had to learn enough to keep a daily record. As the spread of antislavery literature among the slaves grew more threatening, the official camp of the plantation order fought back, but the practice of teaching slaves to read and write merely moved underground. Frederick Douglass kept crumbs of bread with which he bribed hungry white boys into giving him lessons from Webster's Spelling Book. Douglass later became a famous lecturer and abolitionist.

4. To what extent did the groups in opposition to the education of blacks succeed?

Despite the sporadic efforts by benevolent individuals and groups to enlighten the black man, there had always been at work certain reactionary forces which impeded their intellectual progress. Many citizens opposed their education on the ground that their mental improvement was inconsistent with their position as persons held to service. The teaching of slaves to read and write during this period was strictly forbidden by law in many states.

Making allowance for many exceptions, there was in general a complete divergence of opinion between the North and South on the subject of education of blacks at the close of the Civil War. The beliefs of the North in general, as expressed by the missionary bodies of the churches and the Freedmen's Bureau, can fairly be stated as follows: First, the black man, having been rescued from the hell of slavery and two and a half centuries of uncompensated toil, was worthy of everything that the nation could bestow upon him by way of recompense, including citizenship and all the necessary means to meet its requirements. Second, it was the plain duty of a Christian nation to discharge this obligation to freedom promptly by providing them with the same means of mental and moral development that has proved effective in the advance of white people. Third, the black man possessed the same mental capacity as the white man,

his apparent mental inferiority being due to the debasing effect of slavery. Fourth, without education the freedmen would rapidly degenerate and become a national menace not only to the South but to the entire nation. Fifth, the South had neither the means nor the inclination to offer to the black man, the educational opportunities that he needed and deserved to fit him for citizenship. Sixth, on the above assumptions, the people in the North must out of necessity undertake to promote the education of blacks in the South.

The South on the other hand held mixed views on the subject, practically all of which, in the beginning, opposed those held by the Northern philanthropists. Its position may fairly be described as follows: First, the less intelligent whites opposed any kind of education for blacks because they themselves lacked education and could not bear the idea of blacks receiving education which had been up to that time the prerogative of the upper class. Second, the elite whites in the South realized that some kind of education should be given to blacks, but believed that the nature of this education should be determined by the Southern white people. Third, there was a strong feeling in the minds of the Southerners that the Northern teachers in the missionary schools were teaching blacks not only to aspire to social equality but to distrust and hate white people of the South among whom they would have to live.

Opposition to the education of the black man became organized with the inception of the Ku Klux Klan. This organization was used as an instrument of terrorism designed to frighten blacks and compel them to renounce their political power and to frighten Northerners who were supportive of the educational and political efforts of the black man. Murder, whipping and other acts of violence were the intimidation tactics used by this organization.

At the close of the Civil War a residual force from the Union Army remained in the South until 1877 to protect the black man and his supporters. Upon the troops' removal, immediately the educational and political disfranchisement process began. The number of blacks who could meet the qualifications for suffrage was steadily reduced. Several devices were used: (1) literacy and educational tests which most blacks could not pass; (2) poll taxes and other property requirements; (3) the application of the "grandfather" clause granting the suffrage only to those whose fathers or grandfathers had voted before 1867. The last device, of course, barred the blacks and still made it possible for uneducated whites to vote.

Legislatures of various Southern states very quickly enacted laws forming a set of Black Codes which gave Southern white people an effective tool by which they could reestablish the traditional position of the black man among them. Laws affecting the black

man were much more stringent and restrictive. The Black Codes replaced the Slave Codes with little difference between the two.

The freedmen's schools immediately began to feel the effects of the wave of anti-black sentiment released by the President's Reconstruction policy and the Black Codes. The wave first struck through the provincial governors whom Lincoln and Johnson had backed. It gradually spread through the various branches of government and involved a goodly portion of the public in acts so violent as to seriously hamper the entire educational program.

5. What were the political, social and economic reasons that generated efforts to educate the black man and its discontinuation?

Education cannot be considered without reference to the social, economic and political movements in the larger world of which it forms a part. Social experiment and change do not proceed independently but are concerned with the same human materials as the economic and political movements. Education skills and habits are not on a separate plan from the business of life but must be integrated in the more complete program of human betterment.

For the most part, Northerners felt that they had a moral obligation to insure that blacks receive social, political and

economic equality. Moreover, in the minds of many, the humanitarian goal of complete socialization was synonymous with amalgamation and assimilation.

In the first year of the War, many Northern blacks offered their services to the Union government as soldiers. But the government and the Northern people considered it a "white man's War" and refused to accept the offers. However, after considerable deliberation and discovering that it was economically and politically beneficial, Congress in 1862 passed two acts providing for the enlistment of black soldiers.

In an effort to save the Republican Party, Union troops were removed from the South by President Rutherford Hayes. Amnesty was granted to the Confederate States to gain Republican votes in National elections. The black man was betrayed by his party and murdered by the opponents of his party. At the end of the reconstruction period, wholesale intimidation and obstructions left them without the ballot to give them a share in making the policies affecting them. Some blacks, of course, made significant strides during reconstruction, 1867-1878. The great mass of them, however, remained impoverished, with only their labor to sell under disadvantaged conditions.

6. What types of adult education curricula did the institutions of higher education for the black man provide?

During the early years, many schools designated as colleges were concerned chiefly with the teaching of elementary, secondary, and industrial education to young adults.

Not long after the Civil War a conflict of philosophies arose concerning the type of education the emancipated slave should receive. The New England teachers, who were actually doing most of the teaching of blacks at the time, felt that blacks should be given the same type of education that they themselves had received, which was mostly classical in nature. They taught blacks that way and assisted in starting several liberal arts institutions. Many of the Southern whites did not want blacks to receive any type of education; but since they were no longer in control, they would tolerate giving them some form of industrial training. About 1868, General S. Chapman Armstrong advocated the teaching of blacks the same type of trades that they had been taught during slavery. He developed the Hampton Normal and Industrial School to carry out his ideas of industrial education. Manual labor was a vital part of this new institution. Manual labor was required of all students, for the sake of discipline, instruction, and the defrayal of expenses.

7. Was there a national systematic effort to enlighten the black man? What was the attitude of the government?

During the period from 1860-1880, there was not a national systematic effort to educate the black man. However, for social, economic, political and moral reasons many Northerners can be credited with some success in attempting to educate the black man. The federal government made provisions for their education through the Union Army, Freedmen's Bureau and the Freedmen's Bank which have already been discussed. The government also made provision for the education of blacks through the First Morrill Act of 1862. This act granted to each state, thirty thousand acres of public land per senator and representative in Congress.

