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PIONEERING WOMEN OF SOUTHERN EDUCATION: A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF NORTHERN AND SOUTHERN SCHOOL FOUNDERS

by

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For the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in

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2014

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this study to women who have labored and sacrificed for the cause of education.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

When I entered the doctoral program, I had a dissertation topic selected along with a nascent literature review. By the end of my first class, Dr. Katherine Chaddock completely reoriented my thoughts and set me on a new path of school founding practices of women who initiated schools. Her guidance directed this work. For that, I am eternally grateful.

Lynda Tilley was instrumental as the editor of this work. I would not have been able to conclude this study without her assistance.

In my ninth hour calls for reviews, Dr. Natavia Middleton volunteered every time. To you, I humbly say thank you.

Finally, to my dearest Bruce thanks for embarking on this journey with me. Without your love and support, my vision would have remained a dream.

ABSTRACT

This study examined school founding practices of Northern and Southern women educators who initiated primary schools for blacks during the Civil War, reconstruction, and progressive eras. Case study and historical methodologies contrasted two Northern white and two Southern black school founders in the areas of backgrounds, religious affiliations, educational philosophies, political astuteness, and resourcefulness. This study relied on in-depth reviews, content analyses, and cluster analyses of archives, biographies, personal diaries, newspapers, newsletters, and secondary literature to answer the research questions. Strikingly, Rachel Crane Mather and Mary McLeod Bethune's missionary zeal emerged from their evangelical duty of converting lives to the Christian faith. Their missionary zeal merged with curricula demonstrating religious commitment and transmitting missionary zeal to students. Political acumen was requisite for effective resourcefulness and unlimited to specific techniques.

Interestingly, social, economic, and educational limitations produced political acumen shaping resourcefulness. Further, geographic regions, while mostly isolated, did not influence the longevity of their schools; instead, geographic regions enabled Southern school founders to use aggressive approaches to secure resources for their schools. Northern school founders inherited social capital from their families, friends, and social groups while Southern school founders acquired social capital through educational experiences.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Prior to the Civil war, primary, secondary, and post-secondary education, in the South were nonexistent for blacks, in part because of Southern laws that precluded black education. Blacks hailed President Lincoln for emancipation and the thirteenth amendment. Conversely, many whites despised President Lincoln's divisive decisions regarding slavery. In the midst of discord, came the opportunity for blacks to obtain a right reserved for whites – education. With the increase in demand for teachers, Northern and Southern women embarked upon the discipline of education and forever changed the outlook of primary, secondary, and post-secondary education in America.[1]

This comparative, historical research study contrasted white Northern and black Southern founders of schools for Southern blacks during the Civil War, reconstruction, and progressive eras. The former, exemplified by Laura Matilda Towne and Rachel Crane Mather, are studied in comparison with two black school founders from the South, Mary McLeod Bethune and Elizabeth Evelyn Wright, who founded schools for blacks during the progressive era. With the exception of Penn School, which Towne founded with her assistant Ellen Murray, the other schools evolved into financially stable

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[1] Butchart, R. (2010). Laura Towne and Ellen Murray: Northern Expatriates and the Foundation of Black Education in South Carolina, 1862 – 1908, (pp. 12 – 27). In *South Carolina Women: Their Lives and Times,* Volume 2 M. J. Spruill, V. W. Littlefield, & J. M. Johnson (Eds.). Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press; Woodson, C. G. (1919). *The education of the Negro prior to 1861* (2nd ed.). Lancaster, Pennsylvania: The New Era Printing Company; Fleming, J. (1976). *The lengthening shadow of slavery.* Washington, DC: Howard University Press

institutions of higher education attesting Mather, Wright, and Bethune's legacies. These schools remain beacons within their communities contributing to far-reaching outcomes beyond these communities.

These school founders were analyzed based on "markers" fundamental to school founding in the South during the Civil War, reconstruction, and progressive eras. The "markers" were personal backgrounds, religious influences, educational philosophies, political acumen, and resourcefulness. These markers were corollaries of the *Four Markers for Resituating Marginalized Voice* – traditionalism, personalization, initiation, and deprivation–as adapted and described by Susan Schramm-Pate and Katherine Chaddock.[2] This set of markers comprised the conceptual framework for this study and demonstrated various elements that directed these women on paths of founding successful schools in the South.

Historical Context

The Civil War was perhaps the cataclysmic event that propelled women to educate Blacks in the South. The War, though polarizing, created a sense of entrepreneurialism in many Northern and Southern women that extended through the progressive era. The economic, social, and political devastation in the South was so pervasive that it took progressive, expatriate women to educate blacks in the resistant South.[3] Southern resistance was most evident in South Carolina, which, in 1740, was the

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[2] Schramm–Pate, S. & K. Chaddock. (2006). From obscurities to distinction: (Re)positioning women 'Progressive" educations in the new South. *Southern Studies: An Interdisciplinary Journal of the South, (13)*12, 25–49.

[3] Butchart, R. (2010). Laura Towne and Ellen Murray: Northern Expatriates and the Foundation of Black Education in South Carolina, 1862 – 1908, (pp. 12 – 27). In *South*

first colony to enact a law that prohibited "mental instruction" of slaves; this included reading, writing, and arithmetic. The only instruction allowed was based on biblical principles used for moral convictions and servitude. This law was prompted by former revolts, which explicitly attested to slaves' mental capacities to reason and plan – two attributes Southern aristocrats feared. The slaves' ability to reason shattered the theory of intellectual inequality – the argument and foundation that justified slavocracy.[4] These revolts demonstrated slaves' desires to be free, but did not serve the needs of plantation owners who wanted hard working, non-reasoning field hands, who were unequal to whites thus undeserving of civil liberties. Southern aristocrats clinging to their fictions about slaves' mental faculties, feared any person – abolitionist, missionary, white, black, female, or male – who embraced the idea of educating blacks, freed or enslaved. Thus, in South Carolina and other Southern states, the political and social climates were extremely tense.[5] Other states, such as Georgia, enacted similar laws, which yielded the same effect.

Clergymen accepted the role of teaching blacks, freed and enslaved, for the limited reason of "biblical enlightenment." The clergymen's task was to "convert the heathen [Indians and Negroes]…They were required to teach them to read the Scriptures

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Carolina Women: Their Lives and Times, Volume 2 M. J. Spruill, V. W. Littlefield, & J. M. Johnson (Eds.). Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Woodson, C. G. (1919). *The education of the Negro prior to 1861* (2nd ed.). Lancaster, Pennsylvania: The New Era Printing Company; Fleming, J. (1976). *The lengthening shadow of slavery*. Washington, DC: Howard University Press; Butchart, R. (2010). Laura Towne and Ellen Murray: Northern Expatriates and the Foundation of Black Education in South Carolina, 1862 – 1908, (pp. 12 – 27). In *South Carolina Women: Their Lives and Times,* Volume 2 M. J. Spruill, V. W. Littlefield, & J. M. Johnson (Eds.). Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press.

and other poems and useful books, to ground them thoroughly in the Church catechism."[6] These clergymen transformed into teachers; among them was Reverend Samuel Thomas whose parish in Goose Creek, South Carolina, was founded in 1695. In 1704, Elias Neau taught approximately 200 Blacks in his home in New York. After his death in 1722, Mr. Huddleston continued Neau's work along with Reverends Wetmore, Colgan, Noxon, and Charlton. These men were committed to the "uplift of the heathen."[7]

Some religious denominations in the North, specifically in New York and Pennsylvania, emphasized education of freed slaves to enhance quality of life and develop workmanship. This form of education crossed the religious education border into pragmatic instruction. In 1784, the American Convention of Abolition Societies embraced mechanical education for blacks for the purpose of molding them into employable, responsible citizens.[8] Anthony Benezet, a wealthy abolitionist, adopted this philosophy, preached this doctrine audaciously with fervor, and even donated property for black education. In his estate, he allocated money for the education of Indians and blacks. In later years, Penn School in South Carolina would be a recipient of funds from the Benezet society.

While some blacks had opportunities to attend school in the North, a few Southern slaves learned from influential white men. Some learned fragments of English and math through direct observations of their slave owners while others learned from

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[6] Woodson, C. G. (1919). *The education of the Negro prior to 1861* (2nd ed.). Lancaster, Pennsylvania: The New Era Printing Company, p. 25.

[7] Ibid., 28; Clergymen listed were white men who educated blacks to some degree

[8] Woodson, C. G. (1919). *The education of the Negro prior to 1861* (2nd ed.). Lancaster, Pennsylvania: The New Era Printing Company

other slaves or freedmen. At times, children of slave masters taught slaves rudimentary education.[9] After an extensive review of historical records detailing black education, Carter Woodson and John Fleming astutely concluded that prior to the Civil war, men educated slaves and freed blacks.[10] This is noteworthy because until the Civil war, Southern women were excluded from the teaching role. Instead, they were confined to domestic capacities and charitable work. Female teachers were rare exceptions, such as Haig Edwards, who helped Reverend Samuel Thomas at the Goose Creek Parish in South Carolina.[11] Prior to the Civil war, and well into the 19th century, women were still in Victorian and domestic roles. However, the Civil war and the liberation of slaves modernized this trend.

During the War, reconstruction years, and progressive era, Northern women and some Southern women educated blacks in the South. These women were typically classified as abolitionists or missionaries, which was consistent with their male predecessors. Abolitionists embraced "antislavery" work, which included education. The missionaries who worked as teachers of freed slaves were commissioned by various benevolent societies, relief organizations such as the Freedmen Society of Philadelphia and the Women's American Baptist Home Mission Society, and missionary societies such as the American Missionary Association. In the middle of the 19th century, white, Northern women assumed the role of teaching as a way to expand their Victorian life

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[9] Ibid.

[10] Woodson, C. G. (1919). *The education of the Negro prior to 1861* (2nd ed.). Lancaster, Pennsylvania: The New Era Printing Company; Fleming, J. (1976). *The lengthening shadow of slavery*. Washington, DC: Howard University Press.

[11] Woodson, C. G. (1919). *The education of the Negro prior to 1861* (2nd ed.). Lancaster, Pennsylvania: The New Era Printing Company.

styles and venture into nontraditional roles. Some of these women embraced abolition sentiments and worked as teachers of emancipated slaves, while others sought teaching jobs for financial security.[12] In 1863, the Boston Educational Commission advertised teaching positions for the Port Royal Experiment on St. Helena Island in Beaufort, South Carolina. By 1863, hundreds of women applied for teaching jobs, but the Commission only employed 72 women who earned an average of $25–30 dollars per month ($566.72–680.06 in 2012 dollars).[13] "Out of the approximately, 900 Northern teachers sent to freedmen schools in the South, 75 percent were women."[14] The Boston Freedmen's Association reported the missionaries' work as "satisfactory" and "invaluable."[15]

Women's entrance into the male dominated profession of teaching was a monumental stride. A causal factor was the increased demand for teachers after the emancipation of slaves. Interestingly, during reconstruction, more than 3,000 Southern whites taught in new black schools, men outnumbering women by a small margin.[16] Many of these novice teachers taught for only one term. Many of those who persisted stayed because they relied on the meager income teaching provided. Although white,

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[12] Araki, W. (2008). Gender, race, and the idea of separate spheres: Neo-Abolitionist work in South Carolina Sea Islands. *The Japanese Journal of American Studies, 19,* 221-237.

[13] Source: S. Morgan Friedman; http://www.westegg.com/inflation/

[14] Araki, W. (2008). Gender, race, and the idea of separate spheres: Neo-Abolitionist work in South Carolina Sea Islands. *The Japanese Journal of American Studies, 19,* 221-237, p. 225.

[15] Ibid.

[16] Butchart, R. (2007). Remapping racial boundaries: Teachers as border police and boundary transgressors in post-emancipation Black education, USA, 1861 – 1876. *Paedagogica Historica, 43*(1), 61–78.

Southern teachers obscured boundaries of Southern education of blacks, their motives were not always earnest. Ronald Butchart reported some white teachers in black schools used their role to "police" and limit education, thereby maintaining allegiance to former laws that prohibited education of blacks. However, there were honest attempts by some white, Southern teachers to educate blacks in the South.[17]

Contrary to the white, Southern teachers, the majority of white, Northern teachers adopted a "purest" philosophy of educating Blacks –"to do all the good I can while I live."[18] A few of these women became school founders and principals of extensive ingenuity. Among them were Laura Matilda Towne and Rachel Crane Mather.[19] Northern men were among the ranks of teachers, but they rarely committed substantial time. Calvin Clark and Arthur Sumner were exceptions. Calvin Clark taught over 20 years in Arkansas, and Arthur Sumner taught in South Carolina for 13 years. Northern, women teachers adopted "lessons in obedience and subservience" and omitted democracy and civil rights. To their credit, obedience and subservience were common themes in curricula. Nevertheless, Butchart documented their devotion to personal spirituality and need to "do good" instead of buttressing the freedmen's educational needs ahead of their personal needs.[20] The exception to this was in the case of Penn School where Towne and her assistant, Ellen Murray, banned any forms of corporal punishment and taught history that included slave revolts. Variations in educational philosophies, decision-making, and

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[17] Ibid.

[18] Ibid.

[19] Ibid.

[20] Ibid.

methods of instruction existed among Northern and Southern school founders, perhaps rooted in cultural, geographical, and societal differences of the region.

Paul Nachtigal explored differences of urban and rural education during the progressive era.[21] Schramm-Pate and Chaddock resituated Nachtigal's urban and rural dichotomies in Northern and Southern contexts.[22] Nachtigal's study revealed a scarcely populated South, which was geographically isolated, and more rural than the North.[23] The North consisted of bureaucratic, liberal "loose communities" that espoused rational planning compared to the South.[24] People in the South had less education and income, tended to communicate orally, measured time by seasons, and relied on agriculture. Their Northern counterparts relied on an industrial labor force and written communication focusing on "what was said" instead of "who said what." With less bureaucratic structures, communication was direct and personal in the South where communities were cohesive and homogenous, with community members functioning in various roles.[25] Farmers divided their time for crop preparation and harvest. Southerners embraced Protestantism while religious pluralism dominated most Northern

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[21] Nachtigal, P. (1982). *Rural education: In search of a better way*. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, Inc.

[22] Schramm–Pate, S. & K. Chaddock. (2006). From obscurities to distinction: (Re)positioning women "Progressive" education in the new South. *Southern Studies: An Interdisciplinary Journal of the South, (13)*12, 25–49.

[23] Ibid.

[24] Nachtigal, P. (1982). *Rural education: In search of a better way*. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, Inc, p. 7.

[25] Ibid., 5-7

communities. Southerners commonly relied on self-sufficiency, whereas in the North, experts were tasked to problem solve.[26]

The primary focus of Southern, primary school curricula in the South was agricultural and vocational studies. Nachtigal insisted that in spite of vocational instruction, rural schools embraced regional accreditation standards. Southern schools utilized long-standing members of the community who were also farmers or homemakers who needed supplemental income. "Outsiders," teachers who moved into the area, had very little influence on major decision-making and were less inclined to succumb to community pressure as opposed to "insiders."[27] These geographical differences in Southern and Northern education were culturally embedded and manifested uniquely in each school founder's management decisions.

Yet, in spite of these Northern and Southern geographical differences, teaching was an occupation embraced in both regions by black and white women. By 1860, more than 25% of teachers in the South were Northern women. Butchart reported:

> Of more than 1400 teachers who worked in South Carolina's early black schools from 1862 to the end of reconstruction, about 200 were native White teachers. The majority of the native White teachers taught in Black schools for only one year suggesting that their impetus to work was driven by poverty rather than an earnest effort to educate blacks. More than one-third of teachers for Black schools were native Black teachers. More than half were Northerners and a smaller number White, Northern women.[28]

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[26] Ibid., 5-9

[27] Ibid., p. 9

[28] Butchart, R. (2010). Laura Towne and Ellen Murray: Northern Expatriates and the Foundation of Black Education in South Carolina, 1862 – 1908, (pp. 12 – 27). In *South Carolina Women: Their Lives and Times,* Volume 2 M. J. Spruill, V. W. Littlefield, & J. M. Johnson (Eds.). Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press., p. 13.

In South Carolina, Northern white women made lasting contributions in education for freed slaves and their descendants. Among them were Laura Matilda Towne, founder of Penn School on Saint Helena Island, and Rachel Crane Mather, founder of Mather School in Beaufort, located a few miles North of Saint Helena Island. Towne and Mather's tenacity prevailed in transforming these modest primary schools into industrial schools. The founding years of Towne and Mather's schools were challenging given limited Southern resources. Cultural and societal norms forced both women to rely upon religious beliefs, political acumen, and resourcefulness to sustain their schools. In spite of cultural and societal obstacles, Towne and Mather expanded the boundaries of teaching and progressed into the domain of school founding, a role primarily designated for men. Consequently, they created a distinct, separate, but inter-related role for women outside of the teaching role. These women were trailblazers as school founders during the war and reconstruction.

As the reconstruction years gave way to the progressive era, the industrial age peaked, and many Northern teachers sent to the South to educate blacks had retreated North. Many women found themselves in factories earning more or less wages than teaching offered, but both salaries were meager.[29] Unlike the North, the South was still incapacitated by agricultural demands and poverty. Agricultural jobs were reserved for blacks, and many Southern schools and colleges created curricula for blacks that concentrated on agricultural education. Agricultural education for blacks was popular because it secured a workforce in the areas of farming and industrialization, which

[29] Orleck, A. (2005). Wage-earning women. In N. Hewitt (Ed.), *A companion to Americanwomen's history* (pp. 250 – 275). Malden, Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishing.

maintained a separate social class for blacks.[30] Yet, poverty still invaded most Southern communities. Whites had better jobs, schools, and chances for economic opportunities than blacks.[31] Jim Crow laws permeated every aspect of Southern living and impeded economic advancement for blacks. They explicitly reflected white superiority and publically articulated the South's resistance to equal liberties and social uplift for blacks.[32] These laws, also known as black codes, represented a form of black oppression in the South to maintain cheap labor and deprivation. Jim Crow laws were unjust and legalized unfair labor agreements and civil rights.[33]

Furthermore, the public school system in the South varied significantly in the amount of funding and resources allocated to white schools as opposed to black schools. Black schools lacked blackboards, pencils, books, desks, food, and water.[34] These schools opened fewer days per year compared to white schools. Attendance waned, and the outcomes of schooling were poor with many students still inadequately prepared for

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[30] Gordon, L. D. (2005). Education and the professions. In N. Hewitt (Ed.), *A companion to American women's history* (pp. 227 – 249). Malden, Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishing.

[31] Fleming, J. (1976). *The lengthening shadow of slavery.* Washington, DC: Howard University Press.; McClusky, A. (1994). Multiple consciousnesses in the leadership of Mary McLeod Bethune. *NWSA Journal, (6)*1, 69-81.

[32] Jabs, A. (1983). *The mission of Voorhees College: Its roots and its future.* (Doctoral Dissertation). Retrieved from http:www.library.sc.edu/

[33] Fleming, J. (1976). *The lengthening shadow of slavery.* Washington, DC: Howard University Press

[34] Woodson, C. G. (1919). *The education of the Negro prior to 1861* (2nd ed.). Lancaster, Pennsylvania: The New Era Printing Company; Fleming, J. (1976). *The lengthening shadow of slavery.* Washington, DC: Howard University Press; McClusky, A. (1994). Multiple consciousnesses in the leadership of Mary McLeod Bethune. *NWSA Journal, (6)*1, 69-81.

socioeconomic advancement. Nonetheless, Butchart noted: "a little education was better than no education."[35]

Although the Civil war was over, the South was still impoverished, especially in rural areas. Whites and blacks felt the anguish of economic devastation, but blacks felt the deprivation of poverty. Discrimination, ignorance, and the lack of adequately paying jobs contributed to the profound poverty among blacks. Federal troops had to protect teachers and blacks in Southern schools against acts of violence.[36] Moreover, violent acts directed toward educators of black students peaked. Additionally, Southern resistance manifested as school burnings. White resistors adamantly opposed federal intrusion into Southern affairs.

As social and economic changes shifted away from poverty, the South had to rely on its native, black daughters to "uplift" the black population. These women included Mary McLeod Bethune and Elizabeth Evelyn Wright. Like many black teachers, Bethune and Wright were from the South. Similar to Towne and Mather, Bethune and Wright surpassed the borders of teaching and plunged into school founding. Tenacity is perhaps a characteristic of many black teachers of this time-period. They educated in spite of their own educational limitations and lack of resources. Unlike some Northern, women educators who embraced their own religious convictions as an impetus to educate

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[35] Butchart, R. (2007). Remapping racial boundaries: Teachers as border police and boundary transgressors in post-emancipation Black education, USA, 1861 – 1876. *Paedagogica Historica, 43*(1), 61–78.

[36] Williamson, J. (1965). After slavery: The Negro in South Carolina during reconstruction, 1861-1877. New York: W.W. Norton & Company.

Southern, black, women educators made their life's mission to educate blacks thus elevating blacks' need for education, rudimentary or not, above their own.

Black women during the progressive era, 1890–1920, internalized the notion that teaching was the route by which their contribution to social "uplift" for blacks would be most effective. Major hindrances of black education during the Civil war and through the progressive years were lack of resources and limitations in school founders' capabilities as initiators of school foundings. In spite of their own limitations, Southern and Northern women employed effective political skills to remove barriers to education. Unfortunately, the literature portrayed these women as teachers, but their role was far more substantial. They were initiators of schools. These women were responsible for obtaining funds, negotiating resources, communicating with local and distant communities, developing curricula, and teaching moral character in a world that devalued their worth.[37] Through written communications, they penned the plight of their students. These school founders appealed to the nation for continued support and negotiated resources that sustained their schools. Stern abolitionist convictions and internalized beliefs of social "uplift" for Blacks propelled them forward and into the sphere of school founding – a domain reserved for men.[38]

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[37] Butchart, R. (2010). Laura Towne and Ellen Murray: Northern Expatriates and the Foundation of Black Education in South Carolina, 1862 – 1908, (pp. 12 – 27). In *South Carolina Women: Their Lives and Times,* Volume 2 M. J. Spruill, V. W. Littlefield, & J. M. Johnson (Eds.). Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press.

[38] Reynolds, K. C. & Schramm, S. L. (2002). *Separate Sisterhood: Women who shaped Southern education in the progressive era.* New York: Peter Lang Publishing, Inc.; Butchart, R. (2010). Laura Towne and Ellen Murray: Northern Expatriates and the Foundation of Black Education in South Carolina, 1862 – 1908, (pp. 12 – 27). In *South Carolina Women: Their Lives and Times,* Volume 2 M. J. Spruill, V. W. Littlefield, & J. M. Johnson (Eds.). Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press.

Research Questions

A comparative study of Northern and Southern school founders who initiated schools for blacks in the South has not been conducted in a case study approach. Additionally, researchers have not compared ways in which geographical influences shaped Northern and Southern school founders' decisions in initiating schools. Such a comparison can help to illuminate common threads among these school founders and variations in methods to initiate schools within the context of historical events, cultural norms and practices, gender peculiarities, race distinctions, geographical customs, and political influences. Thus, the questions for this study were:

1.) How, and to what extent, did school founders who started primary schools for blacks in the South use their experiences, resourcefulness, political astuteness, and religious beliefs in initiating and sustaining schools during the Civil war, reconstruction years, and progressive era;
2.) How did school founders' educational philosophies influence their schools' curricula;
3.) In what ways, if any, did the practices of school founders during the early years of their schools' inceptions differ in correlation with their regional origins?

Conceptual Framework

Religious beliefs, educational philosophies, political acumen, and resourcefulness composed the conceptual framework for this study. These concepts were corollaries of Schramm-Pate and Chaddock's four distinct markers (traditionalism, personalization, initiation, and deprivation) which Southern women educators typically relied upon to be

successful as initiators of schools.[39] The conceptual framework consisted of fundamental markers re-contextualized as attributes each school founder employed to be successful. The framework hinged on the premise that each school founder identified barriers inherent in Southern communities. School founders cultivated and employed these markers in response to Southern contexts and in recognition of their limited professional experiences. In this study, traditionalism, personalization, initiation, and deprivation were reflected in markers of school founding practices thus integral in answering the research questions guiding this study.

In this study, *religious beliefs* reflected school founders' use of faith in higher deities to guide their school initiation decisions such as selection of curricula and school affiliations. *Educational philosophies* referred to curricular models each school founder incorporated to prepare students for responsible citizenry, moral conscientiousness, and employability. *Political acumen* encompassed activities school founders engaged to affect social change and penetrate local and Northern communities. *Resourcefulness* was a school founder's ability to secure funds, goods, and services to found and sustain schools. These concepts, collectively, formed the conceptual framework for this study and guided the investigation and analysis of findings concerning the lives involved. Effective deployment of each concept shaped school initiators' success as founders of schools. Religious beliefs, educational philosophies, political acumen, and resourcefulness established the basis for thematic analyses. Operational definitions of each theme are described in the definition section below.

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[39] Schramm – Pate, S. & K. Chaddock. (2006). From obscurities to distinction: (Re)positioning women "Progressive" education in the new South. *Southern Studies: An Interdisciplinary Journal of the South, (13)*12, 25–49.

Definitions

Religious beliefs referred to activities, rituals, and symbols that reflected school founders' faith in higher deities and/or affiliations with religious sectors. More specifically, operational definitions of markers for religious beliefs were acknowledging faith and/or God for guidance, implementing or conducting prayer services, incorporating religious studies in curricula, attending church services frequently, and requiring students to attend church services.

Two educational philosophies, with distinct purposes, existed during the Civil war, reconstruction, and progressive era – vocational training and liberal education. *Liberal education* emphasized history, math, geography, religious studies, Latin, Greek, and grammar. The intent of liberal education was to develop mental capacities, culture individuals, and/or teach responsible citizenry.[40] *Vocational training*, such as Booker T. Washington's industrial and agricultural model, focused on practical skills, employment, and survival.[41] Areas of learning included wheel wrighting, carpentry, farming, and blacksmithing for men, and laundry work, cooking, sewing, and housekeeping for women. In this study, *educational philosophies* referred to curriculum models each school founder selected to "uplift" blacks thereby improving the quality of life for the black race. Thus, operational definitions for markers of educational philosophies were liberal education, industrial education, agricultural education, and a combination of the aforementioned.

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[40] Menand, L. (2010). *The marketplace of ideas: Reform and resistance in the American university*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company.

[41] Washington, B. T. (1903); In B. T. Washington et al., *The Negro Problem: A series of Articles by Representative American Negroes of Today* (New York: J. Pott & Co.; republished by Arno Press, 1969).

Political acumen represented actions school founders employed to penetrate local and distant communities, engage in the political process locally, state-wide, and nationally, community and/or individual work to uplift the black race, and political orientation. Markers for the operational definition of political acumen were holding public office, building strategic alliances in local and distant communities, navigating the "system," nurturing crucial relationships with influential individuals in local and Northern communities, developing strategic affiliations, bargaining and negotiating, using power to exert influence, building coalitions, writing legislation or publically supporting legislation, and attending political functions at the county, regional, or state level. *Resourcefulness* included activities school founders incorporated to ensure their students and schools had adequate provisions. Resourcefulness was further defined as goal attainment through unconventional means, inventiveness, creativity, expansion of limited resources, coalition building, networking, and reliance on Northern and Southern friends – all markers demonstrating the ability to initiate and sustain a school. Political acumen was a requisite for resourcefulness.

During the Civil war, reconstruction, and progressive eras, primary schools opened throughout the South to educate the massive number of emancipated blacks. *Primary schools* initially offered basic instruction in math, reading, writing, biblical studies, and moral training combined with industrial instruction to ensure employment, effective farming, and home management.[42] Schools in this study were primary institutions of learning that offered grammar-level instruction combined with practical

[42] Butchart, R. & Rolleri, A. (2004). Secondary education and emancipation: Secondary schools for freed slaves in the American South, 1862 – 1875. *Paedagogica Historica, 40*(1 & 2), 158 – 181.

courses and biblical studies for black Southerners. These schools were limited in academic capacity and resources.[43] To their credit, each expanded curricula to include advanced studies for teachers' training, nurses' training, industrial training, and collegiate studies thus meeting the demands of local communities.

Significance

The Civil war created economic hardships in the South which extended into the progressive era. Consequently, school founders relied on their unique entrepreneurialism to found and sustain Southern schools. Researchers have explored the lives of some Southern school founders from the North such as Towne; as well as founders of Spellman College, Sophia Packard and Harriet Giles.[44] Mather, who was also supported by the Women's American Baptist Home Mission Society, as was Packard and Giles, has been neglected. Fragments of Mather's stories reside in archives. Bethune is one of the most researched Southern school founders from the South; but her counterpart, Wright, remains an enigma to many.

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[43] Ibid.

[44] For Towne see Breitborde, M. (2011). Discourse, education and women's public culture in the Port Royal experiment. *American Educational History Journal, 38*($^1/_2$), 427 – 446; Butchart, R. (2010). Laura Towne and Ellen Murray: Northern Expatriates and the Foundation of Black Education in South Carolina, 1862 – 1908, (pp. 12 – 27). In *South Carolina Women: Their Lives and Times,* Volume 2 M. J. Spruill, V. W. Littlefield, & J. M. Johnson (Eds.). Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press; Rose, W. L. (1997). Laura M. Towne. In E. James (Series Ed.), *Notable American Women, 1607–1960: A Biographical Dictionary: Vol 3. P – Z* (pp. 472-474). Massachusetts: Harvard University Press; Wolfe, K. (1997). Laura M. Towne and the freed people of South Carolina, 1862 – 1901. *South Carolina Historical Magazine, 98*(4), 375-405; for Sophia Packard and Harriet Giles see Watson, Y.L., Gregory, S.T., & Tatum, B.D. (2005). Sterling, Virginia: Stylus Publishing; Woman's American Baptist Home Mission Society (1897, May 5 & May 6). *Report of the Annual Meeting held in Cranston St. Baptist Church,* Providence, Rhode Island. Boston: C.H. Simonds & Co. Printers; Sophia Packard and Harriet Giles were also white, Northern, women educators who ventured South to educate blacks

This study is significant because these women were trailblazers in changing societal roles of women. They ventured into the patriarchal world of founding schools amid political, social, and economic upheaval in the South. While teaching was an acceptable role for women, school founding remained a man's territory. These women expanded the typical roles of women as wives, mothers, and domesticians and chartered new education territory initiation and leadership. They used entrepreneurialism to capitalize on the mission to educate blacks at a time when educating blacks was a rejected notion in the South. However, little is understood about how and why they initiated schools and remained committed to educating blacks. Their work was part of a collective "sisterhood" of women who educated blacks in the South. Towne and Mather transcended the traditional role of the Northern, Victorian woman and embraced the toil of educating emancipated blacks during the South's most contentious and poverty-stricken years. These women made indelible marks in black education, which changed the lives of an entire race. Social, political, and economic advancement of blacks in Beaufort and its Sea Islands are associated with Towne and Mather's commitment to build a populace of self-sustaining, independent, morally responsible, educated, black citizens. Their letters, diaries, and other documents attest the value of their work. Wright and Bethune overcame Jim Crow laws, impoverishment, stereotypical Southern attitudes, political and social resistance, to educate themselves before they found schools. Their distinct, unique personalities and temperamental wit were essential in building relationships in local and Northern communities that yielded resources to sustain their schools. Bethune and Wright's shrewd tactics, is evident in the legacies of their schools.

Cultural, political, societal, educational, and gender differences existed between the North and South, but the current body of knowledge does not reveal these differences in relation to Northern and Southern women's school founding practices. This study is significant because it bridges this gap in the literature. Unfortunately, their enduring contributions to black education have been largely marginalized and therefore voiceless. This study gives voice to their stories and contributions to secondary and postsecondary education. Their historical strides in education should be penned and shared to reflect models of success. More importantly, their legacies continue to inspire leaders in higher education.

Research Processes

This comparative study constructed historical case studies to explore the lives of Laura Matilda Towne, founder of Penn School; Rachel Crane Mather, founder of Mather School; Mary McLeod Bethune, founder of Daytona Literary and Industrial Institute for Girls; and Elizabeth Evelyn Wright, founder of Denmark Industrial School for Colored Youth. The case study methodology approach contrasted school founders in the areas of religious affiliations, educational philosophies, political astuteness, and resourcefulness. "Case history traces a person, group, or institution's past."[45] Each case history was a historical illustration of activities, motivations, experiences, and objectives of a Northern or Southern woman who initiated a primary school in the South. Case history encompassed particularistic, descriptive, and heuristic properties to extrapolate events and ideas germane to each school founder. Artifacts, observations, and other documents

[45] Merriam, S. & Simpson, E. (2000). *A guide to research for educators and trainers of adults* (2nd ed.). Malabar, Florida: Krieger Publishing Company, p. 9.

supported case history and were utilized in this study to illustrate Towne, Mather, Bethune, and Wright's unique school founding methods.[46]

Further, this research utilized historical methodology to examine and contrast these women's nuanced uniqueness of school founding in the early inception of their schools. "Historical research is essentially descriptive, and elements of historical research and case study often merge."[47] Historical research represented a unique, intrinsic interest in phenomena that occurred in the past.[48] Therefore, it was incumbent on the researcher to interpret events as they related to individuals, society, and culture. The combination of case studies and historical methodologies uncovered geographical similarities and differences of Northern and Southern school founders.

Site/Participant Selection, Criteria, and Justification

Geographic variations in Northern and Southern education influenced decisions school founders made to initiate and manage schools. Their upbringing and various cultural, societal, gender, race, and religious experiences shaped their school initiation decisions. Nachtigal's delineation of urban and rural education confirmed this premise.[49] Correspondingly, school founders in this study were selected based on the region in which they were born, reared, and initiated schools. Northern school founders were reared in Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and Rhode Island. Southern school founders

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[46] Merriam, S. (1988). *Case study research in education: A qualitative approach*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

[47] Ibid., 8

[48] McDowell, W. H. (2002). *Historical research: A guide.* London, England: Longman.

[49] Nachtigal, P. (1982). *Rural education: In search of a better way*. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, Inc.

were born and reared in Georgia and South Carolina. All school founders in this study initiated schools in the South. Northern and Southern women who initiated schools in the South for Blacks outnumbered those from other geographic regions.[50] During the Civil war, the majority of missionaries who worked in the South were Northern, white women.[51] Southerners, black and white, also educated blacks in the South. Teachers and school founders from the West who educated blacks in the South during and post-Civil war were not readily mentioned in the literature; although some did. Therefore, Western states were not selected for this study.

Purposeful selection was employed to give the investigator autonomy in deciding each function participants and sites would serve in this study. Likewise, theory-based sampling guided contextual selections in this study. Patton defined theory-based sampling as the study of contexts and people whose characteristics reflect theoretical or conceptual constructs.[52] Criteria for site selection and school founder selection are located in appendix A.

Methods and Sources

Over a century has passed since the deaths of Towne, Mather, and Wright, and decades have elapsed since Bethune's demise. This study relied on in-depth reviews, content analyses, and cluster analyses of archives, biographies, personal diaries, newspapers, newsletters, and secondary literature for methods to answer the research

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[50] Butchart, R. (2010). Laura Towne and Ellen Murray: Northern Expatriates and the Foundation of Black Education in South Carolina, 1862 – 1908, (pp. 12 – 27). In *South Carolina Women: Their Lives and Times,* Volume 2 M. J. Spruill, V. W. Littlefield, & J. M. Johnson (Eds.). Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press.

[51] Ibid., 80-81

[52] Patton, M.(2002). *Qualitative research evaluation methods*, (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications., p. 238.

questions. In-depth reviews entailed critical and comprehensive reading and re-reading of biographies, diaries, archival documents, and secondary literature. Content analysis illuminated themes, subthemes, and markers from in-depth reviews.

Limitations/Considerations

The historical case studies relied upon a combination of available primary and secondary sources to capture various perspectives and analyses, and these were often limited. With the exception of a brief acknowledgement in recent work, Mather's contributions to education remain unknown. Journal articles, biographies, and personal journals describing Mather's life and work were unavailable, and the most limiting aspect of this study. Primary sources from the inception of Bethune's school have been destroyed by fire. Other archival documents were scattered among various entities; consequently, accessibility to these primary documents were limited. Towne and Mather initiated schools during the Civil War and reconstruction years. In contrast, Bethune and Wright initiated schools during the progressive era. These differences may have limited the fullness of comparison. While the circumstances in each era were similar, the progressive era was credited with national industrialization, which changed workforce demands and the socioeconomic structure, especially in the North. Industrialization altered educational pathways and funding sources for schools. Historical events, socioeconomic considerations, and cultural influences were explored and connected to school management decisions and practices. Additionally, this study was limited to women who were successful school founders. Their schools developed into primary and secondary institutions and in the cases of Wright and Bethune institutions of higher

education. Lastly, their school sites were different making it difficult to control variables, such as time and geography.

Case Studies

School founders in this study, initiated schools during turbulent times in American history. Their stories weaved personal experiences, culture, and historical events which compiled meaningful data that contributed perspectives otherwise limited in current research. Storytelling gives voice to the actor and yields personal narratives that might have been muted otherwise. Even more, first person representation breathes life into the actor's story and allows the reader to capture the humanness of each school founder. Telling each school founder's story in first person allows readers to connect with school founders; thus encouraging a relationship between the reader and school founder. In like manner, personal narratives in this study "detail, explain, and retell pivotal events" unique to each school founder.[53] Offering a glimpse of the school founder's perspective, personal narratives reincarnate the school founder's story thus yielding a conscious identity of each school founder and her work. In this case study, pivotal events started with their decisions to contribute to Southern schooling. To appreciate the context in which school founders initiated Southern schools for blacks, cases were represented in their voices to personify each woman and enrich each case with supporting data that answer research questions. Their stories were augmented with personal accounts from other actors, historians, biographers, and various reports for the purpose of triangulation and to offer breadth to each case.

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[53] Goodall, H.L. (2000). *Writing the new ethnography*. Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc, pp. 83-129.

This paper is structured so that each school founder has a separate chapter beginning with a preface written by the author. Each case study is labeled with the heading *In Her Own Voice* (instead of case study) to remind the reader that case data represent school founders' voices as written in letters, newsletters, newspapers, reports, archival documents, biographies, and secondary sources by the school founder or other authors. Each case was constructed using a chronological timeframe considering an amalgam of documents. Moreover, adhering to a chronological timeframe organized the data reflecting each school founder's background, educational philosophies, religious practices, resourcefulness, political savvy, historical events, and other events germane to their work. Case studies start with chapter two and end with chapter five. Each chapter concludes with the author's analysis highlighting key findings from the case study. Footnotes document citations in each case study as a point of reference and flow consecutively throughout the study.

CHAPTER 2: LAURA MATILDA TOWNE

Preface

During the years preceding the Civil War, the debate over slavery revolved around its justification of slavery, more specifically; the human worth of blacks and their capacity to reason, develop morality, and build communities. The war created an opportunity to test blacks' capacities to learn and demonstrate citizenship. The test was in the form of the Port Royal Experiment on the Sea Islands of Beaufort County, South Carolina. Laura Matilda Towne accepted the call to advance education of freed blacks on St. Helena Island, a small island Southeast of Beaufort. Just a few weeks before her 37th birthday, she arrived on St. Helena Island and started Penn School in November, 1862, with her assistant teacher and confidant, Ellen Murray.[54]

Towne was born in Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, on May 3, 1825, the fourth child of John Towne and Sarah Robinson Towne. John was born in Massachusetts. His family migrated from England in the 1630's. Farming fruit, steam-boating, and trading cotton and sugar were among his business ventures. Sarah Robinson was English born from the

[54] Towne met Ellen Murray in New Port, Rhode Island where they met. Murray joined Towne on St. Helena in June 1862. Murray remained on the island until her death in 1908, Ellen Murray's Story labeled "Miss Murray's Handwriting" in the Edith Dabbs Papers, box 2, South Caroliniana Library, Columbia, South Carolina.

Coventry area. In 1833, she died shortly after giving birth to her youngest daughter. Towne was only seven when mother died.[55]

John moved his family to Boston where he accepted a position as superintendent of Gas Works. They lived in Boston until 1840 then moved back to Philadelphia. He died in 1851 in Jenkintown, Pennsylvania when Laura was 26 years old. By the time of John's death, he was hailed as one of Philadelphia's noble citizens. John Henry, Laura's oldest sibling, followed in her father's footsteps. John Henry was well-known as an engineer whose magnanimous generosity benefited many in New England and supported Towne after she started Penn School.[56]

Towne was from a family of abolitionists whose antislavery interests were nurtured by Reverend William Henry Furness who was pastor of the First Unitarian Church of Philadelphia. New Englanders recognized him for his strong antislavery positions akin to Reverend Lloyd Garrison's abolition doctrine.[57] Although, many in Philadelphia rejected his teachings; Furness' eloquent sermons convinced Towne that

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[55] Holland, R. S. (1912, Original Publication Date). *Letters and diary of Laura M. Towne: Written from the Sea Islands of South Carolina, 1862 – 1884.* Whitefish, Montana: Kessinger Publishing, LLC, preface

[56] Holland, R. S. (1912, Original Publication Date). *Letters and diary of Laura M. Towne: Written from the Sea Islands of South Carolina, 1862 – 1884.* Whitefish, Montana: Kessinger Publishing, LLC., preface; Butchart, R. (2010). Laura Towne and Ellen Murray: Northern Expatriates and the Foundation of Black Education in South Carolina, 1862 – 1908, (pp. 12 – 27). In *South Carolina Women: Their Lives and Times,* Volume 2 M. J. Spruill, V. W. Littlefield, & J. M. Johnson (Eds.). Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, pp.16-17.

[57] Furness, H.H. (ed.). (1910, Original Publication Date). Records of a lifelong friendship, 1807-1882: Ralph Waldo Emerson and William Henry Furness. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company.

slavery was morally and socially wrong, but Towne's zeal for social equality for Negroes matched her profound interest in medicine.[58]

In the early 1850's, she studied under the tutelage of Dr. Constantine Herring, a homeopathic medicine physician who founded several homeopathic schools in Philadelphia.[59] Towne attended the Female Medical College of Pennsylvania where she focused on homeopathy. Additionally, she completed advanced studies in philosophy, music, science, and the classics.[60] As the tension between the North and South grew, Towne ventured into the field of education and taught grammar rudiments to impoverished children in "charity" schools in New Port, Rhode Island.[61] While there, she embarked upon a lifelong friendship with Ellen Murray, her dearest confidant. She was living in Rhode Island sewing uniforms for Union soldiers when the opportunity to engage in a work with much greater purpose and intensity presented.[62] This was her

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[58] Philadelphia History, *Reverend William Henry Furness: A Philadelphia Unitarian*, www.phillyhistory.org

[59] Wolfe, K. (1997). Laura M. Towne and the freed people of South Carolina, 1862 – 1901. *South Carolina Historical Magazine, 98*(4), 375-405; http://www.wholehealthnow.com/homeopathy_info/constantine_hering.html

[60] Butchart, R. (2010). Laura Towne and Ellen Murray: Northern Expatriates and the Foundation of Black Education in South Carolina, 1862 – 1908, (pp. 12 – 27). In *South Carolina Women: Their Lives and Times*, Volume 2 M. J. Spruill, V. W. Littlefield, & J. M. Johnson (Eds.). Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, pp.17-18.

[61] Rose, W. L. (1997). Laura M. Towne. In E. James (Series Ed.), *Notable American Women, 1607 – 1960: A Biographical Dictionary: Vol 3. P – Z* (pp. 472-474). Massachusetts: Harvard University Press; Wolfe, K. (1997). Laura M. Towne and the freed people of South Carolina, 1862 – 1901. *South Carolina Historical Magazine, 98*(4), pp. 378- 379.

[62] Ibid.; Ibid, 379

chance to pair homeopathic medicine with abolitionism, but her attempt to work in a New England hospital setting was met with much resistance to female doctors.[63]

The Port Royal Experiment started with the battle of Port Royal, where Union forces barricaded the Port Royal sound and forced Confederate soldiers inland. Port Royal was a town on the coast of Beaufort, South Carolina, north of Savannah, Georgia, but south of Charleston, South Carolina. The Port Royal Experiment was a pilot test for reconstruction to assess capabilities of freed slaves. Union troops occupied Beaufort, Port Royal, and the Sea Islands of South Carolina in vast numbers, forcing plantation owners to retreat inland to confederate areas but leaving behind 8,000 slaves. Negroes stayed behind among acres of cotton, a lucrative commodity for plantation owners. The war started without official emancipation of slaves, but it suspended slavery until December 31, 1862; the official emancipation date was January 1, 1863. For Negroes, this created an awkward dilemma. Federal authorities could seize the islanders; thus, the term contraband was coined to label Negro islanders in the immediate period after the battle of Port Royal but prior to emancipation.[64]

The United States treasury department's primary interest was in cotton crops and prevention of mass chaos on plantations. Lack of funds to support the experiment presented a major obstacle. Thus, Secretary of Treasury, Salmon Chase, partnered with benevolent societies to supervise cotton crops and educate native islanders. Edward

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[63] Wolfe, K. (1997). Laura M. Towne and the freed people of South Carolina, 1862 – 1901. *South Carolina Historical Magazine, 98*(4), 375-405.

[64] Botume, E. (1893). *First days amongst the contrabands*. Boston: Lee and Shepard Publishers; Rose, W. L. (1964). *Rehearsal for Reconstruction: The Port Royal Experiment.* Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press; Ochiai, A. (2001). The Port Royal Experiment revisited: Northern visions of reconstruction and the land question. *The New England Quarterly, 74*(1), 94 – 117.

Peirce, an abolitionist, Boston lawyer, and one of the lead coordinators of the Port Royal Experiment, organized the philanthropic groups. He was instrumental in arranging the experiment initially. The treasury department financed transportation to the Sea Islands and small rations of food, but the Experiment's maintenance fell on the shoulders of Northern philanthropists and abolitionists.[65] In March and April of 1862, the first of many teachers and overseers sailed to the Sea Islands to volunteer. Their shared goal was to teach the natives, once enslaved islanders, to think, organize communities, build homes, manage crops, and demonstrate moral convictions. In later years, historians would deem "Port Royal as the official laboratory for testing the freedmen's qualifications for freedom."[66] Towne's opportunity was realized when the Port Royal Relief Committee of Philadelphia sent her notice to teach the freed slaves on the Sea Islands of South Carolina "habits of self-support" and methods to "elevate their moral and social condition."[67]

> Upon the subject of education, not presuming to dictate any plan or system respecting it, I can only say that I view it as the most important subject, which we as a people can be engaged in. Abraham Lincoln, March 9, 1832

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[65] Ochiai, A. (2001). The Port Royal Experiment revisited: Northern visions of reconstruction and the land question.

The New England Quarterly, 74(1), 94 – 117.

[66] Rose, W. L. (1964). *Rehearsal for Reconstruction: The Port Royal Experiment.* Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press., p. 336.

[67] Hiram Barney to Laura M. Towne, Apr. 3, 1862, Custom House, New York, Penn School Papers, Edith Dabbs Collection, Southern Historic Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill; *Circular of the Port Royal Relief Committee*, March 17, 1863, Papers of Arthur Sumner, Vol. 4, Edith Dabbs Collection, Southern Historic Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

In Her Own Words

Nothing could excuse me from leaving home with work undone there other than doing more and better work here [St. Helena]. I set myself a hard task. I did not know what lay ahead, but I knew I would be one who would "agitate."[68] The anticipated day arrived. I was 36 years old when I boarded the *Oriental* and sailed to the Sea Islands of South Carolina. There, I stood on the docks of Hilton Head Island, somewhere between the Atlantic Ocean, tidal rivers, and oak trees gracefully shrouded with Spanish moss.[69] The climate was splendid. The wind blew freshly nearly all day and the tide rose over sandy, grassy flats on three sides of the house. At low tide, the Negro children were crabbing with tubs on their heads. The streets were full of the oddest Negro children, dirty, and ragged, but I should say, quite as intelligent as the Irish children.[70] My destination was St. Helena, which was North of Hilton Head. St. Helena enclosed fifty-six square miles and supported six to eight thousand inhabitants most of whom were Negroes who were born well before 1861. Once I arrived in Beaufort, I visited Mrs. John Forbes's home, formerly Mr. Fripp's house, which needed much repair.[71] I was one of the first teachers from Pennsylvania to arrive on the Sea Islands. Later in June, Ellen

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[68] Holland (1912), *Letters and Diary of Laura Towne*, April 17, 1862

[69] Towne, (1901), *Pioneer Work on the Sea Islands*. Hampton, Virginia: Hampton Institute Press.

[70] Holland (1912), *Letters and Diary of Laura Towne*, April 16, 1862.

[71] Ibid., April 17, 1862; the Forbes were Northern missionaries who lived in a former plantation owner's home. Missionaries and overseers lived in former plantation owners' homes once the Experiment started.

joined me.[72] One of my greatest concerns was the perceptions that natives would have for a white woman, so I made my first task that of visiting homes. We found the older ones [Negroes] worn down with hard work and very ignorant. They counted in this fashion: one, two, five, eight, ten. Further, they knew nothing.[73] Their cabins were board framed, fashioned with clapboard, small windows, and shutters. Brick, mud, and sticks formed chimneys. Sand and lime were materials used for floors that were beaten and worn in hollows. Each cabin contained two or three bunks for grown people, but the children slept on heaps of filthy rags on the floor with a blanket cover. Large cracks in the door frames were ineffective in keeping outside temperatures from setting in. Most of the homes had one pot used to cook hominy or peas. In some cases, homes had frying pans.[74]

Contrary to the climate, the social scene was tense. St. Helena slaves were considered the very lowest slaves in South Carolina. They were ruled by black "drivers" who were accountable to plantation owners. It is not doubtful that years of subjection to harsh slave codes that were meant to bear physical punishment had psychologically influenced their behavior.[75] The walk through the town was so painful, not only from the desertion and desolation, but more than that from the crowd of soldiers lounging, idling,

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[72] Towne, (1901), *Pioneer Work on the Sea Islands*, Hampton, Virginia: Hampton Institute Press.

[73] Ibid., 5

[74] Ibid., *9*

[75] Rose, W. L. (1964). *Rehearsal for Reconstruction: The Port Royal Experiment.* Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, pp. 128-129, Willie Lee Rose noted "childish" behavior among native blacks was often mistaken for apathy, dependence, and lack of initiative.

growing desperate for amusement and occupation, till they resorted to brutality for excitement. I saw a soldier beating a horse so that I think it possible he killed him…others stared and looked unfriendly. Others gave us a civil military salute.[76] Twenty-thousand soldiers surrounded us. Gunboats were stationed on all sides.[77] There were times we heard heavy firing before sunrise. At least two gunboats were stationed at the "mouth" of our creek. Most of the time, I had the guns loaded.[78] We had to be prepared to fire at a moment's notice. Our readiness to respond was tested in early June, 1862. There was an attempt made to pass the pickets at Port Royal Ferry. A flat was seen coming in our direction. Our pickets challenged it. Then, fifty men rose up in the boat and fired into the guards, killing four of them. We shouldered our guns to assist the scouting parties.[79]

The war contributed to the lack of organization and communication. Chaos ensued from the time we arrived. When I said something to Mr. Pierce about not wishing to interfere with the system, he answered, "Oh, Miss Towne, we have no systems here."[80] General W.T. Sherman issued a decree to render organization to the experiment. He wrote:

> …The country in occupation of the forces of this command will be divided off into districts of convenient size for proper superintendence. For each

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[77] Holland (1912), *Letters and Diary of Laura Towne*, June 13, 1862.

[78] Ibid., August 15, 1862.

[79] Ibid., June 7, 1862; Rose, W. L. (1964). *Rehearsal for Reconstruction: The Port Royal Experiment.* Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, p. 181.

[80] Ibid., April 18, 1862; Ochiai, A. (2001). The Port Royal Experiment revisited: Northern visions of reconstruction and the land question. The New England Quarterly, 74(1), 94 – 117.

> of these districts a suitable agent will be appointed to superintend the management of the plantations by the blacks; to enroll and organize the willing blacks in working parties; to see that they are well fed, clad, and paid a proper remuneration for their labor; take charge all property on the plantations, whether found there, provided by the government, or raised from the soil, and to perform all other administrative duties connected with the plantations that may be required by the government. A code of regulations on this subject, as well as proper division of districts, will be furnished in due time.[81]

Elizabeth Botume, a Northern teacher at the old fort, noted the system would have two agents, one with supervision of administrative and/or agricultural agents and the other agent over the educational department.[82] By late April, the teachers had not yet started to work and they knew nothing of their destinations. Communication was ineffective too. Mr. Pierce sent us to Mrs. Forbes without an invitation of any kind from her and left us there without knowing her wishes about it. She should not have been set in the middle of this experiment. She did not have a role in the commission and should not have been troubled by its affairs. I felt tense about this arrangement.[83]

Two months after I arrived, I had to interject my position regarding a very unwise decision General Hunter made.[84] The day was known as "Black Day." General Hunter ordered the Negro men to stand as soldiers unprepared in battle thus leaving the women unprotected from former slave owners and dependent upon their own labor to manage

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[81] Botume, E. (1893). *First days amongst the contrabands*. Boston: Lee and Shepard Publishers, p. 17.

[82] Ibid., 16

[83] Ibid., 17

[84] The National Park Service confirmed General David Hunter (1802-1886) was a Union general in the Civil War. Hunter arrived at Hilton Head, South Carolina in March 1862. He was the Commander of the Department of the South and made controversial edicts that prompted tension. Hunter advocated arming blacks as soldiers for the Union cause. He issued General order No. 11, emancipating the slaves in Georgia, South Carolina, and Florida, source: http://www.nps.gov/fopu/historyculture/david-hunter.htm

crops. I thought, how rash is General Hunter to risk the danger of resistance on their part, and how entirely unprotected he leaves us! Besides, he took the laborers from the fields and left the growing crops to waste, for the women alone could not manage all those cotton and corn fields since all the foreman and ploughman had left. Some mentioned their wives and begged in a low tone that care would be provided for them. Two set out to bid good-bye and a soldier followed them. Others sent for their caps and shoes. Without a farewell to their wives, they were marched off unprepared from the field to their uncertain fate. It made my blood boil to see such arbitrary proceedings.[85] It was too late to retrace this step, but the injustice need be carried no further. Mr. Pierce wanted to write full accounts to the war department, but I did not do as he wished –g ave my observations of the day's scene until I knew that General Hunter was not trying for freedom.[86]

I worked as Mr. Pierce's clerk. I stayed up many nights scribbling for Secretary Chase's benefit to the neglect of my own family.[87] The chaos created unrelenting work

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[85]From the outset, the secretary of the Treasury Department, Salmon Chase, lacked resources, personnel, and funds to support the experiment. He knew education was the primary focus, but more was needed–plantation supervisors, nurses, and doctors who would volunteer their time. Chase turned to his friend, Edward Peirce, who was an abolitionist well connected in New England.[85] Peirce solicited help from benevolent societies in New York, Boston, and Philadelphia to undertake the work. Peirce persuaded Chase to grant benevolent societies of New England passes to supervise and reside in the Union occupied areas on the Sea Islands for the purposes of educating and supervising the native islanders. Chase agreed, but his limited resources only resulted in transportation for approved volunteers and meager military rations referenced in Akiko Ochiai (2011). The Port Royal experiment revisited: Northern visions of reconstruction and the land question, *The New England Quarterly,* 74(1).

[85] Holland (1912), *Diary and Letters of Laura Towne,* May 12, 1862.

[86] Ibid.

[87] Ibid.

schedules. Abolition work complemented other duties. I was a "doctress," housekeeper, teacher, distributer, and advisor. I continued to "doctor" islanders, soldiers, and missionaries. There were nights that I sat with the sick, left the sick in the morning, taught school in the morning, and finished the day with more "doctoring." In between, I distributed goods, usually sugar, hominy, and pork to the natives.[88] If Captain Hooper, Mr. Pierce's replacement and plantation overseer, had to go to Beaufort by the early ferry, we had to get up by six; but if he did not, we lie until after eight. After breakfast, I fed my three mocking birds, then went to the Boston store or the cotton-house, and packed boxes to go off to plantations, or clear up the store. Ellen always went to the stores when I did and worked with me. At about eleven or twelve, I came in, washed, slept, and ate lunch whenever my nap was out. In the afternoons, I wrote while Ellen had her school, for I did not help her in it, but so many folks came for clothing, or on business, or to be doctored, that I rarely had an hour. I visited one or two plantations daily. My district covered five to six plantations. About sundown, Ellen and I, walked down the little Negro street, or "the hill," as they called it, to attend my patients. About 6:00 pm, I went home, ran up the flag, and the men came for their guns. They drilled an hour or so. We ate dinner around 8:00 pm.[89] After dinner, we sat a while and talked in the parlor.

When Ellen and I arrived on the island, the Negroes had some knowledge of religion from their former slave ministers. They scarcely understood the glory of the blessed Gospel of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ. They clung undoubting love to the

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[88] Stevenson, R. (ed.). (1998). *The journals of Charlotte Forten Grimke'*. New York: Oxford University, p. 146; Holland (1912), *Letters and Diary of Laura Towne*, September 1 & 24, 1863.

[89] Holland (1912), *Letters and Diary of Laura Towne*, August 25, & July 17, 1862

dear Lord, who had been scourged as they had been, who had died in suffering, who was living that they might live in happiness with Him. They did not know where or when He had been born or had died, a few fragments of words, the story of His death, were all they knew about Him. But, they loved Him.[90] They learned patience and forgiveness from Him and were thus ready for the freedom He gave them. They crowded the school, eager to learn to read the bible.[91]

The school opened officially in a local Baptist Church on September 22, 1862.[92] However, by July, 1862, Ellen had a fine afternoon school and she was doing remarkably well with it. In addition, Ellen had two Sunday school classes; one was at the church. I helped with Sunday school and had a class of thirty-six or so at the church.[93] We started with very humble and meager beginnings. The church was sturdy, with a brick frame, hence its name, Brick Baptist Church. The one-room, spacious building stood tall with a balcony for extra seating. Forty-one students christened the school. Unceasing recitals of restless children proved difficult. Ellen taught the advanced students and I taught the lower level students.

I often frequented local prayer houses and witnessed "shouts," a phenomenon where individuals marched around in circles and shouted various expressions. I witnessed so many shouts that I began assigning grades to them. Initially, I thought the

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[90] Murray, E. (1902, January). The Penn Normal, Industrial, and Agricultural School, St. Helena, S.C. Atlanta, GA: *Spellman Messenger*.

[91] Ibid.

[92] Towne, (1901), *Pioneer Work on the Sea Islands*. Hampton, Virginia: Hampton Institute Press.

[93] Holland, R.S. (1912). *Letters and Diary of Laura Towne*, July 17, 1862.

practice was barbaric, but once I learned the culture, I acknowledged distinction in their "shout." I even used the praise houses for prayer. When a special order came from General Hunter in May, 1862, to send every able-bodied Negro down to Hilton Head, we were depressed. Old Marcus asked Dagus to pray, Miss Nelly read, and then we all sang.[94] They thanked us for praying with them so feelingly. I shook hands with nearly all who showed gentle gratitude to us. I could not help crying when Marcus was speaking to think how soon the darkness was to close around them.[95]

Securing enough resources was always a challenge. Fortunately, the Pennsylvania Freedmen's Relief Association (PFRA) initially provided clothes, foods, educational supplies, farming goods, planting seeds, and other personal items for the natives. During the early months, I had to distribute these goods to the islanders in my district. Boxes of clothes were often splendid and I had the pleasure of sharing out a suit to the poorest of the mudderless. I learned I had to be early to speak for my boxes.[96] Elizabeth Botume shared her frustration after a similar occurrence where boxes were taken to plantations for which they were not intended.

> The Freedman's Aid Society of Boston was constantly forwarding supplies to different posts where schools were established. But in our unsettled condition, it was extremely difficult to get hold of the things intended for, and sent to us. Innumerable boxes and bundles, big and little, went astray. How many hours and days of patient watching and waiting we have spent looking for the things we knew had been sent, but never came.[97]

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[94] Dagus was a native Sea Islander

[95] Holland, R.S. (1912). *Letters and Diary of Laura Towne*, May 12, 1862.

[96] Ibid., April 12, 1868.

[97] Botume, E. (1893). *First days amongst the contrabands*. Boston: Lee and Shepard Publishers, p. 70.

From time to time, I waited for boxes to arrive. I remember one of our first shipments of goods that arrived in May, 1862, from the Philadelphia consignment. It arrived too late for the natives who already had corn and splendid bacon.[98] On September 24, 1862, I wrote J.M. McKim: "Our School has been opened three days, and we had today seventy-one scholars. Tomorrow we expect a hundred. We want books immediately and slates to teach writing."[99]

The PFRA was most notably responsible for the first school building. The school started in Brick Baptist Church.[100] As tension between me and Brick Baptist Church leadership grew, I talked to General Saxton about getting a schoolhouse at a different location for my pupils. As I waited with great anticipation for my school, I wondered how happy we shall be, nobody can tell who has not taught in a school where he or she had to make herself heard over three other classes.[101] General Saxton came through for us and the church leadership could not remove the school from their church. He promised that neither I, nor the school, would move out of the church under his command. General Rufus Saxton was a military governor for the Sea Islands. He was

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[98] Holland (1912), *Diary and Letters of Laura Towne,* May 23, 1862.

[99] Towne to J.M. McKim, September 24, 1862, McKim Papers; the McKim's were Towne's Northern friends associated with the Philadelphia Commission; Penn School Papers, Edith Dabbs Collection, Southern Historic Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

[100] General Rufus Saxton to L. Towne, October 26, 1863, Penn School Papers, Edith Dabbs Collection, Southern Historic Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill; Holland (1912), *Diary and Letters of Laura Towne,* February 1, 1863; Holland (1912), *Diary and Letters of Laura Towne,* March 14, 1864.

[101] Towne, L. to her sisters, December 18, 1864, Penn School Papers, Edith Dabbs Collection, Southern Historic Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

one of our best and truest men.[102] General Saxton visited us as often as time permitted. We discussed various and sundry topics. General Saxton was criticized for his preference to collaborate frequently with those missionaries who had superior political influence and gave too much advice and complained freely.[103] Our relationship was two-fold. I offered advice when land sales in February, 1863, did not favor the freedmen. I suggested that he stop the sales and General Saxton convinced General Hunter to cease land sales. General Hunter stopped the sales as a military necessity.[104] General Saxton's commitment to the cause was evident in his actions. The army soldiers criticized General Saxton for taking up Nigger business.[105]

Peirce's law practice and lack of continued interest in volunteering his services convinced him to leave the island. My best encouragement bidding him to stay was futile. I was saddened to see Mr. Peirce leave the islands. Nonetheless, while Pierce was with us he transported us to different plantations as often as he could so we could talk to the Negroes and make them content. I was Mr. Peirce's clerk. In return, he informed us of the various battle situations and other business on the islands. After Mr. Peirce left

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[102] Towne Letter to Rosie, February 7, 1864; General Rufus Saxton Letter to Towne, October 26, 1863, Penn School Papers, Edith Dabbs Collection, Southern Historic Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, In 1862, Secretary of War, Edwin Stanton, appointed General Rufus Saxton as the military governor of the Department of the South, which meant the Sea Islands. Saxton was from Massachusetts, source: Ochiai, A. (2001). The Port Royal Experiment revisited: Northern visions of reconstruction and the land question. The New England Quarterly, 74(1), 94 – 117.

[103] Rose, W. L. (1964). *Rehearsal for Reconstruction: The Port Royal Experiment.* Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, p. 180.

[104] Holland (1912), *Diary and Letters of Laura Towne*, February 1, 1863; Rose, 1964, *Rehearsal for Reconstruction*, pp. 202-203, 207, 211-212

[105] Rose, W. L. (1964). *Rehearsal for Reconstruction: The Port Royal Experiment.* Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press. p. 169

Oaks plantation, Captain Hooper assumed Pierce's role. We worked harmoniously to manage the plantation. Captain Hooper gleaned much from Peirce's experiences on Sea Island with both the military and management of plantations.[106] I held his ear most mornings and evenings over breakfast and dinner. He listened to my daily complaints and observations about the islanders, and I listened to his insights about the war and local political affairs. Our discussions matured into a strong working relationship.[107]

General David Hunter was an influential Union official whom I had the pleasure of knowing. In fact, General Hunter had the Negroes' best interests at heart. On May 12, 1862, when General Hunter gave what seemed to be an unjust order forcing the able-bodied, unprepared Negroes to become soldiers, I trusted his wisdom. I told the Negro men General Hunter was their friend, and they had to go obediently as ordered, as we should if we were ordered, and should be trustful and hopeful. This might have been a test to see if the Negroes were cowards or why they did not eagerly take the chance of becoming self-defenders.[108]

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[106] Ibid. 178

[107] Towne Letter to Tadie, Rosie, and Kitty, August 26, 1862, Penn School Papers, Edith Dabbs Collection, Southern Historic Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill ; Holland (1912), *Diary and Letters of Laura Towne*, October 10 & 16, 1862, September 8, 1863, & April 28, 1862, Captain Edward W. Hooper (1839-1901) served with Gen. Rufus Saxton on the Sea Islands for the Port Royal Experiment. Hooper was one of the Sea Island overseers, source: Captain Edward Hooper to Henry Foote, February 23, 1863, Folder 1a in the Penn School Papers, #3615, Southern Historical Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

[108] Holland (1912), *Diary and Letters of Laura Towne*, May 13, 1862.

On another note, our school enrollment grew steadily. By January, 1863, the number of students increased to 150.[109] I must admit, the first days among my pupils were taxing. I wrote a friend and expressed:

> How happy we shall be nobody can tell who has not taught in a school where he or she had to make herself heard over three other classes reciting in concert, and to discover talkers and idlers…while one hundred and fifty more are shouting lessons, and three other teachers bawling admonitions, instructions, and reproofs. Generally two or more of the babies are squalling….after five hours foodless on very small and tippy laps generally, the youths had to bring their tiniest brothers and sisters to school while their parents worked in the fields.[110]

Initially, the school was void of blackboards, slates, and paper. Still, I was not deterred in my endeavors. By December 1863, we had already amassed enough pupils to demonstrate an earnest inquiry to learn. Ellen and I taught an after school class. All students studied the bible from the time they entered school until graduation. Ellen's classes enjoyed instruction in first aid, nursing, and sanitation. The children were able to read United States history. In Ellen's advanced classes, her students could write compositions.[111] She was the trained and experienced teacher for both of us. She brought clarity and structure. Ellen's dear sisters, Fanny and Harriet, came and assisted with instruction among other duties. Prior to coming to this work, I thought my primary

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[109] Towne, (1901), *Pioneer Work on the Sea Islands*, Hampton, Virginia: Hampton Institute Press., pp. 6-7; Murray, E. (1902, January). The Penn Normal, Industrial, and Agricultural School, St. Helena, S.C. Atlanta, GA: *Spellman Messenger;* Stevenson, R. (ed.). (1998). *The journals of Charlotte Forten Grimke'*. New York: Oxford University, pp. 399-400.

[110] Towne Letter to Rosie, Dec 18, 1864, Penn School Papers, Edith Dabbs Collection, Southern Historic Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill; Holland (1912), *Letters and Diary of Laura Towne*, March 25, 1864; Towne, Pioneer Work on the Sea Islands. Hampton, Virginia: Hampton Institute Press, p. 4.

[111] Dabbs, E. (1964). *Walking tall.* Frogmore, South Carolina: Penn Community Services, Inc.

interest was doctoring. Ironically, my frustration and inundation with "doctoring" shifted more of my efforts to teaching. My first few months of teaching were horrible. Students had no idea of sitting still, of giving attention, of ceasing to talk aloud. They lay down and went to sleep, they scuffled, and struck each other. They got up by the dozen, made their curtsies, and walked off to the neighboring field for blackberries, coming back to their seats with a curtsey when they were ready. They evidently did not understand me, and I could not understand them, and after two hours and a half of effort I was thoroughly exhausted.[112]

Nonetheless, I remained on the island. I supervised the other plantation schools, wrote letters, managed business aspects of the school, and taught. The smaller primary schools were feeder schools for Penn. Ellen's program contained classic New England education: South Carolina history, United States history, Old Testament, mathematics, geography, writing, reading, Latin, and moral character through temperance bands. Ellen wrote out an entire plan in a composition book that included requirements for students and teachers. She even covered content for specific subjects. For example, topics for instruction of United States history were approximately seven pages. The Old Testament subject contained 10 pages of topics that content teachers were required to teach. Students were required to know the Old Testament history according to each book. Ellen went as far as writing a Teacher's Prayer for teachers as a guide to their moral compass.

> Jesus, teacher of Thy people; Shepherd of Thy sheep; Teach me how in patient loving; these dear lambs to keep. Never careless, never cold. Let me guide them to Thy fold.

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[112] Towne, (1901), *Pioneer Work on the Sea Islands*, Hampton, Virginia: Hampton Institute Press.

> Jesus, teacher of Thy people; if a child has caught from my lips one truth for guidance; one unselfish thought; one resolve seek Thy face. Lord, I bless Thee for the grace.
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> Jesus, teacher of Thy people, on the mountains high, where the feet of those made perfect, come Thy glory nigh. Gather, Lord, these lambs of mine, make them, keep them wholly Thine.[113]
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> Students had to be proficient in long division and read easily the third reader.[114]

We taught our pupils George Washington's biography and parts of the English language. Our students even learned about the Haitian hero, Toussaint L.'Ouverture, a former slave. They learned patriotism through reciting *My Country Tis of Thee*. Ellen's uncle, Dr. LeBaron Botsfield, was impressed with the speed at which children learned. Former students often worked as assistant teachers.[115]

Often, I taught Sunday school. Various topics were the core of my Sunday school instruction. I spoke of Christ's love for children and how He would take them to Heaven if they were kind to each other. I had about 25 students in my class. I taught them letters and a card of words.[116] I attended worship services at Brick Baptist Church and provided

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[113] Murray, E. (N.D.). *A Teacher's Prayer,* Penn School Papers, Edith Dabbs Collection, Southern Historic Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

[114] Miss Murray's Program. (N.D.). Penn School Papers, Edith Dabbs Collection, Southern Historic Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill; "Third Reader" was a form of textbook for reading instruction. The lead developers were Marcius Willson and William Holmes McGuffey. The third reader included biblical stories to teaching reading to primary school students, Butchart, R. (2010). *Schooling the freed people: Teaching, learning, and the struggle for black freedom, 1861-1876.* Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, p. 126, http://www.moorehomeschool.com/moore-books/moore-mcguffey-readers-third-reader/

[115] Towne, The Pennsylvania Freedmen's Bulletin, 1865, pp. 65-66 Penn School Papers, Edith Dabbs Collection, Southern Historic Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

[116] Holland (1912), *Letters and Diary of Laura Towne*, May 4, 1862.

leadership instruction for their men. In fact, my differences with the Brick Baptist Church leadership strained the relationship and was an impetus for placement of the school in a different building.[117] Ellen, a Baptist, had imparted no ill feelings toward me, nor I her. Our religious differences were similar enough to bare no tension regarding our religious philosophies for the school.[118]

Moreover, I was dedicated to my faith. I owe much of my Unitarian beliefs to Reverend William Henry Furness, whose stern anti-slavery doctrine stirred my abolition spirit. In an address to the members and friends of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society in 1849, Reverend Furness implored:

> I say therefore that abolitionism with whatever imperfections and infirmities it may be connected is the embodiment and expression of a higher will than man's. It lies not on your will that you are abolitionists. You must need be so, you cannot help it. You have not chosen this truth but the truth has chosen you and ordained you so that ye should go and bring forth such fruits as ye have produced and are producing.[119]

His words convicted me morally and I could not justify maintenance of slave owner-practices. The archaic and barbaric practices that slavery condoned – whipping, sodomy, and rape could not be justified for any reason. These routine acts of brutality swayed me

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[117] Rose, W. L. (1997). Laura M. Towne. In E. James (Series Ed.), *Notable American Women, 1607–1960: A Biographical Dictionary: Vol 3. P – Z* (pp. 472-474). Massachusetts: Harvard University Press; Holland (1912), *Letters and Diary of Laura Towne*, March 14, 1864.

[118] Rose, W. L. (1997). Laura M. Towne. In E. James (Series Ed.), *Notable American Women, 1607–1960: A Biographical Dictionary: Vol 3. P – Z* (pp. 472-474). Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

[119] Reverend William Furness, In an address to the members and friends of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society in 1849, p. 4; Generations of slavery had taught the Negroes to avoid whipping, separation, other forms of humiliation, and even tortuous death - see Rose, W. L. (1964). *Rehearsal for Reconstruction: The Port Royal Experiment.* Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, pp. 127-131.

and Ellen that corporal punishment of any kind could not be part of the school's practices. We preferred "moral suasion." Our temperance band society stemmed from our belief that Negroes had an inclination to do what was right and descent if taught to do so.[120] I even relied on his support during the dark days of reconstruction. In 1877, after I wrote my resolutions to exempt St. Helena from a new state law, I wrote Reverend Furness. He responded promptly with such cheering. His letter denounced exactly what I wanted to denounce. It rated southerners as I wanted them rated. It advocated just what I wanted advocated and altogether it was intensely satisfactory and consoling. It was so good to find one person with the right views and to think there might be more of the same mind.[121]

January, 1865, dawned a new year and new school building. In 1864, the PFRA sent, in three parts, a prefabricated building. We waited anxiously as finishing touches on our new school were being delicately placed. It was not ready for class until January 26th, but we marked January 25th as our last day of holding classes in the church where four classes went on simultaneously at the highest pitch of their lungs, which made confusion worse confounded.[122] We moved out of the church in January1865. Once our school was ready for occupancy, I placed my energy in the purchase of a school bell. The discussion of a school bell was an important one. Harriet Ware, a missionary on one of the island plantations, bought a bell for her school, which weighed 25 pounds. Many of the islanders could hear its exquisite ring, but it was smaller than mine. We needed a

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[120] Murray, E. (1902, January). The Penn Normal, Industrial, and Agricultural School, St. Helena, S.C. Atlanta, GA: *Spellman Messenger*

[121] Holland (1912), *Letters and Diary of Laura Towne*, August 19, 1877.

[122] Ibid., December 25, 1864 & January 8, 1865.

50-pound bell because we had students on five or six plantations, so the bell had to resound over three miles.[123] We installed a rather large school bell on the pinnacle of the building to symbolize New England education and to honor William Penn, founder of Pennsylvania, planner of Philadelphia, and developer of Philadelphia.[124] The typical school year started November 1st.[125] The school year ended in June.[126] Closing of school was the event of the year to hundreds on the island as well as to us. Mr. Collins, our Senator from Beaufort, Mr. Wheeler, school commissioner, and Mr. Thomas, editor, attended the services in the church. All expressed extreme astonishment at the advancement of the scholars and Mr. Wheeler said he thought there was no such advanced school in the state, outside of Charleston. Mr. Collins said it was no wonder Beaufort County was going ahead of any other in the state, when it had such a school.[127] In addition to many successes in 1865, the PFRA appointed me superintendent of all of its schools.

From the outset, maintaining adequate funds and other resources was a struggle. After the war, Northern sympathy for black education waned. I remember a particular instance in March, 1867, when I had to feed the old people, but my salary did not come in until May.[128] But, my one insistence was stipends for my teachers and assistants. The

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[123] Ibid., January 8, 1865.

[124] Soderlund, J. (1983). *William Penn and the founding of Pennsylvania 1680-1684*: A documentary history. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

[125] Holland (1912), *Letters and Diary of Laura Towne*, July 5, 1875.

[126] Ibid., April 29, 1877

[127] Ibid., June 22, 1879

[128] Ibid., March 27, 1867

Benezet Society of Germantown, Pennsylvania, funded teachers' salaries from 1871-1877.[129] They agreed to one year only, but Ellen and I convinced them otherwise.[130] By July 5, 1875, I had to write Mr. Cope to say the fund was nearly at an end, and my brother had so liberally provided for me, I could no longer take a salary, but reserved it for the other teachers so that the school may go on for a year or two longer.[131] Mr. Cope answered saying he knew I took great pleasure in this arrangement as I enjoyed being a volunteer teacher so much, and apparently, he was very glad to have the fund spun out longer. Ellen was, of course, pleased at the prospect of continuance, and I thanked Henry Towne more for this than any other thing I could get with his money, that is, for being able to live here, keep up this home, to feel sure of Ellen's staying, and of the school not being turned over to some teacher I could not agree with or to some set of trustees who would do exactly what we would not like.[132] He informed me that the Washington house would soon be sold and asked what he and Mr.Wright, both were trustees, should do with the money. I wrote him and begged him to take charge of it as they have the Benezet Fund, and let me draw upon them when I needed to pay off. In April, 1873, the money

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[129] Towne, L. Correspondences from Towne to Cope. Penn School Papers, Edith Dabbs Collection, Southern Historic Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

[130] Rose, W. L. (1997). Laura M. Towne. In E. James (Series Ed.), *Notable American Women, 1607 – 1960: A Biographical Dictionary: Vol 3. P – Z* (pp. 472-474). Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

[131] Francis Cope raised money for Penn School through the Benezet Society of Germantown, Pennsylvania, source: Tetzlaff, M.M. (1997, March). The Penn School, the Penn Center, and Friends. *Friends Journal*, 16-19.

[132] Holland (1912), *Letters and Diary of Laura Towne*, July 5, 1875.

was coming in monthly, but I always wrote to draw it.[133] I wrote my dearest Nell on February 23, 1885, to inform her that her account of money from the Towne Fund agreed exactly with mine.[134] I kept immaculate accounting records. I issued statements to our sponsors, recorded income from various supporters, and outlined how and when I expended money. In 1884, we spent an average of $50 monthly on each teacher's salary. Funds came from the Benezet Society and the Towne Fund.[135]

We soon opened a library. A dear friend, Alice, felt charging students to check-out books would cut them off from books about half the time. At some seasons of the year, they live without money. The use of this library was not so much to furnish food for an appetite as it was to create an appetite for the food, and the slightest penalty attached to the use of books would greatly discourage the appetite. But, of course there had to be rules and fines for infringement. I loaned some books and no one could keep one book longer than a week. Students had to return the book clean or not get another. They have been returned with scrupulous exactness but only our nicest boys have borrowed them. It took a long time before the library was up and running. I had to make a case to go up over the high shelf in my recitation room, so that I can get the books down easily and keep them locked and under my own care.[136]

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[133] Ibid., April 6, 1873.

[134] Towne to Nell, February 23, 1885, Penn School Papers, Edith Dabbs Collection, Southern Historic Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

[135] Towne, L. Financial Statement, July 1, 1885-July 1, 1886, Penn School Papers, Edith Dabbs Collection, Southern Historic Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

[136] Holland (1912), *Letters and Diary of Laura Towne*, October 24 & 26, 1879.

After the war, Northern relief waned and the PFRA officially closed in the 1870's and rendered its funds to the Benezet Society of Germantown. By 1868, we started teacher's training, thus giving us three exit points – primary, high school [started in 1865], and teachers' training. Our school offered the most advanced studies on the island. The South Carolina Department of Education supported several island schools during the 1890's and relied on my graduates to fill teaching positions at black schools in the state.[137] We instituted stringent expectations for our teachers.[138] All teachers had to devote class time to lessons until the last stroke of the bell. They could not engage in any form of corporal punishment but could refer students to the principal for disobedience, misbehavior, and theft. Classrooms had to be tidy. Teachers could not collect or levy monies. They had to teach students to sit still, come in and go out quietly.[139]

Even with our challenges and lackluster days, I have many fond memories of the children, many surrounding religious observances such as Christmas. Christmas of 1872 was especially memorable. We were all at home. On Friday, we kept "School Christmas." It was a pleasant, warm day. Ellen and Fanny went first and prepared the fires.[140] Miss W and I followed. I drove General Saxton in the covered buggy. The children came pouring down the road between the two churches as soon as they caught

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[137] Dabbs, E. (1964). *Walking tall.* Frogmore, South Carolina: Penn Community Services, Inc.

[138] Butchart, R. & Rolleri, A. (2004). Secondary education and emancipation: Secondary schools for freed slaves in the American South, 1862 – 1875. *Paedagogica Historica, 40*(1 & 2), 158 – 181.

[139] Miss Murray's Program. (N.D.). Penn School Papers, Edith Dabbs Collection, Southern Historic Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.

[140] Fanny and Miss W assisted Towne with household duties and other various tasks. Do not mistake Miss W for Miss Ware, who had a school on the island.

sight of General Saxton and such a cavalcade as I had to escort me to the school house with about 50 children…They had a royal good time with cakes, apples, and the candy toys, of which there were plenty for our school and Miss Landon's…We sent some to Miss Winship. [141] After very interesting exercises, we all came home delighted and refreshed. I wouldn't be without a school for all the world![142]

Unfair politics forced me to keep my eyes on events and people who influenced the islanders. A republican party was formed on the island in 1867. The men were excited at this prospect; although, they had misgivings about working with local whites. After a spirited debate and urging, blacks finally acquiesced to inviting other colors to another mass meeting.[143] In church, Demas announced: "A white man, asked the females must stay at home." Mr. Hunn replied: "The females can come or not as they choose, but the meeting is for men voters." These men wanted the women home to cut grass and hoe. I thought it ironic that men held women in higher regard during slavery. They had problems with their wives taking charge of the household and children. But, their freedom brought domestic freedom to rule their wives. Although, they appeared sheepish and even ignorant of political freedom, they embellished in domestic freedom. I noticed several speakers have been here to advise the people to get the women in their proper

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[141] Landon and Winship had schools on other parts of the islands.

[142] Holland (1912), *Letters and Diary of Laura Towne*, January 1, 1873.

[143] Ibid., May 12, 1867.

place. When women get the right to vote, too, no people will be more indignant than these, I suppose.[144]

In 1866, I accompanied my friend, Cornelia Hancock, to Washington, D.C., to plead with the President and Secretary Stanton on behalf of the Freedmen.[145] The decision was made and was not to be over-turned. How could we teach the Negroes to be independent if they could not own a piece of America? While in Washington, a tidbit of information came my way. I was informed that General Saxton, one of our most trusted leaders and advocate for the Negroes, was being removed from his post in South Carolina. With his replacement, we knew Negroes would face extreme difficulty claiming Sea Island land.[146]

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[144] Holland (1912), *Diary and Letters of Laura Towne*, June 1, 1867; Demas was a native islander, Mr. Hunn organized republican meetings on the island. In some instances, he was the only white person at meetings.

[145] Jacquette, Henrietta Stratton (ed.), *South after Gettysburg: Letters of Cornelia Hancock, 1863-1868*. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, pp.191-192, 196; Rose, W. L. (1964). *Rehearsal for Reconstruction: The Port Royal Experiment.* Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, p. 356-357, The Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands Act passed was enacted in March 1865 to assist for one year in the transition from slavery to freedom in the South. Their task was to oversee freedmen schools, coordinate systems of free labor, and intervene in disputes between white landowners and blacks. The following year, President Johnson vetoed the bill. Cornelia Hancock was a nurse during the Civil War and served on the battlefield of Gettysburg. After the war, she joined Laura Towne and soon opened the Laing School in Mount Pleasant, South Carolina, source: Jacquette, Henrietta Stratton (ed.), *South after Gettysburg: Letters of Cornelia Hancock, 1863-1868*. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, Forward and Introduction.

[146] Jacquette, Henrietta Stratton (ed.), *South after Gettysburg: Letters of Cornelia Hancock, 1863-1868*. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, pp.191-192, 196; Holland (1912), *Diary and Letters of Laura Towne*, January 21, 1865.

By July, 1875, I was made trustee of public schools on the islands with many thanks for past services.[147] Our enrollment peaked in the 1870's at 200 students. We had to deny capable applicants. The temperance band started in 1877 to infuse morals into the native islanders. We called it the *St. Helena Band of Hope*. Meetings were scheduled every fortnight.[148] Ellen was president and I vice president. Our students learned temperance songs and dramatizations to deter them from excessive alcohol intake. To further elevate their moral values, Ellen and I taught Sunday school.

Public school education was substandard compared to Penn School. Contributing to my assessment of public schools was the lack of funds allocated for black public schools.[149] Our continuous need for funds seemed to be a reason for some to recommend state control of Penn. Ellen agreed that Penn School, in spite of our perpetual financial instability, would remain under our control. During our existence, Penn remained independent. Samuel Armstrong, president of Hampton Institute, offered a partnership, but his curriculum design focused primarily on vocational training.[150] I maintained liberal education was the premiere model for my students. Armstrong's model was too

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[147] Holland (1912), *Diary and Letters of Laura Towne*, July 5, 1875.

[148] Towne Letter to Francis R. Cope, April 9, 1873; Towne to Cope Brothers, November 12, 1877; Towne to ?, February 20, 1870, Penn School Papers, Edith Dabbs Collection, Southern Historic Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill; Murray, E. (1902, January). The Penn Normal, Industrial, and Agricultural School, St. Helena, S.C. Atlanta, GA: *Spellman Messenger*.

[149] Butchart, R. (2007). Remapping racial boundaries: Teachers as border police and boundary transgressors in post-emancipation Black education, USA, 1861 – 1876. *Paedagogica Historica, 43*(1), 61 – 78, p. 69, Yet, "any literacy is better than no literacy, and anyone with some knowledge can share that much, at least.

[150] Breitborde, M.L. (2011). Discourse, education and women's public culture in the Port Royal Experiment. *American Educational History Journal*, p. 440.

limiting for children whose intellectual capacity paralleled their white counterparts. I understood they needed education and medical treatment, but I was confident they had the aptitude to be productive land-owning citizens who could build and maintain functional communities.[151]

After the war, the reconstruction era brought severe cruelty on blacks. In 1876, South Carolina democrats printed trick ballots for Union Republicans which substituted Wade Hampton, a Democrat, for the Republican gubernatorial candidate.[152] Many voted for Wade Hampton without knowing it, and for no President, thus giving a negative for Rutherford B. Hayes.[153] During President Hayes's contentious years in the White house, my vigilant eyes saw how white Southerners deployed every trick to get rid of Northerners. They were also after the land. I was especially unhappy with Governor Hampton and his hostile expressions against Negroes, his defamation of black and white Republicans, and mandate to have every Republican ejected until they could substantiate their titles.[154] My vigilant ears heard Hampton's slave-whip cracking.[155] In all of these

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[151] Ibid.

[152] Wolfe, K. (1997). Laura M. Towne and the freed people of South Carolina, 1862 – 1901. *South Carolina Historical Magazine, 98*(4), 375-405, p. 401.

[153] Towne to ?, November 8, 1876, Penn School Papers, Edith Dabbs Collection, Southern Historic Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.

[154] Wolfe, K. (1997). Laura M. Towne and the freed people of South Carolina, 1862 – 1901. *South Carolina Historical Magazine, 98*(4), 375-405, p. 401.

[155] Towne to Rosie, May 6, 1877; Towne to Tadie, April 19, 1877; Towne to Tadie, April 15, 1877, Penn School Papers, Edith Dabbs Collection, Southern Historic Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.

cases, I remained well informed and discussed my positions with friends and others ,like Robert Smalls, whom I met during reconstruction.[156]

In 1877, corrupt South Carolina politics threatened the survival of my school. The state legislature passed a law that banned school districts from levying school taxes, thus preventing a crucial source of revenue for Penn School. This would have limited the number of students we could accept and educate. Having some familiarity with the legislative process, I wrote several resolutions and convinced Senator Sam Green, one of our local senators, to present the resolutions at the school district meeting. I resolved to exempt St. Helena from the new law because all of our residents paid taxes and the only white family on the island favored levying taxes to support Penn. My resolutions passed unanimously. The *Philadelphia Ledger*, *Commonwealth*, the *Nation*, and the *Charleston Journal of Commerce* were among five newspapers that covered the story and published the resolutions I wrote. Passing the resolutions served as a precedent but did not repeal the state law.[157]

During the same year, another law targeting blacks, the convict lease program, resulted in imprisonment for failure to pay the payroll tax. The thought of a man being put in the penitentiary, and sold out of it as a slave for the time of his sentence disturbed

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[156] In 1862, Robert Smalls, a black slave commandeered a Confederate coast steamer, the C.S.S. *Planter* and sailed to a blockading Union fleet, source: http://www.pbs.org/wnet/african-americans-many-rivers-to-cross/history/which-slave-sailed-himself-to-freedom/

[157] Towne to Lu, August 19, 1877; Towne to Rosie, June 17, 1877; Towne to ?, July 15, 1877, Penn School Papers, Edith Dabbs Collection, Southern Historic Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.

me to no end. This was why Mr. Gleaves, Sally Fassitt's connection, fled to Canada.[158] He would, without perhaps even a show of trial or justice, have been condemned to the penitentiary, and from that hired out on a rice plantation, subjected to rules made by three directors, regarding food and clothing. I could not sit back idol while such injustices were afoot.[159] As in previous instances, I wrote a letter to Mr. Gannett who sent my letter to Richard Hallowell.[160] My letter was published in the *Nation* and *Boston Journal*. I sent a memo to the *New York Tribune*; however, the editor made no comments of it. It was very possible that my letter was too "partisan" to be published by the *New York Tribune*, an ardent justifier of President Hayes.[161] As a response was not forthcoming, I resolved that my letter was too strong for such a staunch supporter of President Hayes.[162] When Robert Smalls lost his election due to deceptive politics and tricks in 1878, I was

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[158] Towne mentioned Mr. Gleaves and Sally Fassitt in her diary as she described new laws that precluded black citizenship. Mr. Gleaves was a former slave and Sally Fassitt was a white woman on the Sea Island.

[159] Holland (1912), *Diary and Letters of Laura Towne*, August 19, 1877.

[160] William Channing Gannett was a Unitarian from Boston who the Port Royal Experiment for three years. He had considerable influence on the Sea Islands and in the North. Towne did not specify Gannett's relation to Richard Hallowell, www.lib.rochester.edu/index.cfm?PAGE=1173#ser2

[161] Holland (1912), *Diary and Letters of Laura Towne*, September 9, 1877.

[162] Towne to Lu, August 19, 1877; Hannah B. Evans to Towne, January 25, 1878; Towne to Rosie, September 9, 1877, Penn School Papers, Edith Dabbs Collection, Southern Historic Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill; South Carolina Anti-School Legislation, *The Nation 2*, August 1877, pp.70-71.

outraged. I held Smalls in high esteem for his quick wit and leadership. He brought a member of the British Parliament on an inspection and lunch with me in 1878.[163]

In September 1877, the South Carolina Negro School Commissioners employed Miss Elizabeth Winship and Mary Barber for five months. With their generous support, our school went on swimmingly with Alice's donation and Mrs. Cabot's shove.[164] As was customary, the Benezet sent Christmas gifts. Alice's money from the previous year helped fund a little treat for the children, who grew more anxious as school opening approached.[165] Penn School was a recipient of my father's good fortune. I used money from my dowry and money John Henry left me to support the school.[166] As we Townes' grew older, we had a great propensity to snuggle into retired, homey corners, and forego the world. R. speaks just as if I could afford a jaunt whenever I like. Indeed, I had to stay home and put the journey money into roofs, for we were almost drowned out occasionally.[167]

Eventually, I realized the industrial era was taking hold and we needed to change the direction of the school. Upon my niece's persuasion, I incorporated Penn School in

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[163] French, the Trip of the Steamer Oceanus, pp. 85-86; Towne to ?, October 7, 1877; Towne to ?, November 6, 1878; Towne to ?, November 17, 1878 Penn School Papers, Edith Dabbs Collection, Southern Historic Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill; Williamson, J. (1965). After slavery: The Negro in South Carolina during reconstruction, 1861-1877. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, pp. 377, 416.

[164] Alice and Mrs. Cabot were Northern supporters

[165] Holland (1912), *Diary and Letters of Laura Towne,* September 30, 1877.

[166] Rose, W. L. (1997). Laura M. Towne. In E. James (Series Ed.), *Notable American Women, 1607 – 1960: A Biographical Dictionary: Vol 3. P – Z* (pp. 472-474). Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, p. 473.

[167] Holland (1912), *Diary and Letters of Laura Towne* February 15, 1874.

1900 and asked Dr. Holland Frizzell, from Hampton Institute, to chair the board of trustees. The board found new direction and hired my successors from Hampton Institute to carry out the school's new industrial focus.[168]

Epilogue

Until Towne's death on February 22, 1901, Penn School maintained its liberal arts focus. With new leadership, the school expanded to become Penn Normal, Agricultural, and Industrial School emulating industrial education initiated at Hampton Institute.[169] Through the middle of the 20th century, Penn remained the premiere school on St. Helena Island in spite of geographic isolation. As the South Carolina Department of Education increased its efforts to support schools on St. Helena Island, Penn concentrated on secondary instruction and teachers' training but could not compete with the educational expansion of the Beaufort County school district. Penn relinquished its academic programs to the Beaufort County school district in 1948, but in 1955 emerged as a community center still vital to the St. Helena Community.[170]

Analysis

Background

Towne was among 2,115 Northern white female educators who taught in Southern black schools between 1861 and1876.[171] The question under study was how

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[168] Incorporation Paper, Penn School Papers, Edith Dabbs Collection, Southern Historic Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.

[169] Dabbs, E. (1964). *Walking tall.* Frogmore, South Carolina: Penn Community Services, Inc.

[170] Penn Center History located http://penncenter.com/history

[171] Freedmen's Teacher Project (2009) in Butchart, R. (2010). *Schooling the freed people: Teaching, learning, and the struggle for black freedom*, 1861-1876. Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, p.81.

she and other school founders in this study used various experiences and elements from their backgrounds to found and sustain schools. However, before answering this question, it is important to explore how Towne's background influenced her impetus to teach. Most teachers during the 1861-1876 years were Puritans, Quakers, Unitarians, Congregationalists, Baptists, Methodists, and Catholics. Religious denominations financially supported black schools and maintained autonomy of school decisions.[172] Towne was a Unitarian but an abolitionist whose mission was to offer liberal education to the freedmen thereby elevating the black race to self-sustaining communities.

Towne spent her informal years in Pittsburg and Boston where her father established significant wealth and affluence for his family. Although Towne functioned within the upper stratum socially, Towne and her family were avid abolitionists who sympathized with slaves. Therefore, Towne's abolition beliefs and faith inspired her to teach Southern blacks. Further emphasizing this point was the length of time she educated Southern blacks. She was almost 37 years old when she arrived on the Sea Islands but remained on the islands almost 40 years taking occasional trips North to visit family and friends. Northern white teachers educated on average of 2.6 years. Towne was among an elite few who had the "grit" to remain in the South, but her perseverance was due to abolition and Unitarian beliefs.[173]

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[172] Butchart, R. (2010). *Schooling the freed people: Teaching, learning, and the struggle for black freedom, 1861-1876.* Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, pp. 85-89.

[173] Freedmen's Teacher Project (2009) in Butchart, R. (2010). *Schooling the freed people: Teaching, learning, and the struggle for black freedom, 1861-1876.* Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, p. 90.

Towne's motivation to educate Southern blacks was embedded in her abolition and religious beliefs; however, social capital was essential in maintaining Penn School. Towne imported her social capital to the South and established a network of Union officials upon whom she relied for information, favors, and resources. Towne's ability to communicate with Union soldiers on the Sea Islands, other teachers, local elected officials, and national elected officials with confidence contributed to the success of her school. Assertive communication with Union soldiers and generals, particularly, appeared to have been out of the ordinary for women. Other female teachers ridiculed Towne for "holding the ear" of General Saxton. Towne understood social and military strata. Her interactions were specifically among high ranking officers instead of lower level troops. Her diary is full of instances where she liberally advised Generals Saxton and Hunter.[174] Towne was the supervisor of the Pennsylvania Relief Society Schools, which may have given her equal footing with Union generals and other supervisors, yet; she served as a secretary for the generals.[175]

Furthermore, experiences in the Northeast, where she internalized respect for time, developed logical reasoning, completed education (formal and informal), and developed reliance on structure for church services and school activities influenced some

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[174] Towne Letter to Rosie, February 7, 1864; General Rufus Saxton Letter to Towne, October 26, 1863, Penn School Papers, Edith Dabbs Collection, Southern Historic Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

[174] Rose, W. L. (1964). *Rehearsal for Reconstruction: The Port Royal Experiment.* Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, p. 180.

[175] Towne, L. (1901). *Pioneer work on the Sea Islands*. Hampton, Virginia: Hampton Institute Press; Wolfe, K. (1997). Laura M. Towne and the freed people of South Carolina, 1862 – 1901. *South Carolina Historical Magazine, 98*(4), 375-405.

of her school practices. Towne imported each attribute to align Southern black education to New England education. For example, Towne's school year started in October and ended in June. Southern public schools opened three months of the year. She applied classroom structure and expectations for "keeping still" and attending class at the scheduled hour.[176]

Towne's altruistic intentions were paternalistic in some cases but for good reasons.[177] Deceptive Southern politics and Northerners' interest in Southern lands obscured Towne's line between freed people's autonomy and her paternalism. Towne exhibited an obligation to guard the freedmen against social injustices. As Towne increased interactions with the freedmen, their trust in her flourished. Freedmen were open to Towne's advice and trusted her wisdom but not without evidence that she could be trusted. Contributing to their confidence in Towne was her distribution of food and clothing to native islanders. When she arrived, one of her first duties was "doctoring" the natives, missionaries, and Union soldiers on the islands.[178] She was involved in every aspect of their lives, church, school, community events, singings, parties, and "shouts." Towne patrolled activities on the Sea Islands and nearby Beaufort. Towne became a vital

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[176] Schramm – Pate, S. & K. Chaddock. (2006). From obscurities to distinction: (Re)positioning women 'Progressive" educations in the new South. *Southern Studies: An Interdisciplinary Journal of the South, (13)*12, 25–9; Nachtigal, P. (1982). *Rural education: In search of a better way*. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, Inc; Towne, L. (1901). *Pioneer work on the Sea Islands*. Hampton, Virginia: Hampton Institute Press, p. 8.

[177] Breitborde, M.L. (2011). Discourse, education and women's public culture in the Port Royal Experiment. *American Educational History Journal*, 38, pp. 427-446.

[178] Towne, L. (1901). *Pioneer work on the Sea Islands*. Hampton, Virginia: Hampton Institute Press, p. 7.

part of the St. Helena community establishing trusting relationships with blacks and whites. Her fondness for the freedmen, and her awareness of a growing pattern of deception inflicted upon them, triggered a protective guardianship within Towne that manifested as advocacy and in some instances paternalism.[179]

From the time Towne landed on the Sea Islands, she organized distribution of goods, scheduled house visits, managed the household, setup schedules, made house-calls, talked to Union officials, and met other teachers. Her organizational skills, communication skills, and familiarity with Sea Island residents may have been contributing factors for Towne's appointment as public school trustee for the county.[180] Certainly, Towne's managerial qualities were ideal for supervision of several plantation schools and eventually public school trustee.

Towne's assertive communication cultivated relationships with Union officers and negotiated resources for the school. Further, abolition and faith motivated her selection of school curriculum and commitment to black education. Towne's Northeastern education granted educational capital that she transplanted into her school

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[179] Breitborde, M.L. (2011). Discourse, education and women's public culture in the Port Royal Experiment. *American Educational History Journal*, 38, pp. 427-446; Holland, R. S. (1912, Original Publication Date). *Letters and diary of Laura M. Towne: Written from the Sea Islands of South Carolina, 1862 – 1884.* Whitefish, Montana: Kessinger Publishing, LLC.

[180] Holland, R. S. (1912, Original Publication Date). *Letters and diary of Laura M. Towne: Written from the Sea Islands of South Carolina, 1862 – 1884.* Whitefish, Montana: Kessinger Publishing, LLC. Towne's School Reports: 1884 & 1885, Penn School Papers, Edith Dabbs Collection, Southern Historic Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.

practices to uplift native blacks on the Sea Islands.[181] Therefore, Towne's experiences teaching in charity schools, homeopathic training, and seamstress work for the Union contributed to Towne's managerial skills, which prepared her for school initiation.

Educational Philosophy

Towne was similar to the majority of Northern teachers who received secondary or post-secondary education. Collectively, Northern teachers' educational attainment exceeded the average middle-class adults of the mid-19th century.[182] Towne's homeopathic training coupled with her New England education set an educational standard for the freed people in the form of access to comparable Northern educational experiences. William Penn, founder of Pennsylvania, was Towne's inspiration. She named her school after William Penn, the Quaker and abolitionist, to symbolize equality but also underscore what she believed was the premiere form of instruction, New England education.[183] In doing so, the name announced a commitment to Northern structure and practices. This might answer the question of why the school bell was so important. Towne insisted the bell had to be larger than Harriet Ware's bell because Penn's school bell had to be heard over six plantations compared to Ware's two. While Towne's explanation is logical, the school bell symbolized advanced education. On the

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[181] Rose, W. L. (1997). Laura M. Towne. In E. James (Series Ed.), *Notable American Women, 1607–1960: A Biographical Dictionary: Vol 3. P – Z* (pp. 472-474). Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

[182] Butchart, R. (2010). *Schooling the freed people: Teaching, learning, and the struggle for black freedom, 1861-1876.* Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, pp. 80-84.

[183] Rose, W. L. (1997). Laura M. Towne. In E. James (Series Ed.), *Notable American Women, 1607–1960: A Biographical Dictionary: Vol 3. P – Z* (pp. 472-474). Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

school bell was the inscription: "Proclaim Liberty." By 1865, Towne had implemented a high school for advanced students and had a vision to start a normal school in the upcoming years.[184] The school name and bell linked the school to its New England roots and accentuated Penn School's focus on advanced studies, thus setting them apart from the other plantation schools on the Sea Islands.

Towne's educational philosophy was influenced by her Northeastern education, and her abolition ideals affected her vision to educate blacks. Many freedmen's schools focused on primary, industrial, and agricultural training.[185] Towne maintained liberal education during her tenure as principal. Although she referred to the natives as ignorant, meaning devoid of knowledge, she compared them to Irish immigrants who were capable of learning. Even when Samuel Armstrong urged Towne to adopt an industrial focus, Towne resisted. She reasoned their ignorance was due to decades of little to no education, slavery, and the psychological effects of slavery. She suggested blacks' aptitude to learn paralleled whites, but it took structure, discipline, and patience on the part of teacher and students for learning to occur. Armstrong predicated his ideals for freedmen education on black inferiority, which directly opposed Towne's position on educational equality.[186] The notion that racial differences existed beyond skin color but

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[184] Butchart, R. (2010). *Schooling the freed people: Teaching, learning, and the struggle for black freedom, 1861-1876.* Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, p. 90.; Dabbs, Edith. (1864). *Walking Tall.* Frogmore, South Carolina: Penn Community Services, Inc., p. 6.

[185] Butchart, R. (2010). *Schooling the freed people: Teaching, learning, and the struggle for black freedom, 1861-1876.* Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, pp. 124-135.

[186] Fleming, W.L. (1905). *Civil War and Reconstruction in Alabama*, p. 518.

in cognition fueled critics' argument against educational equality. They maintained curriculum and pedagogy for blacks should be culturally relevant.[187] Armstrong, Giles B. Cooke, and Southern white educators shared these criticisms to solidify a subservient social status contradicting educational equality among races.[188]

Instead of culturally relevant instruction as adopted by critics of black education, Towne imported urban pedagogy to her school relying on a combination of modern and traditional approaches.[189] In lieu of negative reinforcement through corporal punishment, she relied on moral suasion to achieve desired behaviors. She taught South Carolina history, physiology, geography, civics, grammar, and spelling with four syllable words. Ellen Murray's advanced classes wrote compositions. In math, they problem solved.[190] Further, rote learning was common with recitations being a primary method of pedagogy. Oral instruction was a primary method of teaching, and students had to be punctual. Comparable to Northern education, the school year lasted eight months. Towne and Murray altered the school day to accommodate children who worked on farms, offering

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[187] Culturally relevant education was a pseudonym for rudimentary education neglecting higher levels of study in Butchart, R. (2010). Schooling the freed people…pp. 123-124.

[188] Butchart, R. (2010). Schooling the freed people. p. 125 & 131.

[189]For detailed definitions of traditional and modern education refer to Butchart, R. (2010). *Schooling the freed people: Teaching, learning, and the struggle for black freedom, 1861-1876.* Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, pp. 133-135. Traditional (rural) education was face-to-face, one-on-one encounters between teacher and student. Schoolmasters used the rod against the student who was reciting as well as against other students. Threats were used as motivators. Modern (urban) education avoided violence, integrated social relations, and natural curiosity stimulated learning.

[190] Murray, E. (N.D.). Miss Murray's Program. Edith Dabbs Papers, South Caroliniana Library, Columbia, South Carolina.

afternoon classes and Sunday school at a venue other than Brick Baptist Church. Additionally, she relished teaching coordination, structure, social etiquette, and moral appropriateness. Students often performed for Northern spectators, benefactors, and Union officials.[191]

Furthermore, textbooks for freed Negroes were often written specifically for them and included a spelling book, two primers, three graded readers, a monthly four-page single sheet paper. However, Ronald Butchart contended these books were unceremoniously denigrating and condescending.[192] For these reasons, Towne and Murray relied upon common textbooks for learners. The first few months of the Port Royal Experiment were unorganized but with time, Northern friends, by way of the PFRA, sent textbooks and other learning resources. Eventually, Towne garnered enough books to start a library.[193]

Sunday school was part of instruction and intersected with religion. Towne expected students to attend school during the week and Sunday school on Sundays where students learned Christian morals and biblical passages. The emphasis was two-fold: one, to expand a limited knowledge of Christ and two, to create moral convictions predicated on biblical precepts. Both would eventually lead to harmonious, cohesive

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[191] Holland, R. S. (1912, Original Publication Date). *Letters and diary of Laura M. Towne: Written from the Sea Islands of South Carolina, 1862 – 1884.* Whitefish, Montana: Kessinger Publishing, LLC.

[192] Butchart, R. (2010). *Schooling the freed people: Teaching, learning, and the struggle for black freedom, 1861-1876.* Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, pp. 124-128.

[193] Holland, R. S. (1912, Original Publication Date). *Letters and diary of Laura M. Towne: Written from the Sea Islands of South Carolina, 1862 – 1884.* Whitefish, Montana: Kessinger Publishing, LLC, see entries dated October 24 & 26, 1879

communities. Towne's Northeastern educational experiences vastly influenced her selection of curriculum and school practices. Her abolitionist ideals inspired Towne to create a cohesive, self-sustaining community of morally responsible citizens. Liberal education and morality training merged into the avenue that created morally responsible citizens and self-sustaining communities.