This Act authorized the purchase of apparatus, machinery, textbooks, reference books, and materials used for the purpose of instruction; and for the payment of salaries of instructors in the branches of learning specified by Land-Grant Act.

Unfortunately the Act did not provide for a division of federal funds on racial lines. As a result of this omission, the funds received were, in most cases, used for the development of those colleges from which blacks were excluded. Shortly after the Civil War, only three states set aside a portion of the funds for the

support of land-grant colleges to serve the black population, Mississippi, Virginia and South Carolina.

8. What role did the agricultural societies play in the education of black men?

A number of the black institutions of higher education and the Port Royal experiment had agricultural oriented curricula. However, the investigator found no evidence of agricultural societies.

9. Were there educational activities provided for the physically handicapped black man such as the deaf, mute, and blind?

The investigator was unable to find any substantial evidence to support the notion that education was provided for the physically handicapped black adult. One can assume that the educational efforts were directed, in large, toward the "normal" black or that this represents an oversight by historians.

10. What types of mass education were provided, e. g. newspapers, pamphlets and conventions.

The black convention movement began in 1830 and lasted until the end of the nineteenth century. These conventions were

composed of leading black men of the day, many of whom were connected with black newspapers. This accounts for the importance of black papers by the convention and their sponsorship of them.

Papers passed from hand to hand or were posted in common meeting places. In this way, a single paper may have been read by a hundred people. It was at the conventions that the calls for justice and demands for reform were hammered out and it was in the black press that their resolutions and proceedings were printed.

At the end of the Civil War, this institution was carried to the South, and during Reconstruction such conventions of black people were common occurrences. The black press was a crucial factor in bringing leaders together and in disseminating information about these meetings. Along with the founding of newspapers in the post-Civil War period came a flood of pamphlets.

Conclusion

Long before the Civil War the problem of black education had engaged the attention of many persons of both the North and South. As a matter of fact, there had been a continued interest in the education of blacks from the time of their introduction into the colonies as slaves.

The general sentiment for the education of blacks, the movement for special black schools in the various counties of the

Northern states, the activities of philanthropic societies, the activities of the abolitionists, the underground railroad, and the specific missionary movements of the various religious denominations each contributed in its own way to the general movement for the education of blacks prior to the Civil War.

The movement for the education of blacks became so significant that slave holders found it necessary to combat it by means of legislation. It was felt that the black man as an educated property holder, a successful mechanic, or a professional man, threatened and undermined the slave system. Despite adverse legislation, many blacks acquired the rudiments of education even in the slave states. Some slaves were taught secretly by members of their master's family and others learned from one another.

Many plantations tended to become self-sustaining worlds, and the slaves trained for effective service came to have higher value. Inevitably they came to learn on-the-job how to grow tobacco, rice, sugar, and cotton; how to care for the fields; they learned how to become domestic servants, carpenters, bakers, coachmen, blacksmiths, sailors, coopers, harbor pilots, brick masons, cabinet makers, and seamstresses. Many of these occupations required an ability to read, and some of them also required an elementary knowledge of numbers and measurement.

In other words, they learned how to perform the major portion of the manual labor of the South for which most white men possessed a lifelong aversion.

In most cases if a white man wanted a house built, he consulted a black mechanic about the plan and about the actual building of the structure. If he wanted a suit of clothes made, he went to a black tailor, and for shoes he went to a shoemaker of the same race. In a certain way, every slave plantation was an industrial school. However, this training was crude, and was given for selfish purposes. Slave owners were only concerned with the training of the hands and not the minds of the black man.

The general theme of Black History in America between 1860 and 1880 was "Freedom and Education." These two elements were viewed as most significant for their uplift. It is extremely difficult to set a proper estimate upon the role of the educational efforts of black and white philanthropic organizations, the Union and Confederate Army, individuals and private organizations and mass media. Overall, these organizations touched every area of the lives of black men. These organizations cared for their physical needs by issuing food and relief supplies. They furnished hospital care for the infirm and insane, and established shelter for the aged and orphans. Attempts were also made to regulate labor conditions and

acted in behalf of the black man in matters involving civil and legal rights, but within the total effort, educational activities received the major share of attention and of finance.

Although there were some noteworthy exceptions, the former planters and slave-owners worked as a group in direct opposition to the plan to educate blacks. Even while using some of the facilities and services of the Freedmen's Bureau to further their own purposes, opposition to the actual existence of the Bureau remained. The presence of the Bureau, supported by Union soldiers was looked upon as unwarranted invasion and oppression, reducing the area to the status of conquered province occupied by a victorious army. And in its opposition and resentment against the Bureau, the apparent goals of the educational activities seemed the most objectionable element.

The hostility to the education of the blacks by teachers from the North did not seem to have been part of any general pattern of resentment. The reaction to Northern men who came South to engage in business was not hostile--many Northerners worked there with impunity and success. Northern capital and enterprise were welcomed, but the education activities were opposed as radical propaganda for social equality and as an ulterior scheme to control the vote of the blacks.

The Freedmen's Bureau was created in 1865. Its first direct educational appropriation was made in 1866. Its last allotment had been assigned by the middle of 1870. Thus its educational program covered not more than five years. When the Bureau was terminated, it was recognized even then that there had not been a sufficiently long period of operation to prove or disprove its plan. The trouble was, to be sure, that maintaining schools in the face of local hostility required the presence of troops.

From these efforts there emerged a class of schools engaged in providing the rudiments and higher education for blacks. It cannot be denied that many mistakes were made in projecting the education of blacks. The need was immediate and pressing. As a result, almost every religious sect and many other philanthropic organizations, aroused to the highest pitch of missionary zeal by the tremendous moral forces resulting from the anti-slavery agitation and the War rushed to the South to give help of all kinds to the freedmen wherever the need seemed greatest and in whatever manner it could be most speedily administered.

One of the unfavorable results of this situation was the duplication of effort in some places with the consequent neglect in other less favored localities. Another was that, with so many agencies working with frenzied zeal, often spurred on by denominational motives of conquest, there was little inclination to study the

situation carefully and to apply aid in accordance with the findings. A third is found in the overemphasis of individual denominational values. Under such conditions, however, it probably would have been extremely difficult to choose alternative approaches.

When one considers the appalling nature of the tasks that forced those who undertook the business of relief in the South during the period of 1860-1880, the extensive territory to be covered, the vast number of freedmen thirsting for enlightenment, the chaotic economic and social conditions prevailing in that region, and the difference in the attitudes of the white people of the two sections toward the education of blacks, it appears that there was little opportunity for the formulation of any comprehensive scheme of education.