Religious Influences

Teachers of the freed blacks were Christians from various denominations. Approximately 24 religious sectors organized mission societies for freedmen's aid. The major religious charitable organizations were the American Baptist Home Mission Society, American Advent Mission Society, American Missionary Society, Protestant Episcopal Freedmen's Commission, and the Methodist Episcopal Freedmen's Aid Society. Until 1866, secular associations sponsored more teachers and raised more money than the denominational groups. In the following years, missionary associations, such as the American Missionary Association, capitalized on their missions and forced most secular associations to collapse due to dwindling funds. Many of these religious organizations required their teachers to have "evangelical qualities," and they typically only supported missionaries from their faith.[194] Religious organizations often enforced policies that affected teachers' autonomy in making school decisions. Resources were often reserved for their students only. The Women's American Home Baptist Mission Society accused Rachel Crane Mather of using their resources indiscriminately for non-

[194] Butchart, R. (2010). *Schooling the freed people: Teaching, learning, and the struggle for black freedom, 1861-1876.* Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, pp. 86-87.

pupils.[195] Consequently, some religious organizations' motives for educating blacks were questioned. Critics accused teachers and overseers of taking more of an interest in massive land purchases from government land sales.[196] Even Towne was cautious when talking to other missionaries as some did not show sympathy toward blacks. Given this information, it is easy to see why Towne, a Unitarian, worked with the PFRA to educate Southern blacks, a secular benevolent society. PFRA's mission merged with Towne's faith and commitment to educate blacks.[197] Towne's religion and abolition values complemented each other thanks to Towne's Unitarian pastor who nurtured her abolition beliefs; consequently, transforming Towne into a proud abolitionist. However, she remained cautious when working with other missionaries.

The original site of Penn School, by most accounts, was Brick Baptist Church from fall 1862 to January 1865. Ironically, Towne and the Baptist Church leadership had different views. The church leadership attempted to ban Towne from using the church as a school, but Towne talked to General Saxton who allowed the school to remain in the church until the new school was ready in January, 1865. Interestingly, the variations between Unitarians and Baptists did not strain Towne's relationship with Ellen Murray.[198] Nonetheless, Towne often attended Brick Baptist Church on St. Helena Island

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[195] Butchart, R. (2010). Schooling the freed people…p. 99.

[196]Ibid., 104-108

[197] Rose, W. L. (1964). *Rehearsal for Reconstruction: The Port Royal Experiment.* Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, p. 48.

[198] Rose, W. L. (1997). Laura M. Towne. In E. James (Series Ed.), *Notable American Women, 1607–1960: A Biographical Dictionary: Vol 3. P – Z* (pp. 472-474). Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

and "shouts," in surrounding St. Helena communities. Towne thought some of the natives' religious practices were barbaric. With time, she softened her views of their religious practices. As former plantation owners returned to Beaufort in 1865, she even attended the Episcopal Church, the place of worship for Beaufort's aristocracy.[199] She deemed this necessary to maintain familiarity with the political and social activities of the former slave owners.

It is difficult to determine if Towne's decision to ban corporal punishment stemmed from abolitionism or Unitarianism since both doctrines rejected corporeal punishment. Nonetheless, Christianity was part of the school's curriculum along with temperance. Towne integrated Christmas and Easter services into school activities. Towne involved herself at times in some of the religious activities. She certainly organized most programs for religious observances. Towne seized every opportunity in any venue to teach Christian morals. The temperance band was one more layer of instruction that focused on morality. Towne based morality training on Patriotism and the bible. Patriotic activities were also incorporated throughout the year. Even when school was not in session, Towne still engaged in Sunday school services and worked with children. This gave her another opportunity to teach old testament and new testament doctrine to students, but she integrated vocabulary during Sunday school.[200] The Sunday school venue gave Towne another chance to instill moral training through

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[199] Holland, R. S. (1912, Original Publication Date). *Letters and diary of Laura M. Towne: Written from the Sea Islands of South Carolina, 1862 – 1884.* Whitefish, Montana: Kessinger Publishing, LLC.

[200] Holland, R. S. (1912, Original Publication Date). *Letters and diary of Laura M. Towne: Written from the Sea Islands of South Carolina, 1862 – 1884.* Whitefish, Montana: Kessinger Publishing, LLC.

biblical precepts. Ellen Murray wrote a prayer that teachers used to maintain their focus on God and a higher calling for educating freed blacks.[201] Her goal was to increase morality and civic consciousness thus curtailing illegal activities.

Towne's infusion into the community created many chances for her to pray with adults in the community. As she visited the native islanders, Towne prayed if she thought it was appropriate. Although religious symbols were not on campus, their teachings in various venues reflected biblical precepts and patriotic songs such as My Country Tis of Thee and the Pledge of Allegiance.[202] Further, Towne's faith and abolition beliefs spurred her mission to educate the Sea Islanders, but it created tension between her and Brick Baptist Church leadership. Yet, her faith and abolition beliefs compelled Towne to initiate and sustain a Southern school for blacks that relied heavily upon morality, Old Testament scriptures, and New Testament scriptures. Towne's fortitude, prompted by her faith and abolition beliefs, was most evident in her 38-year commitment to educating blacks on the Sea Islands.

Political Astuteness

The initiation of Penn School and well-being of Negroes depended on Towne's ability to forge crucial relationships with powerful people. Towne was political in the truest sense. She used her social capital to found and ensure the longevity of her school. Through the Port Royal Experiment, Towne had the charge and meager resources to start a school but when PFRA's funds dwindled, sustaining the school was challenging. Yet,

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[201] Murray, E. (N.D.). Miss Murray's Program. Edith Dabbs Papers, South Caroliniana Library, Columbia, South Carolina.

[202] Holland, R. S. (1912, Original Publication Date). *Letters and diary of Laura M. Towne: Written from the Sea Islands of South Carolina, 1862 – 1884.* Whitefish, Montana: Kessinger Publishing, LLC, May 4, 1862.

even before financial support decreased, Towne had to compete with other missionaries on the Sea Islands for resources. Her use of political astuteness was evident in several ways. One important way was social capital, which formed the basis for resources. In this study, the definition of political astuteness included forging strong networks of individuals as well as holding public office. Towne relished both. Towne's use of social capital was evident in her relationships with Union generals, other missionaries, blacks, and whites on the islands. She befriended Union generals and shared her concerns and opinions in areas that affected the freed people and her school. In turn, the generals shared information regarding local and national political matters with Towne.[203] These exchanges increased Towne's knowledge of politics in South Carolina and Washington, D.C., which yielded information power and improved her capability to intervene for freed blacks as she deemed appropriate.[204] The freedmen returned the admiration by offering information liberally and turning to her when they needed help. Towne's diary consistently demonstrated her knowledge of activities whites, blacks, northerners, and southerners planned. Her relationships with Generals Saxton and Hunter created opportunities for Towne to intervene successfully for the freed people on various occasions.

Cultivating relationships with individuals in key leadership positions was crucial to Towne's decision-making but not the only skill she nurtured. Towne wrote resolutions

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[203] See years 1862-1865 of Holland, R. S. (1912, Original Publication Date). *Letters and diary of Laura M. Towne: Written from the Sea Islands of South Carolina, 1862 – 1884.* Whitefish, Montana: Kessinger Publishing, LLC.

[204] Rose, W. L. (1964). *Rehearsal for Reconstruction: The Port Royal Experiment.* Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press.

to exempt her school from state laws precluding school districts from collecting revenue from local taxes to support schools. Further, Towne displayed political astuteness when she partnered with a local legislative delegate who presented her resolutions at the meeting.[205] Had the state not passed the law, Towne might not have been forced to write the resolutions. In other words, her role as principal and school founder forced her to protect a necessary source of income. Additionally, Towne held a position for the PFRA that included five to six plantations. After PFRA relinquished its funds to the Benezet Society, she was elected trustee of the Beaufort County district schools.[206] This appointment allowed her to continue her former duties with PFRA; visiting public schools on the islands and Beaufort, making assessments, and offering guidance.

One of Towne's immediate concerns regarding the Negroes was land sales, which thrust her into an advocacy role. Seemingly, land sales were unrelated to school founding. However, Towne's response to President's Johnson's order reflected her courage and confidence accentuating underlying characteristics. Nonetheless, Willie Lee Rose described Towne's most exasperating conundrum. In 1865, President Johnson issued an order that specified land owners could retrieve unsold land if they paid the tax on the property, took an oath of allegiance, and obtained the President's pardon. While this seemed fair, it created a serious dilemma for Negroes. Generals Saxton and Howard were committed to the Freedmen's Bureau Act, which granted a settlement program for the Sea Islanders. The abandoned lands funded the bureau, which in-turn funded the Port

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[205] Wolfe, K. (1997). Laura M. Towne and the freed people of South Carolina, 1862 – 1901. *South Carolina Historical Magazine*, 98(4), 375-405.

[206] Ibid.

Royal Experiment modestly. Towne accompanied Cornelia Hancock to Washington, D.C. to "plead with the President and Secretary Stanton on behalf of the Sherman Freedmen."[207] Although the Freedmen Bureau provided diminutive subsidies to Penn School, Towne did not want the freedmen to lose the opportunity to purchase land. Their trip to Washington, D.C., did not end as they hoped, but the important note was that she advocated on the national level for the freedmen. For Towne, education was a fraction of her larger vision to build self-sustaining black communities. Without the option to purchase land, her vision could not come to fruition.

Towne's advocacy manifested as frequent attention to daily events and occurrences on the Sea Islands to protect the freed people from deceptions and propaganda perpetrated by Northern and Southern whites who took advantage of the natives' naivety. She even mingled with other missionaries and superintendents in Beaufort and Charleston using her social capital to benefit freedmen. Towne attended white and black churches and democratic and republican meetings to maintain awareness of policies and activities that affected freedmen.[208] Towne's information power equipped her with foresight to identify the motives of white Northerners and Southerners.

Towne's abolition ideals seemed to thrust her into the role of advocate and protector of Sea Island blacks. Towne's earnest advocacy was apparent even when it came down to baby names. Although Towne's motives seemed earnest, Mary Lou

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[207] Jacquette, Henrietta Stratton (ed.), *South after Gettysburg: Letters of Cornelia Hancock, 1863-1868*. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company pp.191-192, 196; Rose, W. L. (1964). *Rehearsal for Reconstruction: The Port Royal Experiment.* Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, p. 357.

[208] Holland, R. S. (1912, Original Publication Date). *Letters and diary of Laura M. Towne: Written from the Sea Islands of South Carolina, 1862 – 1884.* Whitefish, Montana: Kessinger Publishing, LLC.

Breitborde criticized Towne for paternalism.[209] Advocacy might have filled a void in Towne's life that allowed her to nurture a community of people. Certainly, she was unable to stand tacitly while people in powerful positions took advantage of vulnerable persons. Towne's political vigilance might have been imported from the North or cultivated in the South out of necessity to protect the freedmen. Nonetheless, Towne wrote articles in national newspapers to bring national attention to issues involving freed people on the Sea Islands. Thus, Towne demonstrated political astuteness by building and maintaining crucial relationships with influential persons, holding public office, writing resolutions and articles published in national newspapers, remaining attuned to local and national politics affecting the freedmen and her school, and advocacy for the freedmen.

Resourcefulness

Resourcefulness was a trait that contributed to schools' longevity.[210] Towne's financial and social capital merged and formed the foundation of her resourcefulness, which she displayed in several ways. Political astuteness evident in relationships with Union leaders, networking, cultivating relationships with other missionaries on the Sea Islands, and writing resolutions to maintain her school were manifestations of Towne's resourcefulness. To get resources the school needed, she strategically used her relationships with the generals. For instance, when the church leadership complained

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[209] Breitborde, M.L. (2011). Discourse, education and women's public culture in the Port Royal Experiment. *American Educational History Journal*, 38, pp. 427-446.

[210] Schramm – Pate, S. & K. Chaddock. (2006). From obscurities to distinction: (Re)positioning women 'Progressive" educations in the new South. *Southern Studies: An Interdisciplinary Journal of the South, (13)*12, 25–49.

about Towne's use of the church, she talked to General Saxton, with whom she had a strong working relationship.

Political astuteness fueled Towne's resourcefulness, but she came to the Sea Islands as a teacher with the Pennsylvania Freedmen Relief Association (PFRA) affiliated with the Port Royal Experiment. PFRA donated clothes, food, money, books, slates, pencils, and personal items. The association did not limit its resources to students and gave Towne autonomy to distribute resources and operate the school. Eventually, in 1865, she was made its superintendent. PFRA supplied the first schoolhouse in 1864, which was ready for occupancy in January 1865.[211] After the war, funds for benevolent societies declined significantly, but PFRA transferred its remaining funds to the Benezet Society supporting Penn School monthly, covering teachers' salaries and school supplies until funds were exhausted. On many occasions, she relinquished her salary to pay her teachers and Ellen Murray. Moreover, competitive salaries were necessary to recruit and retain teachers. Approximately 50 percent of teachers were of affluent wealthy families. The other 50 percent experienced some level of poverty. One third of all Northern, white teachers came from families without land and with total wealth averaging $200 or less.[212] The pay scale ranged from $25-$50 per month. Penn School reports verified salaries averaged $30 per month with an increase to $50 per month in the 1870's. Through the

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[211] Wolfe, K. (1997). Laura M. Towne and the freed people of South Carolina, 1862 – 1901. *South Carolina Historical Magazine*, 98(4), 375-405; Rose, W. L. (1997). Laura M. Towne. In E. James (Series Ed.), *Notable American Women, 1607–1960: A Biographical Dictionary: Vol 3. P – Z* (pp. 472-474). Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

[212] Butchart, R. (2010). *Schooling the freed people: Teaching, learning, and the struggle for black freedom, 1861-1876.* Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, p. 85.

late 1870's Towne relied on the Benezet Society to fund salaries. Because Towne received little to no salary for herself, it was clear salary was not her motive, but she understood teachers needed salaries, although modest, to cover personal expenses.

The Freedmen's Bureau, a federal government agency formed in 1865, was supposed to distribute funds to the freedmen's schools systematically. However, critics have questioned the bureau's effectiveness in its systematic distribution of funds. Validating critics' appraisal was Towne and Mather's unfavorable opinions of the Bureau. Finally conceding to white Southern resistance in 1872, its existence met an early demise.[213] The agency was of little to no help to Penn School. In spite of lack of support from the Freedmen's Bureau, Towne had Northern friends who sent funds and other resources such as books, clothes, and food. The Towne family members contributed money and time to the school. Towne's oldest brother sent her money monthly which allowed her to maintain modest luxuries. Decades after Towne started Penn School, her nephew, Henry R. Towne, left $50,000 to Penn School when he died in 1924.[214]

In 1877, Towne wrote several resolutions, which were successful in maintaining local funding for Penn School.[215] Her political astuteness via social capital equipped Towne with the ability to initiate and sustain her school.

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[213] Rachal, J. (1986). Gideonites and freedmen: Adult literacy education at Port Royal, 1862 – 1865. *The Journal of Negro Education, 55*(4), 453–469, p. 457.

[214] Newspaper article, Towne to Fund Millions, 1924, Penn School Papers. Although the donation was made after Towne's death, I included it in this study because it confirmed her family supported the school financially; 2012 value $663,893 http://www.measuringworth.com/uscompare/relativevalue.php

[215] Wolfe, K. (1997). Laura M. Towne and the freed people of South Carolina, 1862 – 1901. *South Carolina Historical Magazine*, 98(4), 375-405.

Gendered Roles and Expectations

Gender expectations and roles were subthemes clearly illustrated in Towne's diary and other documents. Wakako Araki concluded women worked as teachers, missionaries, and nurses because these vocations were analogous with domestic capacities and therefore socially acceptable for women. Women replaced the once male dominated teaching role. Women in the early and middle 19th century were expected to remain home and reticent.[216] Towne's interactions with Union officials were unencumbered by her sex, probably resulting from Towne's abolition ideals of gender equality. Other studies suggested female teachers and school founders contradicted societal roles assigned to women. Northern teachers on the Sea Islands particularly did not behave in the gendered roles they instructed the freed people to follow. Towne hired domestic help and provided instruction to women in the areas of housekeeping, sanitation, and hygiene. Yet, she avoided these duties. Towne certainly did not succumb to the role as wife and mother. Her interactions with male counterparts did not kindle romantic relationships with Union officials, which may suggest her interests were purely motivated by school needs, needs of the native islanders, and her altruistic motives. Towne was clear that she had no interest in the "psychological phenomenon" of love. [217]

During Towne's tenure as Beaufort County School district trustee, the state legislature passed a law prohibiting women from holding public elected offices. Yet, this

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[216] Araki, Wakako. (2008). Gender, race, and the idea of separate spheres: Neo-abolitionist work in South Carolina Sea Islands. *The Japanese Journal of American Studies*, 19, pp. 222-227.

[217] Wolfe, K. (1997). Laura M. Towne and the freed people of South Carolina, 1862 – 1901. *South Carolina Historical Magazine*, 98(4), 375-405.

did not deter her from exerting her influence vocally by interjecting her opinions at public democratic and republican meetings, among her social circles, and whites locally. She continued to advocate for black rights and social justice for blacks through her network of local and Northern connections. Astutely, Towne observed a shift in role expectations in freed blacks with men expecting their wives to stay home and manage the household. Towne wrote:

> …It is funny to see how much more jealous the men are of one kind of liberty they have achieved than of the other! Political freedom they are rather shy of, and ignorant of; but domestic freedom–the right , just found, to have their own way in their families and rule their wives. That is an estimable privilege! In slavery, the woman was far more important, and was in every way held higher than the man. It was the woman's house, the children were entirely hers.[218]

Towne's keen observation suggests feminist ideals. Markers of Towne's school founding practices are listed in table 2.1.

Table 2.1: Towne's Markers of School Founding Practices

1.) How and to what extent did school founders who started primary schools for blacks in the South use their experiences, resourcefulness, political astuteness, and religious beliefs in initiating and sustaining schools during the Civil war, reconstruction years, and progressive era?			
Background & Experiences	**Resourcefulness**	**Political Astuteness**	**Religious Beliefs**
Affluence & Wealth Inherited Social Capital Unitarian & Abolitionist Homeopathic Training –Liberal Education Taught in Charity Schools Committed 38 years to black education	Accessed Northern Networks; Cultivated Southern Network; Wrote letters to Northern friends and family members; Articulated assertive communication; Wrote resolutions; Demonstrated persistence	Accessed Northern Networks; Appointed Beaufort County School District Trustee; Wrote resolutions; Traveled to Washington, D.C. to plead with President Andrew Johnson and Secretary of War, Edwin Stanton; Attended political meetings; Wrote letters for National Publications; Incorporated the School in 1900	Instituted Temperance and Sunday School; Attended prayer services and "shouts"

[218] Holland (1912), *Diary and Letters of Laura Towne,* June 1, 1867.

CHAPTER 3: RACHEL CRANE MATHER

(Note: Many of the archival documents at Benedict College describing the founding yearsof Mather School were destroyed. Remaining documents in the archive are undated andwritten by unknown authors. Some of these documents refer to primary sources and others reveal anonymous and undated accounts of Mather's life and the founding of the school. Most of these documents concur on various facts such as dates of Mather's birth, year of marriage, and the date the school started. Others describe specific details of Mather's first year in Beaufort; for example, the deaths of her spouse and children, purchase of land, initiating tuition, and fundraising. These stories were passed along through the years at various founding day observances to describe the founding of Mather School and general details about Rachel Crane Mather. In this case study, Mather's voice is reflected in documents she authored such as letters written during her first year in Beaufort, Woman's American Baptist Home Mission Society (WABHMS) reports, and the anonymous, undated accounts from the Benedict College archives.)

Preface

Rachel Crane Rich Mather was a 44-year-old widow from New England when she stepped onto the shores of Beaufort. Born on February 5, 1823, in Troy, New Hampshire, Mather was the sixth of nine children. Her father, Ezekiel Rich, was a Congregational minister, a home missionary, a Brown University graduate, and a student at Andover Theological Seminary. Her grandfather John Crane, a Harvard and Brown University graduate, preached her father's ordination sermon. Ezekiel Rich organized a

church in Troy where he owned both property and the first brickyard.[219] Among his pastorate duties, he taught school several years. John Crane named Rachel after her mother who died in 1837.[220] Three years later, her father remarried and moved the family to Providence, Rhode Island, where it was speculated that she attended a normal school. The pride of Mather's work was an essay she wrote that won first prize and resulted in job offers to teach in several New England schools.[221]

On a cool November day in 1847, Rachel Crane Rich married Joseph Higgins Mather, Jr.[222] Joseph was a learned man of the Baptist denomination. The year they married, he graduated from Newton Theological Seminary after receiving a degree from Brown University.[223] Joseph became a licensed minister but never assumed the full responsibility of pastor. As his wife, Rachel joined the Deep River Baptist Church in 1849. They moved about Hartford, Connecticut; Providence, Rhode Island; and Deep River, Connecticut, during the years immediately following their short marriage. To their union were born Joseph Higgins Mather, III, in 1849, and two years later, Samuel

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[219] Anonymous. (N.D.). Rachel Crane Rich Mather, A biographical account, Benedict College Archives, Mather School Papers, Columbia, South Carolina

[220] Ibid.

[221] Anonymous. (N.D.). Mrs. Rachel Crane Mather, 1823-1903, Benedict College Archives, Mather School Papers, Columbia, South Carolina.

[222] Ibid.

[223] Anonymous. (N.D.). Rachel Crane Rich Mather, A biographical account, Benedict College Archives, Mather School Papers, Columbia, South Carolina

Web Mather.[224] Like scores of others, Joseph succumbed to Tuberculosis. Several months after Joseph's death, Samuel died in 1852.[225]

Mather returned to teaching; eventually becoming the head teacher at the Bigelow School for Boys in Boston, Massachusetts.[226] Bigelow School was Mather's employer when she accepted AMA's assignment and moved to the Sea Islands in 1867.[227] By the time she left Bigelow, Mather had 13 years of teaching experience.

In Her Own Words

"God gave to all the officers of the AMA the discernment, which enabled them to discriminate between those who came to serve themselves and those who came to serve God."[228] Unlike endeavoring missionaries who taught Negroes at the height of the Civil War, I came to the Sea Islands after the war, in 1867.[229] I was eager to begin my work on the Sea Islands, so I bargained with Reverend Edward P. Smith, field agent for AMA, for transportation of my household goods, my furniture and books, for the benefit of the mission school my furniture and books. I had enough furniture for a family of six. I wanted my home in Beaufort to be comfortable so that I could be a more efficient laborer

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[224] Ibid.

[225] Anonymous. (N.D.). Mrs. Rachel Crane Mather, 1823-1903, Benedict College Archives, Mather School Papers, Columbia, South Carolina.

[226] Ibid.

[227] Owen, S. (1925). The story of Mather School. Benedict College Archives, Mather School Papers, Columbia, South Carolina.

[228] Mather, Rachel, Letter to Mr. Smith, May 20, 1868, American Missionary Association, Amistad Research Center, Tulane University, New Orleans, Louisiana.

[229] Mather School. (1968). Centennial Observation, 1868-1968,

in the field. To that end, I would not return North again to live.[230] Instead, the South would be my home. Although the war was over, the Southern region of our great country struggled still economically. Destitution most notably filled the streets with Negro children who were homeless, motherless, lived in shack homes, and were illiterate.[231] I saw the children growing up in ignorance and vice because no kind hand would lead them into a Christian home and teach them to work.[232] My first impression was vastly different than other visiting New Englanders who had arrived just months before. B.C. Truman, a traveling correspondent with *The New York Times*, drove through Beaufort in 1866. He wrote a long letter from Beaufort and described his observations.

> There between fifteen hundred and two thousand white people in Beaufort, almost all of whom are genuine Yankee – all rich too, thankful to the fate of war and the existence of direct tax commissioners. In and about here are some ten thousand colored men who mingle with the whites just as though they were of the same origin of the whites…The colored people, who were really the only ones who do any hard work hereabouts, do great credits to themselves and the community in which they move by their uniform good behavior and industry. Unfortunately, their best efforts did not prevent a political party from camouflaging as earnest but held other more devious motives to "swindle" these poor people.[233]

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[230] Mather, Rachel, Letter to Reverend E.P. Smith, October 21, 1867, American Missionary Association, Amistad Research Center, Tulane University, New Orleans, Louisiana.

[231] Mather, Rachel, Letter to Mr. Smith, May 20, 1868, American Missionary Association, Amistad Research Center, Tulane University, New Orleans, Louisiana.

[232] Mather, Rachel, Orphans' Home and Industrial School for the Freedmen of the Sea Islands, American Missionary Association, Amistad Research Center, Tulane University, New Orleans, Louisiana.

[233] B.C. Truman, traveling correspondent of the *New York Times* wrote a long letter from Beaufort. *The Edgefield Advertiser* Published the letter August 15, 1866.

Truman's assessment neglected the vast unclothed children, but he emphasized the Negroes' ability to work by their own volition and used deceptive politics. Realizing the social and economic conditions of the Negroes, I focused on my charge from the AMA to found a normal school.[234] The association, established in 1846 by abolitionists, was dedicated to liberal, Christian education for Negroes and Native Americans. Their goal of offering liberal education with an emphasis on Christian precepts contradicted overwhelming support for vocational education. It was reported that AMA founded hundreds of schools for blacks and Indians, which was likely attributed to emancipation.[235] AMA's noble goal was akin to my values; consequently, I accepted the assignment. My only regret was that my assignment was in South Carolina instead of Florida, my preference.[236] Notwithstanding, I accepted the assignment as the Lord's direction. I left Providence, Rhode Island, November 1, 1867 to sail Southern waters for Charleston, South Carolina. Prior to my destination, I stopped by Reverend E.P. Smith's office in Boston and visited friends and family in New York.[237] When I arrived on Wednesday, November 6th, in Beaufort, I found Ms. Fogg, a teacher, hard at work, faithful, efficient, and full of missionary zeal, strong in the faith that the poor down

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[234] Mather, Rachel, Orphans' Home and Industrial School for the Freedmen of the Sea Islands, American Missionary Association, Amistad Research Center, Tulane University, New Orleans, Louisiana; Reynolds, M. (N.D.). Mrs. Rachel Crane Mather in Baptist Missionary Pioneer. Benedict College Archives, Mather School Papers, Columbia, South Carolina.

[235] Amistad Research Center, *American Missionary Association-Historical Note*, Tulune University.

[236] Mather, Rachel Crane, letter to Reverend E.P. Smith, October 18, 1867, American Missionary Association, Amistad Research Center, Tulane University, New Orleans, Louisiana.

[237] Ibid., October 28, 1867

trodden, half-starved freedmen could be enlightened, educated, elevated to be good, loyal, productive citizens and earnest Christians.[238] Ms. Fogg was one of our original family members. The full team, including myself, consisted of four teachers, two clergymen; Mr. Merritt and Mr. Newcomb, the Methodist; and Mr. French, who boarded with us.[239]

The missionary home was exceedingly delightful, large, airy, and commodious. It lay among orange groves overlooking a Bay and islands beyond. The house was a grand old mansion with four rooms located on the upper floor, which were vacated for teachers. In addition to my labors as matron, I hoped to have an advanced class to train teachers. I consecrated my life's labor for these ignorant, needy, freed people.[240] As I traveled around the plantations, I found massive numbers of destitute but eager, young pupils who were ready to learn.[241]

I spent months visiting local areas in Beaufort, on the islands, and in Charleston. When I arrived, the laborers, Ms. Fogg among them, agreed that I assume the role of the head matron, and I cheerfully concurred. I believed that I could not do more good any other way than by going around, doing missionary work and teaching among these poor, unfortunate people who seem to have been struck and smitten by God and man. Among

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[238] Ibid., November 15, 1867

[239] Mather, Rachel, Letter to Ms. Pierce, December 18, 1867, American Missionary Association, Amistad Research Center, Tulane University, New Orleans, Louisiana.

[240] Mather, Rachel, Letter to E.P. Smith, November 15, 1867 & Mather, Rachel, Letter to E.P. Smith, December 9, 1867; Mather, Rachel, Letter to Miss Peirce, December 18, 1867, American Missionary Association, Amistad Research Center, Tulane University, New Orleans, Louisiana.

[241] Mather, Rachel, Letter to Ms. Pierce, December 18, 1867, American Missionary Association, Amistad Research Center, Tulane University, New Orleans, Louisiana.

my first tasks was assessment of the freed people.[242] In Perry Clear, South Carolina, we found an excellent colored school. Miss Johnson, the school teacher at the Perry Clear School had 70 pupils, all clothed in rags, destitute of food and winter garments. These children came to school two, three, and four miles; so happy to be at school that they did not mind their rags and the cold. I pitied such scenes of poverty and destitution which made my heart bleed. They had virtually no provisions and they needed a home, so I offered my insight to the AMA. I concluded these poor children needed a home, instead of a normal school, in which I could mother them.[243] How could I teach to individuals who needed soap, food, water, shelter, and clothing? Is it vain to exhort these poor people to be neat if they have no soap and no money to purchase it? Is it useless to exhort them to mend their clothes, if they have no needles, thread, thimbles, or patches, and no means to procure them? Is it vain to urge the necessity of having good gardens, when they tell us: "We hab done make our garden, but we got no seed to plant and no money to buy seeds."[244] In my travels, I came to realize the pervasiveness of destitution and want for education. The harvest was indeed plenteous, but the laborers were few.[245] My request was outside of AMA's mission and thus denied.

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[242] Mather, Rachel, Letter to E.P. Smith, November 15, 1867, American Missionary Association, Amistad Research Center, Tulane University, New Orleans, Louisiana.

[243] Mather, Rachel, Letter to Miss Peirce, December 18, 1867; Mather, Rachel, Letter to Mr. Smith, May 20, 1868; Mr. Strickly, Letter to Rachel Crane Mather, November 27, 1868, American Missionary Association, Amistad Research Center, Tulane University, New Orleans, Louisiana; Owens, S. (N.D.). The Story of Mather School 57th Anniversary, Benedict College Archives, Mather School Papers, Columbia, South Carolina.

[244] Mather, Rachel Crane, Letter to Mr. Smith, March 9, 1868, American Missionary Association, Amistad Research Center, Tulane University, New Orleans, Louisiana.

[245] Ibid.

Unexpectedly, during the first few months of visiting the local schools, attempting to find a populace eligible for normal instruction, and distributing goods to the destitute, Mr. Wolcott [an AMA Agent] accused me of indiscriminate distribution to all who solicited aid. I defended myself to AMA after prompts to receive specific allegations against me and the person who implicated me. AMA had not readily allowed me to defend myself. I wrote Mr. Strickly [An AMA Agent] and offered my explanation. Mr. Wolcott had not come to Beaufort until April (1868).[246] He and Mr. Harris, who was only a visitor of the mission school, were not acquainted with the distress on the plantations nor did they seem inclined to be. Apparently, they were more absorbed in croquet playing than in the interests of the freedmen. Mr. Wolcott drove away unceremoniously the hungry crowd that thronged the mission home. And, Colonel Gile [Agent with the Freedmen's Bureau in Beaufort] drove them from the bureau office. I thought someone should give them a hearing and met them at my schoolhouse. Not willing to make myself obnoxious at the mission home, by distributing there, for the freedmen came there for help.[247] The colored people were so indignant by the manner in which Mr. Wolcott drove them off, I feared the people were enraged. I could not regard Mr. Harris or Mr. Wolcott as in sympathy with the freedmen and of course was not influenced by them. In this letter, I supplied the written appeals from teachers of the plantation schools who asked me to assist their students and families.

I was afraid Mr. Harris and Mr. Wolcott influenced the teachers' views of the freedmen, but I could attest the extent to which their views may have been modified by

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[246] Mather, Rachel, Letter to Mr. Strickly, November 18, 1868, American Missionary Association, Amistad Research Center, Tulane University, New Orleans, Louisiana.

[247] Ibid.

the matrimonial alliances with democrats.[248] Democrats in Beaufort meant Negro-hater. Mr. Smith represented me as abstracting from the stores of the mission home. He was mistaken. If I ever took 10 cents from AMA stores, I replaced it by a dollar's worth of goods sent by Northern friends. Mr. French [he worked with AMA] even circulated a letter he deemed "a matter of much delicacy" and "private to a friend," to Mr. Holmes [a local man who helped Mather with various projects], which Mr. French did not treat as private. On the contrary, the letter was copied and circulated extensively to my disadvantage last month. It came to me through General Howard's [General for the Union Army] officers of AMA. Four months it was circulated among the bureau generals and AMA agents before an opportunity was given to me to explain.[249] Mr. French never returned the original letter to me as he claimed.

The letter to Mr. Holmes detailed how he should spend money to benefit the freedmen.[250] He was instructed to purchase corn and other items for the freedmen since Mr. Wolcott would not let me purchase any more food for the people on trust. In conclusion, I protested against the course the bureau and AMA pursued toward me. I felt, most deeply, that it was one of gross injustice to me as well as unwarranted severity to the freedmen. They have always made their attacks upon one on the rear and never gave me an opportunity for self-defense.[251] So honorable a lady as AMA, I would suggest, should give teachers an opportunity to vindicate themselves previous to

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[248] Mather, Rachel, Letter to Mr. Strickly, November 18, 1868, American Missionary Association, Amistad Research Center, Tulane University, New Orleans, Louisiana.

[249] Ibid.

[250] Ibid.

[251] Ibid.

dismissal, especially when they labor in such a land of Ishmaelites as I have; a land where every man's hand is against his brother and every woman's tongue against her sister.[252] Yet, permit me to add, if the spirit of the bureau and AMA is correctly expressed by Col. Gile, Mr. Harris, and Mr. Wolcott and these men are the true exponents of these institutions, I prefer no longer to be identified with organizations so deplorably deficient in "milk of human kindness and hands of mercies." I am also dissatisfied with Mr. Smith's revisions of my letters that I sent him in May. I was certainly unfortunate in not making myself better understood. I did not intend to convey the impression that I had abandoned the position that AMA gave me. The school I took was not for whites exclusively; it was a public school, and I was authorized to reject no one, either white or colored who might apply.[253]

In spite of this hardship, I had the heart of all these colored people. Cheerfully, with divine help, I planned to inaugurate a school in the summer 1868 of the best material on the islands. By spring of 1868, I had hoped to select a class from the highest department of schools here and put them through a course of training to make teachers of them. Having labored for a year (1867-1868) among the freedmen of South Carolina Sea Islands, I became familiar with their wants. I was made to feel the need of an orphans' home and industrial school for the many destitute children where they could receive primary instruction and be trained to habits of industry and thrift.

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[252] Ibid.

[253] Ibid. Mather wrote this letter after she was accused of indiscriminate distribution of resources to blacks other than her students. Apparently, AMA's resources were to be used for AMA students only. This letter reveals Mather's frustration with AMA's representatives and representatives from the Freedmen Bureau who did not appear to sympathize with local blacks. This letter was Mather's defense concerning AMA's accusations.

My values, the bureau's values, and AMA's values conflicted. This was obvious in the accusations they made against me.[254] Nevertheless, the first of April, 1868, by Col. Gile's solicitation, I commenced school in Beaufort. About the middle of April, 1868, I relinquished my duties as the matron of AMA's normal school in Beaufort. I designed in the autumn of 1868, to open an orphans' home and school looking for aid to the Father of the fatherless and friends of humanity. My school started as an Orphans' Home and Industrial School for the Freedmen of the Sea Islands.[255] As I pondered how to pursue this work, I retraced my life and sought God's guidance for my future. I was unsure of my purpose and how I would adopt a work that I came to start devoid of help from my original primary sponsors. I spent time in prayer and asked God for his guidance.[256] My dearest friends in New England cautioned me to stay in the Boston area surrounded by the comforts of my life and one of my fondest loves, teaching. I continued to pray for God's divine wisdom. Looking upon the Beaufort River, God's peace filled me with confidence to pursue a different work here upon this land. Although different from AMA's mission, this work would be more profound and would thrust me into paths I otherwise may not have traveled.[257]

I spent many an hour in prayer seeking God's guidance for decisions. Family and friends responded to my pleas frequently and sent barrels of supplies, food, seeds,

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[254] Ibid.

[255] Orphans' Home and Industrial School for the Freedmen of The Sea Islands, Proclamation, American Missionary Association, Amistad Research Center, Tulane University, New Orleans, Louisiana.

[256] Anonymous. (N.D.). Mrs. Rachel Crane Mather, 1823-1903, Benedict College Archives, Mather School Papers, Columbia, South Carolina.

[257] Ibid.

equipment, books, paper, pencils, and other necessities such as soap, sewing material, and thread for my pupils.[258] Northern churches assisted the school often sending money. In April 1868, I received a check from the Phillips Church in Boston for $105, which I expended on corn for the famishing people. Dr. Hick's Church sent $200, which I invested in the same way.[259] These checks were timely considering the bureau withdrew all aid in furnishing the freedmen with provisions as they had in former years when there was far less need of help. Family members were indeed generous in their donations. As I started my industrial school, Miss Sarah C. Mather of Deep River, Connecticut, sent me $58.00; H.H. Rich of Worcester, Massachusetts, sent $7.00; anda friend of Boston sent $5.00.[260] The people of Rhode Island did well by me. I received five barrels from Barrington, four from Mr. Cady, one from Providence, one from Bristol, and four from dear Miss Sincolon, a former teacher in South Boston, who moved to Coventry, Rhode Island. Oh how many good friends I had. I received more gifts I believe than the other teachers on these islands together.[261]

From the outset (April 1868), my school was based on Christian precepts. The bible was the compass that guided instruction. Often, girls who came to our home outside the Good Shepherd's fold were converted. My goal was to teach these young

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[258] Rachel, Mather, Letter to Mr. Smith, May 20, 1868, American Missionary Association, Amistad Research Center, Tulane University, New Orleans, Louisiana.

[259] Ibid. *The value of $305 in* 2012 was $5,800.00 http://www.measuringworth.com/uscompare/relativevalue.php

[260] Rachel, Mather, Letter to Mr. Smith, April 15, 1868, American Missionary Association, Amistad Research Center, Tulane University, New Orleans, Louisiana.

[261] Ibid., April 26, 1868

girls truths of the bible.[262] I used my personal money and purchased land on a beautiful bluff in the city of Beaufort for daughters of freed slaves.[263] When Joseph died in 1852, he left provisions for me if I remained his widow. His estate was worth $11,477, but Joseph left a portion of it to the Baptist Education Society and the balance to me.[264] With my own measly funds and the earnings from teaching at Bigelow, I purchased 20 acres of land on the Beaufort bluff for $87. The property had two small houses on it. I wrote my colleagues at Bigelow School for Boys and explained the situation. They held a fair, raising $300, which they sent to me for my cause. This was enough to purchase two military barracks from Hilton Head Island. They moved the buildings on a raft to the school grounds and made them into a schoolhouse, which accommodated 150 students on the first floor and a dormitory on the second floor. In 1868, Mather School officially opened.[265] I gathered homeless, hungry, pitiful ones so that I could teach them.[266] I held classes on the school lawn.[267] Initially, supplies were nonexistent. So, I drew upon my

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[262] Reynolds, M. (N.D.). Mrs. Rachel Crane Mather in Baptist Missionary Pioneer. Benedict College Archives, Mather School Papers, Columbia, South Carolina.

[263] Ibid

[264] Anonymous. (N.D.). Rachel Crane Rich Mather, A biographical account with citations, Benedict College Archives, Mather School Papers, Columbia, South Carolina; *The value in* 2012 was $312,061.79 http://www.measuringworth.com/uscompare/relativevalue.php

[265] Reynolds, M. (N.D.). Mrs. Rachel Crane Mather in Baptist Missionary Pioneer. Benedict College Archives, Mather School Papers, Columbia, South Carolina.

[266] Mather, R. Letter to Mr. Smith, May 20, 1868, American Missionary Association, Amistad Research Center, Tulane University, New Orleans, Louisiana.

[267] Owens, S. & Mather, R. (1897). Woman's American Baptist Home Mission Society (1897, May 5 & May 6). *Report of the Annual Meeting held in Cranston St. Baptist Church*, Providence, Rhode Island. Boston: C.H. Simonds & Co. Printers; Owen, S.

teaching knowledge and experience. I used the bible to teach reading, grammar, and moral development.[268]

My vision for the girl's school was to send out each year 12 or 15 girls well-grounded in the truths of the bible with grammar school training, and the ability to conduct themselves with propriety.[269] By 1869, we had a large family of orphans, a school of over 100 pupils, and a plantation Sabbath school of 200.[270] Our large family was divided into two busy, harmonious households, where the girls were practically taught the domestic industries by kind, competent matrons, and thus prepared to become good homemakers in this land where genial, attractive homes were so few. Sewing was part of their instruction because it was a skill they could use for themselves and for employment.[271] I had enough friends in the North who needed domestic assistance, so preparation was imperative to ensure self-sufficiency; therein, home economics offered a career path for my students. I sent students North on many occasions to work in

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(1925). The story of Mather School. Benedict College Archives, Mather School Papers, Columbia, South Carolina.

[268] Owens, S. The Story of Mather School. A stenographic report at the 57th anniversary, Benedict College Archives, Mather School Papers, Columbia, South Carolina.

[269] Reynolds, M. (N.D.) Mrs. Rachel Crane Mather, Baptist Missionary Pioneers, Benedict College Archives, Mather School Papers, Columbia, South Carolina.

[270] Mather, Rachel. Letter to E.P. Smith, January 20, 1869. Tulane University, Amistad Research Center, American Missionary Association Archives.

[271] Mather, Rachel, Letter to Miss Pierce, December 18, 1867; Mather, Rachel, Letter to Mr. Smith, May 20, 1868; Mr. Strickly, Letter to Rachel Crane Mather, November 27, 1868, Tulane University, Amistad Research Center, American Missionary Association Archives; Owen, S. (1925). The story of Mather School. Benedict College Archives, Mather School Papers, Columbia, South Carolina.

domestic capacities.[272] My young ladies learned how to cook, iron, and garden. Each girl had a plot and planted onions, beans, peas, lettuce or other spring vegetables to engage their gardening skills.[273] While enabling gardening skills, products of their labor provided food to eat and sell.

Propriety was equally as important as domestic studies, so we taught appropriate attire, matters of maintaining health, and table manners. Hygiene and self-enhancement skills were part of proprietary training as they paralleled domestic arts.[274] Mary C. Reynolds, Women American Baptist Home Mission Society secretary and teacher at Bigelow School for Boys, visited the school on several occasions. She articulated my vision for the school and attested my disinterestin a large school or post-secondary education. I just wanted to see well-trained young women who lived by biblical principles.[275] A student seldom left the school without the saving knowledge of Jesus Christ. My commitment to vespers and daily chapel formed as a child and deepened into young adulthood and my marriage to a Baptist minister.[276] All students attended chapel

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[272] Mather School. (1935). Mather School, 1868-1935. Course of Study. Benedict College Archives, Mather School Papers, Columbia, South Carolina; Owens, S. & Mather, R. (1897). Woman's American Baptist Home Mission Society (1897, May 5 & May 6). *Report of the Annual Meeting held in Cranston St. Baptist Church*, Providence, Rhode Island. Boston: C.H. Simonds & Co. Printers.

[273] Mather School, Course of Study, 1938, Benedict College Archives, Mather School Papers Columbia, South Carolina.

[274] Ibid.

[275] Owen, S. (N.D.). The story of Mather School. A stenographic report of an address for the 57th Anniversary. Benedict College Archives, Mather School Papers, Columbia, South Carolina; Reynolds, M.C. (N.D.). Mrs. Rachel Crane Mather, Mather School Papers, Beaufort District Library, Beaufort, South Carolina.

[276] Rachel Crane Rich Mather – see previous (I haven't seen this type of citation before.)

services every morning.[277] An hour of morning and evening devotions with bible reading and singing by all left us with a peace-breathing influence that followed us through all the duties of the day.[278] After Sunday school, students and teachers attended church services in Beaufort. Each Sunday evening, students had vespers at five o'clock, which teachers supervised. Many expressed a desire for prayer. Teachers, student groups, and visiting friends from town supervised Wednesday evening prayer services. Weekly prayer meetings were helpful. One evening the worst boy in the neighborhood came forward and knelt with others to be "buried with Christ in baptism." We praised our Father for these among our pupils who gave evidence of changed lives. Nowhere was the work of the Spirit more apparent than in the voluntary and tearful confession on the part of our boarding students, of petty faults known only to themselves.[279]

Sarah Owens, my successor from a primary school in Allendale, and Mary C. Reynolds witnessed my focus on primary and domestic education.[280] Elementary English and training in domestic arts were our instructional foci. They needed more than biblical

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[277] Mission Schools, Mather School, 1934-1935, Mather School History (Chronology, TCL), The Mather School Centennial Observance, 1968, Historical Outline; Owens, S. & Mather, R. (1897). Woman's American Baptist Home Mission Society (1897, May 5 & May 6). *Report of the Annual Meeting held in Cranston St. Baptist Church,* Providence, Rhode Island. Boston: C.H. Simonds & Co. Printers.

[278] Owens, S. & Mather, R. (1897). Woman's American Baptist Home Mission Society (1897, May 5 & May 6). *Report of the Annual Meeting held in Cranston St. Baptist Church,* Providence, Rhode Island. Boston: C.H. Simonds & Co. Printers.

[279] Ibid.

[280] Owen, S. (N.D.). The story of Mather School. A stenographic report of an address for the 57th Anniversary, Benedict College Archives, Mather School Papers, Columbia, South Carolina; Reynolds, M. (N.D.). Mrs. Rachel Crane Mather. Benedict College Archives, Mather School Papers, Columbia, South Carolina.

training if they were to establish a home and work in domestic capacities. I had to teach them skills that would grant employment. Owens pointed out the quickness with which the young girls demonstrated new skills.[281] Within a few months, they emerged from a crude childhood into intellectual, dignified womanhood.[282] Many students entered without writing skills, but in due time learned to read and write.[283]

Household tasks were important, but we changed them periodically to teach each student different skills. Students had an hour between breakfast and chapel to clean their rooms and complete other household chores.[284] Many girls at Mather School received a good domestic training, and were located in excellent Christian homes in the vicinity of Boston and Philadelphia. Some of our students were "up country" girls of fine mental ability and who roused to greater enthusiasm as our interesting island girls.[285] Other things being equal, one found wider intelligence the further North he went, as the contact of race with race tended to greater thrift and energy among the freed people. One may wander for miles on our islands without passing the home of a white family.[286] Owens

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[281] Owens, S. & Mather, R. (1897). Woman's American Baptist Home Mission Society (1897, May 5 & May 6). *Report of the Annual Meeting held in Cranston St. Baptist Church,* Providence, Rhode Island. Boston: C.H. Simonds & Co. Printers.

[282] Ibid.

[283] Ibid.

[284] Mather School. (1935). Mather School, 1868-1935. Course of Study. Benedict College Archives, Mather School Papers, Columbia, South Carolina.

[285] Owens, S. & Mather, R. (1897). Woman's American Baptist Home Mission Society (1897, May 5 & May 6). *Report of the Annual Meeting held in Cranston St. Baptist Church,* Providence, Rhode Island. Boston: C.H. Simonds & Co. Printers.

[286] Mather, Rachel (1897). Woman's American Baptist Home Mission Society (1897, May 5 & May 6). *Report of the Annual Meeting held in Cranston St. Baptist Church,*

confirmed Miss Kinsman, Mrs. Wilkie, and Miss Wroten, assistant teachers, conducted our three graded schools also our sewing school and mission enterprises.[287] Mrs. Wilkie, an efficient volunteer teacher, accomplished much. The work of the Spirit had manifested and some who did not know Jesus as their Savior when they entered school became glad witnesses for Him. Miss Kinsman was faithful in carrying out Sunday school work in outlying districts.[288]

We opened the school year in early October and ended mid–May. Many of our pupils were day students who came from local areas. Others came from Dixonville and Kramer, South Carolina. It was impossible to engage them in the evening; therefore, the fourth grade was the highest level of education that we offered initially.[289] Miss Owens and Miss Kinsman brought a number of bright girls with them when they joined our faculty in 1896; thus the sixth and eventually the eighth grades were formed. Many students and parents begged for admission. Those who came to Sunday school were denied admission as day pupils.[290]

I took charge of the industrial department with assistance from my niece, Rachel Crane Tiffany, and Miss Wroten, an assistant teacher. It would have been good to know

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Providence, Rhode Island. Boston: C.H. Simonds & Co. Printers.

[287] Owens, Sarah (1897). Woman's American Baptist Home Mission Society (1897, May 5 & May 6). *Report of the Annual Meeting held in Cranston St. Baptist Church,* Providence, Rhode Island. Boston: C.H. Simonds & Co. Printers.

[288] Ibid.

[289] Owen, S. (N.D.). The story of Mather School. A stenographic report of an address for the 57th Anniversary. Benedict College Archives, Mather School Papers, Columbia, South Carolina.

[290] Anonymous. (N.D.). Mrs. Rachel Crane Mather, 1823-1903, Benedict College Archives, Mather School Papers, Columbia, South Carolina.

that every one of our graduates would become teachers. A graduate from another state commented: "There are more teachers than schools."[291] Owens' WABHMS report submitted in 1897 emphasized the precarious situation many young girls faced. A young girl who was not strong enough to follow field work and too wise to settle down upon the pittance most of the irresponsible young men of this section have to offer, needed another opening. Fortunately, for this girl, she could make and fit her own garments. Girls were doubly fortunate if they could add to the small home income by cutting and making for others.[292]

My assistant teacher, Mrs. Wilkie, was an excellent missionary for the cause of temperance. She won laurels from both white and colored abstainers. We had very little disputes about campus, which I devoutly ascribed to His reign, He who is named "Prince of Peace." We wished that our girls imbibed the noble spirit of the Word, and would bring God's influence to bear upon their people. It is the whitened fields beyond that we reached through the refined and consecrated lives of our students.[293]

Resources were always needed, so I traveled North every summer. These visits were intended to obtain books, clothes, money, and homes for employment. However, I needed consistent financial help with the school, teachers' salaries, and operational expenses. The WABHMS supported me in the instruction of religious training. Their focus was to "evangelize the women among the freed people, Indians, heathen

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[291] Owens, Sarah (1897). Woman's American Baptist Home Mission Society (1897, May 5 & May 6). *Report of the Annual Meeting held in Cranston St. Baptist Church,* Providence, Rhode Island. Boston: C.H. Simonds & Co. Printers.

[292] Ibid.

[293] Ibid.

immigrants, and the new settlements of the west."[294] Our missions were congruent and their assistance provided substantial financial support for teachers' salaries. I deeded a section of the property to WABHMS in 1881 with a full transfer nine years later.[295] WABHMS aided the school for many years.

In 1886, we started the academic year with 42 girls: Four were placed in Northern Christian families; Six returned home to work in the fields; Twelve paid board in produce, labor, or money; Eight were beneficiaries of Northern friends. My teachers who were glad they could rescue a few forlorn, homeless girls, assumed provision for the remaining 10 girls.[296] Quite a few of the students worked to pay their tuition. This was a wonderful example for the poorest girl who saw she too could work to pay tuition. One of our girls who was called home to field work wrote: "I am planting some [produce] for myself that I may meet my expenses next year."[297]

Many of my friends in Boston and New Hampshire had friends in other areas, such as New York, that proved fruitful for my students and the citizens of Beaufort.[298] I had friends who were well-connected with the media. Ellen Collins, of 41st West

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[294] American Baptist Home Roots, 1824-2010, p. 11, Benedict College Archives, Mather School Papers, Columbia, South Carolina.

[295] Mather School: A living memorial to Rachel Crane Mather. Benedict College Archives, Mather School Papers, Columbia, South Carolina.

[296] Mather, R. (1897). Woman's American Baptist Home Mission Society (1897, May 5 & May 6). *Report of the Annual Meeting held in Cranston St. Baptist Church,* Providence, Rhode Island. Boston: C.H. Simonds & Co. Printers.

[297] Owens, S. & Mather, R. (1897). Woman's American Baptist Home Mission Society (1897, May 5 & May 6). *Report of the Annual Meeting held in Cranston St. Baptist Church,* Providence, Rhode Island. Boston: C.H. Simonds & Co. Printers.

[298] Reynolds, M. (N.D.). Mrs. Rachel Crane Mather. Benedict College Archives, Mather School Papers, Columbia, South Carolina.

Eleventh Street in New York, had connections at *The New York Times*. The 1893 cyclone threatened years of good work on the Sea Islands of South Carolina. In the early morning of August 27th, a cyclone hit the Sea Islands affecting the islands north of Savannah, Georgia, and south of Georgetown, South Carolina. It was reported that the storm killed approximately 900 people. The flooding demolished crops, livestock, and homes. At the time of the storm, I was in the North but rushed back to assess the condition of the people. I was astonished by the desolation and starvation that occurred. By the winter months, an average of 200 people visited every day for aid. God blessed my Northern friends who sent supplies and money until the crops were harvested in 1894.[299] However, months following the storm were tenuous for many on the brink of starvation. Support to help these starving ones only measured a pittance. After a night of prayer, I traveled to New York, where I attended Plymouth Church Prayer meeting in Brooklyn. During the service, Mr. Henry Beecher preached from the text, "Feed my sheep, feed my lambs." Then he asked the congregation to share illustrations from his text and I hastily portrayed the distressing scenes I had witnessed. My plea for corn did not fall on deaf ears. Mr. Beecher interrupted and said, "I cannot bear this longer, pass around the baskets, quick, gentlemen. I want to take a collection for this woman this minute." A voice near the door inquired: "Do you know the speaker, Mr. Beecher?" He replied:

> I do not know the lady or even her name, have never seen her before, never heard of her mission. I only know she is the Lord's woman doing the Lord's work, and the Lord sent her here this evening to stir our hearts and enforce my text; for myself, I thank her
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[299] Ibid. *The storm swept coast of South Carolina*. Woonsocket, Rhode Island: Charles E. Cook, Beaufort County District Library, Archival Division, Beaufort, South Carolina

A friend of mine endorsed me and my appeal; whereupon Mr. Beecher exclaimed, "Now, pass the baskets again." Funds were collected which were converted into a cargo of corn. The corn lasted until the harvest.[300]

Degradation and starvation were so severe and endless for whites and blacks that meager support from the nascent American Red Cross was insufficient to meet the demands of thousands of starving people on the Sea Islands. I sent a letter to Ellen Collins who appealed to *The New York Times* to publish my letter. In the letter, I described the horrific scene of starvation and a losing battle of life for the residents on the coast. I acknowledged the meager help of the Red Cross and other relief organizations. I wrote: "I can only say we are trying to help the starving ones and to rescue the perishing. But, for the ceaseless efforts we are making on all sides, our country must suffer a national disgrace of an extensive famine and widespread starvation." [301]

The following month, I sent another letter and once again, *The New York Times* published it. I thanked the kind-hearted men and women who had done much to alleviate suffering. I wondered how the Country could be guiltless in suffering thousands to perish in the very same rice swamps where they spent so many hours of unrequited toil.[302] In *The Storm Swept the Coast of South Carolina*, I penned horrific stories of the 1893 storm to bring in resources for my pupils. In chapter 12, I acknowledged that our urgent appeal to the governor was in vain, so also was the interview with the congressman from this

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[300] Mather, R.C.(1894). *The storm swept coast of South Carolina*. Woonsocket, Rhode Island: Charles E. Cook, pp. 88-91, Beaufort County District Library, Archival Division, Beaufort, South Carolina

[301] New York Times, 1894, February, Beaufort County District Library, Archival Division, Beaufort, South Carolina

[302] Ibid.

district.[303] It was indeed a matter of deep regret that neither the state, nor the nation, had made an appropriation for the 70,000 sufferers on the islands and low coasts, who lost their crops and many thousands their homes and crops, ready for harvesting. When we reflect how readily this country appropriated hundreds of millions of dollars in war for the destruction of human life and how unwilling it was to give even a few thousands for the saving of life, we could but deplore human governments, and pray for His speedy reign. I penned personal stories of Sea Islanders' suffering, devastation, and starvation as they were revealed to me. I used their words. I felt if the public understood their stories, more resources would be forthcoming. My ceaseless appeals for the suffering Sea Islanders rendered, from September 1893 through September 1894, $5,798.[304]

My ability to provide resources for students and the operation of the school was directly linked to Northern relationships. My friends included James Whithall, Ephraim Smith, Joseph Elkinton, and Ed Wistar from Philadelphia. New Yorkers such as Ellen Collins put an available fund at our disposal when most needed. The Hawes School Association of Boston often extended their generous helping hand and many others have sent us aid. We relied on these individuals intensely after the storm of 1893.[305]

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[303] Mather, R. C. (1894). *The storm swept coast of South Carolina*. Woonsocket, Rhode Island: Charles E. Cook, pp. 100-101, Beaufort County District Library, Archival Division, Beaufort, South Carolina

[304] *The value in* 2012 was $153,000 http://www.measuringworth.com/uscompare/relativevalue.php

[305] Mather, Mather, Rachel C. (1894). *The storm swept coast of South Carolina*. Woonsocket, Rhode Island: Charles E. Cook, pp. 114-115, Beaufort County District Library, Archival Division, Beaufort, South Carolina

Initially boarding, food, clothes, and education were all free. I never asked for payment for board or tuition, but when Miss Kinsman joined me, she insisted students stand on their own two feet. One Monday morning in 1896, Miss Kinsman made her decision to charge five cents per week. I implored Miss Kinsman, "Don't charge them anything!" Miss Kinsman insisted. When the boys and girls entered the schoolroom, they promptly walked up and deposited their nickels on the desk. Every Monday students deposited their nickels.[306]

In 1897, WABHMS expended a total of $23,899.11 to freed people schools.[307] The majority was expended to Spelman Seminary in Atlanta, Georgia. We received $450 for teachers' salaries, $153.10 for beneficiaries, and $154.05 for special gifts. In previous years, WABHMS expended over $2,100 for teachers' salaries, $37 for beneficiaries, and $20 in special gifts. By the end of the 1897 school year, six girls returned to their homes with the expectation of being employed as teachers.[308] This was a good year for the school. In addition to funds, Sarah Owens left her school in Allendale and assisted me here in Beaufort. Our financial struggles were shared with missionary organizations such as WABHMS. Mary C. Reynolds identified two reasons WABHMS lacked money for

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[306] Owens, S. The Story of Mather School. A stenographic report at the 57th anniversary, Benedict College Archives, Mather School Papers, Columbia, South Carolina.

[307] *The value in* 2012 was $682,000
http://www.measuringworth.com/uscompare/relativevalue.php

[308] Mather, Rachel, WABHMS, 1897.

missionary work; one, women redeemed by our Lord refused to give for this work; and two, lack of denominational loyalty.[309]

In my 1897 annual report to the Women American Baptist Home Mission Society, I thanked the board for their substantial aid in sustaining Mather School. I was grateful for their action in releasing me from my onerous labors as its principal. Although often it may have seemed rough and thorny, His presence cheered and comforted me every day, and I devoutly thanked Him. I prayed God would endow my successor with abundant wisdom, every requisite grace, and pour showers of blessings on all branches of the institution while under her faithful leadership.[310]

In spite of our financial constraints, we had delightful days. Miss Owens recalled a pleasant Christmas in the late 1890's.[311] A Christmas tree was well laden with pretty and useful gifts from Northern friends and a generous treat was provided for the girls. A few of the worthy poor were even remembered. We distributed gifts of food, clothing, and money. One aged woman who needed medical attention said: "I have been asking the Lord to send me some money, and here it is." Another said: "I have been asking the Lord to send me an apple and He has sent two."[312] Once we were established, bright new

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[309] Owens, S. & Mather, R. (1897). Woman's American Baptist Home Mission Society (1897, May 5 & May 6). *Report of the Annual Meeting held in Cranston St. Baptist Church,* Providence, Rhode Island. Boston: C.H. Simonds & Co. Printers.

[310] Mather, R. (1897). Woman's American Baptist Home Mission Society (1897, May 5 & May 6). *Report of the Annual Meeting held in Cranston St. Baptist Church,* Providence, Rhode Island. Boston: C.H. Simonds & Co. Printers.

[311] Owens, S. (1897). Woman's American Baptist Home Mission Society (1897, May 5 & May 6). *Report of the Annual Meeting held in Cranston St. Baptist Church,* Providence, Rhode Island. Boston: C.H. Simonds & Co. Printers.

[312] Ibid.

pupils sought admission and we received the earlier applicants, but later ones had to be turned away for lack of sufficient room. We were inconvenienced by our crowding, but there was never murmur of complaint, though at times the teachers suffered with discomfort of rather close quarters.[313] Provision for some of our pupils was assumed by teachers, who were glad to rescue a few forlorn, homeless girls.[314] In 1895, the missionary barrels produced more apparel than our students needed, so we opened a sales store. Its success with locals brought in generous revenue. All forms of revenue were helpful.

Our sources of income were meager tuition, revenue from the sales house, income from the small farm, gifts, and generous gifts from the Women's American Baptist Home Mission Society, our largest contributors. Without their support, we would not have survived. Produce afforded modest income for the school. At one point, we had 200 baby chicks, 12 turkeys, and a large crop of corn, sweet potatoes, and field peas.[315] When funds would not come in and debts accumulated, I deemed it wise to suspend a part of our work to the first of April and closed at that time our most advanced grade, also the sewing school which had accomplished the best results in plain sewing and fine needlework. We combined the lower two rooms under one teacher, and persisted until

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[313] Reynolds, M. (1897). Woman's American Baptist Home Mission Society (1897, May 5 & May 6). *Report of the Annual Meeting held in Cranston St. Baptist Church,* Providence, Rhode Island. Boston: C.H. Simonds & Co. Printers – for the Board of Directors, Secretary Report

[314] Owens, S. (1897). Woman's American Baptist Home Mission Society (1897, May 5 & May 6). *Report of the Annual Meeting held in Cranston St. Baptist Church,* Providence, Rhode Island. Boston: C.H. Simonds & Co. Printers.

[315] Mather, R. (1897). Woman's American Baptist Home Mission Society (1897, May 5 & May 6). *Report of the Annual Meeting held in Cranston St. Baptist Church,* Providence, Rhode Island. Boston: C.H. Simonds & Co. Printers.

the middle of May.[316] We were grateful to the WABHMS for their supply of teachers. Prior to 1897, the South Carolina State Convention issued teachers to assist us. At a state meeting, the board decided no school under the auspices of any religious board should receive aid from public funds. For me, this meant I had to pay for three assistants.[317]

As we were planning our first graduation in February and March of 1901, five girls were ready to go forth and we did not have a suitable place for a commencement service.[318] I insisted that we have the commencement in the classroom in spite of limited space. Miss Owens disagreed with me. We were bringing in some money. Barrels were coming in from the North and a few from the mid-West. At the end of April, Owen Hall was up with the clapboards on the side, the floors and stairways lad, but windows were not in place. The chapel was ready. We paid down the $700 as the initial payment.[319] As monies flowed in, we added a "mission" room where I met with people. We added another story to the rear of the mission room and a half building where my niece, Rachel Crane Tiffany, served as assistant matron and a number of students roomed.[320]

My contemporaries referred to me as "a brave, generous, Christian woman." Yet, I chose to follow the path God set for me. He sent me to extend a kind-heart and helping

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[316] Ibid.

[317] Ibid

[318] According to the Technical College of the Lowcountry Mather School History three students graduated from the primary school in 1901.

[319] Owen, S. (1925). The story of Mather School. Benedict College Archives, Mather School Papers, Columbia, South Carolina.

[320] Owens, S. Story of Mather School 57th Anniversary. Benedict College Archives, Mather School Papers, Columbia, South Carolina.

hand to the young women of the Sea Islands and that is what I did. This school was built on faith.[321]

Epilogue

Mather School marked its first commencement program graduating three students from its grammar department. Mather died in 1903, but Sarah Owens continued her work along with other subsequent principals. Finally, in 1932, the South Carolina State Department of Education approved the high school as an industrial unit changing the name to Mather Industrial School.[322]

A Junior College division was added in 1954 providing post secondary education to both girls and boys. The following year, Southern Association of Colleges and Schools accredited Mather Junior College and the first class graduated in 1955. The South Carolina Technical College System acquired the school in 1970 and changed the school name to Beaufort Technical Education Center. The school underwent several name changes, added a transfer option, but continued to offer industrial courses. The school is now the Technical College of the Lowcountry where the school bell resides on the college's campus and is rung annually at the commemoration program.[323]

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[321] Torch Bearers of Knowledge, 1877-1927. Published by WABHMS located in Benedict College Archives, Mather School Papers, Columbia, South Carolina

[322] Technical College of the Lowcountry, Mather School History located tcl.edu/mission/history

[323] Ibid.

Analyses

Background

Several archival sources revealed that Mather lived in Troy, New Hampshire; Providence, Rhode Island; Deep River, Connecticut; Hartford, Connecticut; and Boston, Massachusetts before coming to Beaufort in 1867. Although her educational background could not be verified, biographical renderings of her life concluded Mather completed normal school; a plausible deduction given her father and grandfather's vitae listed several post-secondary degrees from prestigious colleges. Mather's paternal lineage, the Rich's, were Congregationalists. Her father and grandfather were Congregational preachers. Among a family steeped in spirituality, Mather's environment was probably biblically and religiously structured.[324] Moreover, propriety was a valued expectation of upper class women regardless of religious persuasion. Mather's religious structure as a child and in her adult life inculcated societal expectations of propriety. Accordingly, appropriate social behavior was based on religious precepts and societal expectations; both were integral parts of Mather's life, thus forming the foundation for her school's curriculum. Mather introduced her social and religious values to students. This was evident in adoption of Sunday school, bible study, and prayer services on and off campus and insisting on structure, order, and a temperance program. Sunday school, bible study, and prayer services were forms of instruction biblically-based and socially appropriate to indoctrinate students with propriety.

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[324] Anonymous. (N.D.). Rachel Crane Rich Mather. Benedict College Archives, Mather School Papers, Columbia, South Carolina; Anonymous. (N.D.). Mrs. Rachel Crane Mather, 1823-1903. Benedict College Archives, Mather School Papers, Columbia, South Carolina.

Further, Mather's purpose for educating Southern freedmen was different from Towne's purpose.[325] Mather was an AMA missionary originally, whose resources had to be spent on normal schools only. Mather did not have the autonomy that Towne had to distribute resources to non-students.[326] This interference from AMA presented a moral conflict for Mather who found it difficult to refuse any person with a need for food or clothes. Mather, a trained teacher, understood the requisite to learning was the need to meet basic elements for survival – food, water, clothes, and housing. Likewise, Mather's goal was to teach the girls to learn how to support themselves.[327]

Equally important in this study was school founders' experiences in the teaching field or other capacities. Mather was a 41-year old widow who had two children and at least 13 years of teaching experience before founding Mather School. Years of church life during her youth and marriage, her role as mother and wife, all contributed to her qualifications to teach and found a school. Certainly, she met the prerequisites for mission work and school founding.[328] Above and beyond school initiation qualifications, she had social capital. Her family members, former colleagues, and former church

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[325] Mather, R. Orphans' Home and Industrial School for the Freedmen of the Sea Islands, Amistad Research Center, American Missionary Association Archives, Tulane University, New Orleans, Louisiana; Reynolds, M. (N.D.). Mrs. Rachel Crane Mather in Baptist Missionary Pioneer. Benedict College Archives, Mather School Papers, Columbia, South Carolina.

[326] Mather, R. Letter to Mr. Strickley, November 18, 1868, Amistad Research Center, American Missionary Association Archives, Tulane University, New Orleans, Louisiana

[327] Ibid., May 20, 1868

[328] Anonymous. (N.D.). Rachel Crane Rich Mather. Benedict College Archives, Mather School Papers, Columbia, South Carolina; Anonymous. (N.D.). Mrs. Rachel Crane Mather, 1823-1903. Benedict College Archives, Mather School Papers, Columbia, South Carolina.

members formed her network of financial support. Previous studies identified a correlation between the length of time educators taught in Southern black schools and having a spouse or close friend.[329] Mather did not appear to have a confidant or special friend locally. However, she traveled North every summer to escape the Southern heat, mosquitoes, and to garner resources for her school and community.[330] Nevertheless, Mather's Northern trips offered an outlet to socialize with friends and family. Importing social capital was the key to Mather's success as a school founder. Analogous to Towne, she incorporated Northern values and methods into school founding practices. The ways in which she used capital and supplanted Southern values and practices are presented in themes and subthemes in which they are applicable.

Educational Philosophy

Mather's philosophy of education for young girls stemmed from her initial assessment of the Sea Islanders and her religious background. Under the aegis of AMA, she evaluated existing schools to identify student readiness for teachers' training. Her assessment proffered a boarding home with rudiments of education and biblical studies. Her initial focus was teachers' training but soon shifted to domestic arts for employment preparation.[331] Mather knew with a specific skill set, girls could get jobs as seamstresses,

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[329] Butchart, R. (2010). *Schooling the freed people: Teaching, learning, and the struggle for black freedom, 1861-1876*. Chapel Hill, North Carolina: The University of North Carolina Press, pp. 87-93.

[330] Mather, R. C. (1894). *The storm swept coast of South Carolina*. Woonsocket, Rhode Island: Charles E. Cook, pp. 88-91, Beaufort County District Library, Archival Division, Beaufort, South Carolina

[331] Mather, R. Orphans' Home and Industrial School for the Freedmen of the Sea Islands, Amistad Research Center, American Missionary Association Archives, Tulane University, New Orleans, Louisiana

cooks, maids, and housekeepers thus contributing to their household income. Her focus was "industry and thrift."[332] While day school centered on domestic studies, she opened her school for Wednesday evening prayers and bible study for all children and adults. Additionally, Mather extended the school year from three months to eight months verifying her importation of Northern educational practices.[333]

With limited resources, Mather targeted daughters of freed slaves. However, boys joined bible study, Wednesday evening prayer, and Sunday school. Mather's focus was akin to the national focus of black education; industry, agriculture, and domesticity for women.[334] Her letters confirmed she prepared homemakers. This model was well accepted even with national opposition from W.E.B. DuBois.[335] Domestic occupations provided employment for blacks but limited economic advancement. It also offered household assistance for whites locally and in the North. Because Mather remained connected to Northern friends, she had a market for well-trained domestic workers and appeared pleased to place students in Northern homes to work in domestic capacities.

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[332] Mather, R. Orphans' Home and Industrial School for the Freedmen of the Sea Islands, Amistad Research Center, American Missionary Association Archives, Tulane University, New Orleans, Louisiana

[333] Owens, S. & Mather, R. (1897). Woman's American Baptist Home Mission Society (1897, May 5 & May 6). *Report of the Annual Meeting held in Cranston St. Baptist Church,* Providence, Rhode Island. Boston: C.H. Simonds & Co. Printers.

[334] Mather, R. Orphans' Home and Industrial School for the Freedmen of the Sea Islands, Amistad Research Center, American Missionary Association Archives, Tulane University, New Orleans, Louisiana; Owens, S. & Mather, R. (1897). Woman's American Baptist Home Mission Society (1897, May 5 & May 6). *Report of the Annual Meeting held in Cranston St. Baptist Church,* Providence, Rhode Island. Boston: C.H. Simonds & Co. Printers.

[335] DuBois, W.E.B. (1903). *The Talented Tenth. In The Negro Problem*. New York: James Pott & Company.

Domestic training comprised a fraction of Mather School's curriculum. The foundation of the curriculum was structured partly on biblical precepts, but the dichotomy was in the industrial occupations Mather School perpetuated for women. Mather's vision for these young women was based on societal values for women, but directed them into limiting occupations. Teaching and nursing professions were acceptable for women and had higher social status, but these options were not added to the curriculum during Mather's leadership. Mather structured the curriculum to accommodate black women with limited aptitude. Mather ascribed to maintaining gendered roles while preparing black, poverty-stricken women for occupations in socially acceptable industries.

The original instruction was rudimentary but with time and help from Sarah Owens, Mather School advanced to the 8th grade level.[336] Mather's inability to engage girls in the evening limited instruction to the 4th grade. The first class of three students did not graduate until 1901. Yet, the boarding home started officially in 1868. Sarah Owens confirmed that they had difficulty finding capable girls who could complete a course of study. In the 1896-1897 Mather School report to WABHMS, Owens joined Mather in 1896 and advanced the level of education to 8th grade but only because Owens brought students with her from Fairfax and Hampton counties. Owens also noted that girls locally had to work and they could not pull them away from the fields.[337] There seems to be a contradiction in this area in the quickness upon which girls learned and the

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[336] Anonymous. (N.D.). Mrs. Rachel Crane Mather, 1823-1903. Benedict College Archives, Mather School Papers, Columbia, South Carolina.

[337] Owens, S. & Mather, R. (1897). Woman's American Baptist Home Mission Society (1897, May 5 & May 6). *Report of the Annual Meeting held in Cranston St. Baptist Church,* Providence, Rhode Island. Boston: C.H. Simonds & Co. Printers.

fact that the first set of students graduated in 1901. Additionally, Mary C. Reynolds spoke to Mather on several occasions and wrote that Mather would not admit an improvement in the girls' performance. Astonishingly, Sarah Owens stated: "Many students entered without writing skills, but in due time learned to read and write."[338] In contrast, Towne instituted a normal school department within six years of starting Penn School located on St. Helena where a considerable number of freedmen worked on farms and cotton fields.[339] Towne had enough students ready for secondary instruction by 1868 making them candidates for normal school. Intracoastal waterways isolated St. Helena residents from Beaufort. People traveled to and from St. Helena by boats as was the case for travel to and from Charleston. The majority of Towne's students were children; most of whom had no form of instruction or mere fragments of rudimentary education prior to the Port Royal Experiment. By 1878, the county relied on Penn School to supply local black schools with teachers.[340] Mather's school was North of St. Helena with more students from nearby towns North of Beaufort. Owens insisted that girls from Northern areas demonstrated higher academic aptitude compared to students from Beaufort. Still, Mather could not prepare more than three students for primary school graduation prior to 1901. It stands to reason that Mather would have had a better population of students

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[338] Owens, S. & Mather, R. (1897). Woman's American Baptist Home Mission Society (1897, May 5 & May 6). *Report of the Annual Meeting held in Cranston St. Baptist Church,* Providence, Rhode Island. Boston: C.H. Simonds & Co. Printers; Reynolds, Mary C. (N.D.). Mrs. Rachel Crane Mather.

[339] Dabbs, E. (1985). *Sea Island Diary: A history of St. Helena.* Spartanburg, South Carolina: The Reprint Company, Publishers.

[340] Holland, R. S. (1912, Original Publication Date). *Letters and diary of Laura M. Towne: Written from the Sea Islands of South Carolina, 1862 – 1884.* Whitefish, Montana: Kessinger Publishing, LLC.

upon which to teach normal instruction and thus able to complete domestic studies. A simplistic answer may lie in the fact that many Southern students had to work at home and/or on farms for employers and were unable to complete school. Even so, this postulation does not answer the variance in primary school completion at Mather School and normal school readiness at Penn School.

Given Mather's upbringing as the daughter, granddaughter, and wife of protestant ministers, she was a missionary dedicated to converting lives to the Christian faith. Moreover, biblically-based education was the avenue in which Mather trained girls to be socially appropriate. Her mission was to "send out each year 12 or 13 girls well rooted in the bible who conduct themselves in propriety." A comparison of Mather's mission and WAHBMS's mission confirmed a similar purpose of converting lives to the Christian faith.[341] Therefore, Mather's alliance with WAHBMS was a shrewd pairing considering WAHBMS allowed Mather to remain at the helm of the school and make school decisions. The foundation of instruction was biblical years prior to Mather's affiliation with WAHBMS. The vocational element was the second stratum of education. Mather confirmed that if students attended Sunday school, they were not accepted in the day school underscoring Mather's emphasis on biblical training and propriety. The depth of Sunday school is unknown. Mather distributed testaments. She even started a plantation Sabbath school. Archival documents did not confirm exactly what the plantation Sabbath school consisted of; however, one can surmise this was probably a form of bible

[341] Reynolds, M. (N.D.). Mrs. Rachel Crane Mather; Owens, Sarah & Mather, Rachel (1897). Woman's American Baptist Home Mission Society (1897, May 5 & May 6). *Report of the Annual Meeting held in Cranston St. Baptist Church,* Providence, Rhode Island. Boston: C.H. Simonds & Co. Printers

study or Sunday school. Mission enterprises consisted of Sunday school classes in the community.

Distinctly, vocational education was a necessary component in the curriculum to ensure income; it was not the foundation of the curriculum. Yet, Mather valued vocational instruction for her students and found work for capable students attesting Mather's concern for students' earning potential. Her students supplied help for her friends and for other homes in the North. Although Mather's curriculum was partially vocational, focusing on workforce training and employment, the curriculum philosophy was a faith-based primary school with domestic arts.

Religious Influences

Mather's deep-seeded religious background extensively influenced her expectations for students. Christian values were integrated into every aspect of students' and teachers' lives. The bible was one of the references Mather used for instruction. References to God, Jesus, and biblical scriptures were salient in Mather's letters and reports to WAHBMA.[342] Through her father, grandfather, and husband, Mather plunged into the role of Christian missionary sharing Christianity with others. Mather's responsibilities associated with Congregationalism and the Baptist faith prior to starting her school endowed her with experiential missionary training. Mather demonstrated her Christian mission in myriad ways. Wednesday evening prayer services, Sunday school, and mission enterprises fulfilled Mather's larger purpose of converting lives to the

[342] Owens, S. & Mather, R. (1897). Woman's American Baptist Home Mission Society (1897, May 5 & May 6). *Report of the Annual Meeting held in Cranston St. Baptist Church*, Providence, Rhode Island. Boston: C.H. Simonds & Co. Printers; Mather School Papers, American Missionary Association Archives, Tulane Unversity, New Orleans, Louisiana.

Christian faith. From the outset, she conducted Sunday school and prayer services.[343] Without doubt, her original assignment was to found a normal school; though, spreading the gospel of Jesus Christ was equally, if not more, important to Mather. Illustrated in letters to E.P. Smith was her dedication to Christian mission work.[344] She traveled about the area distributing testaments. As expected, Sunday school attendance was a requirement for boarding students. Benefits of Sunday school provided biblical-based morals and daily structure. Additionally, Mather was socialized to believe young women should be chaste, disciplined, and expected to attend Sunday school and church services.[345] Mather's adoption of morning and evening devotions, Wednesday evening prayer, Sunday school, and church service fulfilled her goal of imparting religious discipline and structure into the lives of her young, female students.[346] In so doing, she transformed girls who "grew up in vice" into well-behaved young women. Mather's 1897 WABHMS report emphasized her goal to influence students with the Word so they would be able to share the Word and works of the Spirit with others. Faith was the foundation upon which Mather's educational philosophy was launched.

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[343] Owens, Sarah & Mather, Rachel (1897). Woman's American Baptist Home Mission Society (1897, May 5 & May 6). *Report of the Annual Meeting held in Cranston St. Baptist Church,* Providence, Rhode Island. Boston: C.H. Simonds & Co. Printers

[344] Mather, R. Letters to E.P.Smith, Mather School Papers, American Missionary Association Archives, Tulane University, New Orleans, Louisiana.

[345] Anonymous. (N.D.). *Rachel Crane Rich Mather*. Benedict College, Archives, Columbia. South Carolina.

[346] Owens, Sarah & Mather, Rachel (1897). Woman's American Baptist Home Mission Society (1897, May 5 & May 6). *Report of the Annual Meeting held in Cranston St. Baptist Church,* Providence, Rhode Island. Boston: C.H. Simonds & Co. Printers

Political Astuteness

Mather demonstrated political astuteness in a number of ways and one was relying on her network of Northern friends and families to assist with school needs. Maintaining written communications with a collection of Northern friends and families was an effective political strategy; although, done without knowledge of being politically astute as defined in this study. Mather penned many letters to Northern friends and families during her first year in Beaufort. Her Northern friends had connections with national newspapers thereby soliciting from a national pool of prospective donors and providing an effective platform upon which she communicated the status of students and natives. The underlying factor building Mather's network was social capital. She spent decades in various New England communities solidifying her network among assorted religious denominations and educators.

Although Mather and Towne's initial assignments were different, both demonstrated compassion for their students, which extended to others in the community. Mather gracefully illustrated school needs in letters and a book. She demonstrated skillful but poignant pleas in her book the *Storm Swept Coast of Sea Islands* in which she described the storm's devastation of the Sea Islanders.[347] To publish the book in 1894, Mather once again relied upon Northern connections in Rhode Island. Verbal and written pleas were equally effectively. Mather consistently asked Northerners for opportunities to talk about her purpose, cause, and school. Thus, courage was in her arsenal of tools that opened doors to public presentations. With every public presentation, she gained more Northern connections resulting in a broader network of friends.

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[347] Mather, Mather, Rachel C. (1894). *The storm swept coast of South Carolina*. Woonsocket, Rhode Island: Charles E. Cook.

Mather's use of social capital built a network of school support and demonstrated political astuteness. However, Mather's letters to AMA representatives underscored political tension among AMA, the freedmen's bureau, and other educators in the Beaufort area. In her defense to AMA's charges of indiscriminate distribution of resources, she clearly implicated the Freedmen's Bureau and AMA for neglect of the freedmen and questioned their compassion and motives.[348] Mather's age, experiences with two religious denominations, experiences as mother, wife, and teacher contributed to her confidence in questioning others. According to archival documents, the bureau was negligent in its support of Mather School often sending freedmen to Mather for assistance. Mather had no reason to fear retaliation. Furthermore, Mather could identify political alliances among the bureau, AMA, and the teachers. Some of these teachers knew Mather but none defended her against AMA's accusations. Mather felt the bureau and AMA attacked her work by undermining her compassion for freed people and the purpose of her assignment.[349] Mather's defense to AMA's accusations confirmed the politics of educating freed people among the larger religious groups and Freedmen's Bureau. Mather's response to AMA also confirmed the bureau's ineptness even from the onset.

The subtheme that emerged from political astuteness was Mather's persistence. During her first year in Beaufort, Mather wrote many letters to Northern friends and church officials describing the conditions of the children on the Sea Islands. One of her

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[348] Mather, Rachel, Letter to Mr. Strickly, November 18, 1868. American Missionary Association archives located in the Amistad Research Center at Tulane University

[349] Ibid.

Northern friends sent at least two of Mather's letters to *The New York Times.*[350] When the publications in the *New York Times* failed to produce enough resources to meet demands of starving people on the Sea Islands, she explored other avenues. Mather was persistent in her appeals and expressions of dissatisfaction with the amount of support the Sea Islanders received. Yet, she did not stop with letters to the *New York Times* and her book, but she asserted the needs of the Sea Islanders to the South Carolina governor and congressmen.[351] Her appeals were futile; nonetheless, both attempts demonstrated her inclination to engage in exchanges with elected state officials.[352] More importantly, was her ability to advocate for needs of others demonstrating a skill she used to maintain her school.

Resourcefulness

Mather imported social capital to the South and utilized it effectively to secure goods for her school and community. Her social capital resulted in a network of Northern friends upon whom she relied for resources. Once she released herself from AMA's assignment, she assisted the freed people in obtaining basic human needs. Distressed over the politics between the Freedmen's Bureau and AMA, Mather reflected on how she would advance the freed people without financial support from AMA. Throughout her tenure, Mather contacted Northern friends, family members, and personal funds to start and sustain her school. After making the decision to start a school without

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[350] Mather, R. (1894, February). Sea Island Sufferers. *The New York Times*; Mather, R. (1894, March). Appeal for Suffering Negroes. *The New York Times.*

[351] Governor Benjamin Ryan Tillman served 1890-1894. Governor John Gary Evans served from 1894-1897.

[352] Mather, Mather, Rachel C. (1894). *The storm swept coast of South Carolina*. Woonsocket, Rhode Island: Charles E. Cook

AMA's assistance, colleagues from Bigelow School for Boys answered her appeal for help. Several letters verified friends and family members from Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, and Rhode Island offered financial support and other goods. Various Northern churches answered Mather's requests for assistance and sent considerable donations in the first year. Impressed with the outpouring of benevolence from her Northern contacts, Mather concluded she was the only missionary on the Sea Islands receiving such generosity.

In addition to accessing her social network, Mather used consistent descriptions of black children to garner financial support for her students. In her letters, Mather described the black children as destitute, forlorn, and poor but eager to learn. The candid descriptions yielded sympathetic recipients who offered financial support. In one letter to Reverend E.P. Smith, Mather described the children of freedmen as destitute or impoverished at least four times. Mary C. Reynolds could not understand why Mather could never see beyond her initial impressions of the children and their parents. Illustrating the children as poor, destitute, orphans appeared a strategy Mather used to secure money from sympathizing Northerners.[353] Mather even pleaded with Northern strangers for money. Furthermore, she used stirring words to emphasize the necessity of resources. In an effort to increase national awareness about the starving people on the Sea Islands after the storm of 1893, Mather penned harsh words to illustrate the urgency

[353] Mather, R. Letter to Mr. Smith, May 20, 1868; Mather, R. Letter to Mr. Strickly, November 18, 1868; Mather, R. Letter to E.P. Smith, January 20, 1869

of national support.[354] Her piercing words procured many barrels of supplies and food for her students and the starving people of the Sea Islands.

Yet, Mather's most substantial and consistent financial support came from WAHBMS, which started its support with partial acquisition of the Mather School property in 1881. The property acquisition suggests significant financial struggles 13 years after the school's inception.[355] Furthermore, Mather started a farm and sold produce from the school's farm that generated modest income. Eventually, she opened a sales house.[356] Tuition, in the amount of five cents per week, did not start until 1896 and was insufficient to make a sizeable contribution.[357] The majority of funds came from WAHBMS and Northern friends such as Mary Collins, of New York, who started a fund for Mather School. Moreover, Mather School teachers were student benefactors. Mather's persistence, social capital, courage, poignant descriptions, and business savvy produced funds from Northern friends and churches, the sales house, produce from the farm, and WAHBMS.

An interesting observation in Mather's letters was severity and pervasiveness of poverty among blacks in the Beaufort area. Most families could not pay $1.60 for the full

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[354] New York Times, 1894, February; New York Times, 1894, March, Beaufort County District Library

[355] Technical College of the Lowcountry, Mather School History, tcl.edu/mission/history

[356] Owens, Sarah & Mather, Rachel (1897). Woman's American Baptist Home Mission Society (1897, May 5 & May 6). *Report of the Annual Meeting held in Cranston St. Baptist Church,* Providence, Rhode Island. Boston: C.H. Simonds & Co. Printers

[357] Owen, S. (1925). Story of Mather School 57th Anniversary. Benedict College Archives, Columbia, South Carolina.

eight-month (October through May) tuition.[358] Remarkably, students paid tuition in unique ways such as food exchanges and produce sales.[359] This underscores the prevalence of poverty the freed people experienced three decades after liberation, and partially explains the reasons so few students graduated from the primary school in 1901. The scenes Mather consistently shared in her letters and reports verified the economic condition in which she carried out her work. Yet, she found ways to ensure that the school had necessary resources. She even used her personal money to initiate her school.[360] Markers of Mather's school founding practices are listed in table 3.1.

Table 3.1: Mather's Markers of School Founding Practices

1.) How and to what extent did school founders who started primary schools for blacks in the South use their experiences, resourcefulness, political astuteness, and religious beliefs in initiating and sustaining schools during the Civil war, reconstruction years, and progressive era?			
Background & Experiences	**Resourcefulness**	**Political Astuteness**	**Religious Beliefs**
Affluence and wealth; Daughter of a Congregationalist pastor and wife of a Baptist minister; Inherited social capital; Head Matron at Bigelow School for Boys; Completed normal school; Married; Children; Committed 33 years to black education	Accessed Northern networks; Wrote letters to Northern friends, family, and former church members ; Visited the North every summer; Appealed to the public for school and community assistance; Demonstrated persistence; Articulated assertive communication	Accessed Northern networks; Pleaded poignantly; Described black children as forlorn and impoverished repeatedly; Wrote letters in national papers; Authored *Storm Swept South Carolina Sea Islands*	Affiliated with WABHMS; Instituted Mission Enterprises, Sunday School; Weekly prayer services; Temperance; Demonstrated missionary zeal

[358] Current 2012 Value $46.50
http://www.measuringworth.com/uscompare/relativevalue.php

[359] Owens, Sarah & Mather, Rachel (1897). Woman's American Baptist Home Mission Society (1897, May 5 & May 6). *Report of the Annual Meeting held in Cranston St. Baptist Church,* Providence, Rhode Island. Boston: C.H. Simonds & Co. Printers

[360] Reynolds, M.; Owen, S. (1923). Story of Mather School 57th Anniversary

CHAPTER 4: ELIZABETH EVELYN WRIGHT

Preface

Over the course of 12 years, Elizabeth Evelyn Wright established Voorhees Industrial School for Colored Youth (Formerly Denmark Industrial School for Colored Youth) to provide industrial and agricultural education to masses of rural blacks in the South. Wright's mission emerged from her genuine aspiration to improve the lives of blacks economically and morally. Jessie C. Dorsey, Wright's assistant principal and long-time friend, remarked:

> Miss Wright found and occupied her place. Her honesty, kindness, and sincerity to her fellow men who she loved equally to herself is witnessed by this great educational monument, which she left for the use of all who would accept the benefits afforded here.[361]

Wright's 34 short years were wrought with obstacles that demonstrated her character and perseverance for her cause. Born in a poverty stricken area in Talbottan, Georgia, her life began at a disadvantage. On April 3, 1872, Wesley Wright and Virginia Rolfe had their seventh child in a segregated area in Talbottan referred to as Smith Hill. Kenneth Morris confirmed blacks populated Smith Hill after the Civil War, many of whom were illiterate. Her father was a former slave with skills in carpentry. He built their small three-room cabin adjacent to a cemetery. Virginia was a Cherokee Indian who bore 21 children but remained connected to her Cherokee friends. She often spent considerable time away from home horse-trading with friends. Her absence created a void that Wesley filled by

[361] Dorsey, J. C. (1941, April, May). Elizabeth E. Wright. *The Southern Voice*, *36*(2), p. 6.

arranging a union with Mary West.[362] Wesley built a cabin for her on the property behind his three-room cabin. The two women lived on the same property with Virginia's 21 children and Mary's son. However, Elizabeth spent most of her informal years with her maternal grandmother and uncle who reared Wright in the African Methodist Episcopal faith. She attended school for blacks in the basement of the St. Phillips Church in the Spring Hill section of Talbotton where she learned rudiments of education.[363] Her life changed in one single act of applying to Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute (Tuskegee Institute). Initially, Wright's father refused to allow her to attend; he eventually conceded. She worked all summer to earn the funds for train fare. Wright was 16 years old on September 1, 1888, the day she boarded the train and traveled to Tuskegee. Of her first experiences at Tuskegee Institute, Wright wrote:

> I went to Tuskegee in 1888. I was very young and coming from the country where I had never seen a comfortable dwelling. The sight of the large brick and wooden buildings made a lasting impression upon my mind. It was a hard thing for me to understand how a man of my race could have acquired so much. I did not comprehend it clearly until I was out of school.[364]

Wright's fondness for Booker T. Washington, the principal of Tuskegee Institute, was profound. She valued his work for the black race, but Wright experienced difficulty understanding the full scope of his success. Wright internalized Washington's lectures, Sunday talks in the chapel, and sermons on social and moral truths. In the fall of 1892, chronic gastric ailments interrupted Wright's education at Tuskegee Institute. Her

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[362]Morris, K. (1983). *Elizabeth Evelyn Wright, 1872-1906: Founder of Voorhees College*. Sewanee, Tennessee: The University Press Sewannee, Tennessee, pp.3-8

[363] Coleman, J.F.B. (1922). *Tuskegee to Voorhees*. Columbia, South Carolina: The R.L. Bryan Company, pp.10-13.

[364] Coleman, J.F.B. (1922). p. 25.

mentor, Washington's wife, intervened and contacted Almira Steele who had a primary school in McNeill, South Carolina. Washington convinced Wright to assist Steele at her primary school in McNeill.

In Her Own Words

I knew that establishing an industrial school would not be an easy endeavor, but a necessary one. Before I established Denmark Industrial School for Colored Youth, I persevered through three attempts to start schools in Hampton County; all of which failed due to burnings. I have been greatly confronted with difficulties but experience has taught me that sticking to a thing in most every case brings good results, and so I was greatly encouraged and pressed forward with every effort.[365]

I was excited to resume the work Mrs. Almira Steele established in McNeill, South Carolina. She started a primary school in this sawmill town located in Hampton County.[366] Her school had been open for about seven years before I arrived as an assistant teacher in the fall of 1892. Mrs. Steele was a Massachusetts native who traveled South to start primary schools and orphanages for black children after the Civil War. She was valuable in developing me as an educator and school founder. Occasionally, we ate dinner together.[367] Since we taught Sunday School, she often gave us resources for instruction.[368] Mrs. Steele's mentoring prepared me for the inevitable threats from

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[365] Elizabeth Evelyn Wright, Letter to Booker T. Washington, October 15, 1901.

[366] Morris, K. (1983). *Elizabeth Evelyn Wright, 1872-1906: Founder of Voorhees College*. Sewanee, Tennessee: The University Press Sewannee, Tennessee, p. 34.

[367] Steele, A. Diary, February 4, 1893, Hampton County Library, Hampton, South Carolina.

[368] Ibid.

resistors. She received letters that threatened her life. The letters seemed to get progressively worse. She did nothing to be driven away and vowed to stand at her post of duty whatever came. Mrs. Steele trusted in Him who would not fail.[369]

I spent a year at Mrs. Steele's school in McNeill where I taught an evening school consisting of 22 young men, between the ages of 18 and 22. They were earnest and progressed rapidly. They worked hard on the farm and most of them danced frequently, but we stopped them. When we heard there was going to be a dance, we invited them to our home and we delighted them with entertainment similar to those given to us at Tuskegee. We had a small Sunday school. We had not succeeded in getting the children to attend, but we succeeded in getting the young men to attend.[370]

After white supremacists burned Mrs. Steele's school, Judge George Kelly purchased Mrs. Steele's land. I met Judge Kelly at Mrs. Steele's school in McNeill. Judge Kelly visited us on different occasions and offered advice relating to matters of money management. He was pleased with our work at McNeill and expressed that parents of the children who attended the school were satisfied with their teachers. Judge Kelly concluded the "girls [were] doing good work."[371] His purchase of the property was contingent on my commitment to establish a school on the very same site. I treasured my relationship with Judge George Kelly who financed my Tuskegee education

[369] Ibid. November 4, 1892; Ibid. November 23, 1892

[370] Wright, Lizzie. (1895, April). Two Tuskegee girls teaching a day and night school in South Carolina. *The Southern Letter,* 12(4).

[371] Kelly, George, Letter to Mr. Logan, January 3, 1893, Kenneth Morris Papers, South Caroliniana Library, Columbia, South Carolina

as well as land in McNeill. As I sought a hospitable location for my industrial school, I came across a 900-acre tract of land. I consulted Judge Kelly about it, and he inspected the property. [372] He served as one of my school's benefactors. His advice was instrumental in my management decisions. When I opened my industrial school in Denmark, he served on the board of trustees. Judge Kelly was even one of the references I used on letters requesting donations from local and Northern sympathizers.[373]

After Mrs. Steele's school burned, she returned to Chattanooga and I returned to Tuskegee.[374] I finally graduated in 1894. Tuskegee Institute's clean, manicured, campus mesmerized me with its brick structures and green trees. I was astounded by the level of success Mr. Washington's school had achieved. I was at Tuskegee only a short time before I made up my mind to try and be the same type of woman Mr. Washington was as a man. His talks invoked in me the will to emulate, on a small scale, such an undertaking to uplift my race. The talks which he gave us on Sunday evenings in the chapel did more to mold my character than anything else.[375] His work proved a testament to the success of industrial education for blacks.[376] Booker T. Washington had a profound affect on my

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[372] Wright, Elizabeth letter to Booker T. Washington, February 4, 1895, Kenneth Morris Papers, South Caroliniana Library, Columbia, South Carolina

[373] Wright, Elizabeth. Letter to John Kennedy. January 26, 1903, Kenneth Morris Papers, South Caroliniana Library, Columbia, South Carolina

[374] Morris, K. (1983). *Elizabeth Evelyn Wright, 1872-1906: Founder of Voorhees College*. Sewanee, Tennessee: The University Press Sewannee, Tennessee, p. 37.

[375] Coleman, J.F.B. (1922). *Tuskegee to Voorhees*. Columbia, South Carolina: The R.L. Bryan Company, p. 26.

[376] Wright, Elizabeth. Letter to Booker T. Washington, February 4, 1895, Kenneth Morris Papers, South Caroliniana Library, Columbia, South Carolina; Coleman, J. E. B. (1922).

life. He advised me in the daily operations of school business and I sought his counsel on many school decisions.[377] A year after I graduated from Tuskegee, I was in McNeill, and saw a 900-acre tract of land. On the property was a store, which could be converted into school rooms and a six-room cottage. I could procure the property for $900. I consulted Judge Kelly about the matter, and he thought it was a good idea. However, before moving forward, I wanted Mr. Washington's advice.[378]

Like Washington, I hoped to accomplish good work, but sometimes the way seemed so dark, I became almost discouraged. I often wondered whether Tuskegee, my alma mater, meant as much to the others as it did to me. When I thought of it and Mr. Washington, I took new courage and went forward with a better determination to do more for my race. I did love my race although there were so many in the race who were not what they should be.[379] Understand that I meant to work on a very small scale until we could get a firm foundation. I felt that the Lord would provide for us.[380] I was a Christian when I went to Tuskegee and the prayer on Friday evenings strengthened me

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Tuskegee to Voorhees: The Booker T. Washington idea projected by Elizabeth Evelyn Wright. Columbia, South Carolina: Thomco, Inc.

[377] Wright, Elizabeth letter to Booker T. Washington, February 15, 1897; Wright, Elizabeth letter to Booker T. Washington, April 27, 1901; Washington, B.T., Letter to Elizabeth Evelyn Wright, April 30, 1901; Washington, B.T., Letter to Elizabeth Evelyn Wright, December 23, 1901; Washington, B.T., Letter to Elizabeth Evelyn Wright, January 16, 1902; Washington, B.T., Letter to Elizabeth Evelyn Wright, February 27, 1906 – all located Kenneth Morris Papers, South Caroliniana Library, Columbia, South Carolina

[378] Wright, Elizabeth, Letter to Booker T. Washington, February 4, 1895, Kenneth Morris Papers, South Caroliniana Library, Columbia, South Carolina

[379] Ibid., February 2, 1897

[380] Ibid., February 4, 1895

and helped prepare me for the religious work, which I had to do for the students of my school. After my first year at Tuskegee, I was responsible for a great many things, such as taking the girls to chapel.[381]

I left Tuskegee in May of 1894 ready to start my school in McNeill. I can remember how fascinating it was when the carpenters delivered loads of lumber on the former site of Mrs. Steele's school. The location seemed promising and my plans were moving forward. I stood on the site of my school reflecting and looking forward to a new start, but my fervor was thwarted around 2:00 am when anguishing screams awakened me. As I looked out the window, my eyes beheld the horrific scene of burning lumber.[382] Distant memories flooded my mind with a school burning several months earlier at Mrs. Steele's school. Perpetual hostilities toward black education made McNeill an unsafe environment. Judge Kelly emphasized that we could not build a school on Mrs. Steele's former school site. Disappointed but not deterred, I continued to explore suitable locations for my school. I had to find an influential person who could offer some degree of protection and support.[383]

This was a challenging feat. Efforts to educate black southerners were often met with violent white resistance that manifested as school burnings and other criminal acts. Violence was not limited to black southern teachers only. White northern teachers were

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[381] Coleman, J.F.B. (1922). *Tuskegee to Voorhees: The Booker T. Washington idea projected by Elizabeth Evelyn Wright.* Columbia, South Carolina: The R.L. Bryan Company, p. 27.

[382] Morris, J. K. (1983). *Elizabeth Evelyn Wright: Founder of Voorhees College.* Sewanee, Tennessee: The University Press, p. 49

[383] Morris, J. K. (1983). *Elizabeth Evelyn Wright: Founder of Voorhees College.* Sewanee, Tennessee: The University Press, pp.49-52.

also victims of attacks. In Aiken, South Carolina, Martha Schofield witnessed violent attacks against blacks and built her home on the school's campus to protect her school from these vicious acts. Schofield was victim to overt personal threats.[384] On September 13, 1881, the *Watchman and Southron* reported that a school in Mayesville, supported by private patrons, "burned to the ground." Several months prior, a building on the school campus was also burned.[385] Lynchings in the United States peaked in 1892 with 231-recorded lynchings for that year.[386] In response to talks about a lynching of a black man in Tuskegee, Alabama, Mr. Washington taught us to "respect and live in cooperation with whites" in peaceful communities. [387] Nonetheless, Mrs. Steele prepared us the best she could for the local environment in which I planned to elevate my race. Many southerners, post-Civil War, perceived blacks as incapable of living equally and freely in integrated communities.[388] White people in Hampton County disdained a white, Northern woman who interacted with and educated blacks. The same was true in cases of blacks who educated others in their race. Governor Wade Hampton's withdrawal of

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[384] Watson, L. (2010). Martha Fell Schofield and Elizabeth Evelyn Wright: Women founders of South Carolina African American schools, (pp. 31 – 49). In *South Carolina Women: Their Lives and Times,* Volume 2 M. J. Spruill, V. W. Littlefield, & J. M. Johnson (Eds.). Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press.

[385] *Watchman and Southron*. (1881, September 13). School house burned. Sumter, South Carolina.

[386] Morris, J. K. (1983). *Elizabeth Evelyn Wright: Founder of Voorhees College.* Sewanee, Tennessee: The University Press, pp.26-27.

[387] Lynchings peaked in 1892 with 231 recorded lynchings in the United States, see Morris, J. K. (1983). *Elizabeth Evelyn Wright: Founder of Voorhees College.* Sewanee, Tennessee: The University Press, p. 26.

[388] Watson, L. (2010). Martha Fell Schofield and Elizabeth Evelyn Wright: Women founders of South Carolina African American schools, (pp. 31 – 49). In *South Carolina Women: Their Lives and Times,* Volume 2 M. J. Spruill, V. W. Littlefield, & J. M. Johnson (Eds.). Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press.

federal troops from South Carolina contributed to frequent school burnings. In 1892, Governor Benjamin Ryan Tillman advocated disenfranchisement of blacks. The Ku Klux Klan (KKK) was active and responsible for many school burnings.[389] It was speculated that the KKK burned Mrs. Steele's school.[390] Hampton County was a segregated society with economic and social power in the hands of whites,[391] while at the national level, black leaders in education and agriculture addressed topics germane to black education in the South. At the fourth annual Tuskegee Institute conference in 1895, Charles Marshall, the conference facilitator, discussed areas of improvement in black education such as length of school sessions, condition of suitable school houses, school supplies, moral character and academic credentials of school teachers and ministers, teachers' salaries and treatment, school improvements, religious practices, and morals of the people.[392]

I spent the summer of 1896 going from church to church in various Hampton County communities collecting funds for an industrial school in Govan, a little town between Fairfax and Bamberg Counties. I often walked miles to share my vision of an

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[389] Morris, J. K. (1983). *Elizabeth Evelyn Wright: Founder of Voorhees College.* Sewanee, Tennessee: The University Press, p. 36; Watson, L. (2010). Martha Fell Schofield and Elizabeth Evelyn Wright: Women founders of South Carolina African American schools, (pp. 31 – 49). In *South Carolina Women: Their Lives and Times,* Volume 2 M. J. Spruill, V. W. Littlefield, & J. M. Johnson (Eds.). Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press.pp.31-49.

[390] Morris, J. K. (1983). *Elizabeth Evelyn Wright: Founder of Voorhees College.* Sewanee, Tennessee: The University Press; Coleman, J. E. B. (1922). *Tuskegee to Voorhees: The Booker T. Washington idea projected by Elizabeth Evelyn Wright.* Columbia, South Carolina: Thomco, Inc, p. 28.

[391]Morris, J. K. (1983). *Elizabeth Evelyn Wright: Founder of Voorhees College.* Sewanee, Tennessee: The University Press, pp. 32-33.

[392] Marshal, Charles. (March, 1895). The Fourth Tuskegee Annual Conference. *The Christian Recorder.* Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

industrial school that would serve Hampton County locals. Sometimes my collections totaled less than a dollar, not often though, other donations amounted in various sums up to $15, seldom more. I deposited all the money collected for the school, which was located at Huspah Baptist Church in Govan, in the bank of Hampton, not to be used, in any emergency, no matter how pressing, for any purpose, but to make a payment on the place.[393] The church was not the ideal site as it did not allow practice of agricultural science, so I continued my search for a more suitable site. In the fall of 1896, I met Mr. Jackson Wiggins, a farmer in Colleton County, who donated $50 toward founding a school. In addition to $50, Mr. Wiggins furnished the animal and man power that transported Jessie and I to the little two room log cabin that was prepared for us in Govan.[394] While we operated the school at Huspah Baptist Church from October, 1896, through December, 1896, I did not deter my quest for fund collections from churches and assemblies of colored people.