The behavior of Northern whites toward the black man during this period was paternalistic and missionary in nature. Doubts still remain as to how sincere this group was about the notion that "blacks should be socially and politically equal to whites." Ultimately these two supposedly opposing groups (Northern whites and Southern whites), joined forces in the attempt to continually keep the black man in a subordinate position. Amnesty was granted Southern states and the residual Union troops were removed from the South, thus providing the opportunity for the South to enact Black Codes.

These collaborative gestures may well represent the efforts by the North and South to further suppress the black man.

However, the most sustaining benefit of these organizations during this period of time was the inception of a large number of black institutions of higher learning. The belief by many whites that blacks were inferior and that education would make them no longer content, emanated from prejudice and racism. The failure of authorities to develop a national systematic scheme to insure that blacks would receive education continuously has contributed to the race polarization which faces us today.

Future Research

Several areas for future research which may prove profitable for the educational historian arose during the course of this study.

They are:

1. Educational activities provided for the physically handicapped black adult such as deaf, mute, and blind.
2. Role of the agricultural societies in the education of the black adult.
3. The covert adult education effort mounted by white and black adults in the teaching of black slaves.
4. The adult basic education activities of the Protestant church during the period, 1619-1880.
5. Industrial education in black institutions of higher learning.

APPENDIX

THE OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY

COLLEGE OF EDUCATION
1945 NORTH HIGH STREET
COLUMBUS, OHIO 43210

MANPOWER DEVELOPMENT AND
TRAINING RESEARCH PROJECT
25 WEST WOODWARD AVENUE

(614) 293-8815

February 21, 1969

Dear Sir:

Several of us are gathering data on the history of Negro adult education. In reviewing the history of adult education, we find that little if any mention has been made of programs designed to educate the adult Negro.

Our attempt then is to integrate the two histories in hope that a more descriptive analysis of the field as a whole will result. The difficulty in accomplishing this task lies in the historical research-authenticity, available literary sources etc. If you could suggest printed materials, we would be grateful.

Thank you for your cooperation. A reply will be appreciated.

Yours truly,

Leo McCee
EDT Research Project

LM

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STUDENT FIELD EXPERIENCE OFFICE
130 New Hall

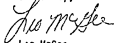
September 21, 1971

I am attempting to do a study entitled "Adult Education for the Black Men During the Ante Bellum, Civil War and Reconstruction Period, 1850-1880----- An Historical Study of the Types." The need for this kind of research appears to be great. Today the position of Afro-American history as an important segment of American history has become established. Without being exposed to a complete history neither black students nor white students are educated for the realities of life.

The results of this study will bring additional knowledge to the field of adult education and to education in general. Educators will be provided with a useful supplementary tool which may assist them in organizing the past, curriculum development, conceptualization and administration of adult basic education programs.

In order to gather authentic data, inquiries are being sent to institutions and agencies requesting information related to the above title. I would appreciate receiving any information and/or suggestions concerning this study. Your consideration would be greatly appreciated.

Sincerely,



Leo McGee
Coordinator of Student
Field Experience

LH:lw



TELEPHONE 273-1771
Ext. 328

NORTH CAROLINA AGRICULTURAL AND TECHNICAL
STATE UNIVERSITY
GREENSBORO 27411

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
Adult Education and
Community Services

Box G-25
January 22, 1969

Mr. Leo McGee
MDT RESEARCH PROJECT
The Ohio State University
29 West Woodruff Avenue
Columbus, Ohio 43210

Dear Mr. McGee:

We are pleased to learn of your interest in gathering data relative to the Negro in Adult Education. To a large extent, writers, including historians, have overlooked this significant aspect of education in the United States.

During the Reconstruction era, a significant number of freedmen obtained at least some formal education through evening studies and special classes for adults as well as the youth. Evidence suggests that the first studies were in the field of liberal arts. Industrial arts became important a little later. The church took the lead in providing educational opportunities. A vast proportion of the adult learners wanted to learn how to read the bible and many attempted to prepare for the ministry. Thus, Adult Education as we now know it, was extremely important to the former slaves.

I am taking the liberty to make an extended comment about Negroes in Adult Education to suggest some areas to be explored. In the phrase "Negro in Adult Education" is more meaningful than "Negro Adult Education."

Valuable information, in support of my comments, can be found in the writings of Booker T. Washington. Tuskegee Institute, which he founded, gave serious attention to Adult Education offerings during its early history. Also, reports of the freedmen's aid society of the Methodist church is a rich source of information.

Thank you for your inquiry. Please let us know if we can be of further assistance in your most interesting study.

Very truly yours,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "B. W. Harris".

B. W. Harris, Chairman
Adult Education and
Community Services

BWH:kmc

TOUGALOO COLLEGE
TOUGALOO, MISSISSIPPI 39174

January 24, 1968

SOCIAL SCIENCE DIVISION
DR. ERNUT BORINSKI, CHAIRMAN

Mr. Leo McGee
Manpower Development and
Training Research Project
The Ohio State University
29 West Woodruff Avenue
Columbus, Ohio 43210

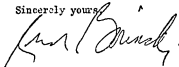
Dear Mr. McGee:

In reply to your request concerning data on Negro adult education, I like to refer you to the following agencies and sources, some of which you may have already contacted:

1. Southern Regional Education Board
130 - 6th Street, Atlanta, Georgia 30313
2. Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, Atlanta, Georgia
3. Southern Education Reporting Service
1109 - 19th Avenue, South, Nashville, Tennessee
4. Race Relations Department
Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee 37203
5. The Journal on Negro Education
6. The Journal on Negro History
7. The Crisis, the publication of the NAACP

I am sure that you will find in the Journal on Negro Education all the references you need in this area. If I come across additional materials, it will be a pleasure for me to send them to you. I suggest that you get a list of the Negro state colleges and Negro junior colleges. I am sure that many of them have adult education courses and will be able to give you valuable information and materials.