As I procured funds to establish an industrial school in Govan, I grew familiar with the condition of the people. A primary school was not what local blacks needed. However, Govan seemed a bit more hospitable than McNeill. I felt that nothing would do them more good than an industrial school, and I worked to that effect.[395] While teaching in Govan at Huspah Baptist Church, I received a cordial invitation from a Denmark resident to share my vision of an industrial school with local residents. I visited

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[393] Dorsey, Green (1941). Elizabeth Evelyn Wright. *The Southern Voice, 36*(2), pp. 1-2, Kenneth Morris Papers, South Caroliniana Library, Columbia, South Carolina

[394] Ibid., 2

[395] Wright, Elizabeth letter to Booker T. Washington, February 4, 1895, Kenneth Morris Papers, South Caroliniana Library, Columbia, South Carolina

Denmark in the spring of 1897 and found the people heartily favored an industrial school. Denmark was large, nearer to the new county seat, and organized with railroad facilities.[396] It was considerably rural enveloped by outlying rural farm areas which blacks farmed as sharecroppers. In 1897, approximately 500 people populated Denmark. Farming was the primary industry. Beyond agriculture, there were few jobs for blacks and those were of domestic capacities for women and farming for men.[397] Nonetheless, after meeting with Reverend J. William Faust, pastor of Capernaum Baptist Church, I found a friendly, supportive environment to start my industrial school. In April, 1897, in a room above the Sontag Store in Denmark, I started what would become Denmark Industrial School for Colored Youths, but it was no flowery bed of ease.[398] County schools in Denmark closed at the end of March. Lula Davis, Jessie C. Dorsey, and I taught at this school for a month. In October, 1897, the school year started and we carried on the work. I taught the beginners. With time, they advanced in reading, spelling, writing, and counting.[399]

The community supplied us with food and board. Mr. Charlie Bunch charged us 25 cents per month each for room and board. Families supplied us with vegetables and

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[396] Dorsey, Jesse Green (1937). *The Southern Voice*. Elizabeth Evelyn Wright, 36(2), pp. 1-3, Kenneth Morris Papers, South Caroliniana Library, Columbia, South Carolina

[397] The 1890 Federal South Carolina census records were destroyed by a 1921 warehouse fire, yet Kenneth Morris confirmed the isolation of Denmark County see pp. 81-82 in Morris, J. K. (1983). *Elizabeth Evelyn Wright: Founder of Voorhees College.* Sewanee, Tennessee: The University Press

[398] Dorsey, Jesse Green (1937). *The Southern Voice*. Elizabeth Evelyn Wright, 36(2), pp. 1-3; Coleman, J.F.B. (1922). *Tuskegee to Voorhees*. Columbia, South Carolina: The R.L. Bryan Company.

[399] Dorsey, Green (1941). Elizabeth Evelyn Wright. The Southern Voice, 36(2), p.3, Kenneth Morris Papers, South Caroliniana Library, Columbia, South Carolina

dairy products. When we started in 1897, upstairs in the Sontag store, we had no equipment. We had three teachers and 20 or 30 students whose parents paid 10 cents per week for each child . The county paid us $30 per month, but we had to find our working material. One little girl persuaded her mother to let us have her table bell that their family used to call everyone to meals. We took soot from the fireplace, mixed it with kerosene, made a paste which we spread on old window shades. When the paste dried, these shades were firmly nailed to the walls where they served as blackboards. There were not enough seats to accommodate all the children at the same time. Smaller children sat on the floor around the sides of the room.[400] When the opportunity arose to concede managerial autonomy of my school to the American Medical Missionary Association for extinguishing school debt, I decided to maintain oversight of the work as long as I lived or until I resigned. Although, students attended chapel, Sunday school, and studied biblical scriptures, I preferred remaining independent of religious denominations.[401]

In 1898, we made some progress, but I still needed an influential person who could offer some protection against white resistors and resources. After several visits to Denmark, Reverend J. William Faust, pastor of Capernaum Baptist Church, accompanied me on a visit to a 20 acre tract of land that Senator Stanwix Greenville Mayfield owned. The senator was a Furman graduate and state legislator representing Bamberg County. He owned tracts of land throughout the county. Other local blacks in the area prompted me to approach the senator as he might be interested in my work. After several

[400] Ibid., 2-3

[401] Wright, Elizabeth, Letter to Booker T. Washington, June 6, 1898, Kenneth Morris Papers, South Caroliniana Library, Columbia, South Carolina

recommendations from local blacks, I visited the senator, who asked for a recommendation from Booker T. Washington.[402]

Unfortunately, I did not have one penny and did not know where the money was going to come from to sustain what I had undertaken. I asked God to help me carry out my plan. Going from place to place on Sunday, visiting 36 churches, I told the people about my plans, and they gave me $200. There was no visible means of support. Our first year in Denmark, we procured $362.15 from friends in South Carolina. Friends outside of the state donated $568.47.[403] By this time, our place of residence was in a large two-story house in the same place as the school-house. This accommodated the teachers and several young women and children, the boarding students. Several times during the week, after the closing of school in the evening, I would solicit food and fuel from people in nearby farms. Donated funds were insufficient to cover demands of all expenses. After school hours, I wrote letters to people in the North describing my plans for an industrial school. I performed office work, classroom instruction, cooked, cleaned, ironed, cared for chickens, and superintended the cultivation of several acres of ground belonging to the place. I forfeited any compensation for myself. Instead, I ensured my teachers received compensation and purchased supplies. After I worked in Denmark for

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[402] Morris, J. K. (1983). Elizabeth Evelyn Wright: Founder of Voorhees College. Sewanee, Tennessee: The University Press, p. 78; South Carolina during the late 1800s: 1865-1900, Members of the 62nd General Assembly: 1897-1898 www.carolina.com/SC/1800s

[403] Coleman, J. E. B. (1922). *Tuskegee to Voorhees: The Booker T. Washington idea projected by Elizabeth Evelyn Wright.* Columbia, South Carolina: Thomco, Inc, pp. 68-70; *The value of $200 in* 2012 was $5,710.00, The value of $362,15 was worth $10,300; the value of $568.70 was worth $16,300 http://www.measuringworth.com/uscompare/relativevalue.php

several years, the local people expressed confidence in my work, yet I was still unsatisfied with the location of the school. I wanted an industrial school and site where students could be instructed in the science as well as practice of the trades.[404] The school in Denmark, located in the Sontag store, did not focus on industry and agriculture. I could not rest until I found a site for agricultural and industrial pursuits whereby students could be instructed in the science as well as the practice of the trades. I needed a place with woodlands and pasture. Students had to learn dairying, logs had to be cut and sawed for lumber.[405]

I made every attempt to align the management of my school with Tuskegee Institute, a proven success. Our instruction focused on sawing, hoeing, milking, building, washing, and sewing. We taught students basic math, reading, language, and writing. Boys learned brick masonry, carpentry, agriculture, shoemaking, blacksmithing, and wheelwrighting. Young men and women learned printing and truck gardening. All students were required to keep their rooms clean and orderly.[406] The girls learned laundering, sewing, and millinery. In Denmark, my students attended services at the different churches in town.[407] We taught Sunday School. While I appreciated and taught Christian values, our school was strictly non-denominational. I did not want an external

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[404] Dorsey, Green (1941). Elizabeth Evelyn Wright. The Southern Voice, 36(2), Kenneth Morris Papers, South Caroliniana Library, Columbia, South Carolina

[405] Ibid.

[406] Dorsey, Green (1941). Elizabeth Evelyn Wright. The Southern Voice, 36(2), Kenneth Morris Papers, South Caroliniana Library, Columbia, South Carolina

[407] Wright, Elizabeth. (1900, March). An Interesting Report From a Growing Institution. *The Southern Letter*, Kenneth Morris Papers, South Caroliniana Library, Columbia, South Carolina

religious entity directing the operations of the school. Jessie and I spent many evenings seeking the Lord for wisdom. We realized our great dependence upon God for the success in carrying out His purpose in our work.[408]

We trained our girls to perform household work but after we graduated them we had no control over them. They went to their parents or did whatever they found to do in the South. I did not make any provisions for the girls to go North. My white friends in the South stood in need of competent help and would have felt very hard toward me if I sent our girls away to other sections to work. I was in the South. I had to work in every way possible to live with my neighbors and to send our girls North would have caused trouble with my southern friends. I was very sorry that I could not write Mrs. C.A. Brown of Auburndale, Massachusetts with different news. Some of my very best friends in the South could not get girls to do their cooking. I received letters every week asking for girls.[409]

In 1898, I established an 11-member board of trustees.[410] We purchased 20 acres of land with three buildings, for which we paid $1,800. Even with these funds more was needed. I asked my mentor, Mr. Washington, to get friends to help carry-out plans we had in mind. Senator Mayfield agreed to let me have the farm property in Denmark

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[408] Green, Jessie (1941). Elizabeth E. Wright. *The Southern Voice, 36*(2), Kenneth Morris Papers, South Caroliniana Library, Columbia, South Carolina

[409] Menafee-Wright, Elizabeth. Letter to Mrs. C.A. Brown, 1906, Kenneth Morris Papers, South Caroliniana Library, Columbia, South Carolina

[410] Coleman, J.F.B. (1922). *Tuskegee to Voorhees*. Columbia, South Carolina: The R.L. Bryan Company, pp. 62-65.

without any interest and discount of $1,800.[411] His family sent us butter and potatoes. They told us whenever we needed anything to ask them for it.[412] The senator supplied the lumber to erect a new building that replaced the old dilapidated structure we were using in March 1900. We planted crops for the benefit of the school. We had chickens, turkeys, and several swarms of bees. Lulu Davis, a Tuskegee graduate from the class of 1895; Jessie C. Dorsey of Ohio; and Mr. J. Merchant of Lexington, Kentucky, were assistant teachers for 236 enrolled students. I paid nearly half of the purchase amount by May 1898 with the generosity of colored churches. Both white and colored people were in hearty sympathy with me, and it would have been difficult to find anywhere a more effective agency for helping all of the people than this school in Denmark.[413] We still had debt, so I continued my search for benefactors and came across the name of Mr. Ralph Voorhees from Clinton, New Jersey, a blind man, who adopted my cause of elevating the colored children in Denmark. Like most of my fund-seeking letters, I informed Mr. Voorhees of my work, current conditions, and our needs.[414] Prior to Mr. Voorhees's financial commitment, he verified my character with Senator Mayfield. He asked:

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[411] Wright, Elizabeth, Letter to Booker T. Washington, January 3, 1898; Bedford, R.C. (1898, June). Tuskegee Graduates in South Carolina. *The Southern Letter* – all located Kenneth Morris Papers, South Caroliniana Library, Columbia, South Carolina

[412] Wright, Elizabeth, Letter to Booker T. Washington, January 3, 1898, Kenneth Morris Papers, South Caroliniana Library, Columbia, South Carolina

[413] Bedford, R.C. (1898, May 15). Tuskegee Graduates in South Carolina. *The Southern Letter.*

[414] Voorhees, Ralph, Letter to Miss Wright, February 5, 1901; Voorhees, Ralph, Letter to Senator Stanwix Mayfield, April 24, 1901;

> Is Miss Wright well qualified for the work? Has her work proved a success? Is it necessary to seek new land and new buildings? Is the 250 acres selected a good site for an industrial school? Is the price reasonable? Will the money which was collected in the South judiciously and economically be expended in the new buildings and equipment which she contemplated?[415]

Mr. Voorhees advanced me the sum of $4,500 for the purpose of purchasing the tract of land in Denmark, South Carolina, for the Denmark Industrial School.[416]

The 1899-1900 school year was a very successful one with us. We had much to be grateful for. We kept constantly in mind the reaching of homes, as well as in the schoolroom. We saw a marked improvement each year in the students religiously and morally. Ever since the inception of the school, this has been borne in mind to see after the heart, hand, and head of students. We held a mothers' meeting twice a month on the school grounds and also a men's meeting once a month. We felt that some of the seeds we had sown would spring up soon for good. We advised the men to purchase homes, to quit the mortgage system, and to plant more food supplies. We advised their counterparts to bring up their boys and girls to value virtue and to teach them to live useful lives.[417] Our attendance was much larger than the previous school year. We had enrollment of 270 students. If we had more accommodations, we could have taken more.[418] As the Denmark Industrial School progressed, I asked my mentor, Mr. Washington, for his

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[415] Voorhees, Ralph, Letter to Senator Stanwix Mayfield, April 24, 1901.

[416] General Warranty Deed, October 12, 1901; Wright, Elizabeth. Letter to Booker T. Washington. October 15, 1901.

[417] Wright, Elizabeth.(1900, March). An Interesting Report From a Growing Institution. *The Southern Letter*, Kenneth Morris Papers, South Caroliniana Library, Columbia, South Carolina

[418] Ibid.

assistance in managing the school. I requested copies of Tuskegee's bylaws and regulations. Senator Mayfield had a charter for the school and requested Tuskegee's bylaws to model the Denmark Industrial School after Tuskegee.[419] We incorporated the school in 1900.[420]

In April 1901, I was still seeking land for agricultural instruction and identified a large tract of farm-land in Denmark that would allow us to move the school and carry-out our goals. Ralph Voorhees, pledged to assist with the purchase. He wanted a memorial in his name. Once again, I sought counsel from Mr. Washington before proceeding with the purchase and name change.[421] Mr. Washington responded in favor of my plans.[422] On another occasion, Mr. Washington advised me to keep the number of students down to prevent overcrowding. It was much better to have 10 scholars carefully taught than to have 15 or 20 no so well looked after.[423] As I sought benefactors for my ideal industrial school, I knew a recommendation from Mr. Washington would help my work progress as the white people in Denmark appreciated his work in Alabama. When I stated I was a Tuskegee graduate, they seemed pleased with the idea. A few words from Mr.

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[419] Wright, Elizabeth, Letter to Booker T. Washington, December 22, 1900, Kenneth Morris Papers, South Caroliniana Library, Columbia, South Carolina

[420] Incorporation Papers, 1900, Voorhees Industrial School, Kenneth Morris Papers, South Caroliniana Library, Columbia, South Carolina

[421] Wright, Elizabeth, Letter to Booker T. Washington, April 27, 1901, Kenneth Morris Papers, South Caroliniana Library, Columbia, South Carolina

[422] Ibid., April 30, 1901

[423] Washington, Booker. T., Letter to Elizabeth Wright, December 23, 1901, Kenneth Morris Papers, South Caroliniana Library, Columbia, South Carolina

Washington made them more inclined to help my cause.[424] Mr. Washington knew whether or not I was worthy of receiving aid for the work, so I asked him to write a statement about my work and state whether or not he thought I was worthy of any assistance.

In planning my school, I formed connections with Senator Mayfield who exposed me to other leading men in South Carolina such as the superintendent of education, among others. Senator Mayfield became very much interested in my work; since I told him what I was planning and what I intended to do for my race. I sent Mr. Washington's statement to the South Carolina superintendant of education, W.D. Mayfield, who was Senator Mayfield's brother. Senator Mayfield spoke to his brother about getting aid from the state for my work and the superintendent thought he could be successful in doing so if Mr. Washington and others were in favor of the work. The senator shared his brother's report, which called for more industrial schools in South Carolina. Industrial schools were so scarce and very much needed for our race. The senator was a friend to my work as he did all he could to make it a success.[425] He served on our 11-member board of trustees at Denmark Industrial School. I organized the board of trustees in 1898 to function in an advisory capacity and oversee the operations of the school.[426] The senator was one of my primary advisors. In fact, Mr. Voorhees and Judge Kelly often implored me to seek his advice because he was influential in the state, and he was local.

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[424] Wright, Elizabeth, Letter to Booker T. Washington, March 5, 1897, Kenneth Morris Papers, South Caroliniana Library, Columbia, South Carolina

[425] Wright, Elizabeth, Letter to Booker T. Washington, January 3, 1898, Kenneth Morris Papers, South Caroliniana Library, Columbia, South Carolina

[426] Coleman, J. E. B. (1922). *Tuskegee to Voorhees: The Booker T. Washington idea projected by Elizabeth Evelyn Wright.* Columbia, South Carolina: Thomco, Inc, p. 71.

When an appointment of a district judge for the western district of South Carolina became available, Senator Mayfield planned to apply for the position. Mr. Washington's influence would have greatly helped him. Upon the senator's request, I wrote Mr. Washington asking him to use his influence to help the senator. Mr. Washington replied:

> I am greatly interested in Senator Mayfield because of his large hearted nobility of character. But I feel that I can be of more help and assistance to him in this matter if he should get his application very strongly before the President referring him to me. If the President should seek my advise, or recommendation as to Senator Mayfield, I should be in position to speak as strongly and as favorably of him as I am capable.[427]

The senator assisted me in an advisory capacity, offered protection against violent acts, and helped financially. Like Mrs. Steele, Reverend R.C. Bedford supported me in Denmark and McNeill. He was the secretary of Tuskegee Institute's board of trustees.[428] Washington asked him to visit us in Denmark and check on my relationship with Senator Mayfield.[429] However, Ralph Voorhees from Clinton, New Jersey, was my most magnanimous financial supporter. He was an old, blind man who wanted to leave a memorial in his name. Thanks to him, we purchased a 900-acre tract of land. Later, we deeded this parcel of land to the board of trustees. Mr. Voorhees wanted nothing to do with it save helping the work to advance. The country was a better outlet for our school. I originally named my school Denmark Industrial School for Colored Youth, but Mr.

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[427] Wright, Elizabeth, Letter to Booker T. Washington, March 4, 1903; Washington, B.T., Letter to Elizabeth Wright, March 7, 1903, Kenneth Morris Papers, South Caroliniana Library, Columbia, South Carolina

[428] Reverend R.C. Bedford, Letter to Booker T. Washington, March 29, 1899; For protection of Wright's school see Morris, K. (1983). p. 100, Kenneth Morris Papers, South Caroliniana Library, Columbia, South Carolina

[429] Booker T. Washington, Letter to D.E. Maxwell, Date unknown; Washington, B.T., Letter to Elizabeth E. Wright, April 30, 1901, Kenneth Morris Papers, South Caroliniana Library, Columbia, South Carolina

Voorhees wanted the school to bear his name. I inquired advice from Mr. Washington to change the name of the school to Voorhees Industrial School for Colored Youth. I was sure donors would not have offered objection if Mr. Washington endorsed the change.[430] Mr. Washington advised me to move the school onto the farm and change the name. However, he cautioned me to say very little about the name change and refrain from printing anything about it. He was afraid if people, who might donate, got the idea that the name was changed at the request of some individual, they would feel this individual ought to support the institution almost wholly. In the process of purchasing land in Denmark for my new industrial school, the new farm site, I encountered resistance from Mr. Guess, the property owner. Mr. Voorhees readily offered advice to manage this situation. Mr. Voorhees was explicit in directions he gave when I was attempting to get the deed from Mr. Guess. He mailed me a check for $3000, payable to our treasurer, to cover the cost of the land. Based on Mr. Voorhees's instructions, I took Senator Mayfield with me and proffered the check to Mr. Guess and demanded a deed for the property. I had directions, if Mr. Guess demurred, then I had to appeal to his conscience, then to his honesty. If these failed, then I would inform him that the law would take its course.[431] Although, Mr. Voorhees did not want an official advisory position on the board, he offered advice liberally.

Although, much of Denmark's black community, including black churches, supported my school, I still had opposition from Reverend Samuel Rice, pastor of Rome

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[430] Wright, Elizabeth, Letter to Booker T. Washington, April 27, 1901; General Warranty Deed, October 12, 1901, Kenneth Morris Papers, South Caroliniana Library, Columbia, South Carolina

[431] Voorhees, Ralph, Letter to Elizabeth Wright, June 21, 1901, Kenneth Morris Papers, South Caroliniana Library, Columbia, South Carolina

Baptist Church near Denmark.[432] After a Sunday night church service, Reverend Rice called Jessie C. Dorsey and me witches and accused us of not keeping the Sunday Sabbath but observing Saturday instead. Reverend Rice speculated that I was a Seventh Day Adventist and the people did not know what kind of school I was going to build. Jessie defended me and clarified she in fact was a Seventh Day Adventist, but I was not. She proclaimed her commitment to her denomination and apparently shocked the audience. I wanted to speak, but Jessie would not allow it. She thought the audience would perceive my tears as a sign of weakness. Others made speeches. Needless to mention, we did not receive a collection from the church that night. Reverend Rice antagonized us persistently but later admitted his attacks against us were unwarranted.[433] Unfortunately, Reverend Rice was not my only opposition. Teachers of black students in nearby towns, such as Martha Schofield in Aiken, South Carolina, resented my quest for a large tract of land for industrial instruction. She may have felt competition and preferred that I focus on a primary school. Graduates could then pursue industrial training at Orangeburg State College or Claflin College.[434]

Charitable friends supported Denmark Industrial School, later Voorhees Industrial School, with the exception of $125 from the county. To generate funds from our Northern sympathizers, I often mailed letters that enclosed our annual reports and

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[432] Coleman, J.F.B. (1922). *Tuskegee to Voorhees: The Booker T. Washington idea projected by Elizabeth Evelyn Wright*. Columbia, South Carolina: The R.L. Bryan Company, 75-80 & Morris, J. K. (1983). Elizabeth Evelyn Wright: Founder of Voorhees College. Sewanee, Tennessee: The University Press, p. 78

[433] Coleman, J.F.B. (1922). *Tuskegee to Voorhees: The Booker T. Washington idea projected by Elizabeth Evelyn Wright.* Columbia, South Carolina: The R.L. Bryan Company, pp. 75-88.

[434] Reynolds, K.C. & Schramm, S.L. (2002). Separate sisterhood: Women who shaped southern education in the progressive era. New York: Peter Land, p. 109.

pamphlets, which yielded much better ideas of the scope and aims of the work upon which we embarked. I was often candid in my letters to those who sympathized with my race. On one occasion, November 24, 1900, I wrote Mrs. C.D. Dill of East Orange, New Jersey, a contact from Booker T. Washington, and informed her that we were struggling hard to build a new school-house. Our school was dilapidated and appeared as if it would collapse at any given time. I shared that a new building would cost $1,480. At the time, I only had $260 for a new building. I always concluded my letters with a recommendation from Mr. Washington.[435] My letter to Mrs. Dill supplied $5, which Mr. Washington sent me the following month.[436]

Mr. Washington was the executor of a fund that a northern friend supplied for helping smaller schools in the South. On separate occasions, Mr. Washington sent me checks totaling $500 at such crucial times of need.[437] I sent Mr. Washington annual reports that included accomplishments and our needs, which he published in the *Southern Letter*, Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute's newsletter.[438] Oliver E.P. Stokes, of the Phelps-Stokes family, was a board member and contributed financially to the school. In 1898, Mrs. Stokes contributed $325.

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[435] Wright, Elizabeth, Letter to Mrs. C.D. Dill, November 24, 1900, Kenneth Morris Papers, South Caroliniana Library, Columbia, South Carolina

[436] Ibid., December 29, 1900

[437] Booker T. Washington, Letter to Lizzie E. Wright, June 5, 1901; Booker T. Washington, Letter to Elizabeth E. Wright, December 23, 1901 Kenneth Morris Papers, South Caroliniana Library, Columbia, South Carolina

[438] Washington, B.T. Letter to E.E. Wright, June 5, 1906; Menafee-Wright, Elizabeth, Letter to Booker T. Washington, June 9, 1906, Kenneth Morris Papers, South Caroliniana Library, Columbia, South Carolina

We had crops for food and income. The crops consisted of corn, potatoes, peas, rice, peanuts, sugarcane, and vegetables. Often, we were in need of farming implements and horses. Consequently, I visited churches in the counties in which I labored and the people gave small sums toward the work. People donated mules and cows. In 1900, it was impossible for me to move about as usual because we had so many students.[439]

On May 13, 1901, we dedicated Voorhees Hall. Mr. Voorhees and his wife could not attend the dedication service, but they wished us blessings on this grand day. He also declined a position as trustee urging that we needed someone who could visit the institution often.[440] Fortunately, he vowed to send a check for $500 for a new dormitory, which would honor his wife. By October 1901, the school was on better and more solid foundation than ever before. We were about to embark upon the erection of our large school building. This seemed to give new life to the work, and I could see bright hope for the future.[441]

On July 4, 1902, fire consumed our teachers' home and dining room leaving our girls without clothes and shoes.[442] Mr. Voorhees sympathized with our loss realizing it could have been worse. The dining room and teachers' home were very old buildings. Unfortunately, we had not insured these buildings, but we had insured the newer

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[439] Wright, Elizabeth. (1900, March). An Interesting Report From a Growing Institution. *The Southern Letter;* Wright, Elizabeth. Letter to Booker T. Washington. October 15, 1901, Kenneth Morris Papers, South Caroliniana Library, Columbia, South Carolina

[440] Voorhees, Ralph. Letter to Elizabeth Wright, May 3, 1902, Kenneth Morris Papers, South Caroliniana Library, Columbia, South Carolina

[441] Wright, Elizabeth, Letter to Booker T. Washington, October 15, 1901 Kenneth Morris Papers, South Caroliniana Library, Columbia, South Carolina

[442] Jenkins, Edmond. Letter to Warren Logan, July 4, 1902; Menafee, Martin. Letter to Mr. Logan, August 7, 1902, Kenneth Morris Papers, South Caroliniana Library, Columbia, South Carolina

structures. Although Mr. Voorhees cautioned me stay in the South and continue my work, I traveled North as I promised to call on benefactors of our school. This visit was crucial as we were engaged in extensive building projects on campus to prepare for the upcoming school year. Mr. Voorhees advised me to write my letters of subscriptions with how money would be used and for what purpose. He asked me to send him a list of anticipated improvements with estimated costs. Senator Mayfield, the president of the board of trustees, visited Mr. Voorhees to share his views about our situation and the immediate needs of the school.[443] The burning eventually forced us to close a few of our industrial departments. To our deepest regret, we had to dispense with the services of four teachers. My connections with Tuskegee prevailed in finding jobs for Miss Gilbert, one of our finest teachers.

The letters I wrote to my prospective benefactors were bold. As Voorhees advised, I appealed to prospective contributors with my work for my unfortunate race. In a letter to Mr. John Kennedy of New York, I wrote:

> Knowing your interest in their [blacks] elevation, I have come to you for your interest and sympathy. Although, I know you have many demands made upon your charity. Now, Mr. Kennedy, I am trying to raise $800 for a building in which to teach cooking, sewing, carpentry, and shoemaking. I would be grateful if you would help us along this line. Any amount will be thankfully received and wisely used.[444]

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[443] Voorhees, Ralph. Letter to Elizabeth Evelyn Wright, July 7, 1902, Kenneth Morris Papers, South Caroliniana Library, Columbia, South Carolina

[444] Ibid., January 26, 1903

In February 1903, the state superintendant, Oscar B. Martin, and Governor Duncan Clinch Heyward signed a letter of endorsement for my school.[445] When I heard Governor Heyward was traveling through Denmark, I invited him to visit our school so that he could see what we were trying to do. Unfortunately, his train was three hours late, which necessitated revisions to his travel schedule. He expressed his appreciation for the invitation and regretted that he could not accept it.[446]

When my closest confidant, Jessie C. Dorsey, described me to the public, she used phrases like "physically rundown," "unable to resist colds and fever," and "often confined to bed."[447] Fever was a common problem for us in the South. I fell victim to it many times.[448] Chronic gastritis contributed to my ailments. Ultimately, shortening my life, but not before I ventured upon the noblest of work.[449] I engaged in missionary work for my unfortunate race. I overcame school burnings, walked miles to procure meager

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[445] State Superintendant of Education. Letter to Elizabeth Wright, February 18, 1903, Kenneth Morris Papers, South Caroliniana Library, Columbia, South Carolina

[446] Governor Heyward (Private Secretary). Letter to Elizabeth Wright, May 4, 1903; Governor A.C. Heyward, Letter to Elizabeth E. Wright. February 18, 1903; Governor A.C. Heyward, Letter to Elizabeth E. Wright, May 4, 1903, Kenneth Morris Papers, South Caroliniana Library, Columbia, South Carolina; Wright, Elizabeth, Letter to Governor D.I Heyward, May 1, 1903; State Superintendant of Education. Letter to Elizabeth Wright. February 18, 1903, Kenneth Morris Papers, South Caroliniana Library, Columbia, South Carolina

[447] Green, Jessie Dorsie (1937). Elizabeth E. Wright, *The Southern Voice*, 32(2), pp. 1-3, Kenneth Morris Papers, South Caroliniana Library, Columbia, South Carolina

[448] Menafee, Martin. Letter to Mr. Warren Logan, September 13, 1906; Menafee-Wright, Elizabeth. Letter to C.A. Brown, 1906, Kenneth Morris Papers, South Caroliniana Library, Columbia, South Carolina

[449] Death Certificate, Battle Creek Michigan, December 14, 1906, Kenneth Morris Papers, South Caroliniana Library, Columbia, South Carolina

funds, endured harsh, false accusations, chronic illness, and yet I established a school that remained over a century after my demise.[450]

For this work she had an abundance of faith. Jessie C. Dorsey Green

Epilogue

Wright married Martin Menafee, on June 2, 1906 and died six months later in the Battle Creek Sanitarium in Michigan December 14, 1906. Menafee was the school's treasurer and assumed the role of principal while the board searched for a new principal. Ironically, four months following Wright's death, Ralph Voorhees, the school's most generous benefactor, died. Although Wright did not want to affiliate with a religious entity, in a turn of events, financial struggles forced the board to endorse an affiliation with the American Church Institute for Negroes, an Episcopalian organization, for financial stability. The school added a normal school, high school, and junior college.[451] The school's mission has evolved over the years and currently it is a four-year liberal arts college.

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[450] Morris, K. (1983). Morris, J. K. (1983). *Elizabeth Evelyn Wright: Founder of Voorhees College.* Sewanee, Tennessee: The University Press.

[451] Morris, J. K. (1983). *Elizabeth Evelyn Wright: Founder of Voorhees College.* Sewanee, Tennessee: The University Press, pp. 237-245, Coleman, J. E. B. (1922). *Tuskegee to Voorhees: The Booker T. Washington idea projected by Elizabeth Evelyn Wright.* Columbia, South Carolina: Thomco, Inc, pp. 114-128.; Death Certificate, Battle Creek Michigan, December 14, 1906, Kenneth Morris Papers, South Caroliniana Library, Columbia, South Carolina; Morris, J. K. (1983). *Elizabeth Evelyn Wright: Founder of Voorhees College.* Sewanee, Tennessee: The University Press.

Analysis

Background

Wright's background was vastly different from Towne and Mather's in some areas; yet, it is similar in other areas and parallels most Southern school founders who started schools during the progressive era. Although Wright did not found her school during the Civil war or reconstruction, Southern politics and attitudes presented major obstacles hindering black education. By the time Wright started her school in 1897, Penn and Mather Schools were well underway. At the dawn of the progressive era, Wright was embarking on agricultural education at Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute. She was among a select few of Southern black teachers who completed normal school or college.[452] In 1894, Wright received her diploma certifying completion of normal school at Tuskegee Normal and Industrial school.[453] Four years later, Hampton County school district issued Wright a teacher's certificate qualifying her for a $30/month salary most months her school was in session.[454] However, Wright used the money for other operational expenses.

Wright's background was nestled in generational impoverishment. She was a poor Southern woman who grew up among others in her socioeconomic class. Her father was a former slave who struggled to provide for his family. The area in which they lived

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[452] Butchart, R. (2010). *Schooling the freed people: Teaching, learning, and the struggle for black freedom, 1861-1876*. Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, pp. 26-27.

[453] Morris,J. K. (1983). *Elizabeth Evelyn Wright 1872-1906: Founder of Voorhees College.* Sewanee, Tennessee: The University of the South Sewanee, Tennessee, p. 42.

[454] Ibid., 99

was unkempt. Money, affluence, and status were nonexistent for Wright. Similar to the Northern school founders, Wright's family had a religious ritual of weekly church attendance. St. Phillip's African Methodist Episcopal church was her home sanctuary.[455]

From 1894 through 1906, she spent the majority of her time initiating a school and securing resources to ensure its longevity, demonstrating that her commitment to uplift her race remained a priority until the school was on stable financial footing. She married just six months prior to an early death. While educators were often married, female school initiators found little time for the traditional role of a wife. Some married and separated, such as Bethune and Charlotte Hawkins Brown, while others remained single such as Lucy Laney.[456] In most cases, black women remained unmarried while black men married. Wright was 22 years old when she graduated from Tuskegee in 1894 and embarked on a quest to start an agricultural school.[457] Instead of pursuing a home, husband, and children, Wright spent her life building a school with a female companion, Jessie C. Dorsey, a trained nurse. Almira Steele recommended Dorsey for Wright's assistant and made arrangements for Dorsey to move to Hampton County. On several occasions, Wright's health failed and she had to rely on Dorsey to carry on her work. Wright and Dorsey's relationship flourished into a close, trusting friendship. Kenneth Morris confirmed both women spent many hours together in prayer and labor. Their

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[455] Ibid., 4

[456] Holt, R. (1964). *Mary McLeod Bethune: A biography.* Garden City, New York: Double Day and Company, Inc.; Wadelington, C.W. & Knapp, R. F. (1999). *Charlotte Hawkins Brown and Palmer Memorial Institute: What One Young African American Woman Could Do.* Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press; Reynolds, K. C. & Schramm, S. L. (2002). *Separate Sisterhood: Women who shaped Southern education in the progressive era.* New York: Peter Lang Publishing, Inc.

[457] Morris,J. K. (1983). *Elizabeth Evelyn Wright 1872-1906: Founder of Voorhees College.* Sewanee, Tennessee: The University of the South Sewanee, Tennessee, p. 42.

relationship was comparable to Towne's relationship with Ellen Murray. In fact, some references credit Towne and Murray for starting Penn School; the same is true with Wright and Dorsey. Most credit Wright and Towne for conducting the business aspects of their schools. Without Dorsey, Wright would not have been able to carry out the operations of the school at crucial times of growth and during Wright's illness. For Wright, companionship proved to be an essential element in founding and sustaining a school. Notably, Wright's 12-year dedication to black education was an atypical case.[458] Furthermore, if longevity had been her fate, Wright would have continued to operate her school as indicated in a letter to Booker T. Washington intimating her desire to have oversight of the school until her death.[459]

Education at Tuskegee Institute offered Wright social capital. Similarly, assisting Almira Steele in McNeill, South Carolina, reinforced Wright's capital and served to guide her through processes and systems germane to school initiation and maintenance. Steele had connections in Chicago and Massachusetts, from which Wright benefited during bouts of illnesses. Steele's capital was a gateway for Wright to identify prospective philanthropists and donors. Equally important was Steele's mentoring and the political advice she imparted to cultivate Wright's professional growth as an educator.

Almira Steele was only one of several other influential persons whose knowledge Wright used to guide her through school initiation and maintenance. Steele's connections to the North included Robert Bedford and Judge George Kelly. Equally important were powerful connections with Southerners such as Senator Stanwix Mayfield

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[458] Butchart, R. (2010). Educating the Freed people. p. 81

[459] Morris, J. K. (1983). *Elizabeth Evelyn Wright 1872-1906: Founder of Voorhees College.* Sewanee, Tennessee: The University of the South Sewanee, Tennessee, p. 106.

and Booker T. Washington. Mayfield and Washington formed a network for Wright that consisted of Northerners such as Steele, Kelly, Bedford, and Ralph Voorhees, all of whom solidified Wright's social capital. Wright adopted their knowledge, experiences, and resources to increase her capability of successfully initiating a school.

Wright even found a way to cope with many obstacles. She extrapolated prayer from her faith as a coping mechanism to remain committed to founding a school. While a coping mechanism, prayer was the foundation for Wright's fortitude. Jessie C. Dorsey recalled occasions where she and Wright spent hours praying for resources.[460] Wright demonstrated persistence after persevering in spite of several school burnings.[461] Perseverance redirected her course to Denmark, a town that embraced black education. Even after she found the ideal location for the Denmark Industrial School, she experienced another burning of one of the dormitories. Once again, recompense was the prize for perseverance. Ralph Voorhees committed the resources to build new school structures. To Wright's bitter disappointment, Reverend Samuel Rice circulated outlandish accusations against she and Dorsey, but Wright continued her work. In the face of the reverend's public ridicule, Wright had already established enough support from local blacks who supported an industrial school. In summary, Wright found ways to overcome racial discrimination and black opposition by acquiring social capital in

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[460] Green, J.C.D. (1937, April/May). Elizabeth E. Wright. *The Southern Voice*, 32(2), pp.1-3.; Green, J.C.D. (1941, April/May). Elizabeth E. Wright. *The Southern Voice*, 32(2), pp.1-5, Kenneth Morris Papers, South Caroliniana Library, Columbia, South Carolina; Morris, J. K. (1983). *Elizabeth Evelyn Wright: Founder of Voorhees College.* Sewanee, Tennessee: The University Press, p. 64

[461] Morris, J. K. (1983). *Elizabeth Evelyn Wright: Founder of Voorhees College.* Sewanee, Tennessee: The University Press, p. 64.

Northern and Southern communities, forming a network of powerful men, receiving advice from a female mentor, persisting after various disappointments, and praying.

Educational Philosophy

J.F.B. Coleman maintained that Voorhees Industrial School was a smaller Tuskegee Institute. Wright's letters underscored this in several ways; one, adopting Tuskegee's bylaws and two, patterning learning and social activities similar to those she experienced at Tuskegee. Wright valued her educational experiences at Tuskegee, but her educational experiences were confined only to Tuskegee Institute unlike others in this study. She was most impressed with Booker T. Washington's accomplishments as a school initiator and sustainer. Wright's educational philosophy at Denmark Industrial School for Colored Youth, as the name indicated, was industrial and agricultural as she experienced at Tuskegee. Wright replicated Booker T. Washington's model due to its success at Tuskegee Institute; after all, Washington was a Hampton Institute graduate himself and saw value in agricultural education for Southern blacks. A slave-born Hampton Institute graduate, Washington had gained popularity for his national position that an agricultural and industrial education were plausible alternatives for Southern blacks.[462] While many white and black Americans supported agricultural and industrial education for blacks, W.E.B. Dubois opposed agricultural and industrial education.[463]

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[462] Jabs, A. (1983). *The mission of Voorhees College: Its roots and its future.* (Doctoral Dissertation). Retrieved from http:www.library.sc.edu/

[463] Ibid.; Washington, B. T. (1903); In B. T. Washington et al., *The Negro Problem: A series of Articles by Representative American Negroes of Today* (New York: J. Pott & Co.; republished by Arno Press, 1969); DuBois, W.E.B. (1903). The Talented Tenth. In The Negro Problem. New York: James Pott & Company.

Wright ascribed to industrial education in part because she experienced it at Tuskegee, but industrial education also fit the needs of the Denmark population. In a letter to Booker T. Washington, Wright confirmed the people in Denmark were eager for an industrial school. Wright's insistence on agricultural education fueled her quest for a larger tract of farmland to teach students the practice of agriculture as she had at Tuskegee. Wright envisioned heneries, cows, crops, and a dairy farm.[464] Wright adopted practical education to help men maximize produce and other products from their farms; consequently, providing food and income for their families. Vocational education was the avenue Wright envisioned to transform impoverished blacks into higher socioeconomic status.

Moreover, Wright provided rudiments of spelling, reading, writing, and counting. Since occupations and home roles for women and men differed, Wright offered a separate curriculum for girls and boys to meet the needs of local Southern communities; although, a market existed for domestic help in the North. The girls trained in domestic arts. Men learned wheelwrighting, farming, brick masonry, carpentry, agriculture, shoemaking, and other vocational occupations. She expected girls to work as domestics and keep neat, orderly homes.[465] Wright's focus on agricultural and industrial education was appropriate for rural life in Denmark where many families farmed. Furthermore, Jim Crow laws limited black socioeconomic advancement in Denmark. Education outside of the trades was impractical in Denmark, since jobs were not available to blacks in many

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[464] Green, J.C.D. (1941, April/May). *The Southern Voice*, 36(2), p.4, Kenneth Morris Papers, South Caroliniana Library, Columbia, South Carolina

[465] Ibid., 5

other capacities.[466] In addition to agricultural training, Wright emphasized religious precepts and morality. Propriety was an expectation for students. While in McNeill, Wright encouraged her male students to stop drinking alcoholic beverages and urged them to refrain from dances. To lure men away from dances, she provided entertainment for the young men at her home and school. Training for men and women focused on self-improvement. There again, emphasizing elevation of her race but also a practice she adopted from Booker T. Washington.

Religious Influences

Wright grew up in the African Methodist Episcopal religious denomination, but insisted her school remain nondenominational. In 1894, John Harvey Kellogg, a Michigan doctor and Seventh Day Adventist, offered to pay the balance on the school property if Wright deeded the property to the American Medical Missionary Association and relinquished control of hiring teachers. Wright responded in a letter to Booker T. Washington: "I do not believe in denominational schools, and feel that I can do more for uplifting my race by having it strictly independent under a board of trustees."[467] Moreover, she feared loss of autonomy in decisions regarding school operations.[468]

Wright demonstrated reliance on God through an active prayer life. Jessie C. Dorsey emphasized that Wright spent many evenings in prayer with students. Prayer was

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[466] Butchart, R. (2010, February/April). *Black hope, white power: Emancipation, reconstruction and the legacy unequal schooling in the US South, 1861-1880, 46*(1-2), 33-50.

[467] Morris,J. K. (1983). *Elizabeth Evelyn Wright 1872-1906: Founder of Voorhees College.* Sewanee, Tennessee: The University of the South Sewanee, Tennessee, p. 106.

[468] Wright, Elizabeth letter to Booker T. Washington, June 6, 1894 – referenced in Morris, p. 106.

a coping mechanism for Wright. She prayed after disappointments such as school burnings and during acute shortages of resources.[469] On the other hand, school burnings and lack of resources tested her faith in God. Wright's continued reliance on God transformed her into a symbol of faith. Her active prayer life served as a coping mechanism to endure multiple school fires, white opposition to black education, black opposition to Seventh Day Adventists, opposition from other educators, and lack of resources. This study explored school founders' religious beliefs in correlation with initiating and sustaining schools. Wright used her faith in God to cope with Southern resistance and meager resources. She found strength in her faith, which allowed her to persist through obstacles to found a school. As such, she played an important role in educating blacks. She was a symbol of faith in that she overcame many obstacles that existed in the South for Southern, black, women school founders. Yet, she would not permit reliance upon religious entities to prevent student enrollment. Wright did not create barriers that limited education for her race. She insisted on a philosophy of religious inclusion from all religious denominations. Wright's school, which still exists, is a witness to her faith in God.

Political Astuteness

Wright demonstrated political astuteness in several ways. Her most profound manifestation was her connections with powerful, well-known men such as Judge George Kelly, Booker T. Washington, and Senator Stanwix Mayfield. The knowledge she lacked in conducting school business, arranging land sales, and fundraising was supplemented with knowledge from these three men. Notably, women's suffrage had started, but black

[469] Coleman, J.F.B. (1922). *Tuskegee to Voorhees*. Columbia, South Carolina: R. L. Bryan Company, p. 89.

women were excluded. In spite of the modest gains in women's rights, men lacked confidence in women's ability to negotiate large purchases, manage money, and transacted daily business operations. Wright bypassed her limitations as a black woman in the rural South and surrounded herself with powerful men.

Judge Kelly was Wright's educational benefactor at Tuskegee and her school sponsor for what would have been her first school in McNeill. Judge Kelly advised Wright in areas of land purchases, school location, and new building projects. His guidance lasted the duration of her life. Like Judge Kelly, Washington was a source of knowledge for Wright as well. He implored Tuskegee graduates to start schools for blacks in the South. Wright internalized Washington's expectations for his graduates but relied on Washington for his experience as school initiator and sustainer. Denmark Industrial School's bylaws and building specifications for the administrative building echoed those of Booker T. Washington.[470] Wright enclosed Washington's endorsement of Denmark Industrial School in letters to prospective donors. She sought his advice on many topics even after receiving advice from others such as Judge Kelly.[471] Like Washington, Wright formed a board of trustees to legitimize the school and ensure inclusiveness of her sponsors. Wright consulted the board on all major decisions such as land purchases and presented school reports to the board. Yet, her most powerful alliance

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[470] Wright, Elizabeth, Letter to Booker T. Washington, December 22, 1900, Kenneth Morris Papers, South Caroliniana Library, Columbia, South Carolina; Coleman, J.F.B. (1922). *Tuskegee to Voorhees*. Columbia, South Carolina: R. L. Bryan Company, p. 96.

[471] Wright, E.E. Letter to Booker T. Washington, February 2, 1895; Washington, B.T. Letter to Elizabeth Evelyn Wright, April 30, 1901, Kenneth Morris Papers, South Caroliniana Library, Columbia, South Carolina

resulted from a relationship with Senator Stanwix Mayfield.[472] He provided protection against white resistors, but he exposed her to other powerful individuals such as the South Carolina superintendent of schools. Furthermore, she reached out to Governor Duncan C. Heyward for a tour of her school. He declined the tour citing changes in travel plans. Because of Wright's network of powerful men, who may or may not have known each other, she became a pawn in politics. Senator Mayfield asked Wright to enlist Washington's help for his appointment as district judge. By the time of her death, Wright had achieved some influence.

Although most of Wright's political network was comprised of men, she relied on Almira Steele as an influential mentor in education. Wright's experience with Steele in McNeill was much like a practicum, which prepared Wright for managing her own school. Under Steele's tutelage, Wright taught Sunday school in McNeill. They spent several months working together at Steele's school, but remained in contact after Wright moved to Denmark. While Steele was instrumental in developing Wright's teaching skills, she advised Wright to refrain from political debates – advice Wright accepted.

Coupled with nurturing powerful relationships in both Southern and Northern communities, Wright used non-threatening communications to build a base of financial support. Wright framed her letters to reflect political correctness. When a Northern woman inquired about getting domestic help, Wright's cautious response reflected allegiance to Southern white women in local areas. Opportunities for domestic work existed in other geographic areas, but Wright chose to remain committed to supplying

[472] Wright, E.E. Letter to Booker T. Washington, March 5, 1897, Kenneth Morris Papers, South Caroliniana Library, Columbia, South Carolina; Coleman, J.F.B. (1922). *Tuskegee to Voorhees*. Columbia, South Carolina: R. L. Bryan Company, pp. 89-91.

local homes with domestic help. Wright did not incite hostility from local Southern women; the consequences could have resulted in more hardships and obstacles. Correspondingly, Wright received some financial support from local whites in Denmark and did not want to preclude future donations. After all, friends in South Carolina, excluding blacks, contributed $363.12 in 1898.[473] Whatever the reason, Wright was not an agitator. She had a quiet, nonthreatening demeanor that displayed sincerity in her work. Her approach made it easier to gain resources from contributors. This fueled jealousy with other school founders. Wright certainly maintained Steele's advice to refrain from political debates. In fact, when Reverend Rice's unfounded accusations surfaced against Wright, she was so emotional Jessie Dorsey had to defend her. Martha Schoefield opposed Wright's industrial school and recommended that Wright focus on primary education instead. Wright's ability to raise money to purchase 200 acres of land fueled Schoefield's resentment.[474] To conclude, Wright had to hurdle white resistors, black resistors, and opposition from other school founders. Her connections with powerful individuals and her non-threatening approach consolidated her political astuteness.

Resourcefulness

Wright's resourcefulness intersected with political astuteness. Her circle of influential associates resulted in many resources for Denmark Industrial School for Colored Youth. The school's trustees and others in her growing network of individuals

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[473] *The value of $363.12 in* 2012 was $10,400.00 http://www.measuringworth.com/uscompare/relativevalue.php

[474] Reynolds, K. C. & Schramm, S. L. (2002). *Separate Sisterhood: Women who shaped Southern education in the progressive era*. New York: Peter Lang Publishing, Inc.

with access to resources beneficial to the school yielded money, goods, land, food, equipment, and animals. She enclosed Booker T. Washington's endorsement in letters to prospective donors to legitimize her work, thereby increasing the probability of school donations. Washington and Senator Stanwix Mayfield assisted the school through advisement of its founder, but they also provided resources; Washington funds; Mayfield protection, food, lumber, and money. Church rallies resulted in meager funds from local areas such as Hampton and Denmark counties. Albeit meager, these rallies demonstrated community support for an industrial/agricultural school. Some supported her in other ways such as donating transportation, food, and boarding.

Letter writing to Northern and Southern friends assisted the school financially. Wright wrote Ralph Voorhees several times but did not get a reply. Martin Menafee wrote Voorhees three times; and finally, Voorhees returned a letter addressed to Wright with specific questions.[475] Personal visitations may have been more effective. She made personal pleas for financial assistance locally and in Philadelphia. She spoke to people in Denmark describing the work of the school that required resources to initiate and to maintain. In general, community support was evident among blacks. Yet, their contributions alone could not initiate and sustain a school. Like many other private school leaders, she instituted tuition, 10 cents per week. Wright was among Northern and Southern educators who depended on Northern sympathizers for funding. She traveled north to seek interest in her school. After Ralph Voorhees' initial letter, Wright visited Voorhees at his home in Philadelphia. Voorhees proved Wright's most magnanimous

[475] Morris, J. K. (1983). *Elizabeth Evelyn Wright: Founder of Voorhees College.* Sewanee, Tennessee: The University Press; Newsome, C. (1982). *Mary McLeod Bethune in religious perspective: A seminal essay* (Doctoral dissertation). Retrieved from http:www.library.sc.edu/

sponsor. He funded major building projects and land purchases. Even when the girls' dormitory burned, he sent Wright additional money to rebuild. Wright's 1902 board of trustees report reflected financial stability thanks to Ralph Voorhees' magnanimous contributions. Voorhees donated $5,000 for land purchase; $4,500 was allocated for land purchase and $500 for erecting a school building.[476] The new structure contained three offices, four class-rooms, library, reading room, and large chapel. The school owned one horse, two wagons, a mule, three cows, and nine hogs. The total receipts for that year totaled $8,975.[477] Voorhees donated more than half of the school's total donations in 1902. Astonishingly, Wright had an excess of $875 for that year's expenses. Only five years after she started her school, she was making significant progress due to Ralph Voorhees' financial commitments.[478]

Growth and progress continued in 1905, the year Wright erected the Booker T. Washington hospital, a two-story, thirty-room structure for a cost of $15,000, which was a gift from Voorhees. Again, in December of the same year, Voorhees sent Wright $2,500 for the purchase of a 94-acre tract of land.[479] At the close of 1905, the school's income reached $21,978, and Wright had established new friends such as M.J. Weston and Mrs. Henry Wood, who sponsored a new brick kitchen and two-story frame

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[476] *The value of $5,000 in* 2012 was $143,000.00
http://www.measuringworth.com/uscompare/relativevalue.php
[477] *The value of $8,975.00 in* 2012 was $256,000.00
http://www.measuringworth.com/uscompare/relativevalue.php

[478] Coleman, J.F.B. (1922). *Tuskegee to Voorhees*. Columbia, South Carolina: R. L. Bryan Company, pp. 93-95.

[479] Ibid.,103-104

cottage.[480] Wright's resourcefulness was the result of myriad strategies consisting of letter writing, contacting influential individuals, walking door-to-door asking for money locally and in Philadelphia, identifying prospective Northern sponsors and asking them for assistance, persistence, and cultivating non-threatening relationships. Ralph Voorhees's contributions to the school cannot be overstated. In fact, without his financial support, Wright's effectiveness in the area of resourcefulness and the school's longevity would not have been possible. Markers of Wright's school founding practices are listed in table 4.1.

Table 4.1: Wright's Markers of School Founding Practices

1.) How and to what extent did school founders who started primary schools for blacks in the South use their experiences, resourcefulness, political astuteness, and religious beliefs in initiating and sustaining schools during the Civil war, reconstruction years, and progressive era?			
Background & Experiences	**Resourcefulness**	**Political Astuteness**	**Religious Beliefs**
Poverty Father Former Slave Methodist Scholarship Recipient Chronic Stomach Ailments Married Graduate of Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute Committed 13 years to black education	Accessed Northern Networks Wrote letters to Northerners Traveled North to Solicit Funds Held Church Rallies Demonstrated persistence	Accessed Northern Networks Cultivated Southern Networks Fostered Cordial Relations with Southerner Families Asserted Politically Correct Communication Formed a Board of Trustees	Instituted Sunday School, Temperance

[480] Ibid., 103; *The value of $21,978.00 in* 2012 was $628,000.00 http://www.measuringworth.com/uscompare/relativevalue.php

CHAPTER 5: MARY MCLEOD BETHUNE

(Note: Many of Mary McLeod Bethune's remaining original correspondences and publications are scattered among the Library of Congress, Amistad Research Center, Florida State Archives, the General Commission on Archives and History for the United Methodist Church, and others. School burnings and her presidencies of national organizations contributed to varied distribution of her archival documents. Consequently, this study relied upon microfilm, biographies, and secondary works, which contained some of Bethune's original letters and publications. In this study, Bethune's accounts were supplemented with other narratives for clarity and triangulation. Some of Bethune's works were stories of how she recollected the past years after events occurred.[481] Bethune's work culminated in the progressive era as did Elizabeth Evelyn Wright's. Social, economic, and political factors were similar for these two women, and played a major role in their conscious and subconscious selection of school founding practices. As such, these factors were not retraced in Bethune's case study but duly noted in Wright's.)

Preface

Mary McLeod Bethune has been hailed as one of America's most prominent women of the progressive era.[482] Bethune's contribution to black education paralleled

[481] Hanson, J. A. (2003). *Mary McLeod Bethune and black women's political activism*. London: University of Missouri Press, p. 12.

[482] Hanson, J. A. (2003). *Mary McLeod Bethune and black women's political activism*. London: University of Missouri Press; McClusky, A. (1994). Multiple consciousnesses in the leadership of Mary McLeod Bethune.

her national position of director of the National Youth Administration appointed by President Franklin Delano Roosevelt and her association with Eleanor Roosevelt. Experiences of Bethune's youth and her family's influences contributed to her strong will and notoriety.[483] Born July 10, 1875, the fifteenth child of Samuel and Patsy McLeod, Bethune's humble beginnings started in Mayesville, South Carolina, a small, rural, farm town northeast of Columbia.[484] During Bethune's youth, the town of approximately 400 people had a post office and a railroad station. Two "nice" houses existed; one a farmer owned and the other was owned by a proprietor of a big brick store. However, the town was void of industry, fine retailers, or a local newspaper.[485] Bethune's parents, grandmother, and older siblings were former slaves. After emancipation, Bethune's mother continued to work for her former slave owner earning enough money to purchase five acres of land.[486] There were few opportunities for

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*NWSA Journal, (6)*1, 69-81; Gordon, L. D. (2005). Education and the professions. In N. Hewitt (Ed.), *A companion to American women's history* pp. 227 – 249. Malden, Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishing.