Sincerely yours,



Ernst Borinski

EB/c



THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
CHICAGO • ILLINOIS 60637

THE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
5835 KIMBARK AVENUE

January 27, 1969

Mr. Leo McGee
MDT Research Project
The Ohio State University
1945 North High Street
Columbus, Ohio 43210

Dear Mr. McGee:

In response to your letter concerning Negro adult education, I would like to say that it is my impression that this subject received some sporadic attention during the whole period from the 1920s to the present time. Certainly it was discussed at many meetings of adult educational groups and I believe that you might find references in the early Handbooks of adult education published by the American Association of Adult Education. Also the journal of that association which continued from about 1929 until about 1941 might well be a source. A bit later, just after the war, there was also much attention to this topic and I remember that one of the educational journals devoted a whole issue to it. I should suppose that a thorough search of the literature of adult education and of the references in Education Index would turn up a good deal of material on the topic. I am not sure that this material dealt with actual history but it does, of course, provide some evidence on the thinking on the subject at several times in the history of the American movement.

Sincerely yours,



Cyril O. Houle
Professor of Education

COH/af

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION
FOR PUBLIC SCHOOL
ADULT EDUCATION

1201 16th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036



2239400

January 31, 1969

Mr. Leo McGee
MDI Research Project
The Ohio State University
College of Education
29 West Woodruff Avenue
Columbus, Ohio 43210

Dear Mr. McGee:

Thank you for your letter of January 24th requesting information on the history of Negro adult education. We suggest you contact:

Dr. William F. Brazziel, Director of General Education, Virginia State College, Norfolk, Virginia. He published a paper "Manpower Training and the Negro Worker" in the Journal of Negro Education, Winter 1966.

Department of Education, Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee, Alabama.

Dr. Edward W. Brice, Assistant to the Assistant Secretary for Education, Office of Education, 400 Maryland Avenue, S.W., Washington, D.C.

A copy of the MDIA Program Statistics for September 1962 - November 1968 is enclosed. You will note this includes the percentages of non-white enrollees.

We have also enclosed a copy of the abstract for the book, A History of Tex Supported Adult Education in South Carolina to 1960.

We hope the above information will be of use to you. If we may be of any further service, please let us know.

Sincerely yours,

Dorothy Albert

(Mrs.) Dorothy Albert
Technical Information Specialist
NEA Adult Education Clearinghouse

DA:eb

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF THE NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION

Clyde E. Weisbord, President, Trenton, New Jersey • Raymond T. McCall, President-Elect, San Jose, California • Rose Mary Pattison, Secretary, Indianapolis, Indiana • Robert A. Lake, Executive Secretary • James R. Garland, Associate Executive Secretary, Washington, D. C.

Enclosures

THE FLORIDA STATE UNIVERSITY

TALLAHASSEE 32306

ADULT AND CONTINUING EDUCATION
GRADUATE INSTRUCTION - RESEARCH - EXTENSION

COLLEGE OF EDUCATION

January 31, 1969

Mr. Leo McGee
MDT Research Project
29 West Woodruff Avenue
The Ohio State University
Columbus, Ohio 43210

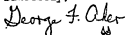
Dear Mr. McGee:

In response to your letter I am enclosing the mimeo material, "A Preliminary History of Adult Education in Florida" which may be of some help to you.

Dr. William H. Puder's dissertation, "A Study of the Types of Adult Education Existing in the Confederate States of America February 1861 to May 1865," June 1968, Florida State University is available only on micro-film here at Florida State University. This may also prove to be of some help to you.

If we can be of any further assistance, please let us know.

Sincerely,



George F. Aker
Professor and Head

GFA:sg

JOHN H. WHEELER, PRESIDENT
 JOSEPHINE WILSON, VICE-PRESIDENT
 PAUL R. CHRISTOWSKI, VICE-PRESIDENT
 CHARLES H. GONNILLON, VICE-PRESIDENT
 LINDSEY H. PITTS, VICE-PRESIDENT
 RAYMOND H. WHEELER, CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
 JOSEPH MEAS, CLERK
 PAUL ARMENT, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
 5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303

March 13, 1969

Mr. Leo McGee
 Manpower Development and
 Training
 The Ohio State University
 29 West Woodruff Avenue
 Columbus, Ohio 43210

Dear Mr. McGee:

For your adult Negro history class, I would like to suggest the following books:

Lay My Burden Down, by B. A. Botkin

Black Metropolis, by Drake and Clayton

The Negro Revolt, by Louis E. Lomax

The Negro in Modern American History Textbooks, by Irving Sloan

Under separate cover, I am sending you a bibliography on Negro history and literature.

Thanks for writing, and if we can be of further service please let us know.

Sincerely yours,

Doris Reed
 (Mrs.) Doris Reed
 Research Department

DR:js

**DIVISION OF
ADULT EDUCATION SERVICE**



National Education Association

1201 SIXTEENTH STREET, N.W. WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036 • (202) 223-9600
George D. Fischer, President Sam M. Lambert, Executive Secretary

April 1, 1969

Mr. Leo McGee
MDT Research Project
The Ohio State University
College of Education
29 West Woodruff Avenue
Columbus, Ohio 43210

Dear Mr. McGee:

Thank you for returning our evaluation form. We have located an additional document which may be useful to you.

An abstract of this report is enclosed: A Study of the Patterns of Adult Education in Selected Negro Churches by Sherman N. Webster.

We hope this information will be of help to you. If we may be of further assistance, please do not hesitate to write to us.

Sincerely yours,


Richard W. Cortright
Director, The Clearinghouse
and Special Projects

RNC:eb

Enclosure

Dictated but not read.



A Time for Educational Statesmanship



DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20201

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY

April 3, 1969

Dear Mr. McGee:

The history of Negro adult education is not to be found in conventional places. For printed materials, I suggest the following:

1. Cartright, Morse A. Ten Years of Adult Education. MacMillan Company, New York, N.Y., 1935. pp 11-18
2. Gallagher, Buell G. American Caste and the Negro College. Columbia University Press. New York, 1938. p.319
3. Wesley, Charles H. Education for Citizenship in a Democracy. Journal of Negro Education, Vol. X, No. 1, Jan. 1941. pp 68-79.
4. Wilkerson, D A. Special Problems of Negro Education, Staff Study prepared for the Advisory Committee on Education. U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1939. p. 163.
5. Drake, J. F. An Experiment in Adult Education. The National Outlook Among Negroes. 2:25-8, May 1939.

Sincerely yours,

Edward W. Brice
Assistant to Assistant Secretary
for Education

Mr. Leo McGee
MDT Research Project
College of Education
The Ohio State University
1945 North High Street
Columbus, Ohio 43210



Founded 1858

CLARK STREET BRIDGE, 1828

Telephone Michigan 2-4600

CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY • North Avenue and Clark Street, Chicago, Illinois 60614

Andrew McNally III, President • Theodore Ticken, 1st Vice-President • James R. Gitz, 2nd Vice-President • Gardner H. Stern, Treasurer • Clement M. Silvestro, Secretary

Clement M. Silvestro, Director

November 18, 1971

Dear Mr. McGee:

Our printed and manuscript collections contain a good deal of material concerning Negro education. However we cannot take the considerable time necessary to locate that portion dealing with your topic and time period.

We will be glad to assist you or a member of your staff if you should visit Chicago. Library hours are from nine to five, Tuesday through Saturday.

Sincerely yours,

Barbara C. Denmark

Barbara C. Denmark
Assistant Reference
Librarian

Mr. Leo McGee
College of Education
Ohio State University
1945 N. High Street
Columbus, Ohio 43210

BOARD OF TRUSTEES: Bowen Blair; John Jay Boland; Emmett Delmon; James R. Gitz; Philip W. Hunsmer; Wilford L. King; Andrew McNally III; Mrs. C. Philip Miller; Bryan S. Neal, Jr.; Gilbert H. Scribner, Jr.; Alfred Shaw; Harold Byron Smith, Jr.; Herman Dunsay-Smith; Gardner H. Stern; Theodore Ticken; Mrs. Philip K. Wrigley

THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF MISSOURI
COLUMBIA

RICHARD S. BROWNLEE
DIRECTOR

65201
Corner Hitt + Lowry St.

November 19, 1971

Mr. Leo McGee
Coordinator of Student Field Experience
College of Education
The Ohio State University
Columbus, Ohio 43210

Dear Mr. McGee:

You are most welcome to visit our Library to study our materials on "Adult Education for the Black Man....." We are open from 8-4:30 daily except Saturdays and Sundays.

I doubt if we have much on "adult" education, which means probably continuing education after college or simultaneous education with working. We have quite a bit on Negro colleges, public schools, etc. At 10 cents a page, we can xerox pages from a folder wherein we have listed our holdings on black history - with such divisions as Missouri Newspapers, Articles from our publication, MISSOURI HISTORICAL REVIEW, Manuscripts materials, Higher Education, etc. I suggest that you read "One Hundred Years of Negro Education in St. Charles....." from official minutes of the Board of Education, 1955, which would cost about 50 cents. This study was compiled by Stephen Blackhurst. Also "Four Years of Progress with Missouri Public Schools for the Negro," Jefferson City, 1939, which would cost \$4.00 to xerox.

W. S. Savage wrote a HISTORY OF LINCOLN UNIVERSITY, copyright, 1939, which you may still purchase from the University at Jefferson City. The JOURNAL OF NEGRO HISTORY, Volume 5, has a study by Henry Sullivan Williams on "The Development of the Negro Public School System in Missouri," Lancaster, Pennsylvania, 1920.

We have bulletins from Douglass University and catalogue from George R. Smith College, Sedalia, Mo, 1894-1901, 1910-1914, their Yearbooks, 1903-1907; April, 1906, and a 1900-1901 annual announcement.

We have A HISTORY OF NEGRO EDUCATION IN THE SOUTH, from 1619 to the Present, by Henry Alben Bullock, Cambridge, 1967; the HISTORY OF THE NEGRO IN MEDICINE, by Herbert Montfort Morais, New York, 1967.

Without your own personal appraisal of our holdings it would be difficult to suggest what is here pertinent to your topic. There are many graduate students in history at the University of Missouri, Columbia, who are familiar with our books on the black man, because they have actually used them.

Sincerely yours,

Muriel Krause
(M.S.) Henrietta Krause

Reference Library



The Amistad Research Center

DILLARD UNIVERSITY • NEW ORLEANS • LOUISIANA • 70122

Telephone: 504-944-0239

CLIFTON H. JOHNSON, Director

November 19, 1971

Mr. Leo McGee
Coordinator of Student Field Experience
150 Arps Hall
The Ohio State University
1945 North High Street
Columbus, Ohio 43210

Dear Mr. McGee:

In response to your letter of November 15, I can assure you that you will find the Archives of the American Missionary Association most valuable for your study of adult education for Negroes. In addition to establishing schools and colleges in the South during the Civil War and Reconstruction period the A. M. A. conducted education programs for Negro soldiers and many of their schools, even at the elementary level, were attended by adults.

The Amistad Research Center holds the Archives of the American Missionary Association, including correspondence and reports from teachers. The Center also holds a run of the American Missionary Magazine and the Annual Reports of the Association. We would be happy to have you visit the Center and use these materials.

Sincerely yours,

Clifton H. Johnson

CEW/pr



MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

690 Cedar Street, St. Paul, Minnesota 55101 221-6126

November 22, 1971

Mr. Leo McGee
Coordinator of Student Field Experience
College of Education
The Ohio State University
1945 North High Street
Columbus, Ohio 43210

Dear Mr. McGee:

There is only one listing in our card catalog for Negroes - Education. Enclosed is a copy of the inventory to that collection. Unfortunately, the small roll of film slides does not circulate. We have several other collections that mention educational efforts for colored children. Some mention of adult education might be found, but such a research topic is too lengthy for our limited staff.

Are you acquainted with Dr. Huguet, the novel written in 1890 by Ignatius Donnelly to explain to white American what it meant to be a Negro? It was published in the fall of 1891.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ruby J. Shields
Chief of Reference
Manuscripts Department

RJS/jk

Enclosure



UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH CAROLINA
COLUMBIA, S. C. 29208

South Carolina Library

23 November 1971

Mr. Leo McGee
Coordinator of Student Field Experience
Ohio State University
Columbus, Ohio 43210

Dear Mr. McGee:

In reply to your letter of November 15, we regret to report that we cannot cite all of the specific items in our collection which may be pertinent to your study. Please let me suggest that you look over the footnotes and bibliographies of the following works for material in our collection which may be useful:

Willie Lee Rose, Rehearsal for Reconstruction, 1964.
Joel Williamson, After Slavery, Chapel Hill, 1965.
A. R. Taylor, The Negro in South Carolina during Reconstruction, Washington, 1924.
George Tindall, South Carolina Negroes, 1877-1900,
Columbia, S. C., 1952.
Lewis K. McMillan, Negro Higher Education in the State of South Carolina, 1952.

The following published guides should also prove helpful: J. H. Easterby, A Guide to the Study and Reading of South Carolina History, and John Hammond Moore, Research Material in South Carolina, a Guide.

We have recently purchased the microfilm of the S. C. portion of the Papers of the American Missionary Association, housed at Fisk University. I am sure you will find this to be a rich source for your study.