[483] Holt, R. (1964). *Mary McLeod Bethune: A biography.* Garden City New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., pp. 10-17.

[484] Biographical material on Mary McLeod Bethune, National Council of Negro Women, on microfilm, Reel 10819, Mary McLeod Bethune Papers, Thomas Cooper Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia, South Carolina, p. 8.

[485] Gregorie, A.K. (1954). *History of Sumter County.* Sumter, South Carolina: Library Board of Sumter County, pp. 243-250.

[486] Bethune, M.M. *A yearning and longing appeased,* pp.1-2, Mary McLeod Bethune (MMB) Papers, University of South Carolina, Microfilm, Reel 10819; Bethune's interview with Charles S. Johnson in 1940 recorded in McCluskey, A.T. & Smith, E.M. (1999). *Mary McLeod Bethune: Building a better world, essays and selected documents.* Bloomington, Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, p. 36.

economic growth in Mayesville. The town was primarily farmland and blacks were relegated to low-paying agricultural and industrial occupations. In an interview with Dan Williams, Bethune recalled three "big people" in Mayesville who owned the town's largest plantations. Mayesville was only a few miles from Sumter, the county seat. The population in 1870 totaled 25,268 residents; 17,805 of whom were black. Forty percent of Sumter County's residents over 10 years of age were illiterate. Of the black population, 57% over the age of 10 were illiterate, and only 6% attended school. Nationally, 1877 statistics showed 949 black teachers comprised 35% of the 2,674 teachers in America. Enrollment of black students dropped in 1877 by 21%.[487] Low literacy rates correlated with high poverty rates and an untrained workforce among blacks in Mayesville. Consequently, blacks worked agricultural jobs.[488]

Prospects for economic advancement in Mayesville seemed dim, but the McLeod's found ways to survive. Samuel and his older sons built a home that Rackham Holt reported was better than the cabins in which freedmen dwelt, but it was a small log cabin nonetheless.[489] Patsy was creative, ingenious, and tidy. In time, the McLeod family purchased 30 additional acres of land. Their resourcefulness was evident in their ability to hunt, "can" produce, and fish, which provided very well for

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[487] Interview with Dan Williams in Newsome, C. (1982). *Mary McLeod Bethune in religious perspectives: A seminal essay.* [Dissertation]. Duke University, pp. 47-48 & Dan Williams in Newsome, C. (1982). Mary McLeod Bethune in religious perspectives: A seminal essay. [Dissertation]. Duke University, p.52.

[488] Hanson, J. (2003). *Mary McLeod Bethune and black women's political activism*. Columbia, Missouri: University of Missouri Press, pp. 11-12.

[489] Holt, R. (1964). *Mary McLeod Bethune: A biography.* Garden City New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., pp. 2-3.

the family and neighbors. Her parents often shared their experiences working for former slave masters, and the story of Bethune's oldest sister being sold in slavery.[490]

When the Board of Missions for Freedmen of the Trinity Presbyterian Church started a school for blacks in Mayesville, Bethune's parents sent her. After approximately four years of primary instruction augmented with biblical studies, Bethune received a certificate and was accepted as a member of the Presbyterian Church.[491] With the sponsorship of Mary Crissman, a Quaker school teacher from Denver, Colorado, Bethune went to Scotia Seminary (Now Bethany-Scotia Seminary) for Negro girls in Concord, North Carolina, to pursue a foundation for missionary work.[492] Graduating in June, 189,3 at the age of 18, Bethune left Concord and ventured to Moody Bible Institute in Chicago, Illinois.[493]

Bethune flourished at Moody Institute in spite of being the only black student. Her ardor for mission work burgeoned as she gained many opportunities to share the

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[490] Bethune, M.M. *A yearning and longing appeased,* pp.1-2, on microfilm, Mary McLeod Bethune Papers, Thomas Cooper Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia, South Carolina; Holt, R. (1964). *Mary McLeod Bethune: A biography*. Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., pp. 4-5.

[491] Holt, R. (1964). *Mary McLeod Bethune: A biography*. Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., pp. 29-31; Hanson, J. (2003). *Mary McLeod Bethune and black women's political activism*. Columbia, Missouri: University of Missouri Press, p. 39.

[492] Bethune, M.M. *A yearning and longing appeased,* p. 3, on microfilm, Mary McLeod Bethune Papers, Thomas Cooper Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia, South Carolin; Holt, R. (1964). p. 32.

[493] *Biographical material on Mary McLeod Bethune,* National Council of Negro Women, on microfilm, Reel 10819, on microfilm, Mary McLeod Bethune Papers, Thomas Cooper Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia, South Carolina; Holt, R. (1964). *Mary McLeod Bethune: A biography.* Garden City New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., pp. 40-41.

gospel with people on the streets and jails of inner city Chicago. Bethune was an active choir member and student leader, but like Wright, an average student with great leadership potential. Her dedication to mission work continued during the early years of her school's inception. Just prior to graduating from Moody Bible Institute, Bethune requested a foreign mission assignment in Africa from the Mission Board of the Presbyterian Church; the answer was disappointing. The mission board responded, "No openings for Negro missionaries in Africa."[494] Finally, after graduating from Moody Institute, she redirected her mission to the south and gained teaching experience assisting her former teacher, Emma Wilson, at the Mayesville Presbyterian Mission School. Still, her greatest and most revered assignments were with Lucy Craft Laney who founded Haines Institute in Augusta, Georgia, and had gained a reputation in education nationally. As Bethune apprenticed with Laney, she patterned her educational practices, organizational skills, and leadership style to mirror Laney's and Wilson's styles.[495]

Bethune remained at Haines for one year before transfer in 1896 to Kindall Institute located in Sumter, South Carolina. While in Sumter, she met Albertus Bethune. They married in May, 1897, lived in Savannah, Georgia, for one year then moved to Palatka, Florida, to start a primary school. A young black minister, Reverend S.P. Pratt, informed Bethune of deplorable social conditions in nearby Daytona Beach, Florida. Further, he shared construction from the East-coast railroad had started and blacks, hired for cheap labor, were living in labor camps. Interestingly, a fire that destroyed her family's personal belongings confirmed her destiny to start a school in

[494] Mary McLeod Bethune, *A yearning and longing appeased*, pp.6-7; Holt, R. (1964). p. 45.
[495] Mary McLeod Bethune, *A yearning and longing appeased*, pp. 8-10.

Daytona. After losing most of what her family owned in Palatka, she moved to nearby Daytona where low literacy plagued the black community.[496] She opened Daytona Educational and Industrial School for Negro Girls on October 4, 1904, with five girls. The school went through several name changes and, for financial stability, merged with Cookman Institute (Jacksonville, Florida) in 1923, eventually becoming Bethune-Cookman College affiliated with the Methodist Episcopal Church.[497]

In Her Own Words

As I look back over the years, I feel my faith and my work justified each other. My life was a spiritual thing, a religious reality, creative and alive. Whatever work I have done justified my faith. As St. Paul said, "…for I have daily felt the presence of God in the tasks he set before me in visions, and I knew His divine guidance and presence through all of the years."[498] My parents were church people who went to church every Sunday morning. Our family worshipped at St. Mark Methodist Church. Before going to bed each night, mother and father said prayers. They opened prayers

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[496] Marriage from Albertus Bethune in Holt, R. (1964). p. 50; Reverend S.P. Pratt was a young Baptist minister from Palatka, Florida, Holt, R. (1964). p. 54; Newsome, C. (1982). Mary McLeod Bethune in religious perspectives: A seminal essay. [Dissertation]. Duke University, p. 122.

[497] Holt, R. (1964). *Mary McLeod Bethune: A biography.* Garden City New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., pp. 155-157; Cookman Institute was originally located in Jacksonville, Florida and started for Black boys post-Civil War. The school was affiliated with the Methodist Episcopal Church.

[498]Bethune, M. M. (1954). *What my faith means to me, an* educator in Newsome, C. (1982). Mary McLeod Bethune in religious perspectives: A seminal essay. [Dissertation]. Duke University, p. 16.

and closed prayers with the Lord's Prayer. Each of us had our part in prayers.[499] When I graduated from Mayesville Institute, a Presbyterian Mission School, I presented myself to the elders of the church verifying my religious knowledge and professing my faith in Jesus Christ our Savior.[500] Our community was close. We held harvest parties. People went five or ten miles away at night to a cotton picking party. Some neighbors needed to pick bales of cotton by a certain time. They sent out invitations to the laborers who came from surrounding areas to pick hundreds of pounds of cotton. They watched for moonlights. I walked for miles and miles at night during those cotton picking times. Some had carts and wagons. Sometimes we went in the wagons where they had cotton. I think they were called rigs with the big buggy on it. Thirty-five people would get into it. They served watermelon. They gave a big dinner or supper to those who helped pick cotton. We sang songs and had games. During those stages of my development, they laid the basic principle for the things I do today.[501]

I could not have been more grateful for Miss Chrissman's scholarship allowing me to attend Scotia Seminary in Concord, North Carolina. Emma Wilson, the teacher at the Presbyterian Mission School mailed literature about the school to northerners explaining the school's purpose. Mary Chrissman, a school teacher from Denver, Colorado, received one of the brochures and donated funds to sponsor a deserving black youth. Miss Wilson recommended me for the scholarship, for which I was most

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[499] Newsome, C. (1982). *Mary McLeod Bethune in religious perspectives: A seminal essay.* [Dissertation]. Duke University, p.29-31.

[500] Ibid., 66

[501] Mary McLeod Bethune Interview with Dan Williams in Daytona Beach, Florida (N.D.) in Newsome, C. (1982). Mary McLeod Bethune in religious perspectives: A seminal essay. [Dissertation]. Duke University, p. 40.

grateful.[502] At Scotia, I developed the mind, body, and hand connection. Scotia's program consisted of three divisions: elementary education, seminary course work, and post-secondary instruction through level 14. We studied arithmetic, grammar, spelling, rhetoric, geology, zoology, geometry, trigonometry, political economy, chemistry, Latin grammar, physics, bible history, and Virgil's Aeneid. Scotia's curriculum developed women who would become teachers. But even with the scholarship, I still had to work to offset tuition costs. I cleaned the stairway as one of my first jobs. I worked in the kitchen and ironed for our school principal.[503]

I spent seven years at Scotia Seminary Institute where I developed culture and social etiquette. For the first time, I had a chance to study and know white people. I could never again doubt the sincerity and interest of some white people when I think of my experience with my beloved, consecrated teachers who took so much time and patience with me at a time when patience and tolerance was needed.[504] I modeled Daytona Institute after Scotia, with emphasis on industrial education. The instructors at Scotia Seminary were of that splendid group of northerners, who were imbued with the genuine missionary spirit. They were of that noble band of courageous whites who believed that Negroes had souls, spirits, and personalities. These whites believed it their God-deemed duty, or a duty appointed them by Providence, to help the unfortunate Negro to develop the forenamed attributes by assisting him in his education and his

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[502] Newsome, C. (1982). Mary McLeod Bethune in religious perspectives: A seminal essay. [Dissertation]. Duke University, p. 70.

[503] Ibid., 80-83; Barber-Scotia College, 2013, http://www.b-sc.edu/about.html

[504] Johnson Interview in Newsome, C. (1982). Mary McLeod Bethune in religious perspectives: A seminal essay. [Dissertation]. Duke University, p. 89.

general welfare.[505] With the help of Dr. John Satterfield, Scotia's principal, his wife, and once again Miss Chrissman, I attended Moody Bible Institute (formerly Chicago Evangelization Society) in Chicago, Illinois.[506] Moody trained men and women in the knowledge and use of the Word of God so that it would bear upon the lives of others. The contacts with the Satterfields, the teachers at Scotia Seminary, and the fine people of different types had prepared me for the situation awaiting me at Moody Bible Institute. With no chip on my shoulder but as a student with an open mind, I entered, and was received by all most graciously. There were no feelings of race at Moody; although, I was the only black enrolled at that time. There we learned to look upon a man as a man not as a Caucasian or a Negro. My heart had been somewhat hardened. As the whites had meted out to me, I was disposed to measure them. But here, under this benign influence, including that of Dwight L. Moody, a love for the whole human family, regardless of creed, class, or color, entered my soul, and remains with me, thank God, to this day.[507] One evening, just before returning to Scotland, Mr. Moody called us all in to the great assembly room and asked all who felt the need for baptism of the Holy Spirit to meet. I was so happy. I was there and could kneel in that great presence

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[505] Bethune, M.M. *A yearning and longing appeased*, pp. 4-5, on microfilm, Mary McLeod Bethune Papers, Thomas Cooper Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia, South Carolina.

[506] Newsome, C. (1982). Mary McLeod Bethune in religious perspectives: A seminal essay. [Dissertation]. Duke University, pp. 99-100, Dr. John Satterfield was principal of Scotia Seminary while Bethune was a student there; Moody Bible Institute was founded as Chicago Evangelization Society. Bethune referenced the school as Moody Bible Institute in interviews and publications. The name changed to Moody Bible Institute in 1900, http://www.moody.edu/history/

[507] Newsome, C. (1982). Mary McLeod Bethune in religious perspectives: A seminal essay. [Dissertation]. Duke University, pp. 99-100.

with an open heart and mind awaiting the realization within my own life and the baptism of the Holy Spirit of the service. I realized a quickening and an awakening that I had no words to express from that day to the present.[508]

We studied the bible, music, and missionary work leading men and women to Christ. Our curriculum was structured. We spent the mornings in lecture studying the bible and music. Afternoons and evenings were spent studying and concentrating on mission efforts. I was the only Negro in class, but Japanese, Chinese, and Indian missionaries were also trained at Moody.[509] It was during my time at Moody Bible Institute that my religious life was deepened. I attributed such a fact naturally to the type of training that I received both prior to, and after, entering the institute. My home training had been of a deep spiritual nature. While my instruction at Scotia had been accentuated by devoutness, my training at Moody was, of course, chiefly religious. Because of this intense training together, with my rather natural religious bent, I think that I became a near mystic in those days.[510]

But, my evangelical spirit was tested as a student at Moody when I was in the inner city of Chicago leading people to God. I went into a room with men and women who were drinking beer and enjoying themselves raucously. I advised them to turn from their sin and wrong to right. One man asked me to spend the night. I turned to leave, but the door was locked. They continued to joke and laugh. A woman stood up

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[508] Ibid., 102-103

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[509] Bethune, M.M. *A yearning and longing appeased,* p. 3, on microfilm, Mary McLeod Bethune Papers, Thomas Cooper Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia, South Carolina; Newsome, C. (1982). Mary McLeod Bethune in religious perspectives: A seminal essay. [Dissertation]. Duke University, p.99.

[510] Mary McLeod Bethune, A yearning and longing appeased, p. 6.

and demanded that they stopped joking and open the door. Finally, they opened the door, and I left.[511] Again my faith was tested as I approached graduation. Right before graduation my parents' house burned and my family needed money. Fortuitously, a lady in the city invited me to sing and enclosed a check for $40, which I sent to my family.[512] My family always found ways to survive.

When I graduated from Moody Institute in 1895, I spent a year in Mayesville assisting Emma Wilson where I continued to nurture my teaching and mission skills although still somewhat disappointed abouth the Presbyterian Board of Education's rejection of my request for a missionary assignment in Africa.[513] When the Presbyterian Board of Education offered me an assignment at Haines Institute in Augusta, Georgia, I accepted in spite of my fond memories of the Mayesville Mission School. It was at Haines Institute that I came in contact with one of the most amazing and dynamic personalities I ever met. I speak of the founder of the institute, who was a Negro woman, Lucy Laney. I was drenched with inspiration from that rare spirit and my work with her was a joy. I was impressed by her fearlessness, her amazing human touch in every aspect, an energy that seemed inexhaustible, and her mighty power to

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[511] Holt, R. (1964). *Mary McLeod Bethune: A biography.* Garden City, New York: Double Day and Company, Inc. p. 42.

[512] Newsome, C. (1982). Mary McLeod Bethune in religious perspectives: A seminal essay. [Dissertation]. Duke University, pp. 107-108.

[513] Mary McLeod Bethune Biographical Sketch, on microfilm, Mary McLeod Bethune Papers, Thomas Cooper Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia, South Carolina; Bethune, M.M. A yearning and longing appeased, p. 6-7, on microfilm, Mary McLeod Bethune Papers, Thomas Cooper Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia, South Carolina

command respect and admiration from her students and all who knew her.[514] I roomed on the third floor where I could look out of my window into the alleyways of the Terry and see masses of unkempt children just trying to find their way as best they could.[515] At Haines Institute, I searched the streets for Sunday school students. Some students were unclothed, but Northern sympathizers sent barrels of dresses and suits for students. My eighth grade class was kind enough to mentor young stray pupils. My students took our new friends into their homes, bathed them, and combed their hair. Often I had to convince parents to maintain their children's hygiene.[516] My scouring efforts paid off. Our Sunday school attendance grew significantly.[517]

While at Haines Institute, I had occasion to pay a visit to Tuskegee Institute; and there, I saw for the first time the great institution built by that great architect of lives of many Negro youths, Booker T. Washington. I went through Mr. Washington's institution and studied it, making mental tabulations as I noticed certain aspects. I talked with Mr. Washington. After I had seen this marvelous institution in all of its significance, I began to think. A great realization dawned upon me. I was electrified with a resolution to do a slightly different scale and in a different manner, perhaps, what Mr. Washington had in mind and what he had already started out to do. The thought

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[514] Mary McLeod Bethune, A yearning and longing appeased, pp.6-7. on microfilm, Mary McLeod Bethune Papers, Thomas Cooper Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia, South Carolina

[515] Peare, in Newsome, C. (1982). Mary McLeod Bethune in religious perspectives: A seminal essay. [Dissertation]. Duke University, p. 113.

[516] Holt, R. (1964). *Mary McLeod Bethune: A biography.* Garden City, New York: Double Day and Company, Inc. pp. 46-47.

[517] Holt, R. (1964). pp. 40-41, Holt recorded Sunday school grew to a thousand, p.48.

thrilled me as the seeds of Bethune-Cookman College started through a process of fertilization in my mind. Conception was taking place as I became impregnated with a desire that has become my life's work and achievement. I turned over ideas in my mind slowly, meditatively, and fondly. I began to nurture what had been conceived.[518]

I worked with eighth grade level students at Haines Institute before my new assignment at Kindell Institute was offered. In 1896, I moved to Sumter, South Carolina, and assumed a teaching role at Kindell Institute only a few miles from my home. I often inquired of exemplary role models to talk to my male students about how to achieve success and the value of education. I befriended Estella Roberts, the daughter of a local Presbyterian minister and she introduced me to my future husband.[519] I joined the Presbyterian Church choir where I met Albertus Bethune. We courted for one year and wedded in May ,1898. Albertus was a native of Sumter who attended Avery Institute in Charleston, South Carolina, but did not graduate. We lived in Savannah, Georgia, during the first year of our marriage. Within months, I was pregnant. The following year, Albert was born. I set aside a year of my life to perform the highest functions of womanhood, the giving of birth and nurturing of my baby son. Those were days of meditation, reflection, and imagination. The months were all so full, and dreams of the cotton field, still with me in the yearning for the large number of

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[518] Mary McLeod Bethune, A yearning and longing appeased, pp.7-8, on microfilm, Mary McLeod Bethune Papers, Thomas Cooper Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia, South Carolina

[519] Newsome, C. (1982). Mary McLeod Bethune in religious perspectives: A seminal essay. [Dissertation]. Duke University, p. 116.

those who needed me, were continuous. The experience of motherhood gave me a firmer desire to serve mankind.[520]

Restless and ready to get back to work, I accepted Reverend C.J. Uggans's encouragement to start a school in Palatka, Florida. Reverend Uggans was the pastor of a Presbyterian Church in Palatka and one of my former suitors.[521] When Albert was nine months old, I moved to Palatka in 1899 near the church and school. I followed the path paved at Moody and Haines. I talked to people at lumber camps and turpentine stills to secure enough students for Sunday school. Albertus's income and my salary were insufficient to pay bills, so I sold insurance policies to supplement our income. In the meantime, the school continued to grow, I engaged in interdenominational work in Palatka that had no support. It was a work that most sadly needed to be done, and it took great sacrifices to get it in shape. I extended the existing primary school for adults to include children by developing an extended Sunday School for the children. At this point, I was renting a room where I gathered poor and neglected children and taught them daily. I visited the jails two to three times per week and visited sawmills to convince parents and children to enroll. The only support I had came from the meager tuition students paid. I appealed Booker T. Washington for his support and any references who might send clothing.[522]

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[520] Ibid., 117-118

[521] Ibid.

[522] Bethune, Letter to Booker T. Washington, November 3, 1902 recorded in McCluskey, A.T. & Smith, E.M. (1999). *Mary McLeod Bethune: Building a better world, essays and selected documents.* Bloomington, Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, p. 75; Newsome, C. (1982). *Mary McLeod Bethune in religious perspective: A seminal essay* (Doctoral dissertation), p. 119.

Still discontent with my work, I longed for more. I envisioned an institution in which we would teach the essentials of home-making, of the skilled trades, but there would also be courses stressing the importance of citizenship and the duty of the citizen to use his voting power. These courses I felt must be unduly stressed as a measure of realizing citizenship in its entirety. At the head of this institution would be a woman who would preside as a modern matriarch, head of the family. That was my dream in its conception and period of restraint or confidence. It became fixed in my very being, and I knew that the birth of the institution of my mind and dream lay in the offing.[523]

After a conversation with Reverend S.P. Pratt, a Baptist minister, I thought more of a school for black girls, but in Daytona where the wealthy owned summer homes. Education in Daytona for black girls was limited to kindergarten.[524] I set out on a tour of investigation, and I sensed the chance for which I longed. My nurtured dream was crying for birth, and I was determined that it should be born in this place of enormous ignorance, and the most limited educational facilities, violence, crime, and lack of opportunity. In Daytona, my institution could fill a great need.[525] When I moved to Daytona, I lived with Susie Warren, a widow and laundress. Albertus did not join me right away. Nonetheless, Susie helped me find a location for the school. She introduced me to John Williams who was instrumental in helping me establish our first school cottage. Williams was a carpenter and real-estate agent. I found a rental on

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[523] Mary McLeod Bethune, A yearning and longing appeased, p. 8, on microfilm, Mary McLeod Bethune Papers, Thomas Cooper Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia, South Carolina

[524] Holt, R. (1964). *Mary McLeod Bethune: A biography.* Garden City, New York: Double Day and Company, Inc. p. 56

[525]Mary McLeod Bethune, A yearning and longing appeased, p. 9.

Palm Street near the railroad. Rent was $11 per month. Lacking furniture, I begged for boxes and packing cases to use as chairs and desks.[526] I used a barrel for my desk. There was such crudity about it, but I had worked and cleansed it thoroughly. By October 4, 1904, my little building was ready. It was on this day that the Daytona Educational and Industrial Training School for Girls opened its doors, and five little girls entered. My text was John 3:16 and the opening song was *Leaning on the Everlasting Arms*.[527] I began to train these little girls in the art of song. I realized that some funds might be raised by their singing in the clubs and hotels in Daytona Beach. They responded aptly and quickly to my teaching.[528] The goal was to meet the pressing needs of our people for systematic training in domestic and industrial education. John Williams, a black carpenter who owned property in Daytona, rented me a five room cottage.[529] The initial biblical lessons were based on scriptures from the gospel of John. I worked arduously in the little cottage in an attempt to make it livable. All of my

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[526] Holt, p. 58

[527] John is a book in the King James version of the bible. *Leaning on the Everlasting Arms* is a hymn published in 1887. Anthony J. Showalter arranged the music. Showalter wrote the lyrics with Elisha Hoffman contained in The Baptist Hymnal (2008).

[528] Holt, R. (1964). *Mary McLeod Bethune: A biography.* Garden City, New York: Double Day and Company, Inc. p. 59

[529] Sixth annual catalog of the Daytona Educational and Industrial Training School for Negro Girls recorded in McCluskey, A.T. & Smith, E.M. (1999). *Mary McLeod Bethune: Building a better world, essays and selected documents.* Bloomington, Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, p. 76; Newsome, C. (1982). *Mary McLeod Bethune in religious perspective: A seminal essay* (Doctoral dissertation), p. 128.

efforts were made in good faith that I might be able to yet realize my dream. The first payment on the place was raised by staging concerts and festivals.[530]

Within two years of the opening of Daytona Institute, 250 girls were enrolled. Tuition was 50 cents per week. Working mothers left the girls at my school all day. My assistant teachers could read and write. They taught the young girls alphabets. As we grew, we needed more room. John Williams rented me what appeared to be a barn, which was located on the property.[531] He added partitions, and we used the building for overflow. The school was located in an area of town that was untidy. I sent my girls out to rake and salvage any junk that could be used for various purposes. Our Monday through Friday routine started with breakfast at six in the morning following morning chores, then classes. I had classes in the building or outside on the lawn. On Sundays, we ate breakfast then we went to church. Most girls attended church services. I was a Presbyterian, but students could decide their place of worship. School was nondenominational. I did not force students to attend any of the churches. Their choices were limited to Methodist, Baptist, or Catholic faiths. After dinner, we made preparations for the Sunday afternoon porch singings. I often called these singings temperance meetings. I took this opportunity to give talks. One of our benefactors, Mr. Mellour, gave us a piano. Pianists from various churches played for us.[532]

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[530] Mary McLeod Bethune, A yearning an d longing appeased, p. 10, on microfilm, Mary McLeod Bethune Papers, Thomas Cooper Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia, South Carolina

[531] The barn was the second building that John Williams rented to Bethune. The first was the cottage.

[532] Holt, R. (1964). *Mary McLeod Bethune: A biography.* Garden City, New York: Double Day and Company, Inc. p. 85.

Reverend J. Cromatia, a Methodist minister, helped me with my first land purchase. The property was on Oak Street. The price was $250. I paid $5 down and signed a note promising the balance within two years. James Gamble from Proctor and Gamble owned a winter home in Daytona. I wrote and asked him to tour my school, which at that time was located on Palm Street. I convinced him to visit along with E.L. Smith, Laurence Thompson, a realtor, and two Negro ministers, Reverends A.L. James and J. Cromatia. So enthusiastic was Mr. Gamble over my project that he suggested my having "inspection day." I prepared for inspection day, upon its arrival many interested visitors came and expressed great surprise upon seeing what was described as such a queer place.[533]

Our location was on an old dumping ground, which had been reformed in many respects. We had only two chairs and many of the visitors had to sit on dry goods boxes. After they had been conducted through the cottage they were seated in the front yard where a short program was given. The children participated in the program by speeches and songs. Upon its termination, I appealed to the assembled group. I spoke with every fiber of my being taut and tense with the significance of the great task in which I was engaged. I felt it was no longer I, Mary McLeod Bethune, who spoke but a force greater than myself who implored the Negroes to help themselves and besought the whites to lend a much needed hand to a cause which proclaimed itself worthy. The group listened graciously and attentively, many seeming entranced in the occasion. I could feel their interest and I held it with all the power I possessed. Gamble, Smith, Thompson, James, and Cromatia decided to have a meeting over which I presided. Out

[533] Newsome, C. (1982). Mary McLeod Bethune in religious perspectives: A seminal essay. [Dissertation]. Duke University, pp. 139-142.

of this very group was elected a chairman of the board of trustees, a secretary, and a treasurer. Gamble was chair; Reverend James was secretary; and Thompson was treasurer. After the meeting, I made the final payment on the Oak Street lot, the future location of my school. I took my board on a visit to the site on Oak Street, and they agreed it was a good location for the school if it could be manicured. I felt the dawning of a new day for my work.[534]

The Oak Street lot was considered "Hell's Hole," a dump, wasteland. It measured 50 x 100 feet and cost $250. After the girls and I cleared the property of clutter and junk, we planted vegetables and flowers. As we built our new school structure in 1906, I had enough funds to purchase a horse and buggy. My girls painted the buggy red and black. I purchased both for $15. My school officially moved to the Oak street property October, 1907. It still was unfinished. The floor was dirt. The windows were un-plastered.[535] My students took matting from dumpsters and created partitions and inner doors. Only a few glass windows were in, thus leaving several holes. We had no "running" water, so we used a well.

As I established a location and modest comfort at the school, I had to consider the educational needs of my students. Booker T. Washington's philosophy of applying knowledge "to every-day practical things in life, upon something that is needed to be

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[534] Mary McLeod Bethune, A yearning an d longing appeased, pp. 9-11; on microfilm, Mary McLeod Bethune Papers, Thomas Cooper Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia, South Carolina; Holt, R. (1964). pp. 70-71

[535] Mary McLeod Bethune (MMB) Papers, University of South Carolina, Microfilm p. 84.

done, and something which they will be permitted to do" resonated with me.[536] Although vocational education increased the likelihood of employment, culture had to be integrated to ensure my girls were prepared to work in the community among blacks and whites. I spent a year at Haines Institute with Lucy Laney where I learned that education built women's character and culture. Young women had to be prepared to work at all levels of education including colleges. Integration of liberal education was necessary to impart culture to our girls who would be responsible for uplifting our race.[537] Because I had older girls at night, I began training them in elementary housekeeping. We trained our girls to boil table cloths, set tables appropriately, and keep house. As for my educational philosophy, I realized most Negroes were poor and many worked in the fields. Education had to occur in fields open to them.[538] Practical education yielded upward mobility for blacks but culture was equally important. My vision for our students was to uplift Negro girls spiritually, morally, intellectually, and industrially. My school stood for a broad, thorough practical training to develop Christian character. The bible was prominent in every department of our work. It

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[536]Washington, B. T. (1903). Industrial Education for the Negro. In *The Negro Problem: A series of Articles by Representative American Negroes of Today* (New York: J. Pott & Co.; republished by Arno Press, 1969).

[537] Laney, L. *The burden of the educated colored women*. She addressed the Hampton Negro Conference in July 1899. Her speech was published in the Report of the Hampton Negro Conference in July 1899 - See more at: http://www.blackpast.org/1899-lucy-craft-laney-burden-educated-colored-woman#sthash.46BeFqeg.dpuf and - See more at: http://www.blackpast.org/1899-lucy-craft-laney-burden-educated-colored-woman#sthash.46BeFqeg.dpuf pp. 296-303; Hanson, J. (2003). *Mary McLeod Bethune and black women's political activism.* Columbia, Missouri: University of Missouri Press, p. 49.

[538] Holt, R. (1964). *Mary McLeod Bethune: A biography.* Garden City, New York: Double Day and Company, Inc. p. 75.

guided our lives. Biblical training was the foundation of a successful career. I wanted to send forth women who would be well-rounded home-makers and Christian leaders. Our course of study included English for "mental" training; industrial training to teach girls theoretical and practical duties of the household; and biblical studies which was non-sectarian to guide the study of the bible.[539]

I wanted the community to be actively involved in the school, so I needed support from local Negroes. Some women who worked as maids for transient whites left their daughters under my care. I begged John Williams for a "castoff" double bed. I cleaned and painted the bed. People donated corn sacks, which I washed and sewed for mattress ticks. I boiled Spanish moss, let it dry in the sun, and then used the moss for mattress stuffing. Neighbors donated what they could. Occasionally, a fisherman's wife fried fish for the girls. Women in the community sold chicken dinners and donated the profits to the school. I baked sweet potato pies and sold them to construction workers. At the end of the first month of the original school on Oak Street, I had the full balance of $11 for rent.[540]

The black community wanted evening classes for adults. Many were illiterate, so I offered evening classes to meet the needs of the community. They had to bring lanterns for lighting. Some of my evening pupils paid $1 per week others worked to pay tuition. On one occasion, as I shopped for groceries, my total was $18 over what I

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[539] Daytona Educational and Industrial Training School for Negro Girls, Course of Study, 1910-1911 recorded in McCluskey, A.T. & Smith, E.M. (1999). *Mary McLeod Bethune: Building a better world, essays and selected documents.* Bloomington, Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, p. 77-79.

[540]Holt, R. (1964). *Mary McLeod Bethune: A biography.* Garden City, New York: Double Day and Company, Inc. pp. 60-63; Newsome, C. (1982). Mary McLeod Bethune in religious perspectives: A seminal essay. [Dissertation]. Duke University, pp. 127-129;

had. The store clerk told me I could pay later, so I rushed back to the evening class, late. I explained the situation and $18 debt. My students reached into their pockets and collected $16 for the grocery bill.[541] I went back to the store and assured the owner that I would pay the remaining $2 soon. The store clerk only accepted $8 and urged me to keep the remaining $8 for future use.

We formed a married couples group. When we met, I offered instruction that would help enhance their degree of living, stability, honesty, family life, loyalty, childrearing, and family prayers. Women learned to keep house, clean, and live orderly. I taught them to refrain from using the phrase "niggertown" in their communications. I urged men to maintain their yards. I opened the school on Sundays at 3:00 pm for loyal temperance league meetings. The public was welcome. I gave talks during these meetings, and we sang folk and spiritual songs. We even started a quartet. I was the soprano. Josephine Robinson, a friend from Palatka, sang contralto. Albertus sang tenor, and S.J.S. King, a bass singer from the African Methodist Episcopal church, joined.[542] In the following months, community members attended our porch concerts. One woman from Jacksonville, Florida, who frequented our singings donated a small organ. We raised enough money and had it moved from Jacksonville to Daytona. People were attracted to our Sunday afternoon porch concerts.[543]

Realizing a need to offer education to a larger group of youngsters, I started Tomoka Mission in 1907 to give my girls an appreciation for community work. The

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[541] Holt, p. 61

[542] Holt, R. (1964). *Mary McLeod Bethune: A biography.* Garden City, New York: Double Day and Company, Inc., p. 62.

[543] Holt, pp. 62-64

Tomoka Mission for children of workers in turpentine camp was located approximately five miles from my school. I assigned my students to teach children at the camp. We gathered children into our main building, had brief lectures, scripture readings, sewing, reading, and singing classes. Students were allowed to play. Remaining supplies from the missionary barrels were sent to the adults at the club. I coordinated weekly visitations to the mission for bible distribution. Women and children occupied the club most of the day. We tried to get men to visit in the evenings and weekends, but this was a challenge.[544] This was tedious work. We started the Better Boys Club to improve moral behavior in young boys. Our goals were to instill ambition in the community's young black boys and to serve the community. The club was located on Second Avenue. My goal was to remove them from the idleness of the streets. The boys participated in community clean-ups.[545]

One day as I shopped for food, I met Dora E. Daley, who had previously heard my speech about my mission. She donated groceries for food and told me to use my cash for another purpose. Months after I started the school, I focused on a women's group and presented my cause to the Palmetto Club, a local social group of affluent white women who took particular interest in primary education. We had an advisory board. Dora E. Daley occupied the first presidency. I channeled school business through the Palmetto Club.[546] Although the Palmetto Club and the Negro community

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[544] Holt, R. (1964). p. 116-117

[545] Holt, R. (1964). pp. 113-114

[546] Holt, R. (1964). *Mary McLeod Bethune: A biography.* Garden City, New York: Double Day and Company, Inc., p. 64; Newsome, C. (1982). *Mary McLeod Bethune in religious perspective: A seminal essay* (Doctoral dissertation), p. 137.

supported my school, their funds and other resources were inadequate to yield stable financial footing.

By September 1905, I learned of Robert Ogden's interest in uplifting fallen humanity and his sympathy for the less fortunate. Mr. Ogden was a businessman and philanthropist from New York who expressed interest in education in the South.[547] I wrote him, enclosed our announcements, and begged him to read it carefully.[548] I sent brochures to Ogden and others that described the school's purpose and my mission. I distributed brochures on the streets to passersby and businesses. My house visits and Sunday afternoon singings rendered much attention to my work. Mrs. Laurence Thomson, a former president of the Palmetto Club, gave us an old set of dishes after her son bought her a new set for Christmas. I knocked on doors, explained my mission, and asked for money. Before I knew it, interest grew steadily. I met resistance on some occasions, but I persevered in spite of racism. I remained courteous in most instances.[549] While many in the community were supportive, I encountered opposition. One Sunday while attending a local church, the minister spotted me in the congregation and said, "She is teaching girls' hands, not their minds. She is teaching them to be servants! I would rather let my daughter go to hell and be taught by Satan himself than

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[547] Library of Congress, Manuscripts Division, Robert C. Ogden Papers, Biographical Note, p. 4, http://lcweb2.loc.gov/service/mss/eadxmlmss/eadpdfmss/2012/ms012139.pdf

[548] Bethune, Letter to Robert Ogden, September 11, 1905, recorded in McCluskey, A.T. & Smith, E.M. (1999). *Mary McLeod Bethune: Building a better world, essays and selected documents.* Bloomington, Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, pp. 75-76.

[549] Holt, R. (1964). *Mary McLeod Bethune: A biography.* Garden City, New York: Double Day and Company, Inc. p. 67.

by Mary McLeod Bethune!"[550] I believed everyone had to work for an education. The "hand-mind" discipline was a sort of handicraft. I wanted to add domestic science. I inquired into Hampton Institute to get teachers who could lead the change. Portia Smiley, a graduate of Hampton and Pratt Institutes, started in fall 1909.[551] She was a practical nurse who could pair the science of housekeeping and basic nursing skills.

During the summer of 1909, I traveled to New York to visit prospective donors where I met Francis R. Keyser. She supervised the White Rose Mission for troubled Negro girls. When she offered me a room, I accepted. Mrs. Keyser graduated with honors from Hunter College in New York. She even worked at an Episcopal school in Tallahassee, Florida. I was interested in her talents and skills in working with Negro girls. We talked and I offered her $30 per month to work with me in Daytona. I explained to Mrs. Keyser that I needed strong women to help me realize my vision.[552] I made Mrs. Keyser the coordinator of the educational department but continued to manage the business aspects of the school. With Mrs. Keyser's assistance, we increased our level of primary education to eighth grade. It was through Mrs. Keyser that I went to the National Colored Women's League conference at Hampton Institute in 1909. At this conference, women reported ways in which improvements were needed in the community. I sent a note to Mary Church Terrell, the chairperson, requesting a moment to talk about my school. She granted my request. My presentation moved Mrs.

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[550] Holt, R. (1964). P. 75.
[551] Holt, R. (1964). p. 108

[552] Holt, R. (1964). p. 102

Margaret Murray Washington to collect donations for my school during the conference.[553]

I admired how these women dressed, so I fashioned my clothes like theirs. Even C.J. Walker, later known as Madame Walker for success in hair products, attended the conference. She presented a new method of straightening kinky hair.[554] I nurtured relationships with black, notable, business women. Among them were Maggie Lena Walker, a banker, and Madame C.J. Walker, a prominent cosmetologist. I formed alliances with Marjorie Joyner, who was a cosmetologist seeking a professional organization.[555]

The National Colored Women's League conference exposed me to a network of colleagues who were supportive of my work. They understood my primary challenge, fundraising. Contacting potential sources of income demanded a considerable portion of my time. Fundraising generated the majority of our school's income, but we also sold produce from our farm and crafts. I often approached hotel owners for their endorsement and financial support. The first on the list was Mrs. Howard who owned the Howard Hotel. I asked if I could come and talk to her guests about our mission.

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[553] Mrs. Booker T. Washington was Margaret James Murray, his third wife. They wedded on October 12, 1892, Morris, K. (1983). *Elizabeth Evelyn Wright: Founder of Voorhees College*, Sewanee, Tennessee: The University of South Sewanee, Tennessee, p. 38.

[554] Holt, R. (1964). p. 107

[555] McCluskey, A. & Smith, E. (1999). *Mary McLeod Bethune: Building a better world, essays and selected documents.* Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, p.7.

She obliged and promised to collect substantially from her patrons.[556] Our girls put on an outstanding performance that evening. The quartet sang, and one of my girls recited Rudyard Kipling's "If." Another girl recited a few stanzas from Paul Laurence's Dunbar. During my talk, I shared my background and the importance of educating Negro girls. I did not go as a beggar. I thought it was important that they understood the benefit of Miss Chrissman's investment in me. When Mrs. Howard passed the collection basket, there was $150 in it. I repeated the show at other hotels such as the Hamilton Hotel, which Mrs. I.M. Maybette owned. The Hamilton Hotel presentation yielded a new board member, W.S. Sneed, Maybette's son-in-law.[557]

We even benefited from a meager profit of the McLeod Hospital. Thomas H. White was a guest at the Palmetto Hotel when I took my girls and performed for Mrs. Howard. Mr. White owned the White Sewing Machine Company and the White Steamer Automobile manufacturing company.[558] Months after he witnessed our performance at the Palmetto Hotel, I was riding my bicycle completing errands. He stopped me and asked if he could visit the school. I turned around and met him at the school. We had not added the front step yet, so I escorted him in through the basement entrance. He seemed displeased with the amount of food we had and the one old

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[556] Holt, R. (1964). *Mary McLeod Bethune: A biography.* Garden City, New York: Double Day and Company, Inc. p. 78.

[557] Holt, R. (1964). pp.78-80.

[558] Hanson, J. (2003). *Mary McLeod Bethune and black women's political activism*. Columbia, Missouri: University of Missouri Press, p. 73.

sewing machine.[559] I informed him that we were getting help from our friends. Lack of funds forced us to halt our building project. Before he left, he wrote a check and said, "This is to buy supplies for next week. I believe you are on the right track."[560] He left a check for $200. Later in the evening, we thanked God for our new friend. Approximately one week later, Mr. White returned to our school with a carpenter, mason, and a smile. He said, "Here you are. These men are going to finish up the building. The bill will be sent to me."[561] They went through the building. Mr. White gave directions. Along with the best plastering, he ordered a White sewing machine from his Ohio factory. He continued to inquire about the school and provided what we needed in some cases before we asked. When a sewer system was needed, I asked Mr. White for $1,000, and he wrote a check.[562] With James Gamble, White contributed significant funds for the McLeod Hospital, my home, Faith Hall, and additional land. White used his influence with the Daytona Beach city council to provide my school with city electricity and water services. Upon his death, he bequeathed $67,500 to my school. George S. Doane was another benefactor. John M. Gamble knew Doane from church. I walked by the Doane's home late one evening, knocked on the door, and they invited me into their home. I discussed my purpose for being out so late. He was kind

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[559] Holt, R. (1964). *Mary McLeod Bethune: A biography.* Garden City, New York: Double Day and Company, Inc. p. 88.

[560] Holt, R. (1964). p. 88.

[561] Holt, R. (1964). p. 89.

[562] Holt, R. (1964). p.90.

enough to give me cash and promised to get me more the following Monday when the banks opened.[563]

On one occasion during the early years, the roof was leaking. We did not have any money to buy a new roof, and I felt that it had to be fixed. I sent out letters of appeal, but no returns came. Finally, one morning I said to my helpers, build scaffolding. The men said, "Where are the materials?" I said build the scaffolds and get ready. Will you believe me? The mail came later in the afternoon, just about the time the scaffold was finished. I was sitting on the ground directing the men on the scaffolding and opened the mail bag right where I was sitting and will you believe me, I opened the letter from a darling friend who had sent me $1,000to be used as I needed it. And, I called my men from the scaffold and we bowed in prayer together thanking God for the supply.[564]

The Mellour's magnanimous contribution made it possible for us to purchase a 12-acre tract of farm land in 1909.[565] We employed one man to harvest our crops, but the teachers, myself, and my girls, did all the planting, weeding, and gathering of the successive crops. By 1911, five cows supplied our milk and part of our butter. We made 250 gallons of syrup from sugar cane grown on the farm. We raised 80 bushels of corn, 1,000 pounds of fodder, four tons of hay, 30 bushels of English peas, 150

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[563] Holt, R. (1964). p. 77-78; Newsome, C. (1982). Mary McLeod Bethune in religious perspectives: A seminal essay. [Dissertation]. Duke University, p. 146

[564] Newsome, C. (1982). Mary McLeod Bethune in religious perspectives: A seminal essay. [Dissertation]. Duke University, pp. 130-131.

[565] The Mellours were Northern philanthropists who visited Daytona often in Newsome, C. (1982). Mary McLeod Bethune in religious perspectives: A seminal essay. [Dissertation]. Duke University, p. 152.

pumpkins, 250 crates of tomatoes, and bushels of okra, melons, and vegetables. During the summer, the girls canned 275 quarts of fruit and 25 pints of jelly.[566]

My best efforts of fund-raising paled in comparison to Booker T. Washington's income from donations.[567] From June 15, 1914 to May 15, 1015, I raised a total of $11,831.68. Booker T. Washington was the voice of blacks in America, and I needed his endorsement if I wanted to raise funds on a large scale. In 1912, we received a visit from Mr. Washington and W.T.B. Williams, director of the Slater fund. The purpose of the visit was to evaluate the progress of black education. Mr. Williams was not impressed with my school. He said to Washington, "Do you think anything can ever be made of such a God forsaken place?"[568] After Washington's visit, I wrote a letter asking for his assistance. I needed $12,000. I sought guidance from Dr. Watson of New York who made a presentation in March 1915 to Southern educators informing use of fundraising strategies for our schools. His presentation covered publicity, building and constructing, systematic applications for raising money, and employing a field agent. Since my early days, I engaged in persistent fundraising in the North to maintain the

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[566] Daytona Institute Farm Report 1910-1911 in Newsome, C. (1982). Mary McLeod Bethune in religious perspectives: A seminal essay. [Dissertation]. Duke University, p. 40; Mr. and Mrs. C.C. Mellour were owners of a large music store in Pittsburg. They owned a home in Daytona in Newsome, C. (1982). Mary McLeod Bethune in religious perspectives: A seminal essay. [Dissertation]. Duke University, p.145.

[567]Booker T. Washington started Tuskegee Institute in 1881. By 1900, Tuskegee's cash contributions totaled $236,163 excluding endowments. The endowment fund started in December 1899 totaled $152,232. In 1915, cash contributions totaled $379,704 and endowments totaled $1,970,214. This information was found in Hanson, J. (2003). Mary McLeod Bethune and black women's political activism. Columbia, Missouri: University of Missouri Press, p. 74

[568] Holt, R. (1964). *Mary McLeod Bethune: A biography.* Garden City, New York: Double Day and Company, Inc. pp. 93-94

school and continued to do so even after I requested Washington's endorsement. Washington responded to my letter in May 1915 expressing his intent not to endorse my school because I was planning to have a northern agency control fund-raising ventures. A few months later, Washington died. Mr. W.T.B. Williams returned in 1916 for the dedication of our new administrative building. I took it upon myself to remind him of his initial impression and prognosis of my school.[569]

The school's financial resources during the first few years of our existence were tenuous, but our work was beginning to show evidence of positive outcomes. Realizing that the area needed higher levels of education, I approached my board to expand our offerings to include high school level courses. Blacks in the area were academically prepared to take on secondary education. Several members of my board argued with my new plans. I emphasized that students were in fact capable, and I called them to assist me not tie my hands. In my estimations, my people needed just what in their estimations their people needed. Before I let anyone tie my hands, I would have given them what I had done thus far and go to the Palmetto and start another.[570]

For 11 years, we had conscientiously done our best to develop a much-needed institution of negro girls, in head, hand, and heart, and fitting them for the duties of life. This work had been done without any official recognition from the city in whose

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[569] Hanson, J. (2003). Mary McLeod Bethune and black women's political activism. Columbia, Missouri: University of Missouri Press, pp.67-69. For Dr. Watson, Hanson only mentions Dr. Watson without reference to a first name. According to Hanson there was a meeting on March 31, 1915. A Dr. Watson from New York made a presentation to Southern educators who attended that meeting.

[570] Hanson, J. (2003). Mary McLeod Bethune and black women's political activism. Columbia, Missouri: University of Missouri Press, p. 68; Mrs. Bethune's Vision of Her School, MMB papers, USC-Columbia, Foundation Collection, Part 1: 1918-1955, microfilm

interest we were working as well as our own. I spoke to the superintendent of schools to emphasize the county's obligation.[571] Feeling that the work of these years had passed the experimental stage and that the influence of our institution was evident in higher aims, better homes, and better conduct among our people in Daytona; along with the fact that our efforts had made for better citizenship, we solicited a visit of investigation from the Mayor and the City Council. The request was courteously granted and Thursday, November 11, 1915 we had our official visit from this honorable body.[572]

By 1915, we had eight female teachers and one male teacher. Portia Smiley was our department supervisor for industries; Lucille Jenkins supervised history and geography; LaUrsa W. Snelson was our stenographer; and W. Belle Davis was the primary teacher. Lucinda M. Jefferson was the sewing instructor; Harrietta E. Reynolds was the domestic science teacher; Alice Van Derezee was the music teacher; and Anita Pickney was the matron and housekeeper. We taught classes in the areas of history, geography, mathematics, penmanship, music, religion, speech, sewing, cooking, and domestic science.[573] We hired a colored pastor to teach biblical precepts.[574] As time progressed, we continued to adorn the school grounds and building. Women in our

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[571] Holt, R. (1964). *Mary McLeod Bethune: A biography.* Garden City, New York: Double Day and Company, Inc. p. 119.

[572] Bethune, Letter to the Editor of Daytona Morning Journal, 1915, recorded in McCluskey, A.T. & Smith, E.M. (1999). *Mary McLeod Bethune: Building a better world, essays and selected documents.* Bloomington, Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, pp.81-82.

[573] Hanson, J. (2003). Mary McLeod Bethune and black women's political activism. Columbia, Missouri: University of Missouri Press, p. 77.

[574] Newsome, C. (1982). Mary McLeod Bethune in religious perspectives: A seminal essay. [Dissertation]. Duke University, p. 153.

community furnished rooms. My friends who owned hotels provided furniture and linens. Our friends included Margaret Rhodes who had a winter home with her mother in Daytona. Her brother, Harrison Garfield Rhodes, a playwright and author, contributed his literary expertise for various plays.[575] When the need arose for a new dormitory in 1920, I wrote the editor of the *New York Times* and shared the urgency of our situation. It was essential to the welfare of the institution that the money be provided immediately. My school was worthy of the sympathy of the benevolent and deserved their generosity. Subscriptions could be sent to me.[576]

J.S. Peabody, northern philanthropist, toured my school and seemed very interested. He promised to make another visit in the near future, but before leaving, he donated 25 cents.[577] I thanked him, gave him a receipt, and wrote his donation in my log. Three years later, he returned and asked if I remembered his donation. I checked my log and saw that he indeed donated 25 cents. He was impressed, and wrote a check

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[575] Holt, R. (1964). *Mary McLeod Bethune: A biography.* Garden City, New York: Double Day and Company, Inc. p. 94.

[576] Bethune, Letter to the Editor of New York Times, April 18, 1920, recorded in McCluskey, A.T. & Smith, E.M. (1999). *Mary McLeod Bethune: Building a better world, essays and selected documents.* Bloomington, Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, p. 82.

[577] In Hanson, J. (2003). *Mary McLeod Bethune and black women's political activism.* Columbia, Missouri: University of Missouri Press Hanson refers to J.S. Peabody who donated 25 cents to the school but returned three years later, wrote her a check for $200, and arranged to sponsor one student per year. When he died, he bequeathed the school $10,000, p. 73.

for $200. Peabody sponsored a scholarship for the education of one girl each year. When he died, he left us $10,000.[578]

Harrison Garfield Rhodes, playwright and author, assisted me in receiving Carnegie Foundation grants for the school and library books.[579] He introduced me to the Astors, Guggenheims, Vanderbilts, and Pierponts. Mrs. Frank Chapin, a regular wealthy Daytona resident, invited the Carnegies, Mellons, and Rockefellers to the Ormond Hotel to hear the choir sing and my speech. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., granted magnanimous grants to our school from the General Education Board. Flora Curtis was a wealthy woman who visited our farms often to purchase 10 cents worth of carrots, so I sent her a brochure and asked for money. She did not contribute, but when she died in 1922, she left my school $8,000 for a new building. I named the building Curtis Hall.[580]

When Mr. Mellour invited me to his home in Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, I was eager to go. He invited me to his church gathering to give the same speech I shared with him months earlier. The response was favorable. He arranged additional meetings with people in his social circle. In route from New York to Massachusetts, I met Stephen Chapin, a deacon from the first Congregational Church in Springfield. He invited me to stay over and attend a prayer meeting where I could share my story. Mr.

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[578] Hanson, J. (2003). *Mary McLeod Bethune and black women's political activism.* Columbia, Missouri: University of Missouri Press, pp. 72-74, Some philanthropist "tested" worthiness of fund solicitors as J.S. Peabody did in Bethune's case.

[579] Hanson, J. (2003). Mary McLeod Bethune and black women's political activism. Columbia, Missouri: University of Missouri Press, pp. 73-74; Newsome, C. (1982). Mary McLeod Bethune in religious perspectives: A seminal essay. [Dissertation]. Duke University, p. 148-149

[580] Hanson, J. (2003). Mary McLeod Bethune and black women's political activism. Columbia, Missouri: University of Missouri Press, p. 73.