Sincerely yours,

E. L. Inabinett
E. L. Inabinett, Librarian

ELI/d

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION
National Archives and Records Service
Washington, D.C. 20408



November 23, 1971

Mr. Leo McGee
Student Field Experience Office
The Ohio State University
1945 North High Street
Columbus, Ohio 43210

Dear Mr. McGee:

The National Archives is the depository of the records of the Government of the United States. Unless the Federal Government was connected, directly or indirectly, with adult education, there would be no relevant records here.

Please examine the two enclosures carefully. If you locate groups of records that you think are pertinent, let me know and I'll try to give you more specific information about the composition of any record groups.

Sincerely yours,

Robert L. Clarke
ROBERT L. CLARKE
Specialist, Negro History

2 Enclosures

THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN
MICHIGAN HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS

ANN ARBOR 48104

ROBERT M. WARNER, Director
MARY JO PUGH, Assistant Curator

BLACKMAN BUILDING
PHONE 764-3482

November 23, 1971

Leo McGee
Coordinator of Student
Field Experience
The Ohio State University
150 Arps Hall
1945 North High Street
Columbus, Ohio 43210

Dear Mr. McGee:

Dr. Warner has asked me to respond to your letter of November 15 requesting information about adult education for the Black man during the period 1860-1880. I am sending under separate cover a copy of our bibliography, "Black History Resources at the Michigan Historical Collections of the University of Michigan." We appear to have little directly related to your topic. The Esther W. Douglass Collection and the Fyfe Family Collection may have material for you; they are marked on page 2.

If we may be of service to you please do not hesitate to call on us.

Sincerely yours,

Mary Jo Pugh

Mary Jo Pugh

MJP:gmd

THE SOUTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
FIREPROOF BUILDING
CHARLESTON, SOUTH CAROLINA 29401

195 EAST BAY (Temporary Address)

November 24, 1971

Mr. Leo McGee
Coordinator of Student
Field Experience
Ohio State University
150 Arps Hall
Columbus, Ohio 43210

Dear Mr. McGee:

In reply to your recent letter of inquiry, I am writing to report that we can xerox for you information on the Avery Normal Institute and the Wallingford Academy, which were operating in the 1880's; also on the State Normal School, which after the War was in charge of the Freedmen's Bureau.

If you would like the above information copied, there will be a charge of \$3.50 including mailing and service.

Sincerely,

Mrs. Granville T. Prior
Mrs. Granville T. Prior
Director

MEP:ct

UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA LIBRARY

MANUSCRIPTS DEPARTMENT
ALDERMAN LIBRARY

24 November 1971

Dear Mr. McGee:

Your study is indeed worthwhile and challenging, but your time span is so restrictive that I fear we will be unable to render you much assistance. I can think of a few collections which fall just outside your periphery. We have the papers of James Hardy Dillard, one of the movers behind higher education for blacks in the South, but he really doesn't begin until the 1890's. Also we have some collections which deal with the religious instruction of slaves, but prior to 1860.

I wish you success and I am sorry that we couldn't help.

Sincerely,

Michael F. Plunkett
Michael F. Plunkett
Senior Assistant in
Manuscripts

Mr. Leo McGee
Coordinator of Student Field Experience
150 Arps Hall
Ohio State University
1945 North High Street
Columbus, Ohio 43210

MFP:dlp

HOWARD UNIVERSITY

WASHINGTON, D. C. 20001

Box 824



UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

November 30, 1971

Mr. Leo McGee, Coordinator of Student
Field Experience
The Ohio State University
1945 North High Street
Columbus, Ohio 43210

Dear Mr. McGee:

We acknowledge your recent request for information from the
Moorland-Spingarn Collection. Due to the limitations of staff and
time we are unable to perform the research required to respond to your
inquiry.

A member of the staff will be happy to assist you in your research
if a personal visit to the Collection is possible. The library is open
Monday - Friday, 9:00 a.m. - 9:30 p.m.; Saturdays 9:00 a.m. - 6:00 p.m.

Sincerely yours,

Dorothy E. Porter
(Mrs.) Dorothy E. Porter
Librarian
Moorland-Spingarn Collection

Atlanta Historical Society
Robert N. Elliott - President
Post Office Box 2105 • Atlanta, Georgia 30305 • 242-6025



December 1, 1971

Mr. Leo McGee
 Coordinator of Student Field Experience
 College of Education
 THE OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY
 1945 North High Street
 Columbus, Ohio 43210

Dear Mr. McGee:

While we have some information concerning adult education for the Black Man during the period from 1867 - 1880 we do not have anything bearing on the subject during ante bellum times or during the Civil War.

We do not have any way in which we can send you this information by mail since it is scattered through books, pamphlets and other material. However, should you have occasion to come to Atlanta you are welcome to come here for research. It may be worthwhile to get in touch with:

Mrs. Gaynelle Barksdale, Librarian
 Atlanta University
 223 Chestnut Street, S. W.
 Atlanta, Georgia 30314.

The university has a splendid library which I am sure would cover some of the information you desire.

Incidentally, I have considerable to say about education for Black people in Atlanta during the 1867-1880 period in my two volume work entitled "Atlanta and Environs, A Chronicle of its People and Events" which was published originally in 1954 by the Lewis Historical Publishing Company in New York city and reprinted by the University of Georgia Press in 1969.

Good luck in your research.

Most cordially,

Franklin M. Garrett
 Director

FMG:ls

A land without historical records is a land without memories — A land without memories is a land without liberty

HARVARD · COLLEGE · LIBRARY
CAMBRIDGE · MASSACHUSETTS 02138

December 1, 1971

Mr. Leo McGee
Coordinator of Student Field Experience
150 Arps Hall
College of Education
Ohio State University
1945 North High St.
Columbus, Ohio 43210

Dear Mr. McGee,

I regret to say that our reference staff does not undertake research projects of this nature.

What we can do is photocopy our catalogue cards under the heading Negroes - U.S. - Education. We have approximately 250 cards under this heading. Our fee is \$.03 per card plus mailing and handling but please note that we have a \$3.50 minimum charge for each order. I regret to add that we are not able to just photocopy the cards that might seem applicable. It would have to be all the cards under the appropriate heading.

We of course have a great deal of material on the Civil War and Reconstruction Period but it would be necessary for you or a researcher to search through the collection for pertinent data. (I enclose a copy of "Use of the Harvard College Library by Visiting Readers.")

There is an agency here in Cambridge called Information Gathering Service, 2 Trowbridge St., Cambridge, Mass. 02138. For a certain fee they will compile bibliographies and undertake research projects. You may write to them directly if you are interested in their services.