Chapin invited me to stay in his home whenever I was in the Springfield area.[581] His church even adopted me as their missionary. When an opportunity presented to purchase a lot with a cottage on the property, I called Mr. Chapin who paid the $2,500 for the property. The board questioned my decision to purchase the property. Some did not see the relevance. I stressed the money was donated by people who sacrificed to give, and it was donated for a specific purpose and therefore unethical to use the money for other purposes."[582] I convinced the board that the purchase was necessary.

Out of frustration with local racism, I started the McLeod Hospital and Training School for Nurses. A white supervisor at the local hospital refused to admit one of my sick children unless I took her through the back door. I vowed to seek resources so this type of incident would never happen again.[583] In 1922 during the mayoral election, I along with other blacks in Daytona, supported the candidate that promised to build a new high school for blacks in our community. The Ku Klux Klan (KKK) supported the other candidate. The night before the election, I heard the KKK was planning to come onto our campus and burn buildings. I alerted the black men in the community to be on campus with ammunition. I gave them specific orders that if the KKK attempted to set fire to any structures there would be violence.[584] The year of 1922 brought many changes. I still struggled financially and needed more stable assistance. The board of

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[581] Holt, R. (1964). *Mary McLeod Bethune: A biography.* Garden City, New York: Double Day and Company, Inc. p. 99.

[29] Holt, R. (1964). p. 101.

[583] Hanson, J. (2003). Mary McLeod Bethune and black women's political activism. Columbia, Missouri: University of Missouri Press, p. 75.

[584] Ibid., 78-79.

education for Negroes offered me a proposition. The more I thought about it the more pleased I became because in my mind that the proposition insured the future of the school.[585] I seemed to struggle financially even with the help of Gamble, White, and others. I wanted my school to remain private, non-denominational, and under my control. I sought an alliance with the board of missions for freedmen of the Presbyterian Church in Pittsburg, Pennsylvania. This visit was futile even after they poured over the school's financial situation. The Roman Catholic Church offered assistance but stipulated that they would control the school and change the denomination to Catholicism. Our interests conflicted, thus, it too was futile. The advisory board of the Episcopal Church considered us, but offered a proposal too after I agreed to merge with the Methodist Church. I collaborated with the Board of Education for the Methodist Episcopal Church, which sponsored Cook Institute, a school for Negro boys established in Jacksonville, Florida, after the Civil War. Reverend S.B. Darnell founded the school in 1872 under the auspices of the Freedmen's Bureau. Attendance was dwindling and I was offered the opportunity to provide advanced studies to men and women and continued oversight of the institution.[586] We finalized the merger in 1923.

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[585] Bethune, Letter to Mrs. Booker T. Washington, March 20, 1923, recorded in McCluskey, A.T. & Smith, E.M. (1999). *Mary McLeod Bethune: Building a better world, essays and selected documents.* Bloomington, Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, p. 83.

[586] From Cabin to College, *The Christian Advocate*, February 2, 1933, pp. 9-10, on microfilm, Mary McLeod Bethune Papers, Thomas Cooper Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia, South Carolina; Holt, R. (1964). pp. 155-157.

In 1939, I was among protesters of People's Drugstore in Washington, D.C., when they refused to hire black clerks. After two white men who murdered a black taxi driver in Florida were acquitted, I wrote a letter to Governor Fredrick Preston Cone aggressively seeking an investigation into the matter. I appealed for the governor's intervention. Was there no safety for any colored citizens in Florida? I wanted to hear what he had to say about that cold-blooded murder.[587]

Epilogue

Bethune-Cookman evolved from a girls' primary school to a co-education high school by 1923. In 1931, the high school converted into a junior college and eventually became a four-year liberal arts college in 1941.[588] Bethune served as president until 1943. Her political activism and her advocacy for black women were most visible in her presidencies of the Florida Federation of Colored Women's Club (1917-1925) and the twelve-state Southeastern Federation of Colored Women's Club (1920-1925). President Franklin Delano Roosevelt appointed Bethune director of the National Youth Administration in 1934. She held this position for two years. Bethune was also the president of the National Association of Teachers in Colored Schools (1923-1924). Bethune's affiliation with the Republican Party garnered an invitation from President Herbert Hoover to attend a White House conference in 1930. Presidents Coolidge and Hoover recognized Bethune as a leader in black education and appointed her a member of the National Commission for Child Welfare under their administrations. In 1937, she was successful in coordinating the National Conference on the Problems of the Negro

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[587] McCluskey, A. & Smith, E. (1999). *Mary McLeod Bethune: Building a better world, essays and selected documents.* Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, p. 8.

[588] Hanson, J. (2003). p.4

where Eleanor Roosevelt addressed the attendees.[589] In *A Philosophy of Education for Negro Girls* (N.D.), Bethune illustrated her expectation of political activism of girls. She correlated all levels of education with democracy in the *Educational Values of the College-Bred* (1937).[590] She even worked as special assistant to the Secretary of War for Selection of Candidates for the first Officers Candidate School for WACS in 1942.[591]

Analysis

Background

Bethune's background reflected most Southern blacks born in the immediate years post Civil War. Her older siblings and parents were former slavers whose stories resonated with Bethune. She later said, "True to the conditions of the Negroes in the South during pre-Civil War days mother was a slave of a Southern family by the name of McIntosh in South Carolina."[592] The family was poor and uneducated but resourceful. The McLeod family occupations were limited to farm labor and domestic work. Survival depended on their ability to use natural resources that farm-lands and forests provided. Moreover, their economic elevation correlated with combining family

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[589] McCluskey, A. & Smith, E. (1999). *Mary McLeod Bethune: Building a better world, essays and selected documents.* Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, pp.4-6.; Hanson, (2003). pp. 4-5.

[590] Ibid., 72-73

[591] Hanson, J. (2003). p.4; National Council of Women. (N.D.). Mary McLeod Bethune. Biographical Sketch, on microfilm, Mary McLeod Bethune Papers, Thomas Cooper Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia, South Carolina

[592] Mary McLeod Bethune, *A yearning and longing appeased*, p. 1, on microfilm Mary McLeod Bethune Papers, Thomas Cooper Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia, South Carolina.

earnings from manual labor to purchase land and build a cabin. According to Bethune's accounts, their family had amassed enough "canned" goods to help neighbors if warranted. In fact, neighbors helped each other with farm labor.[593] This underscores three points: Bethune's family found ways to survive, they helped others in their community, and poverty was pervasive in the rural South. Bethune re-contextualized farm labor, domestic labor, and resourcefulness into an asset for school initiation. This was evident in Bethune's statement:

> I burned logs and used charred splinters as pencils, and mashed elderberries for ink. I begged strangers for a broom, a lamp, a bit of cretonne to put around the packing case, which served as my desk. I hunted the city dump and trash piles behind hotels, retrieving discarded linens and kitchenware, cracked dishes, broken chairs, pieces of old lumber.[594]

She even imported the community-spirit gleaned from her childhood experiences and family expectations into her vision for Daytona Literary and Industrial School for Training Negro Girls. Bethune wanted her school to be a part of the Daytona community.[595]

Although Bethune focused on educating black girls, poverty precluded most blacks from attaining education. The South Carolina Department of Education's funding was insufficient for equipment, supplies, and teachers' salaries. Private organizations and/or religious entities sponsored the majority of black schools. Many

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[593] Holt, R. (1964). *Mary McLeod Bethune: A biography.* Garden City, New York: Double Day and Company, Inc., p. 3-5.

[594] McClusky, A. (1994). Multiple consciousnesses in the leadership of Mary McLeod Bethune. *NWSA Journal, (6)*1, 69-81.

[595] Mary McLeod Bethune interview Charles S. Johnson in 1940 recorded in McCluskey, A.T. & Smith, E.M. (1999). *Mary McLeod Bethune: Building a better world, essays and selected documents.* Bloomington, Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, pp. 36-51.

of them required students to pay modest tuition; unfortunately, most blacks in the immediate decades after the Civil War were still impoverished and could not afford the nominal required tuition. The Board of Missions for Freedmen of the Trinity Presbyterian Church started a primary school for blacks in Mayesville that provided free education; the McLeods sent Mary.[596] However, free education for rural black Southerners meant a sacrifice of a household and/or farm laborer.[597] Free education in this context was relative. Bethune was a recipient of benevolence with prescribed direction in mission work at Scotia Seminary. Mary Chrissman's scholarship stipulated emphasis on missionary work thus shaping Bethune's career path. Still, education remained within her reach at Moody. Mary Chrissman granted Bethune two scholarships.[598] Given that education was available to blacks, access to primary, secondary, and post-secondary education was a major obstacle contingent on availability of funds.[599] At an early age, Bethune realized education was the trajectory

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[596] Butchart, R. (2010). *Schooling the freed people: Teaching, learning, and the struggle for black freedom, 1861-1876.* Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press; Holt, R. (1964), p. 20.

[597] Mary McLeod Bethune interview Charles S. Johnson in 1940 recorded in McCluskey, A.T. & Smith, E.M. (1999). *Mary McLeod Bethune: Building a better world, essays and selected documents.* Bloomington, Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, pp. 35-37.

[598] Mary McLeod Bethune, *A yearning and longing appeased,* on microfilm Mary McLeod Bethune Papers, Thomas Cooper Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia, South Carolina, p. 3.

[599] Thelin, J. (2004). *A history of higher education*. Baltimore, Maryland: The Johns Hopkins University Press. pp. 168-177, 186-187.

that improved quality of life for blacks.[600] Yet, Bethune's access would not have existed without Chrissman's scholarships.

Whereas Bethune's educational focus and career preference were missionary work, defined as converting lives to the Christian faith, seminary and various learning experiences at Scotia Seminary and Moody Bible Institute prepared Bethune for school initiation. At Scotia Seminary and Moody Bible Institute, Bethune developed public speaking skills, the ability to reach out to strangers, courage, socialization with whites, singing skills, and liberal arts.[601] Bethune's missionary training prepared her for interactions with America's most affluent citizens. She was fortunate enough to have the Satterfields as mentors who offered social capital, which she later used to build relationships in the community and acquire students. Seminary education imparted characteristics necessary for school initiation, but Bethune gained training in education at Haines Institute, Presbyterian Mission School, and Kindell Institute. Bethune boasted that her most valuable educational experiences were at the Presbyterian Mission School in Mayesville with Emma Wilson and Haines Institute with Lucy Laney. She even patterned her practices after Wilson and Laney's teaching methods.[602]

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[600] Mary McLeod Bethune interview Charles S. Johnson in 1940 recorded in McCluskey, A.T. & Smith, E.M. (1999). *Mary McLeod Bethune: Building a better world, essays and selected documents.* Bloomington, Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, pp. 35-51.

[601] Newsome, C. (1982). Mary McLeod Bethune in religious perspectives: A seminal essay. [Dissertation]. Duke University, p. 77-80.

[602] Mary McLeod Bethune interview Charles S. Johnson in 1940 recorded in McCluskey, A.T. & Smith, E.M. (1999). *Mary McLeod Bethune: Building a better world, essays and selected documents.* Bloomington, Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, pp. 35-51.; Hanson, J. (2003). p.75

Bethune married in 1897; she separated from Albert a few years later after starting her school in Daytona. Previous studies verified married couples were effective educators and educated blacks longer in the South than single or widowed educators.[603] As expected, the demands of initiating and sustaining a school required considerable time and effort especially schools that lacked sizeable sponsorship and required the school founder to clean, cook, shop, fundraise, and teach.[604] Bethune's commitment to educate the black race prevailed over matrimonial responsibilities and emphasized gender tensions between the couple. Bethune sold insurance to supplement their meager income and did not concede to the societal role expectation of staying at home rearing children. She remained in Daytona and built a school even after her husband returned to South Carolina. Furthermore, Bethune sent her son to Haines Institute abdicating direct parental guidance; yet, extending superlative black education to her son. Bethune's active role in school initiation alleviated her duties as wife and mother.

Educational Philosophy

The Satterfields exposed Bethune to the "head, hand, heart" (HHH) concept in 1887. The head, hand, heart notion resonated with Bethune and became the foundational curriculum for the Daytona Literary and Industrial School for Training Negro Girls.[605] Bethune layered other educational concepts onto HHH principles such as culture and temperance. She typified "heart" through students' involvement in

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[603] Butchart, R. (2010). *Schooling the freed people: Teaching, learning, and the struggle for black freedom, 1861-1876.* Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press., pp. 80-81.

[604] Ibid., 92.

[605] Newsome, C. (1982). Mary McLeod Bethune in religious perspectives: A seminal essay. [Dissertation]. Duke University, pp. 76-78
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community work or service learning. In essence, Bethune adapted Benjamin Bloom's three domains of learning–cognitive, psychomotor, and affective philosophies before the theory was published in 1956.[606] Her adoption of HHH illustrated Bloom's precept that cognitive learning was a prerequisite for effective demonstration of psychomotor skills. Bethune's incorporation of "head, hand, heart" reflected her vision for holistic education.

Bethune's curriculum emphasized utilitarian skills as evidenced by the vocational programs offered at her school. A visitation at Tuskegee Institute was the impetus for the preference. As she toured Tuskegee, a mental model of her school's future developed indicating ambitions to move beyond primary education.[607] In 1911, seeking input from the board to add a high school department verified Bethune's ambitions to expand levels of education at her school. This was also confirmed when she went to the board in 1911 seeking their feedback to increase levels of education offered at the Daytona Literary and Industrial School for Training Negro Girls to secondary education.[608] Initially, the highest level of instruction was eighth grade and was limited to reading, writing, counting, and domestic training. As the school grew and the number of graduates ready for higher levels of education increased, Bethune

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[606] Bloom, B., Englehart, M.D., Furst, E., Hill, W.H., & Krathwuhl, D.R. (1956). *Taxonomy of educational objectives: The classification of educational goals*. New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. Bloom's taxonomy was a classification of learning goals developed in 1956 educators. Benjamin Bloom chaired the committee.

[607] Mary McLeod Bethune, *A yearning and longing appeased*, on microfilm Mary McLeod Bethune Papers, Thomas Cooper Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia, South Carolina, p. 8.

[608] Hanson, J. (2003). *Mary McLeod Bethune and Black women's political activism*. Columbia, Missouri. University of Missouri Press., p. 68.

hired Francis Keyser to focus on the curriculum while Bethune concentrated on school management and leadership. Daytona Literary and Industrial School for Training Negro Girls graduated its first high school class of five girls in 1915, three years after starting the high school department.

Moreover, segregation fueled Bethune's addition of a training program for practical nursing. Outraged by refusal of a "white only" hospital to treat a gravely ill student equally to a white person, Bethune started a training program for practical nurses and opened a hospital where her students and graduates cared for others in the community.[609] In Daytona, Bethune accepted her limitations and strategized to bypass them. However, she internalized leadership strengths and cultivated leadership skills. While rudimentary education was her initial goal, as her notoriety increased, her emphasis on women's economic, social, and political liberation increased even though her school became co-educational. In the early years of school initiation, she held self-help groups for men and women educating them in the areas of home care, child care, hygiene, and yard maintenance.[610] Bethune increased her school's visibility in the community, contributed to building the community, and showed the community the value of her school and students. She accomplished these outcomes through the Tomoka Mission and self-improvement classes. The Tomoka Mission was an outlet for service learning. Service learning nurtured "culture" in students; another important concept Bethune believed young girls needed to fully integrate into society and citizenship. Moreover, Bethune expected her girls to help others in the community,

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[609] Ibid., 75

[610] Ibid., 74-77

white and black.[611] Even before the Tomoka Mission, however, Bethune involved her students in public relations campaigns at hotels to yield resources for the school; The tactic was successful. Furthermore, Bethune incorporated temperance to instill patriotism and citizenship, although temperance programs were not limited to students. The community was welcome and many attended the Sunday afternoon temperance talks on the school's porch. Bethune used temperance programs to focus on self-improvement topics germane to both sexes. Community-focus was a salient theme. Bethune's experiences as a child in Mayesville contributed to a community-emphasis for the school. She resituated her family's role in the community into her school's role in the Daytona community. Additionally, she urged her students to lead and serve within in their communities.

Religious Influences

Religious influences existed in the form of biblical instruction, Sunday school, prayer, and temperance programs. Bethune scoured turpentine mills and coal factories for Sunday school students.[612] After Sunday school, Bethune encouraged her students to attend local churches in the area. At the same time, she did not mandate church attendance, nor did she stipulate a church preference for students. Prior to the merger with Cookman Institute in 1923, Daytona Literary Institute for Girls did not have a religious affiliation. The primary reason for the merger was strictly financial. Bethune was wise enough to ensure her school and work would survive financial hardships. The board of trustees supported a merger with a religious denomination to secure solvency.

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[611] Hanson, J. (2003). *Mary McLeod Bethune and Black women's political activism*. Columbia, Missouri. University of Missouri Press., p. 76.

[612] Holt, R. (1964). *Mary McLeod Bethune: A biography.* Garden City, New York: Double Day and Company, Inc., p. 114.

After a search for a religious affiliate, Bethune signed with the Methodist Episcopal Church, one of five from whom she sought assistance. The proposal was accepted contingent upon a merger with Cookman Institute, which was Methodist supported. Additionally, Bethune specified retention of her position as president and decision-making authority. Bethune-Cookman Institute remained under her leadership until she resigned in 1943.[613]

Bethune's family was Methodist. However, she was baptized Presbyterian after she completed the Presbyterian Mission School. After the merger with Cookman Institute, she changed affiliation to Methodist where she held a leadership position in the church and exerted influence on church-related business.[614] This transaction underscored Bethune's will to acquire power in the Methodist Episcopal realm. She influenced church matters by wielding influence among church leaders to get what she wanted. Clarence Newsome maintained Bethune politicked in the church and was criticized for not taking church matters seriously.[615]

Political Astuteness

Bethune's expanding social capital congealed her foundation for political astuteness. Nonetheless, she had to build a network and organizations that could benefit the school. Courage and assertiveness were traits Bethune cultivated to form a sizable

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[613] Newsome, C. (1982). Mary McLeod Bethune in religious perspectives: A seminal essay. [Dissertation]. Duke University, pp. 155-159; National Council of Women. (N.D.). Mary McLeod Bethune. Biographical Sketch on microfilm Mary McLeod Bethune Papers, Thomas Cooper Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia, South Carolina

[614] Newsome, C. (1982). Mary McLeod Bethune in religious perspectives: A seminal essay. [Dissertation]. Duke University, pp. 167-172.

[615] Ibid.

network of people and organizations, which she used to channel resources to her school. The Palmetto Women's Club was a perfect example of Bethune's ability to work within the social structure to form alliances and thus a network. Club members included local well-known female hotel owners who had connections to wealthy Northern patrons and other whites in the community. The Palmetto Women's Club consisted of prominent white women in the Daytona area.[616] On the other hand, the club ensured local whites monitored business and other school activities. Bethune created an advisory board, a corollary of the Palmetto Women's Club that consisted of affluent women, some of whom were members of the Palmetto Women's Club. The advisory board fostered inclusiveness among white Daytona women, thereby eliminating hostile, threatening tensions between the races. Bethune was open to the advisory board's advice and approval of school-related issues.[617] Having women as "insiders" to the school offered Bethune an unencumbered path to school support from whites while maintaining autonomy.

The Daytona community was not immune from race tensions. Bethune experienced racial discrimination, but she worked within social boundaries to build her school. She created a non-threatening relationship with whites in the community. In the face of discrimination, Bethune maintained composure to foster non-antagonistic relationships. She demonstrated temperance when faced with egregious discrimination on more than one account. Rackham Holt recorded a story about a white hotel owner

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[616] Newsome, C. (1982). *Mary McLeod Bethune in religious perspective: A seminal essay* (Doctoral dissertation). Retrieved from http:www.library.sc.edu/p. 137-138.

[617] Holt, R. (1964). *Mary McLeod Bethune: A biography.* Garden City, New York: Double Day and Company, Inc., p. 64.

who articulated disparaging comments and refused to allow Bethune to enter through the front door.[618] Racial discrimination was an obstacle Bethune had to bypass as was criticism from blacks who opposed vocational education. During her efforts to coronate Daytona Literary Institute for Girls as the community school, a black minister reproached her during his Sunday morning sermon for her vocational training programs. In spite of overwhelming support for vocational education among blacks and whites, black supporters of liberal education criticized those who embraced vocational education for blacks due to its limiting, subservient training programs. Bethune's method for overcoming discrimination and criticism was to focus on the larger objectives of building a network for her school, nurturing the art of restraint in dealing with various forms of adversities, and remaining open to input and advice from whites.

Moreover, Bethune's political acumen emerged in the form of foresight. She used relevant information to make decisions that impacted her school's future. Bethune acknowledged that she started her school in Daytona because the need was great; on the other hand, she admitted affluent Americans lived in the Daytona area and the railroad was expanding through the town suggesting significant growth and benefactors would embark upon Daytona.[619] At the core of her school initiation plans laid knowledge of prospective resources for successful initiation of the school. However, support from the black community was imperative because the school's purpose was to uplift the black community. Although supportive in theory, the black community rendered meager financial support to the school. Once again, Bethune worked with black women to gain

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[618] Ibid., 80

[619] Newsome, C. (1982). *Mary McLeod Bethune in religious perspective: A seminal essay* (Doctoral dissertation). Retrieved from http:www.library.sc.edu/pp.64-66.

support that resulted in a boarding school. She invited blacks to the school on Sundays for temperance meetings. Bethune offered adult classes in the evenings based on feedback from local blacks.[620] In spite of some criticism from local blacks about the vocational curriculum, overall the black community supported the school through Bethune's efforts of inclusiveness of whites, blacks, and community orientation. Bethune's courage and persistence led her to James M. Gamble and Thomas H. White. Impressively, she convinced them to serve on the school's board of trustees. Gamble and White were just two of a list of America's most notable men. She enlisted help from other well-known businessmen who had homes in Daytona. Bethune expanded her network, her confidence flourished, and she focused on outcomes of her work. Bethune surmised the school had produced a better community, contributed to the welfare of the community, and developed civically responsible citizens. Due to the positive outcomes of the school, Bethune insisted the mayor owed the school recognition for improving social conditions in the Daytona community. Bethune's letter to the mayor resulted in a visit from Daytona's mayor and councilmen who acknowledged positive outcomes of the school. These examples illustrate Bethune's comfort approaching affluent white men; further suggesting Bethune's social capital was effective in gaining attention of America's finest white businessmen and local white women.

Bethune's mission to educate young, black girls was a fraction of a larger mission to uplift the black race through increasing black women's involvement politically and economically. Education was the vital element in her cause. Although

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[620] Holt, R. (1964). *Mary McLeod Bethune: A biography.* Garden City, New York: Double Day and Company, Inc., pp. 55-63.

her school merged with Cookman Institute, a men's school, Bethune continued to advocate for women's empowerment that resulted from political activism. Male dominance economically, socially, and politically fueled Bethune's advocacy for women's political activism. While discussions surfaced in relation to racial equality, she observed black women's voices were missing from these discussions. Most of Bethune's national roles focused on women's political involvement in local, state, and national politics. She launched her national acclaim eight years after she started her school. Her national career began after she hired Francis Keyser in 1912. Keyser introduced Bethune to the National Association of Colored Women.[621] Bethune's rise up the national leadership ladder started in 1919 just a few years prior to merging with Cookman Institute. Her national positions, especially as director of the Office of Minority Affairs in the National Youth Administration, underscored her commitment to political activism. She criticized President Franklin Delano Roosevelt's administration for barriers to racial equality and not doing more to remove Jim Crow laws. After talking to blacks about the New Deal's omission of black issues, she urged blacks to contact President Franklin Delano Roosevelt to express their dissatisfaction. Bethune's knowledge of national politics gained by her position as director of the National Youth Administration forced her to look at women's liberation from domesticity differently. Thus, she founded the National Council of Negro Women to focus on the economic and political rise of women.[622] Moreover, she supported the anti-lynching, child labor

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[621] Ibid., 101-105

[622] Hanson, J. (2003). *Mary McLeod Bethune and Black women's political activism*. Columbia, Missouri. University of Missouri Press., pp. 164-185.

amendment, and the world court bills. At the national level, her contacts grew and allowed her to channel grants to her school. Whereas much of her political involvement occurred years after she started her school, during her school initiation years, she created a strong network of notable people and nurtured those relationships in nonthreatening ways.

Resourcefulness

Bethune displayed resourcefulness by developing a fundraising program that included a fundraising speech, her vision for black girls, building plans, and how she benefited from the generosity of Mary Chrissman. She transformed student performances into school touring events to attract wealthy men and women into the school for tours; consequently, her courage increased the school's visibility and resulted in "asks" of hotel owners to showcase her students at local hotels. During the hotel programs, Bethune discussed her plans for the school with hotel patrons. Her courageous personality and poignant speeches garnered support from James M. Gamble, Thomas H. White, and John D. Rockefeller. Gamble and White were board members whose endorsements legitimized Bethune's work attesting authenticity for prospective philanthropists; in turn, resulting in increased resources. Among Bethune's arsenal of strategies, she created a brochure entitled, *The Advocate*, which described the school's purposes. She disseminated *The Advocate* on street corners.[623]

Bethune innately gravitated to Daytona community's women, black and white; however, she worked with white women through the Palmetto Women's Club and

[623] Newsome, C. (1982). *Mary McLeod Bethune in religious perspective: A seminal essay* (Doctoral dissertation). Retrieved from http:www.library.sc.edu/p. 137.

eventually formed an advisory board. This proved successful because they donated old dishes, linens, money, groceries, and other goods. Not to mention, they gave her access to other women and men who had talents to share with the school such as Maybette's son, Harrison Garfield Rhodes, a playwright, who directed several dramatizations for the school.[624] Bethune had to rely on hotel dumpsters for cutlery, dishes, linens, make-shift desks, and chairs. She made desks from crates and made ink from elderberries. To gain more resources, she continued to ask for assistance from her affluent associates through speeches, letters, and visitations. She relied upon the black community for their support, which they gave according to what they had – food, flowers, money, and supplies.

Persistence emerged as a subtheme demonstrating Bethune's indefatigable "asks" for assistance from Northerners and local residents in the Daytona community. Bethune was resourceful because of her courage. She penned letters that requested specific amounts of funds. Letters demonstrated urgent pleas thus illustrating exigency.[625] Bethune persistently asked businesspersons to present her cause at their establishments. During her presentations/programs, she enlisted the help of her students to impress patrons with their talents and skills. She stood on street corners and disseminated *The Advocate*. She offered tours of the school to interested parties. Bethune's social capital created the network that yielded access to the resources of others. Persistence in asking for help was an unwavering skill that Bethune displayed

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[624] Holt, R. (1964). *Mary McLeod Bethune: A biography.* Garden City, New York: Double Day and Company, Inc., p. 142.

[625] Bethune, M.M. Letters to acquire funding in McCluskey, A.T. & Smith, E.M. (1999). *Mary McLeod Bethune: Building a better world, essays and selected documents.* Bloomington, Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, pp. 80-83.

without humiliation. Bethune strategized to retrieve the necessary resources for the school. Likewise, courage was an emergent subtheme demonstrating Bethune's intention to be successful but underscores how important it was to be bold and assertive as a school founder. Additionally, work ethic seemed to be inherited from her family. The entire family worked hard; they had been accustomed to hard work. As she built her school, Bethune bypassed basic luxuries such as sturdy structures, desks, blackboards, and pencils. She found ways to educate and house students in spite of the lack of resources. Bethune learned techniques from previous experiences at Presbyterian, Haines, and Kendall to maintain her school. Her ingenuity propelled the school until she could secure adequate resources. Bethune's school founding markers are listed in table 5.1.

Table 5.1: Bethune's Markers of School Founding Practices

1.) How and to what extent did school founders who started primary schools for blacks in the South use their experiences, resourcefulness, political astuteness, and religious beliefs in initiating and sustaining schools during the Civil war, reconstruction years, and progressive era?			
Background & Experiences	**Resourcefulness**	**Political Astuteness**	**Religious Beliefs**
Poverty Scholarship Recipient Farm Worker Parents & Older Siblings Former Slaves Presbyterian, African American Methodist Episcopalian Graduate of Scotia Seminary & Moody Bible Institute Separated from Spouse One Child Committed over 40 years to black education	Social Capital (Networking) Coordinated School Tours & Hotel Presentations Initiated a school in a city where affluent Americans lived Distributed School Pamphlets Wrote letters to Northerners Traveled North to solicit funds from Northerners Relied upon donations from black local churches Demonstrated persistence Demonstrated assertiveness	Social Capital (Networking) Fostered cordial relationships Formed a Board of Trustees Pleaded publically for school support Asserted Politically Correct Communication Sought recognition for her school from Daytona mayor	Merged with African American Methodist Episcopalian (AME) sponsored school in 1922 Instituted Sunday School, Temperance Trained as a missionary at Moody Bible Institute Demonstrated missionary zeal

CHAPTER 6: ANALYSIS AND CONCLUSION

Unexpected Findings

Interestingly, this study revealed several surprising findings and among them were inter-related themes. Educational philosophy and religious beliefs merged significantly revealing missionary zeal as a marker. Prayer services, Sunday school, temperance, and bible study echoed throughout Mather's letters and her report to the WABHMS.[626] Mather opened religious services to the public and started an off-site Sunday school. She even denied admission to the day school if students attended Sunday school, further obscuring the line between religious practices and curriculum. Thus, it was difficult to isolate Mather's religious practices from curriculum. Bethune, who participated in missionary work through her training at Moody Bible Institute, Haines Institute, and early years of her school's inception, used skills from missionary training to build her school. Bethune's curriculum was certainly vocational, but she relied heavily on the bible, bible study, and weekly temperance programs to which she invited the entire community; white and black. The other school founders melded religious practices and curriculum but to a lesser degree than Mather and Bethune, who demonstrated more markers in the religious beliefs theme. Mather and Bethune demonstrated qualities of evangelical missionaries. See table 4.1.

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[626] Mather, Rachel, Letter to Mr. Smith, May 20, 1868, American Missionary Association, Amistad Research Center, Tulane University, New Orleans, Louisiana., Owens, S. & Mather, R. (1897). Woman's American Baptist Home Mission Society (1897, May 5 & May 6). *Report of the Annual Meeting held in Cranston St. Baptist Church*, Providence, Rhode Island. Boston: C.H. Simonds & Co. Printers.

Moreover, resourcefulness and political acumen overlapped as anticipated, but the apparent codependence was remarkable. Resourcefulness hinged on the level of political acumen school founders displayed and the effectiveness of their politics. Towne appeared to demonstrate more markers in the area of political acumen than the others during the early years of her school's inception. She strategically built alliances with Union officers to secure resources for her school, such as cultivating her relationship with General Rufus Saxton. When Towne feared the leadership at Brick Baptist Church was going to remove her school from the church, General Saxton promised Towne she could use the church as long as he supervised local operations of the Port Royal Experiment.[627] Bethune's strategic move from Palatka, Florida to Daytona, Florida demonstrated foresight and recognition of reliance on white Northerners for resources. Bethune politicked with white women in the Daytona community for resources and referrals to others in the community, distant and local, who might find interest in her work. Wright forged relationships with Booker T. Washington and Senator Stanwix Mayfield. Wright and Bethune used non-threatening approaches when communicating and interacting with whites to ensure resources and to protect school buildings from fires. Wright trusted Senator Mayfield and Judge George Kelly to assist her with business transactions. Further, she sought Washington's advice on most school matters. Towne and Mather embraced a vocal approach expressing their frustrations in national outlets to deal with the lack of resources for their students and communities. Mather sent letters to the New

[627] Rose, W. L. (1997). Laura M. Towne. In E. James (Series Ed.), *Notable American Women, 1607–1960: A Biographical Dictionary: Vol 3. P – Z* (pp. 472-474). Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

York Times and wrote a book describing urgency for community and school resources. Towne attempted to plead with President Andrew Johnson.[628]

Extrapolating resourcefulness from political acumen proved difficult especially considering limitations imposed by societal expectations, limitations resulting from their backgrounds and educational experiences as in Wright's and Bethune's cases, and limitations as leaders of schools. Each factor obscured the line between resourcefulness and political acumen to the point where their politicks seemed to be a function of resourcefulness. In other words, finding and adopting inventive means to bypass various limitations yielded political acumen thus creating resourcefulness. Concerning politics, Towne and Mather appeared unencumbered by racial and gendered prejudices allowing Towne to work her network of Union officers to secure resources and information for school purposes. Wright and Bethune displayed an aggressive but non-threatening approach exhibiting a clear understanding of racial and gender boundaries. Nonetheless, their ability to politick seemed to be a product of background, educational experiences, and various limitations, thus accounting for nuanced distinctions in resourcefulness and political acumen. Their limitations and experiences formed their political acumen thus uniquely shaping their resourcefulness. Although different in some aspects, their methods were effective.

Remarkably, geographic regions did not appear to negatively influence the outcome of these schools, but perhaps enabled Wright and Bethune to take an aggressive

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[628] Jacquette, Henrietta Stratton (ed.), *South after Gettysburg: Letters of Cornelia Hancock, 1863-1868*. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company pp.191-192, 196; Rose, W. L. (1964). *Rehearsal for Reconstruction: The Port Royal Experiment.* Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, p. 357., New York Times, 1894, February; New York Times, 1894, March, Beaufort County District Library

approach securing resources for their schools. Wright founded her school in a rural, isolated area where poverty existed for generations of blacks who worked agricultural, meager paying jobs. Her educational experiences were limited to Tuskegee Institute, and she carried out her work without luxuries and comfort. She often relied on friends within the black community for food and housing. While local blacks supported Wright's school with a modicum of financial support, she started and sustained a school against the odds in an isolated impoverished town. Wright walked miles going from church to church collecting, on some days, only pennies.[629] Eventually, Wright found the school's most magnanimous benefactor, making it possible to establish a school campus with dormitories, a cafeteria, educational facilities, and a hospital; just the opposite of what might have been anticipated in a rural, isolated area where white resistors resided. Wright's counterpart, Bethune, initiated her school in an area where affluent Americans owned summer homes near or on the beach, but she still had to work aggressively scheduling hotel presentations, knocking on doors, standing on street corners distributing school pamphlets, begging, and writing prospective donors. She worked aggressively, compared to the other school founders, to get Northern support in Daytona where money, ideally, should have flowed. Surprisingly, Wright's and Bethune's schools flourished. Penn School and Mather School met a different fate.

Penn School was isolated by inter-coastal waterways, but the school was located in the center of St. Helena Island. During the Port Royal Experiment, and the immediate years thereafter, the Pennsylvania Freedmen Relief Association supported the school. In

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[629] Coleman, J. E. B. (1922). *Tuskegee to Voorhees: The Booker T. Washington idea projected by Elizabeth Evelyn Wright.* Columbia, South Carolina: Thomco, Inc., Morris, J. K. (1983). *Elizabeth Evelyn Wright: Founder of Voorhees College.* Sewanee, Tennessee: The University Press.

spite of the close proximity of Mather's school to the city of Beaufort and the Freedmen Bureau office, bureau funds did not make their way to Mather's school. Ironically, Penn School and Mather School had more resources by way of inherited social capital, but their schools no longer exist unlike Wright's and Bethune's schools. Although confounding, geographic location did not determine longevity of the schools in this study. However, this study exposed Southern school founders' aggressive approaches, most notably Bethune, each of whom toiled physically to initiate and sustain schools; working early morning to late night, traveling, teaching, cooking, and performing various and sundry tasks to improvise for little to no provisions. Geographic location may have played an important role in shaping markers Southern school founders embraced to move their schools beyond conceptions to viable school campuses.

Additionally, geographic location did not appear to influence the time it took school founders to develop their schools into sustainable campuses with reasonable financial stability. From this perspective, Towne and Wright took less time to build viable campuses than Bethune and Mather. Towne moved out of the church into her school building, provided by her primary source of support, in January, 1865, only three years after starting her school.[630] She even started a normal department in 1868 suggesting she had enough students ready for secondary education and the financial resources far in advance of the other school founders in this study. Wright achieved financial stability by 1905, eight years after she started her school in a vacant room of an

[630] Butchart, R. & Rolleri, A. (2004). Secondary education and emancipation: Secondary schools for freed slaves in the American South, 1862 – 1875. *Paedagogica Historica, 40*(1 & 2), 158 – 181.

old store.[631] In 1912, W.T.B. Williams, the director of the Slater fund, visited Bethune's school and commented to Booker T. Washington: "Do you think anything can ever be made of such a God forsaken place?"[632] Four years later W.T.B Williams returned to Daytona Institute and was astonished by the significant progress Bethune made. Although there is a gap in documents between 1869 through 1897, archival documents revealed that Mather School struggled even after partnering with the WABHMS .[633] Penn School reached its stable point in 1865, three years after opening. Denmark Industrial School for Colored Youth stabilized in eight years. Daytona Institute reached stability in approximately 10 years. Debatably, Mather School stabilized around the late 1870's through the early 1880's.[634] Thus, the time it took school initiators to expand their schools onto stable footing had no bearing on the longevity of the schools, but perhaps underscored Southern school founders' determination in building viable school campuses. Booker T. Washington certainly created the ideal model and school upon which Wright and Bethune based their school practices and curriculum. After a visit to Tuskegee Institute, Bethune admitted to forming a mental model of what her school should be.[635]

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[631] Coleman, J.F.B. (1922). *Tuskegee to Voorhees*. Columbia, South Carolina: R.L. Bryan Company, p. 61.
[632] Holt, R. (1964). Mary McLeod Bethune.

[633] Owen, S. (1925). The story of Mather School. Benedict College Archives, Mather School Papers, Columbia, South Carolina.

[634] Hanson, J. (2003). Mary McLeod Bethune and black women's political activism. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, pp. 67-72, Coleman, J.F.B. (1922). *Tuskegee to Voorhees*. Columbia, South Carolina: R.L. Bryan Company, p. 61, Technical College of the Lowcountry/mission/Mather School history

[635] Bethune, M.M. A yearning and longing appeased, pp. 1-8, Mary McLeod Bethune (MMB) Papers, University of South Carolina, Microfilm, Reel 10819

Missionary zeal emerged as a marker for Mather and Bethune but manifested differently in each. During Mather's assessment of the Lowcountry, while working with the AMA, she referenced the need for biblical training. She asked an AMA representative for more testaments to distribute. Her initial instruction started with teachings from the bible.[636] Mather held prayer services and bible study, which were open to the public. Sunday school was offered and Mather expected her students to attend a local church after Sunday school. Many of her letters and her report to the WABHMS refer to biblical passages emphasizing faith, few laborers in the field, and gratitude to God.[637] Much like Mather, Bethune demonstrated missionary qualities. Prior to Bethune's first teaching assignment, she longed to be a foreign missionary. Certainly, she trained as a missionary at Scotia Seminary and Moody Bible Institute. Bethune transposed her missionary training to her role at Haines Institute where she scoured streets and turpentine mills for Sunday school patrons and again in Daytona where she stood on street corners passing out school pamphlets and visiting the labor camps to gain black support for her school and new students. Mather and Bethune exhibited the most markers in the area of religious beliefs due to their missionary zeal that manifested differently but nonetheless effective.

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[636] Mather, Rachel, Letter to Reverend E.P. Smith, October 21, 1867, American Missionary Association, Amistad Research Center, Tulane University, New Orleans, Louisiana, [636] Mather, Rachel, Letter to Mr. Smith, May 20, 1868, American Missionary Association, Amistad Research Center, Tulane University, New Orleans, Louisiana.

[637] Owens, S. & Mather, R. (1897). Woman's American Baptist Home Mission Society (1897, May 5 & May 6). *Report of the Annual Meeting held in Cranston St. Baptist Church*, Providence, Rhode Island. Boston: C.H. Simonds & Co. Printers.

Expected Findings

Experiences, Resourcefulness, Political Astuteness, and Religious Beliefs. School founders in this study used various techniques to found and sustain schools. Influencing their methods were elements of their backgrounds, faith, networks, and work experiences. Towne and Mather were upper class, educated women with deep-rooted family ties in the Northeast and England. Towne's training in homeopathic medicine and teaching experience in charity schools benefited the Union soldiers, other missionaries on the islands, and the freedmen.[638] Teaching in charity schools gave Towne a reference upon which she could rely to start her school, but she confirmed the first year was challenging especially when Towne's assistant, Ellen Murray, fell ill within months of arriving. Towne used her homeopathic training to treat and nurse Ellen and others so that the work of educating the freedmen could continue. Likewise, Mather's academic preparation, 13-years of teaching experience, and head teacher position at the Bigelow School for Boys qualified her for initiating a school.[639] Contrastingly, Wright and Bethune were poor Southerners born approximately a decade after abolishment of slavery. Bethune had to work on the farm and perform other household duties. Wright performed household duties when her health permitted. Wright's and Bethune's cases exposed the key role scholarships played for black education. Bethune was the recipient of two scholarships; Wright received one. Neither would have been able to attend secondary schools without philanthropy from outside the South. Using this advantage for her school, Bethune's

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[638] Rose, W. L. (1997). Laura M. Towne. In E. James (Series Ed.), *Notable American Women, 1607–1960: A Biographical Dictionary: Vol 3. P – Z* (pp. 472-474). Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

[639] Anonymous. (N.D.). Rachel Crane Rich Mather, A biographical account with citations, Benedict College Archives, Mather School Papers, Columbia, South Carolina

hotel presentations and other public presentations emphasized the importance of scholarships for young black girls.[640]

Moreover, Tuskegee Institute exposed Wright to life beyond her impoverished neighborhood in Talbotton, Georgia, taught her propriety, rendered personal experience with industrial education, and offered a network. Wright adopted Booker T. Washington's non-threatening approach to build community relations, and she relied on Washington to guide her through school operations. Bethune's educational experiences enabled her to interact with white students and teachers. Consequently, she learned to exist within white communities, a skill contributing to her inclusiveness of white women and men in school-related business and various activities.

In addition to background and experiences, religion was a theme in this study. Each school founder had some form of faith, but Towne was a proud abolitionist whose abolition ideals merged with faith. Mather was driven by faith as evident in her letters, mission enterprises, and adoption of prayer services.[641] She appeared to have a strong dedication to religious practices and demonstrated several markers in this area. While all school founders had some degree of faith, none allowed students' religious affiliations to prohibit school admission suggesting school founders' allegiance was to education and not religious denominations. However, biblical precepts were components of all curricula and captured in different forms such as Sunday school, temperance, mission enterprises, and prayer services.

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[640] Newsome, C. G. (1982). *Mary McLeod Bethune in religious perspective: A seminal essay*. Dissertation, Duke University, p. 70.

[641] Owens, S. & Mather, R. (1897). Woman's American Baptist Home Mission Society (1897, May 5 & May 6). *Report of the Annual Meeting held in Cranston St. Baptist Church*, Providence, Rhode Island. Boston: C.H. Simonds & Co. Printers.

Towne demonstrated more markers in the area of political astuteness than the other school founders in this study. Interestingly, she visited the White House to speak to President Andrew Johnson and Secretary Edwin Stanton, which seemed radical. Mather also demonstrated an extreme approach in this area. Dissatisfied with national assistance after the storm of 1893, Mather wrote a book to increase awareness of the storm's devastation on the Sea Islands. Although Towne had more markers that exhibited political astuteness, she and Mather resorted to extreme measures compared to Wright and Bethune whose techniques were similar such as fostering cordial relations and using politically correct communications. To Bethune's credit, she sought recognition for her school from the Daytona mayor and received a visit from the mayor and city councilmen. In general, Wright and Bethune adopted a tacit non-threatening approach whereas Towne and Mather seemed to agitate those with political power.

Interestingly, faith or social ideals likely contributed to the length of time school founders in this study educated Southern blacks. More importantly, each school founder in this study educated long after others retreated or found other occupations.[642] All remained committed for the duration of their lifetimes. Bethune, even after she retired as president of Bethune-Cookman College, still contributed to the direction of the school. Considering fortitude in the context of war, reconstruction, and the Jim Crow era, the probable causal factor for fortitude was a combination of faith and social ideals. In other words, faith was equally, if not more important, to carrying out the daily operations of schools.

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[642] Butchart, E. (2010). *Schooling the freed people: teaching, learning, and the struggle for black freedom, 1861-1876*. Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, pp. 80-81.

Although persistence was a subtheme that manifested in various ways, built the case for fortitude, and contributed to the success of school founders, each school founder was selected for their persistence. Nonetheless, their persevering efforts deserve commentary staring with Towne. In her first six months on St. Helena, she encountered several obstacles, such as the disorganization of the Port Royal Experiment, difficulty teaching the native children, communication barriers, and the constant threat of malaria.[643] Edith Dabbs insisted that half of the Northern teachers who volunteered to teach on the Sea Islands returned within a year.[644] Towne was among the few who persisted. Within a year of coming to Beaufort, Mather cut her ties with AMA and had to find other means of financial support. With much perseverance, she persisted. Wright faced at least three fires, poor health, and perpetual financial struggles, but she continued and found Ralph Voorhees. A gateway to financial stability was Bethune's persistence in asking for assistance verbally and in letters. She stood on street corners and distributed pamphlets. Joyce Hanson emphasized Bethune had to be a "good beggar."[645] Bethune's school still exists today.

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[643] Botume, E. (1893). *First days amongst the contrabands.* Boston: Lee and Shepard Publishers.; Towne, L. (1901). Pioneer work on the Sea Islands. The Southern Workman. Hampton, Virginia: Hampton Institute Press., pp. 5-8.

[644] Dabbs, Edith. (186). *Walking Tall.* Frogmore, South Carolina: Penn Community Services, Inc., p.4

[645] Hanson, J. (2003). Mary McLeod Bethune and black women's political activism. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, p. 71.

Persistence was requisite among other characteristics necessary to found and sustain a school, but political savvy and resourcefulness were as crucial to success.[646] In this study, political astuteness and resourcefulness overlapped significantly. Contributing to this interconnection was social capital, which was fundamental to building networks of support in the north. Social capital, defined as networks or communities of people or organizations providing resources and benefits to individuals connected to others and groups, was a marker. Towne and Mather inherited social capital from their upper class families and religious affiliations but expanded through educational experiences, work experiences, and other social organizations.[647] Each school founder relied heavily on Northern communities to start and sustain schools. Since founders in this study would not have been able to rally enough financial support from Southerners, Northern support was crucial. Towne and Mather lived in various Northeastern states; Towne in Massachusetts, Philadelphia, and Rhode Island; and Mather in Rhode Island, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Connecticut. Their connections in those states allowed them to establish communities of networks in each state. Towne and Mather imported social capital South, remained connected to their networks, and used contacts to supply their schools with funds, food, and supplies. Mather, particularly expanded her capital after marrying a Baptist minister and moving about the Northeast building a network from various churches.

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[646] Schramm – Pate, S. & K. Chaddock. (2006). From obscurities to distinction: (Re)positioning women "Progressive" education in the new South. *Southern Studies: An Interdisciplinary Journal of the South, (13)*12, 25 – 49.

[647] For social capital see Bourdieu, P. (1986). The forms of capital. In J.G. Richardson (Ed.). *Handbook of theory and research for the sociology of education* (pp. 241-258). New York: Greenwood Press.

On the other hand, Wright and Bethune acquired social capital later in life through educational experiences. Wright formed social capital through contacts with Booker T. Washington and his wife, who introduced Wright to others such as Almira Steele and Judge George Kelly, both Northerners with Northern and Southern connections. Wright's mentors exposed her to Northern and Southern communities that proved beneficial in the early years of her school's development. Bethune strategized to get access to affluent men and women in the Daytona community, garnering resources and a board of trustees for her school. After developing some social skills at Scotia Seminary, she utilized public speaking skills and assertiveness she cultivated at Moody Bible Institute to ask affluent Daytona residents for opportunities to present her appeal for school support. Bethune constructed a network of notable community members in Daytona and Northern states. She furthered social capital through various organizations such as the National Association of Colored Women and the National Council for Negro Women. However, Bethune cultivated far-reaching relationships with America's most affluent men and women. Members of Bethune's and Wright's networks functioned in advisory capacities and on governing boards.[648]

Although each school founder possessed social capital, the difference was in the amount of capital each school founder possessed. Towne and Mather were Northeastern "insiders" who inherited social capital and expanded it through existing networks and new communities. Wright and Bethune were "outsiders" to Northeastern communities

[648] Newsome, C. G. (1982). *Mary McLeod Bethune in religious perspective: A seminal essay*. Dissertation, Duke University. Bethune's Northern support: James Gamble, Thomas White, Mrs. Frank Chapman, winter occupant with ties to America's wealthiest, and Harrison Garfield Rhodes expanded her capital to include John D. Rockefeller, Sr., and Orme Wilson, sister of Vincent Astor

but slowly acquired capital through contacts with others during educational experiences. Concisely, some similarities existed among Northern and Southern school founders. Table 6.1 lists specific markers of school founders' experiences, resourcefulness, political astuteness, and religious beliefs. Subthemes follow in table 6.2.

Influence of Educational Philosophy. Each school founder had different educational preparations, and their educational influences manifested differently. From the time Towne started Penn School in 1862 with her assistant Ellen Murray, she resisted industrial and agricultural education. Towne's education included the classics and homeopathic medicine, but her abolition ideals espoused educational and gender equality. Abolition ideals were at the center of Towne's work, which was evident on the school bell's inscription: "proclaim liberty."[649] Recognizing shifting trends in education, Towne's niece convinced her to incorporate the school in 1900 and to consider the industrial model. The vocational model went into effect in 1901, after Towne's death. In a stark contrast, Mather completed normal school but adopted vocational education to ensure employment and self-sufficiency. Wright, a Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute graduate, was so impressed with Tuskegee Institute that she patterned her school after her alma mater. Further, it was the only form of formal education Wright experienced. After a tour of Tuskegee Institute, Washington's industrial school in Alabama created a lasting impression on Bethune, but she integrated "culture." Bethune

[649] Dabbs, Edith. (186). *Walking Tall.* Frogmore, South Carolina: Penn Community Services, Inc., p. 6.

Table 6.1: Markers of School Founders' Experiences, Resourcefulness, Political Astuteness, and Religious Beliefs

1.) How and to what extent did school founders who started primary schools for blacks in the South use their experiences, resourcefulness, political astuteness, and religious beliefs in initiating and sustaining schools during the Civil war, reconstruction years, and progressive era?

TOWNE			
Background & Experiences	**Resourcefulness**	**Political Astuteness**	**Religious Beliefs**
Affluence & Wealth Inherited Social Capital Unitarian & Abolitionist Homeopathic Training – (Nursed, "doctored" native islanders, other missionaries, and Union soldiers) Liberal Education Taught in Charity Schools Seamstress for Union Soldiers Committed 38 years to black education	Accessed Northern Networks Cultivated Southern Network Wrote letters to Northern friends and family members Articulated assertive communication Wrote resolutions Demonstrated Persistence	Accessed Northern Networks Appointed Beaufort County School District Trustee Wrote resolutions Traveled to Washington, D.C. to plead with President Andrew Johnson and Secretary of War, Edwin Stanton Attended political meetings Wrote letters for National Publications Incorporated the School in 1900	Instituted Temperance & Sunday School Attended prayer services and "shouts"
MATHER			
Background & Experiences	**Resourcefulness**	**Political Astuteness**	**Religious Beliefs**
Affluence & Wealth Daughter of a Congregationalist pastor & Wife of a Baptist minister Inherited Social Capital Head Matron at Bigelow School for Boys Completed Normal School Married Children Committed 33 years to black education	Accessed Northern Networks Wrote letters to Northern friends, family, and former church members Visited the North every summer Appealed the public for school and community assistance Demonstrated Persistence Articulated assertive communication	Accessed Northern Networks Pleaded Poignantly Repeatedly Described black children as forlorn and impoverished Wrote Letters in National Papers Authored *Storm Swept South Carolina Sea Islands*	Affiliated with WABHMS Instituted Mission Enterprises, Sunday School, Weekly Prayer Services, Temperance Demonstrated Missionary Zeal

Table 6.1 (Cont.): Markers of School Founders' Experiences, Resourcefulness, Political Astuteness, and Religious Beliefs

WRIGHT			
Background & Experiences	**Resourcefulness**	**Political Astuteness**	**Religious Beliefs**
Poverty Father Former Slave Methodist Scholarship Recipient Chronic Stomach Ailments Married Graduate of Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute Committed 13 years to black education	Accessed Northern Networks Wrote letters to Northerners Traveled North to Solicit Funds Held Church Rallies Demonstrated persistence	Accessed Northern Networks Cultivated Southern Networks Fostered Cordial Relations with Southerner Families Asserted Politically Correct Communication Formed a Board of Trustees	Instituted Sunday School, Temperance
BETHUNE			
Background & Experiences	**Resourcefulness**	**Political Astuteness**	**Religious Beliefs**
Poverty Scholarship Recipient Farm Worker Parents & Older Siblings Former Slaves Presbyterian, African American Methodist Episcopalian Graduate of Scotia Seminary & Moody Bible Institute Separated from Spouse One Child Committed over 40 years to black education	Social Capital (Networking) Coordinated School Tours & Hotel Presentations Initiated a school in a city where affluent Americans lived Distributed School Pamphlets Wrote letters to Northerners Traveled North to solicit funds from Northerners Relied upon donations from black local churches Demonstrated persistence Demonstrated assertiveness	Social Capital (Networking) Fostered cordial relationships Formed a Board of Trustees Pleaded publically for school support Asserted Politically Correct Communication Sought recognition for her school from Daytona mayor	Merged with African American Methodist Episcopalian (AME) sponsored school in 1922 Instituted Sunday School Temperance Trained as a missionary at Moody Bible Institute Demonstrated missionary zeal

Table 6.2: Subthemes

	Subthemes
Towne	Fortitude Feminist Ideals Social Capital Advocacy
Mather	Fortitude Gendered Roles Social Capital Propriety Missionary Zeal
Wright	Fortitude Social Capital Isolated School Location
Bethune	Fortitude Access to Education Social Capital Feminist Ideals Ideal School Location Social Capital Missionary Zeal

was a trained missionary with studies in liberal education at Scotia Seminary and Moody Bible Institute. Each school's curricular model included biblical instruction, Sunday school, and temperance. Bible instruction expanded knowledge of old and new testaments to include morality training. For Mather, biblical instruction was imperative because she correlated religious practices such as Sunday school and prayer services with propriety. In other words, in order for a girl to demonstrate propriety she had to attend Sunday school, prayer services, and bible study as these were expectations for a refined lady. It is important to note in that 1881 the John F. Slater Fund offered grants to black schools offering industrial education. The General Education Board offered grants to black schools as well. The opportunity to receive education funding was linked to industrial curriculum. Bethune may have been convinced to implement an industrial

focus for receipt of grant monies from charitable organizations and philanthropists. However, the Slater Fund and the General Education Board did not fund Bethune's school until 1935; although she, with assistance from Harrison Rhodes, a board of trustee's member and playwright, applied for both grants in prior years.[650] Moreover, evidence suggesting Wright and Mather applied for these grants was inconclusive. Nonetheless, Northern white philanthropists preferred the industrial model for blacks and contributed to schools that offered industrial education. Consequently, boards of trustees, especially in Bethune's case, were proponents of industrial education and advised accordingly.