Another possibility is to hire a Harvard student to do research for you. For this you may write to the Harvard Student Employment Office, Holyoke Center 924, Cambridge, Mass. 02138.

If you would like the cards photocopied you may send your request to the Photo-Reference Librarian, Widener Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. 02138.

Sincerely,

Mary S. Smith
(Mrs.) Mary S. Smith
Reference Librarian

MSS:pw

(1)

STATE OF MISSISSIPPI
DEPARTMENT OF ARCHIVES AND HISTORY

P. O. BOX 671
JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI 39208



R. A. MCLENDRE, Ph.D., L.T.D.
DIRECTOR

December 1, 1971

Mr. Leo McGee
Coordinator of Student Field Experience
The Ohio State University
College of Education
1945 North High Street
Columbus, Ohio 43210

Dear Mr. McGee:

In compliance with your recent request, we have made a careful search through our holdings for information concerning education for Negroes in Mississippi from 1860 to 1880.

Alcorn College, which was established by an act of the Mississippi Legislature in 1871, was the first Land Grant College for Negroes in the United States. May I suggest that you consult Melerson Guy Dunham's The Centennial History of Alcorn Agricultural and Mechanical College (Hattiesburg, Miss.: University and College Press of Mississippi, 1971), for additional information concerning Alcorn College.

May I suggest that you consult the following publications for information concerning education of the Negro in Mississippi:

America's Tenth Man, A Brief Survey of the Negro's Part in American History (Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Inc., 710 Standard Building, Atlanta, Ga.).

George W. Williams, History of the Negro Race in America From 1619 to 1880 (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons).

Edward A. Johnson, A School History of the Negro Race in America (Philadelphia: Sherman and Co., 1893).

(2)

Mr. Leo McGee

Page - 2 -

12/1/71

John Ambrose Price, The Negro: Past, Present, and Future (New York and Washington: Neale Publishing Co., 1907).

Mrs. Charles C. Mosley, The Negro in Mississippi History (Jackson, Miss.: Hederman Brothers, 1950).

John S. Gillard, The Catholic Church and the American Negro (Baltimore: St. Joseph's Society Press, 1930; reprinted, New York: Johnson Reprint Co., 1968).

Special Message of Gov. James L. Alcorn, on the Subject of the Establishment of a University for the Colored People, Etc. (Jackson, Miss.: Kimball, Raymond, and Co., 1871).

Bell Irvin Wiley, Southern Negroes, 1861-1865 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1938).

William Johnson's Natchez, The Ante-Bellum Diary of a Free Negro, ed. by William Ranson Hogan and Edwin Adams Davis (Baton Rouge: LSU Press, 1951).

We have on file in this Department scattered copies of the Biennial Report of the Trustees, President and Other Officers of the Alcorn A. and M. College. Also we have copies of the Biennial Report of the State Superintendent of Public Education, to the Legislature of Mississippi on file here.

Enclosed is a complimentary photocopy of information concerning Isaiah T. Montgomery, which may be of interest to you.

May I suggest that you write to the Mississippi Department of Education, Woolfolk State Office Building, Jackson, Mississippi, for additional information.

Whenever this Department can be of further service to you, please do not hesitate to call upon us.

Sincerely yours,

CARL A. RAY, Director
Archives and Library Division

Carroll Anne Ainsworth
By: Carroll Anne Ainsworth
Research Assistant

Enclosure

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA LIBRARY
CHAPEL HILL, NORTH CAROLINA

SOUTHERN HISTORICAL COLLECTION
J. ISAAC COPELAND, DIRECTOR

December 2, 1971

Mr. Leo McGee
The Ohio State University
College of Education
Office of Student Field Experience
1945 North High Street
Columbus, Ohio 43210

Dear Mr. McGee:

I have kept your letter for some time trying to think how the materials in our Collection may be of use to you. I am not sure that we have anything related to the education of adult Negroes in the period of your study. I can only suggest that you examine the Guide to our Collection, described on the enclosed sheet, and write us again more specifically if you find material in which you are interested. I think it probable that you can do this better after you have begun your research and used manuscripts similar to ours in other repositories.

There is some material pertaining to your topic in our Penn School Papers for the period of the Civil War, but most of it has been published and all of it has been thoroughly covered in Willis Lee Rose, Rehearsal for Reconstruction, the Port Royal Experience. The papers for the Civil War period are not original manuscripts but various types of copies. After that time there is a gap in the papers until approximately 1900, and therefore they do not cover much of the time in which you are interested.

You are probably already familiar with the American Missionary Association Archives at the Arstad Research Center at Dillard University, but if you are not I suggest that you investigate this material. It should prove to be a rich and rewarding source for you.

Sincerely yours,

Carolyn A. Wallace
Mrs. Carolyn A. Wallace
Manuscripts Curator

CAN:seo



TENNESSEE STATE LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES

NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE 37210

December 6, 1971

Mr. Leo McGee
College of Education
Ohio State University
1945 North High Street
Columbus, Ohio 43210

Dear Mr. McGee:

Your letter to the State Librarian and Archivist has been referred to us for reply. I am sorry I have not been able to turn up much in the way of resource materials for you concerning adult education in Tennessee for the black man in the period 1860-1890. While we have many works in our collection dealing with education in Tennessee itself, they do not seem to deal specifically with the topic "Adult Education". In the book DEVELOPEMENT OF THE TENNESSEE STATE EDUCATION ORGANIZATION, 1796-1929, by Robert Hiram White, Nashville, Tennessee, George Peabody College for Teachers, 1929, you might find chapter 4, "War, Reconstruction and Education 1861-1871" useful to you in presenting the general picture of the state of education in Tennessee for the period to which you are interested. The book is available on Interlibrary Loan.

A source which may prove useful to you is our Tennessee newspapers on microfilm. I am enclosing a copy of our publication which lists these papers and the dates they cover. These newspapers often prove a most fruitful source of information for the period in which you are interested. I am referring your letter to our Manuscript Section for a check of their resources. If they have any materials which may be of help to you in your study, they will be in touch with you.

I hope you will also be in touch with Fisk University and Tennessee State University, both here in Nashville. Tennessee State University was formerly Tennessee Agricultural and Industrial College. Both institutions should have material in their collections which may be of help to you.

Very truly yours,

Dorothy Glasser

(Mrs.) Dorothy Glasser
Reference Librarian
State Library

DG:sr



DEPARTMENT OF
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ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30334
PHONE: 522-0010
AREA CODE 404



December 9, 1971

Mr. Leo McGee
Coordinator of Student Field Experience
Ohio State University
College of Education
Columbus, Ohio 43210

Dear Mr. McGee:

We are forwarding under separate cover pages from a history entitled Rise and Progress of Negro Colleges in Georgia 1865-1949. The pages concern the background of negro education in Georgia prior to the rise of negro colleges. The book itself may be available in your university library.

The best reconstruction records are in the U. S. Freedmans Bureau records entitled Records of the Superintendent of Education for the State of Georgia, Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands 1865-70. Your librarian can assist you in locating them at the National Archives or books about these records.

Very truly yours,

Ruth Corry
(Miss) Ruth Corry, Head
Central Research Division
Department of Archives and History

RC:de

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION
National Archives and Records Service
Washington, D.C. 20408



December 15, 1971

Mr. Leo McGee
Student Field Experience Office
The Ohio State University
1945 North High Street
Columbus, Ohio 43210

Dear Mr. McGee:

I am enclosing the descriptions of four record groups as you requested. The enclosures are working sheets used in the preparation of a new general guide to Federal records in the National Archives that is scheduled for publication in about nine months.

Please let me know when you plan to be in Washington for your research; we will be happy to make the records available to you.

Sincerely yours,

Robert L. Clarke
ROBERT L. CLARKE
Specialist, Negro History

Enc: Guide working sheets for Record Groups 105, 109, 110, 391



THE NEW-YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY

FOUNDED IN 1804

170 CENTRAL PARK WEST

NEW YORK, N. Y. 10024

JAMES J. HESLIN
Director

December 15, 1971

Mr. Leo McGee
Coordinator of Student
Field Experience
The Ohio State University
College of Education
1945 North High Street
Columbus, Ohio 43210

Dear Mr. McGee:

In answer to your letter of November 15, 1971, we regret that we cannot offer an extensive bibliography on your topic, "Adult Education for the Black Man During the Ante Bellum Civil War and Reconstruction Period".

We have a substantial collection of Anti-Slavery literature which includes material on and by the Society for the Propagation of the Faith, among others, but it does not lend itself to excerpting for a bibliography on your particular subject. For example, see in the The New-York Historical Society Quarterly, January, 1971, Sheldon Cohen's "Elias Neen, Instructor of New York's Slaves".

Enclosed is a brochure of our Library, should you wish to pay us a visit. You should also get in touch with (if not visit) the Countee Cullen Branch of New York Public Library. The Schomburg Collection on Negro History is certainly one to be researched, if you have not already done so.

Sincerely yours,

Director

JJH:et

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SHERMAN L. GREENE, JR., SECRETARY TREASURER

December 24, 1971

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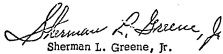
Mr. Leo McGee
The Ohio State University
Student Field Experience Office
1945 North Hight Street
Columbus, Ohio 43210

Dear Mr. McGee:

Your letter, dated November 15, 1971, requesting data for a study of Afro-American education during the period of 1860-1880 in American life, has been directed to the Department of History and Research--A.M.E. Church, Dr. Howard D. Gregg, Historiographer. His address is 1716 Varnum Street, N.W., Washington, D. C. 20011.

If I can be of further assistance, please call upon me.

Yours truly,


Sherman L. Greene, Jr.

cc:
Dr. Howard D. Gregg



Haverford College
THE QUAKER COLLECTION

HAVERFORD, PA. 19041 215-649-9600

January 7, 1972

Mr. Leo McGee
150 Arps Hall
Ohio State University
1945 No. High Street
Columbus, Ohio 43210

Dear Mr. McGee:

In answer to your letter of November 15, 1971, I have examined our materials connected with black education before, during, and after the Civil War and do not find very much that would be of interest so far as the education of black^{adults} is concerned. We have some letters of Joshua L. Bailey about the welfare of the negroes after the Civil War in Kansas and elsewhere, also letters from Sarah Cadbury from Slabtown, Virginia, 1866, describing her experiences teaching in a negro school after the Civil War, also, in the papers of Edward Wenton Smith, the papers (ca. 1837-48) of the Emilen Institution, which was begun by Samuel Emilen and which educated negroes and Indians, and in the Taylor family papers, some letters of Isaac Shoemaker (1866-67) telling of conditions in the post-war south.

Whether any of this material would be of use to you, you alone could decide. We would be happy to show it to you if you would care to come to Haverford. I am sorry to have been so slow to answer your letter but I have just returned from a leave of absence.

Sincerely,

Alice E. Whittlesey

Alice E. Whittlesey
Manuscripts Cataloger

AEW/ebt

ASNLH

The Association for The Study of Negro Life and History, Inc.
 Founded September 8, 1915, by Carter G. Woodson, 1607 14th Street, N.W.
 THE JOURNAL OF NEGRO HISTORY
 THE NEGRO HISTORY BULLETIN
 WASHINGTON, D.C. 20001
 Telephone - 452-0313
 Area Code 202

February 7, 1972

Mr. Leo McGee
 College of Education
 1945 North High Street
 Columbus, Ohio 43210

Dear Mr. McGee:

Thanks for your letter. We do not have at the Association
 the information which you require for your study. However,
 all success to you in your endeavors.

Sincerely yours,


 Charles H. Wesley
 Executive Director

CHW: ach

Andrew F. Brimmer
 President

Charles H. Wesley
 Executive Director

Charles Walker Thomas
 Secretary-Treasurer

LOUISIANA STATE UNIVERSITY
AND AGRICULTURAL AND MECHANICAL COLLEGE
BATON ROUGE - LOUISIANA - 70803

Library

OFFICE OF THE
DIRECTOR OF LIBRARIES

March 10, 1972

Mr. Leo McGee
Coordinator of Student Field Experience
College of Education
The Ohio State University
1945 North High Street
Columbus, Ohio 43210

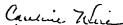
Dear Mr. McGee:

Below are listed several titles concerning Negro education, which are available in the Louisiana State University Library and may be relative to your research. There has been little research done on this subject here at LSU. Southern University, a predominantly Black institution here in Baton Rouge, may have more original research material available in their library, and you may wish to write to them.

Porter, Betty. The History of Negro
Education in Louisiana. M.A. Thesis,
LSU, 1938.

Shes, R. S. The Development of Catholic
Facilities for Negro Education in the
State of Louisiana. M.A. Thesis,
Tulane, 1949.

Sincerely yours,



Caroline Wire
Assistant to the Director

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BIBLIOGRAPHY

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