With the exception of Towne, the other school founders initially focused on industrial occupations such as sewing, planting, housekeeping, and cooking – all socially acceptable occupations for black women.[651] Bethune gradually added nursing and other occupations. Wright focused on the needs of rural farmers and domestic needs of white families in the Denmark area, thus maintaining Booker T. Washington's industrial model. The highest level of instruction at Mather School was fourth grade until her assistant principal, Sarah Owens, joined the staff in 1896. Mather focused on housekeepers whom she could employ in Northern homes. Therefore, educational curricula reflected what school founders believed was best for their student populations. They shaped curricula based on their previous educational experiences as in Wright's case, social ideals,

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[650] Hanson, J. (2003). *Mary McLeod Bethune: Black women's political activism*. Columbia, Missouri: University of Missouri Press.

[651] Kelly, K. (2005). Gender and Class Formations in the Antebellum North. In N. Hewitt (Ed.), *A companion to American women's history* (pp. 100 – 116). Malden, Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishing.

educational models at other successful black schools, community needs, school founders' visions or missions for their schools and students, and perhaps funding, especially in Bethune's case. Not surprisingly, gendered expectations were reflected in Mather's, Wright's, and Bethune's vocational programs. However, Bethune's educational model changed as more students demonstrated readiness for liberal education. Although Towne's primary curriculum focused on liberal studies, she offered self-help classes for women such as hygiene and sewing. She also offered comparable classes for men. Mather adopted the vocational model for blacks during reconstruction; Wright, and Bethune during the progressive era emphasizing a commitment to employment rendering higher income potential and better quality of life for blacks. Nevertheless, they conceded to social limitations for blacks separating race and class through vocational programs. Interestingly, it took Towne nearly 37 years to change her position, but she was not part of the transition. Towne's liberal education toward social contribution proved beneficial for the freedmen. Ellen Murray confirmed the school's outcomes after 40 years of work.

> The young men are in teachers' associations interested in mathematical and educational problems and debating societies…We have temperance society of over a thousand, a law and order party of twelve, thirty unions in alliance with the Woman's Christian Temperance Union. There are twelve county schools taught by our graduates, who also find employment through the districts as teachers and clerks in stores. The people support their churches, pay their taxes, and take care of their sick and aged relations, there being only seven out of the six thousand in poor homes.[652]

Nonetheless, each school founder aptly justified her reason for adopting educational models. As more blacks demonstrated readiness for higher levels of education, these schools revised their educational models but under new leadership with the exception of Bethune who charged

[652] Murray, E. (1903, January). The Penn Normal, Industrial, and Agricultural School, St. Helena Island, South Carolina. Spelman Messenger, 4, pp. 1-2.

forward offering liberal education to college students. Nevertheless, the power of prospective funding for industrial curricula cannot be understated especially during the Civil war through the progressive era. Table 6.3 lists educational models.

Table 6.3: Educational Models

2.) How did school founders' educational philosophies influence their schools' curricula?			
	Educational Experiences/Philosophies	**School Curricula**	**Probable Motives**
Towne	Classical Studies Homeopathic Training Educational Equality for Blacks	Liberal Education Sunday School Temperance	Abolition Ideals
Mather	Normal School Biblical Education through attending Sunday School, Bible Study, and Prayer Services as a Child and Adult Wife of a Baptist Minister Father and Grandfather Congregational Ministers	Domestic Education Temperance Sunday School Chapel Time	Employment Opportunities and Commitment to evangelical outreach
Wright	Tuskegee Normal & Industrial Institute Graduate	Industrial & Agricultural Education Sunday School	Adoption of Booker T. Washington's Philosophies, Educational Experiences, and community needs
Bethune	Scotia Seminary & Moody Bible Institute	Domestic, Nursing, with time Liberal Education Sunday School	Community needs

Differences in School Founding Practices. Northern school founders imported Northern school practices south such as extending the school year, expecting promptness, and instituting structure.[653] By the progressive era, Northern school practices became best educational practices thus Southern school founders adopted Northern school practices. Wright and Bethune founded their schools decades after Towne and Mather founded their schools contributing to the similarities in educational

[653] Marshal, Charles. (March, 1895). The Fourth Tuskegee Annual Conference. *The Christian Recorder*. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; Schramm – Pate, S. & K. Chaddock. (2006). From obscurities to distinction: (Re)positioning women "Progressive" education in the new South. *Southern Studies: An Interdisciplinary Journal of the South, (13)*12, 25 – 49, p. 29.

practices. During the early years of Towne's school, she had more equipment and resources because the Pennsylvania Freedmen Relief Association sponsored her work. Ellen Murray verified: "When, at last, our funds failed, Miss Towne's relations supplied the money and carried on the school."[654] Unlike Towne, Mather, Wright, and Bethune lacked resources. Yet, Mather had personal funds and access to Northern communities that supplied funds, food, clothing, and seeds. The Southern school founders had to rely upon materials they altered and substituted as equipment. For example, Wright made black boards from soot and window shades. Bethune used crates as desks and chairs. Wright taught math by using a stick to write numbers in the sand. Bethune scoured hotel dumpsters for dishes and linens. Wright walked from place to place and knocked on doors for meager funds sometimes amounting to less than $2.00.[655] Therefore, Southern school founders had to be creative and inventive to educate and house students.

Towne rarely left the island to visit family and friends who lived in the north. However, her family members visited her at Penn School and assisted the school in some instances. Mather spent her summers in the north soliciting resources and escaping Southern heat. Wright and Bethune made visits north to "call on" Northern philanthropists and proponents of black education. Mary C. Reynolds mentioned

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[654] Murray, E. (1903, January). The Penn Normal, Industrial, and Agricultural School, St. Helena Island, South Carolina. Spelman Messenger, 4, pp. 1-2.

[655] Coleman, J.F.B. (1922). From Tuskegee to Voorhees; Morris, K. (1983). Elizabeth Evelyn Wright; http://www.measuringworth.com/uscompare/relativevalue.php - *historic standard of living* value of that income or wealth is $56.40

Mather's striking appeals.[656] Moreover, Bethune insisted on creating a community school inviting white women to the school, creating an advisory board that included white women from the Palmetto Club, and reaching out to white women in the Daytona community for their support. Thus, Bethune had insight into community politics and adopted ways to foster cordial relationships with white women. She and Wright adopted non-threatening techniques to foster peaceful working relationships and financial support from local white women. Contrastingly, Mather's rhetoric in national newspapers were convicting and terse. Towne's letters and diary entries reflected frustrations with democrats, slavery, and toward any person who failed to show sympathy toward blacks. Wright and Bethune had to silence their frustrations to keep peace within the white communities. In doing so, their larger mission to educate their race was realized. Wright lived through several burnings, so she understood the ramifications of what could happen when whites felt threatened. Bethune certainly experienced discrimination and knew an increase in hostility between she and whites could encumber her cause. Towne had a network of abolitionists in the North who shared her ideals and offered support, such as her pastor Reverend William Henry Furness who wrote her occasionally. Similarly, Mather had a community of support in the North in the form of former colleagues, church members, and family members. Towne and Mather were vocal in national publications without fear of retaliation because of their social capital. National publications were an avenue Towne and Mather utilized to express their cause and frustration regarding social issues affecting

[656] Reynolds, M. (N.D.). Mrs. Rachel Crane Mather. Benedict College Archives, Columbia, South Carolina.

blacks.[657] Later in Bethune's career, she used national positions to advocate for black women and to direct resources that sustained her school. All school founders, at some point during the early years of school initiation, sacrificed salaries or used their salaries for other school purposes in some instances to pay assistant teachers. In conclusion, the data revealed more similarities in school founding practices than differences. Table 6.4 illustrates the differences in practices.

Discussion

As in previous studies, this investigation confirmed social capital was imperative to initiate and sustain Southern black schools.[658] In each case, school founders depended upon the generosity of Northern friends, family members, former colleagues, former parishioners, newly introduced friends, strangers, and Northern visitations. Much of their efforts manifested as letter writing and public presentations. Although Northerners supplied most funding and resources, the outlier in this area was Towne who wrote resolutions to secure consistent local funding for her school. Expanding upon previous research, this study revealed acquired social capital found in Southern school initiators

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[657] Mather's letters to the New York Times were written in the 1890's along with her book, *Storm Swept Coast of South Carolina* approximately 30 years after she Found Mather School. They were included to illustrate a pattern since many of Mather School documents were destroyed.

[658] Butchart, R. (2010). Schooling the freed people: Teaching, learning, and the struggle for black freedom, 1861-1876. Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press; Schramm – Pate, S. & K. Chaddock. (2006). From obscurities to distinction: (Re)positioning women 'Progressive" educations in the new South. Southern Studies: An Interdisciplinary Journal of the South, (13)12, 25 – 49; Butchart, R. & Rolleri, A. (2004). Secondary education and emancipation: Secondary schools for freed slaves in the American South, 1862 – 1875. Paedagogica Historica, 40(1 & 2), 158 – 181; Reynolds, K. C. & Schramm, S. L. (2002). *Separate Sisterhood: Women who shaped Southern education in the progressive era.* New York: Peter Lang Publishing, Inc.

Table 6.4: School Founders' Practices and Differences

3.) In what ways, if any, did the practices of school founders during the early years of their schools' inceptions differ in correlation with their regional origins?				
Theme	**Northern**		**Southern**	
	Towne (1862-1901)	**Mather** (1868-1903)	**Wright** (1897-1906)	**Bethune** (1904-1950)
Resourcefulness	Accessed personal funds	Accessed personal funds	Resorted to Ingenuity	Resorted to Ingenuity
	Accessed family & friends' funds Traveled North infrequently	Accessed family & friends' funds Traveled North annually	Traveled North to access Northern philanthropists	Traveled North to access Northern philanthropists
	Developed a close relationship with a confidant	Wrote a Book	Developed a close relationship with a confidant	Sought Funds aggressively
			Sought funds aggressively	
Political Astuteness	Vocalized social positions in national outlets	Vocalized social positions in national outlets	Maintained politically correct communication and practices with Southerners	Maintained politically correct communication and practices
	Opposed high ranking officials locally and nationally	Opposed high ranking officials locally and nationally	Formed board of trustees	Existed harmoniously within White communities
	Wrote resolutions	Wrote a book	_____	Formed a board of trustees
	Surrounded herself with powerful men	_____	Surrounded herself with powerful men	Surrounded herself with powerful men
Educational Philosophy	Adopted liberal educational	Adopted domestic education	Adopted domestic and agricultural education	Adopted domestic and agricultural education

was comparable to inherited social capital. The likely etiology in these cases could be Wright and Bethune's persistence, which manifested as ingenuity in the early years of

their schools' inception. Both adopted ways to bypass limitations and lack of resources until they acquired Northern networks. Verifying this point for Northern and Southern school founders, Ronald Butchart asserted:

> This work of school founding required skills, commitments, and grit rare enough in men, but almost never encouraged and nurtured in nineteenth-century women, whether black or white…They had to be educators, accountants, recruiters, administrators, janitors, counselors…[659]

The correlation between social capital and school success were linked to access to Northern communities and the ability to garner support from Northern communities; each crucial elements to school success. Expanding upon Butchart's point, Schramm-Pate and Chaddock confirmed essentiality of persistence to move schools beyond conceptions, basements, churches, lawns, and stores.[660]

In contrast to Northern school founders, Wright and Bethune created non-threatening environments with local whites. Bethune worked with the Daytona Palmetto Club, an all white civic group with a mission to enhance education. Bethune also created an advisory board consisting of some of the very same women in the Daytona Palmetto Club. Both groups offered feedback to Bethune who stated that she presented school-related business to the advisory board. Wright focused on the local needs of white homes in domestic capacities. She did not refer students to Northern homes for work as Mather did. Instead, Wright insisted she had no control over graduates once they completed their

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[659] Butchart, R. (2010). *Schooling the freed people: Teaching, learning, and the struggle for black freedom, 1861-1876.* Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press.,p. 92.

[660] Schramm – Pate, S. & K. Chaddock. (2006). From obscurities to distinction: (Re)positioning women 'Progressive" educations in the new South. *Southern Studies: An Interdisciplinary Journal of the South, (13)*12, 25 – 49.

studies. After all, Wright's school was part of the Denmark community, and she did not want to create tensions locally that would threaten black education and racial uplift. Moreover, she did not want to lose a source of income. Wright and Bethune operated within social boundaries to carry out the mission to educate blacks signifying undeterred determination to uplift their race through education. While a cursory glance may indicate passivity in terms of race equality, the data suggest that their fight was educational equality and their schools were the avenue to move racial equality forward. On the contrary, Towne and Mather exemplified courage and assertiveness in the era of male dominance. Whether their assertiveness stemmed from social ideals or faith, this study could not verify. Impressively, the evidence illuminated Towne and Mather's ability and willingness to speak to the president of the United States, the governor of South Carolina, and other elected officials. Comparatively, Bethune reached out to the Mayor of Daytona, and Wright asked the governor of South Carolina to visit her school. By the time Wright reached out to the governor, she had the support of a prominent South Carolina senator. In some form, each school founder demonstrated myriad ways to found and sustain schools based on their uniqueness, environments, geographic region, and skills. Northern and Southern school founders in this study uplifted the black race, but Southern school founders lacked social capital and could not risk the chance for racial uplift for blacks. Thus, the differences in methods were justified and driven, partially, by the amount of social capital and school founders' social standing in society.

Interestingly, this study found social ideals may have played a role in educational philosophies. Towne's abolition ideals certainly compelled her to offer education comparable to education offered to white Northerners. In similar fashion and with time,

Bethune advanced studies at her school once she had enough students ready for advanced studies. Bethune's insistence on opening a high school department was met with resistance from her board of trustees, but she strategized to make it happen. As Bethune's school grew, equality in education became a priority. In contrast, Mather and Wright succumbed to social expectations for blacks and restricted their curriculum to meet expectations of Southern and Northern communities. To delineate, Wright emulated Booker T. Washington's curriculum and internalized much of his lectures. In doing so, she ascribed to Washington's urge to keep blacks in the South working in agricultural and industrial capacities. Indirectly, through Washington's social philosophies, Wright formed her curriculum. Unfortunately, Mather did not divulge her social positions in letters or school reports.

Differences in school founding practices were confined to a few areas. One, Southern school founders resorted to homemade creations until they secured adequate funding and, in many cases, they educated and housed students in deprivation. For instance, Bethune had dirt floors and only a few windows in one of her first school buildings. Her students did not have blankets until Thomas White purchased them. Their modest backgrounds were keys to how they were able to educate in spite of deprivation. Wright and Bethune were parts of families who in some way found means to survive impoverishment. Each repositioned ingenuity from their home and farm lives to their schools.

In a male dominated society, each school founder, with the exception of Mather, surrounded themselves with powerful men. The world in which they worked operated in male authority; and apparently, the women in this study were aware of their gender

limitations. Even Towne, one who internalized gender equality, realized she needed her local legislative delegate to present her resolutions at a school board meeting if she wanted to maintain funding from local taxes. Likewise, the Northern school founders were bold in their assertions while the Southern school founders took a more understated approach. The Southern school founders could not risk school burnings or other impediments. Northern school founders were Northern "insiders" who, to some degree, established local networks and did not fear retaliation. In addition, their privileged backgrounds and constitutional right of free speech may have inculcated boldness. Records do not indicate school burnings or retaliatory effects on the campus of Penn School and Mather School during Towne's and Mather's leadership.

Backgrounds, educational preparation and experiences, educational philosophies, social ideals, social capital, and faith all formed, in some way and with time for the Southern school founders, specific tactics of school founding and maintenance. As each theme formed tactics, tactics in turn created grit; yet, each is related and interconnected. Figure 4.1 displays the relationship among these themes.

Theoretical Implications

Susan Schramm-Pate and Katherine Chaddock's deconstruction of Northern and Southern characteristics of educators who taught during the progressive era revealed

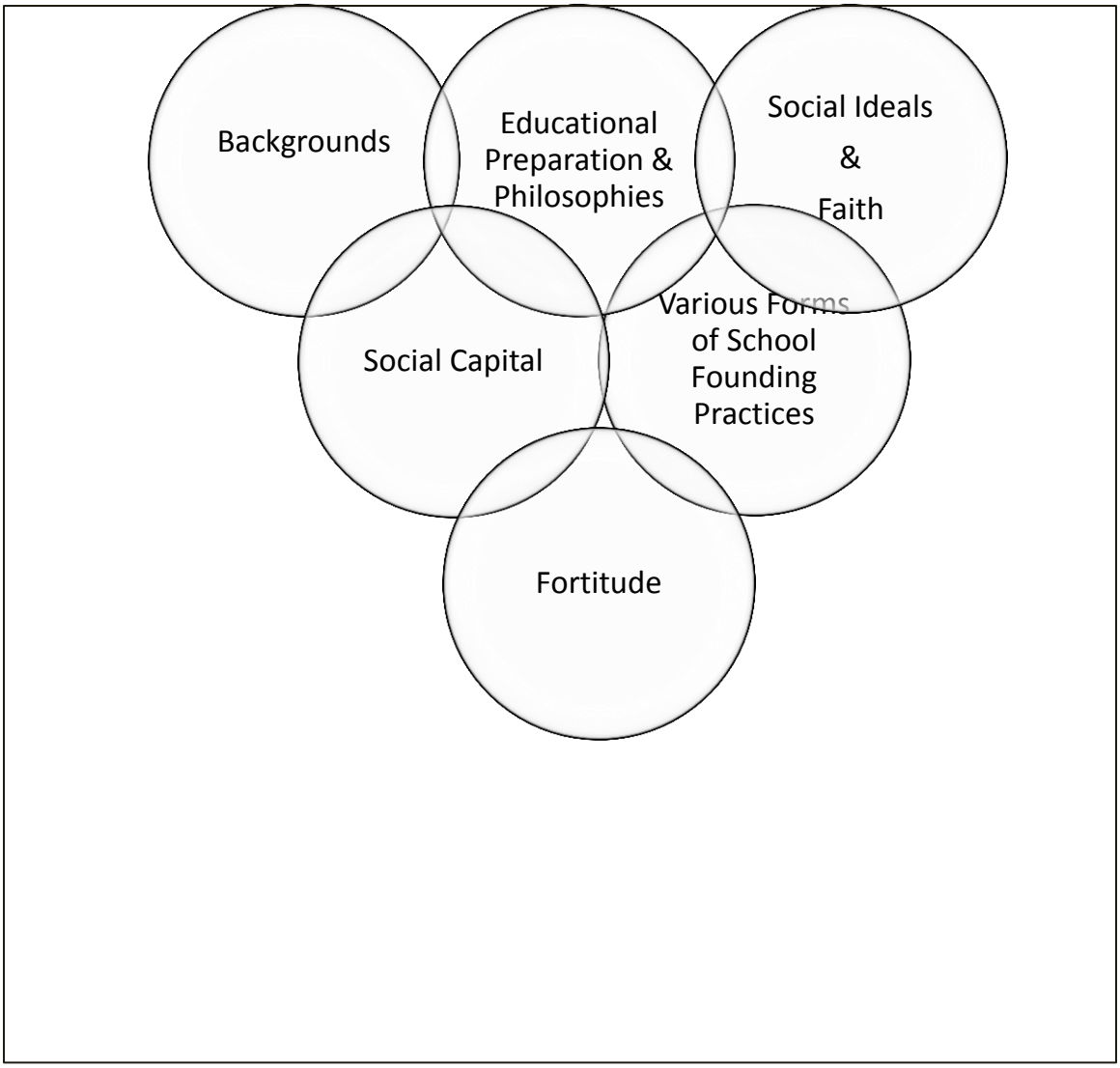

Figure 6.1: Relationships among Themes

Southern women who initiated schools did so with limited experiences and education.[661] Schramm-Pate and Chaddock emphasized Wright's diligence in starting a school in a rural, isolated agricultural town deprived of economic prosperity. Similarly, the Northern and Southern school founders in this study initiated schools in like manner with the exception of Bethune, who started her school in an affluent area. Interestingly, the

[661] Schramm–Pate, S. & K. Chaddock. (2006). From obscurities to distinction: (Re)positioning women "Progressive" education in the new South. *Southern Studies: An Interdisciplinary Journal of the South*, (13)12, 25–49.

impetus for this finding might be age variation among Northern and Southern school founders. Towne and Mather were older; Towne was 37 years old by the time she started her school, and Mather was 41 years old when she sailed south. Wright was only 22 years when she graduated from Tuskegee Institute, and Bethune was all of 21years old when she graduated from Moody Bible Institute. Butchart confirmed the mean age of women educators teaching in freedmen's schools from 1861-1876 was 23.9.[662] However, older women were among the educators. Wright and Bethune were at least a decade younger than Towne and approximately two decades younger than Mather when they embarked upon their noble cause. Impressively, Bethune started young but managed to gain teaching experience at three schools prior to founding the Daytona Literary Institute for Girls. Scotia Seminary and Moody Bible Institute prepared Bethune for missionary work but imparted essential skills that she adapted for school founding. Wright's experience was limited to Tuskegee Institute and the primary school at McNeill. Wright and Bethune lacked the experience one acquires with time and age. Further, most of their experiences were in the South, with the exception of Bethune who graduated from Moody Bible Institute in Chicago, Illinois. Towne's experiences as teacher and "doctress" and Mather's experiences as teacher, wife, missionary, mother, and their interactions with those in their Northern networks served them well.

Initiation was imperative to start schools, but fortitude, on the other end of the spectrum, was equally important to sustain schools. Northern and Southern school founders exhibited fortitude through continual efforts to secure resources and overcome

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[662] Butchart, R. (2010). *Schooling the freed people: Teaching, learning, and the struggle for black freedom*, 1861-1876. Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, appendix A, p. 185 table 6-A.

political and social obstacles. Plausible motivations propelling school founders' persistence in spite of socioeconomic turmoil and illnesses were faith and social ideals. Therefore, their backgrounds, vis-à-vis spirituality and democratic ideals, influenced their decision to initiate and sustain schools.

Like Schramm-Pate and Chaddock's findings, deprivation surfaced in this study and highlighted three major considerations: pervasiveness of poverty in the South, the economic conditions in which school founders initiated and sustained schools, and Southern school founders' reliance on scholarships. In Southern rural areas, blacks worked subservient jobs for menial wages. Jobs were limited to agricultural and industrial positions. Economically, the South still struggled and resources for black education were few. Complicating matters for white and black educators was white resistance.[663] This amalgam resulted in fewer resources forcing Northern school founders to access Northern networks and Southern school founders to develop creativity to educate until they could acquire Northern networks.

Finally, Bethune's case emphasized the indispensable role scholarships played in black education. Even so, as a recipient of two scholarships, Bethune used Mary Chrissman's generosity as an example in talks and discussions with prospective donors. To the school's benefit, some years after a school tour, J.S. Peabody sponsored one girl per year and when he died he bequeathed a sizable donation to the school.[664] Consequently, the tactic was effective in some instances.

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[663] Newsome, C. (1982). *Mary McLeod Bethune in religious perspectives: A seminal essay.* [Dissertation]. Duke University, pp. 18-27.

[664] Hanson, J. (2003). *Mary McLeod Bethune and Black women's political activism.* Columbia, Missouri. University of Missouri Press, pp. 72-73

Implications for Practice

It is important to mention Wright and Bethune's schools are now liberal arts colleges, and Mather's school is now a community college. All three schools are thriving and attest the legacy of each school founder. Penn School remains active as a community center and museum. Although this study compared school founding practices of women who started Southern schools over a century ago, the implications for current educational leaders cannot be overstated. Extrapolated from this study were imperatives of academic leadership:

1. Forming, building, and expanding alliances with various geographic communities increases assets. Equally important is the ability to identify resources in various communities.
2. Identifying and accessing key players involved in socioeconomic and geopolitical realms offers information and bargaining power essential to gaining multifarious resources.
3. Hiring provosts, assistant presidents, principals, and other leaders with vast experiences and contacts with local, national, and international connections promulgates the leader's network and power.
4. Defining a clear mission and consistently working to that end proffers positive outcomes in large and small ways.

Recommendations for Further Research

Feminist ideals and perpetuation of gendered roles were two subthemes that emerged in this study and require further inquiry. This study uncovered feminist ideals as perhaps a factor in some school founders' behaviors. However, definite conclusions

could not be deduced. Towne and Bethune exhibited evidence of gender equality. Towne even suggested women would get the right to vote. By the time Bethune gained national attention, white and black women had the right to vote, but Southern deception at voter registration centers precluded the black vote. Other studies suggest or verify feminist positions that Towne and Bethune exhibited.[665] A study of how feminist ideals influenced school founding practices is not readily accessible among either group. Perhaps a study that explores how feminist ideals influenced school decisions will illuminate such a correlation if one exists. In addition, a study that focuses on how school founding behaviors were formed, specifically internally through experiences and ideals, or externally through finances and social capital.

Implications for Practice

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[665] Hanson, J. A. (2003). *Mary McLeod Bethune and black women's political activism*. London: University of Missouri Press; McClusky, A. (1994). Multiple consciousnesses in the leadership of Mary McLeod Bethune. *NWSA Journal, (6)*1, 69-81; Breitborde, M.L. (2011). Discourse, education and women's public culture in the Port Royal Experiment. *American Educational History Journal*, 38, pp. 427-446.

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[666] Hanson, J. A. (2003). *Mary McLeod Bethune and black women's political activism*. London: University of Missouri Press; McClusky, A. (1994). Multiple consciousnesses in the leadership of Mary McLeod Bethune. *NWSA Journal, (6)*1, 69-81; Breitborde, M.L. (2011). Discourse, education and women's public culture in the Port Royal Experiment. *American Educational History Journal*, 38, pp. 427-446.

founders; however, a study that examines similarities and differences in school founding practices of women educators whose schools did not survive beyond the preliminary stages may verify common school founding practices among women educators. In addition, a study that focuses on how school founding behaviors were formed, specifically internally through experiences and ideals, or externally through finances and social capital.

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APPENDIX A: METHODOLOGY

This comparative study constructed historical case studies to explore the lives of Laura Matilda Towne, founder of Penn School; Rachel Crane Mather, founder of Mather School; Mary McLeod Bethune, founder of Daytona Literary and Industrial Institute for Girls; and Elizabeth Evelyn Wright, founder of Denmark Industrial and Agricultural School. The case study methodology contrasted school founders in the areas of religious affiliations, educational philosophies, political astuteness, and resourcefulness. "Case history traces a person, group, or institution's past."[667] Each case history was a historical illustration of activities, motivations, experiences, and objectives of a Northern or Southern woman who initiated a primary school in the south. Case history encompassed particularistic, descriptive, and heuristic properties to extrapolate events and ideas germane to each school founder. Artifacts, observations, and other documents supported each case study and were utilized in this study to illustrate Towne, Mather, Bethune, and Wright's unique school founding methods.[668]

This research utilized historical methodology to examine and contrast these women's nuanced uniqueness of school founding in the early inception of their schools. "Historical research is essentially descriptive, and elements of historical research and

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[667] Merriam, S. & Simpson, E. (2000). *A guide to research for educators and trainers of adults* (2nd ed.). Malabar, Florida: Krieger Publishing Company., p. 109.

[668] Merriam, S. (1988). *Case study research in education: A qualitative approach*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

case study often merge."[669] Historical research was a valuable method of inquiry because it represented a unique, intrinsic interest in phenomena that occurred in the past.[670] Therefore, it was incumbent on the researcher to interpret events as they related to individuals, society, and culture. The combination of case studies and historical methodologies uncovered geographical similarities and differences of Northern and Southern school founders.

Conceptual Perspectives

Religious beliefs, educational philosophies, political acumen, and resourcefulness composed the conceptual framework for this study. Each concept was defined in chapter one and were corollaries of Schramm-Pate and Chaddock's four distinct markers upon which female educators relied – traditionalism, personalization, initiation, and deprivation.[671] Their study of Southern, female, school initiators revealed traits each school founder embraced to be successful as initiators of schools. Women school founders adopted these markers to penetrate cohesive Southern communities. These markers manifested differently in each school founder as evident in their unique methods to start and manage Southern schools. Traditionalism reflected entrenched beliefs in Protestantism, which influenced curriculum design.[672] From Schramm-Pate and Chaddock's traditionalism, the researcher extrapolated religious beliefs and educational

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[669] Merriam, S. (1988). *Case study research in education: A qualitative approach*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.; p. 8.

[670] McDowell, W. H. (2002). *Historical research: A guide.* London, England: Longman.

[671] Schramm – Pate, S. & K. Chaddock. (2006). From obscurities to distinction: (Re)positioning women "Progressive" education in the new South. *Southern Studies: An Interdisciplinary Journal of the South, (13)*12, 25–49.

[672] Ibid., 31

philosophies to explore similarities and contrasts of religious practices and religious studies each school founder adopted. In their study, deprivation revealed economic devastation and gross poverty in the South, which made Southern school founders' work an onerous feat for social and political "uplift."[673] Resourcefulness was a trait developed to overcome Southern deprivation and thus a crucial concept for comparison of Northern and Southern female, school founders. School founders developed initiation to penetrate, navigate, and work within resistant, cohesive, Southern communities.[674] Initiation was evident in their ability to adopt political shrewdness that built meaningful Southern and Northern relationships, changed Southern attitudes, and ultimately facilitated acquisition of resources for their modest and limited schools. Personalization represented cohesiveness of small, rural communities.[675] Consequently, resourcefulness and political acumen were explored among the school founders because each relied upon these traits to cope with a conservative, male society in which women had limited roles in political, social, economic, and educational development.

Building on Schramm-Pate and Chaddock's resituated markers, this study adapted religious beliefs, educational philosophies, political acumen, and resourcefulness to compare Towne, Mather, Bethune, and Wright. These markers paralleled distinct characteristics of Southern and Northern cultures, economies, and educational

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[673] Ibid., 34

[674] Ibid., 38

[675] Ibid., 40

practices.[676] Schramm-Pate and Chaddock's work and Nachtigal's delineation of Northern and Southern education framed research questions for this study and formed the foundation for the research design.[677] Analysis undertook to develop markers of actions in each area and connections of those actions to decisions and actions related to initiation and early school management.

Site/Participant Selection, Criteria, and Justification

Geographic variations in Northern and Southern education influenced decisions school founders made to initiate and manage schools. Their upbringing and various cultural, societal, gender, race, and religious experiences shaped their school initiation decisions. Nachtigal's delineation of urban and rural education confirmed this premise.[678] Correspondingly, school founders in this study were selected based on the regions in which they were born, reared, and initiated schools. Northern school founders were reared in Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and Rhode Island. Southern school founders were born and reared in Georgia and South Carolina. All school founders in this study initiated schools in the South. Northern and Southern women who initiated schools in the South for blacks outnumbered those from other geographic regions. During the Civil war, the majority of missionaries who worked in the South were

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[676] Nachtigal, P. (1982). *Rural education: In search of a better way*. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, Inc.

[677]See Nachtigal, P. (1982). *Rural education: In search of a better way*. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, Inc.; Reynolds, K. C. & Schramm, S. L. (2002). *Separate Sisterhood: Women who shaped Southern education in the progressive era*. New York: Peter Lang Publishing, Inc.; Schramm – Pate, S. & K. Chaddock. (2006). From obscurities to distinction: (Re)positioning women "Progressive" education in the new South. *Southern Studies: An Interdisciplinary Journal of the South, (13)*12, 25–49.

[678] Nachtigal, P. (1982). *Rural education: In search of a better way*. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, Inc.

Northern, white women or Southern black women and men.[679] Teachers and school founders from the West who educated blacks in the South during and post-Civil war were not readily mentioned in the literature. Therefore, Western states were not selected for this study.

Purposeful selection was employed to give the investigator autonomy in deciding each function participants and sites would serve in this study.[680] Purposeful sampling supported utilization of four information rich cases–two from the North and two from the South. Information-rich cases detailed the lives, educational philosophies, religious beliefs, resourcefulness, and political activism of four school founders unique to geographic regions where they were born and reared. Likewise, theory-based sampling guided contextual selections in this study. Patton defined theory-based sampling as the study of contexts and people whose characteristics reflect theoretical or conceptual constructs.[681]

Criteria for site selection for the north were: 1.) Northeastern states (above Maryland); 2.) Highly populated, urban areas; 3.) Wealthy areas; and 4.) An educated workforce. Criteria for site selection for the south were 1.) Southeastern states (Maryland and below); 2.) Vast rural and farm areas; 3.) Impoverished areas; and 4.) Accessibility to relevant archival documents. Nachtigal confirmed Northern states had more densely

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[679] Butchart, R. (2010). *Schooling the freed people: Teaching, learning, and the struggle for black freedom, 1861-1876.* Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press., pp. 80-81.

[680] Patton, M.(2002). *Qualitative research evaluation methods*, (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications.

[681] Ibid., 238

populated urban areas compared to Southern states.[682] Northern areas had large numbers of abolitionists who sympathized with Southern blacks.[683] Philanthropists who ascribed to education for freed, Southern blacks provided financial contributions and other resources to school founders who initiated schools in the south for blacks. This is most evident in the number of benevolent societies that originated in Northern states.[684] Highly populated Northern areas had more schools and colleges compared to rural, Southern areas.[685] For these reasons, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, and Rhode Island were selected for this study.

Participants selected for this study were Northern or Southern women, who founded a primary school during the Civil War, reconstruction era, or progressive era in the South for blacks. For this reason, intensity sampling was employed for participant selection. Patton explained: "Intensity sampling consists of information-rich cases that manifest the phenomenon of interest intensely."[686] Towne and Mather, two Northern

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[682] Nachtigal, P. (1982). *Rural education: In search of a better way*. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, Inc.

[683] Butchart, R. (2010). Laura Towne and Ellen Murray: Northern Expatriates and the Foundation of Black Education in South Carolina, 1862 – 1908, (pp. 12 – 27). In *South Carolina Women: Their Lives and Times,* Volume 2 M. J. Spruill, V. W. Littlefield, & J. M. Johnson (Eds.). Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press.; Wolfe, K. (1997). Laura M. Towne and the freed people of South Carolina, 1862 – 1901. *South Carolina Historical Magazine, 98*(4), 375-405.

[684] Wolfe, K. (1997). Laura M. Towne and the freed people of South Carolina, 1862 – 1901. *South Carolina Historical Magazine, 98*(4), 375-405.

[685] Nachtigal, P. (1982). *Rural education: In search of a better way*. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, Inc.

[686] Patton, M.(2002). *Qualitative research evaluation methods*, (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publication; Merriam, S. & Simpson, E. (2000). *A guide to research for educators and trainers of adults* (2nd ed.). Malabar, Florida: Krieger Publishing Company., p.234.

school founders, initiated schools in Beaufort, South Carolina. Mather's school still exists as the Technical College of the Lowcountry. Towne's school is now a community center. Bethune and Wright, two Southern school founders, initiated schools in the south. Bethune founded her school in Florida and Wright founded hers in South Carolina. Both schools currently exist as colleges. Wright's story and contributions to education are compelling but unknown to much of the public. Bethune's life and contributions to education and civil rights are well-known yet have not been compared to Northern school founders.

Criteria for participant inclusion were based on 1.) Birth, informal, and formal years spent in the Northeast (a state above Maryland) or the Southeast (Maryland or a state below); 2.) Women who initiated a primary school for blacks during the Civil war, reconstruction years, or progressive era; 3.) Initiation of a school for black girls, boys, or girls and boys in the South; and 4.) Accessibility to relevant archival documents. School founders were selected for equal representation of each geographic region.

Methods and Sources

Primary and secondary data provided the foundation for the historical cases in this study. Primary sources included newsletters, personal journals, newspapers, chronicles, oral recordings, and public documents.[687] These sources supplied valuable data detailing specific examples, which illustrated school founders' use of each marker. Primary resources encompassed "eye-witness" accounts that authenticated researchers'

[687] Merriam, S. & Simpson, E. (2000). *A guide to research for educators and trainers of adults* (2nd ed.). Malabar, Florida: Krieger Publishing Company.

interpretation of these testimonies.[688] Due to the depth and substance primary resources offered, these sources formed the underpinning of cases in this study. Archives revealed most facts for this study. "The task of locating and indexing source material can begin after preliminary enquiries have been completed about the viability of researching a particular subject."[689] Archives were determined by reviewing secondary literature, bibliographies, contacting archivists at schools, and city, county, and college libraries.

Table A.1 outlines the archives visited and documents reviewed at each archive. The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Southern Historical Collection, provided some primary sources for Towne's case study. The University of North Carolina has digitalized many of Towne's letters and other documents. These documents were available to the public electronically. The published version of Towne's diary corroborated, for the most part, the original diary at the University of North Carolina. As cited in table A.1, Holland's publication of Towne's diary was utilized in this study along with other supporting documents. For Mather's case study, the researcher relied on Benedict College in Columbia, South Carolina, for archives and the Beaufort County District Library in Beaufort, South Carolina. The South Caroliniana Library in Columbia, South Carolina, stored Wright's archives. These documents are readily accessible to the public.

A fire destroyed many of Bethune's documents from the early years of her school. However, primary sources for Bethune were available at the National Library of Congress in the District of Columbia, the National Archives of Black Women's History

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[688] McDowell, W. H. (2002). *Historical research: A guide.* London, England: Longman.

[689] Ibid., 94

in the District of Columbia, and the Daytona Public Library in Florida. Some of these resources were accessible electronically. These archives contained letters, diaries, new letters, newspapers, and other documents that detail the lives of these school founders and markers of school founding.

Secondary sources in this case contributed elements of historical records; thus, contributing depth to each case that produced various perspectives and contexts of each school founder's work. Some secondary sources revealed original documents school founders authored, or transcripts from interviews. The Review of Secondary Literature in Appendix B details secondary sources and offered insights previous researchers identified. Secondary sources offered bibliographies resulting in invaluable primary and secondary sources of data. Secondary sources reported the observations of those who did not witness the actual event. These second-hand sources were useful in familiarizing the researcher with the topic and suggesting new areas for further study. The farther removed a secondary source is from the phenomenon, the better, for such sources draw from the accumulated wisdom of earlier scholars.[690] Secondary sources listed in Appendix B were expanded upon as further research into literature with limited circulation such as old newspapers, institutional reports, government documents, school district reports, and other documents were revealed. More detail of secondary literature germane to this study can be found in Appendix B.

Over a century has passed since the deaths of Towne, Mather, and Wright, and decades have elapsed since Bethune's demise. This study relied on in-depth reviews,

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[690] Merriam, S. & Simpson, E. (2000). *A guide to research for educators and trainers of adults* (2nd ed.). Malabar, Florida: Krieger Publishing Company, p. 79.

content analyses, and cluster analyses of archives, biographies, personal diaries, newspapers, newsletters, and secondary literature for methods to answer the research questions. In-depth reviews entailed critical and comprehensive reading and re-reading of biographies, diaries, archival documents, and secondary literature. Content analysis illuminated themes and subthemes from in-depth literature reviews. Using cluster analyses, themes and sub-themes were categorized into specific "markers."

Table A.1 Data Collection Methods Chart

		Data Sources			
		Case 1: Towne	**Case 2: Mather**	**Case 3: Bethune**	**Case 4: Wright**
Research Questions	Question 1: 1.) How and to what extent did school founders who started primary schools for blacks in the South use their experiences, resourcefulness, political astuteness, and religious beliefs in initiating and sustaining schools during the Civil war, reconstruction years, and progressive era?	Personal Diary, Holland Diary, Rose's Rehearsal for Reconstruction, Grimke's diary, Penn School Papers [Edith Dabbs Collection], Southern Historic Collection, University of North Carolina, Ellen Murray's letters, *Days Amongst the Contrabands* secondary sources,	Mather Papers [Mather School Collection], Benedict College; "*Storm Swept Coast of SC"&* Mather Papers, Beaufort District Library	Thomas Copper Library, Mary McLeod Bethune papers [microform]: the Bethune Foundation collection; Holts's biography and other biographies; Hanson, J. (1997 & 2003), McCluskey, M. (1994 & 2001) & other secondary sources	South Caroliniana Library (Kenneth Morris Papers, Source Material on the Life of Elizabeth Evelyn Wright), Columbia, South Carolina; Coleman's biography, Morris's biography, Newsletters from Tuskegee, Publications written by J. Greene, & other secondary articles
	Question 2: 2.) How did school founders' educational philosophies influence their schools' curricula?	Personal Diary, Holland Diary, Penn School Papers [Edith Dabbs Collection], Southern Historic Collection, University of North Carolina, secondary sources; Grimke's diary; Ellen Murray's letters; *Days Amongst the Contrabands*	Biographical Archival documents, Mather Papers [Mather School Collection], Benedict College; & Mather Papers, Beaufort District Library	Archival documents i.e., letters & correspondences Holts's biography and other biographies, Dees, L. (1953) & other secondary sources	Archival documents, Coleman's biography, Morris's biography, Newsletters from Tuskegee, Publications written by J. Greene, & secondary articles
	Question 3: 3.) In what ways, if any, did the practices of school founders during the early years of their schools' inceptions differ in correlation with their regional origins?	Personal Diary, Holland Diary, Rose's Rehearsal for Reconstruction, Grimke's diary, archival documents, *Days Amongst the Contrabands*; secondary sources,	Biographical data from Archival documents Mather Papers [Mather School Collection], Benedict College; curriculum, "*Storm Swept Coast of SC"&* Mather Papers, Beaufort District Library	Archival documents i.e., letters & correspondences Holts's biography and other biographies, secondary sources	Archival documents, Coleman's biography, Morris's biography, Newsletters from Tuskegee, Publications written by J. Greene, & secondary articles

Data Analysis

The data collection process and data analysis occurred simultaneously. Data analyses included content and cluster analyses of themes (markers) and sub-themes. Each marker served to organize data and guide selection of excerpts utilized to support analyses. As data were collected, patterns were connected and categorized into markers considering some markers were interdependent. Once data were categorized into markers, the research questions served to further categorize data, thus ensuring each research question was answered. Themes and sub-themes independent of markers were organized as they emerged.

In qualitative research, trustworthiness addresses credibility of data thereby impacting internal validity. This study explored the meaning of Towne, Mather, Bethune, and Wright's school founding practices. Merriam recommended several methods to increase rigor and internal validity,[691] among which were triangulation, peer review, researcher's reflexivity, adequate engagement in data collection, and rich, thick descriptions. Trustworthiness was enhanced by analyzing and comparing various sources of data to triangulate data and data sources. The chairperson of the student's dissertation committee has studied two of the four school founders and was capable, along with other members of the student's dissertation committee, to offer peer review of data and interpretations. The student's positionality in relation to Towne, Mather, Bethune, and Wright revealed assumptions and biases. Throughout the data analysis process, the student reflected on positionality and enforced methods to attain reliability. Prolonged

[691] Merriam, S. (2002). *Qualitative research in practice*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

engagement in the data collection process, analysis of archival data, and analysis of secondary journal articles until redundancy in authors and sources was reached increased rigor of this study. Finally, wholesome, rich descriptions illustrated conclusions and gave readers confidence in the investigator's interpretations.

Limitations/Considerations

The historical case studies relied upon a combination of available primary and secondary sources to capture various perspectives and analyses, and these were often limited. With the exception of a brief acknowledgement in recent work, Mather's contributions to education remain unknown. Journal articles, biographies, and personal journals describing Mather's life and work were unavailable, which was the most limiting aspect of this study. Primary sources from the inception of Bethune's school have been destroyed by fire. Other archival documents were scattered among various entities; consequently, accessibility to these primary documents were limited. Towne and Mather initiated schools during the Civil War and reconstruction years. Bethune and Wright initiated schools during the progressive era. These differences may have limited the fullness of comparison. While the circumstances in each era were similar, the progressive era is credited with national industrialization, which changed workforce demands and the socioeconomic structure, especially in the North. Industrialization altered educational pathways and funding sources for schools. Historical events, socioeconomic considerations, and cultural influences were explored and connected to school management decisions and practices.

Furthermore, historical studies relied on interpretation of the past.[692] As such, researchers must understand how their personal biases shape interpretation. Therefore, the researcher overcame biases by employing peer review, engaging in data collection until saturation occurred, detailing criticism of resources, reconstructing historical events, adding rich descriptions, and employing triangulation. As in the case of any qualitative researcher, the researcher became a data collection instrument thereby making interferences from data analyses.[693] It is incumbent on the researcher to employ measures to increase validity and reliability of interpretations.

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[692] Merriam, S. & Simpson, E. (2000). *A guide to research for educators and trainers of adults* (2nd ed.). Malabar, Florida: Krieger Publishing Company.
[693] Glesne, C. (2006). *Becoming qualitative researchers: An introduction*. Boston: Pearson Education, Inc.

APPENDIX B: LITERATURE REVIEW

Secondary Literature

Secondary literature includes collective works and biographies of Towne, Bethune, and Wright along with explicit evidence to support their resourcefulness, political astuteness, educational philosophies, and religious affiliations. These sources generate clear, comprehensive examples of school founders' successes and failures within their administrative duties. Unfortunately, researchers have neglected Mather's contribution to education. Consequently, various perspectives and insights into Mather's administration are nonexistent in secondary literature.

Collective works of Northern and Southern teachers who educated blacks in the South during the Civil War, reconstruction, and progressive eras exist in various sources.[694] These studies focused on teachers and not school founders. However, collective works of school founders, both Northern and Southern are limited. Although Towne and a few other female, school founders are mentioned in some of these sources, their work has been framed in the context of instructors and thus marginalized. This

[694] Northern Teachers in the South, 1865 - 1870 by Swint (1941); Morris's (1981) Reading, Ritting, and Reconstruction: The Education of Freedmen in the South, 1861 – 1870; Soldiers of Light and Love: Northern Teachers and Georgia Blacks, 1865 – 1873 by Jones; Christian Reconstruction by Richardson 1986; Down's (2003) Uplift, Violence, and Service: The Experience of Black Teachers in the South During Reconstruction; Perkin's (1984) The Black Female American Missionary Association Teacher in the South, 1861 – 1875; A Yankee Teacher in the South: An Experience in the Early Days of Reconstruction by Rice (1901); Yankee Schoolmarms and the Domestication of the South by Hoffert (1985); and Small's (1979) The Yankee Schoolmarm in Freedmen's Schools: An Analysis of Attitudes

study focused on selected Northern and Southern school founders and their methods to found and sustain successful schools in the South. With the exception of Ronald Butchart's studies, much of the literature does not reveal a comparison of Northern and Southern school founders of black schools in the South.[695] The Secondary Literature Review in this study identified articles that describe these school founders' resourcefulness, political acumen, educational philosophies, religious affiliations, and biographies.

Collective Studies. In, *Laura Towne and Ellen Murray: Northern Expatriates and the Foundation of Black Education in South Carolina, 1862–1908,* Ronald Butchart acknowledged Mather for her work in Beaufort, only 15 miles from Towne's school.[696] Surprisingly, Butchart briefly mentioned Mather's name in his text, but credited her as one of the Northern school founders who worked to educate blacks post Civil War in the South. Towne and her assistant, Ellen Murray, were foci of this text. Butchart's publication with Amy Rolleri, *Secondary Education and Emancipation: Secondary*

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[695] Butchart, R. & Rolleri, A. (2004). Secondary education and emancipation: Secondary schools for freed slaves in the American South, 1862 – 1875. *Paedagogica Historica, 40*(1 & 2), 158 – 181; Butchart, R. (2007). Remapping racial boundaries: Teachers as border police and boundary transgressors in post-emancipation Black education, USA, 1861 – 1876. *Paedagogica Historica, 43*(1), 61 – 78; Butchart, R. (2010). Laura Towne and Ellen Murray: Northern Expatriates and the Foundation of Black Education in South Carolina, 1862 – 1908, (pp. 12 – 27). In *South Carolina Women: Their Lives and Times,* Volume 2 M. J. Spruill, V. W. Littlefield, & J. M. Johnson (Eds.). Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press; Butchart, R. (2010). *Schooling the freed people: Teaching, learning, and the struggle for black freedom, 1861-1876.* Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press.

[696] Butchart, R. (2010). Laura Towne and Ellen Murray: Northern Expatriates and the Foundation of Black Education in South Carolina, 1862 – 1908, (pp. 12 – 27). In *South Carolina Women: Their Lives and Times,* Volume 2 M. J. Spruill, V. W. Littlefield, & J. M. Johnson (Eds.). Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press.

Schools for Freed Slaves in the American South, 1862–1875, outlined an emergence of secondary schools for blacks during and after the Civil War.[697] Normal schools were popular and incorporated rudimentary education and vocational training including pedagogical lectures, readings, teaching practicum, development of lesson plans, and disciplinary studies. By the end of 1889, normal schools enrolled 5% of adolescents. Butchart and Rolleri defined secondary education as "advanced studies in the discipline that would ordinarily be found in primary or elementary education."[698] Penn School adopted a teachers' training course of study with a curriculum of physical and political geography, United States history, philosophy, and natural philosophy. Beaufort County relied on Penn's normal school to train black teachers. Butchart and Rolleri concluded these secondary schools reflected school founders' philosophy of equal education for blacks comparable to white, Northern education.[699]

Katherine Reynolds and Susan Schramm studied a collective group of school founders from the South who started Southern schools in the progressive era. Their study, *Separate Sisterhood: Women Who Shaped Southern Education in the Progressive Era*, was not limited to black schools and exposed nuances in the distinct methods of building and sustaining schools. Reynolds and Schramm's study yielded a taxonomy for

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[697] Butchart, R. & Rolleri, A. (2004). Secondary education and emancipation: Secondary schools for freed slaves in the American South, 1862 – 1875. *Paedagogica Historica, 40*(1 & 2), 158 – 181.

[698] Butchart, R. & Rolleri, A. (2004). Secondary education and emancipation: Secondary schools for freed slaves in the American South, 1862 – 1875. *Paedagogica Historica, 40*(1 & 2), 158 – 181, p. 165.

[699] Ibid.,158–181

school founders.[700] Wright and Bethune's adoption of agricultural and industrial curricula categorized them as "vocationalist." This common curricular practice in Southern schools offered employment for Southern blacks resulting in racial "uplift" for the black race. Wright and Bethune's curriculum choice was influenced by their mission to improve the lives of Southern blacks. They surrounded themselves with influential people who shaped important governance decisions that proved to be effective in sustaining their schools. Each used their own form of political astuteness to obtain resources. Reynolds and Schramm detailed brief biographical sketches of each school founder and their contributions to higher education. This study considered variations and uniqueness in each community and school founders' abilities to maneuver rural "hidden rules" to build lasting schools.[701]

Building upon previous work, Susan Schramm-Pate and Katherine Chaddock re-conceptualized Southern school founders using four distinct markers on which each of these women relied to successfully found schools – traditionalism, deprivation, initiation, and personalization.[702] Traditionalism encompassed religious and conservative values. Deprivation revealed the economic devastation and gross poverty in the South, which made their work an onerous feat for social and political "uplift." Schramm-Pate and Chaddock illustrated deprivation in Elizabeth Evelyn Wright's laborious quest for funding. Initiation stemmed from the proverbial "starting from scratch" cliché. These

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[700] Reynolds, K. C. & Schramm, S. L. (2002). *Separate Sisterhood: Women who shaped Southern education in the progressive era.* New York: Peter Lang Publishing, Inc.

[701] Ibid.

[702] Schramm – Pate, S. & K. Chaddock. (2006). From obscurities to distinction: (Re)positioning women "Progressive" education in the new South. *Southern Studies: An Interdisciplinary Journal of the South, (13)*12, 25 – 49.

women had to change the attitudes of resistant communities, find resources to sustain schools, and bypass their own educational limitations to be effective school founders and sustainers. Personalization represented cohesiveness of small, rural communities.[703] Wright, Bethune, and other school founders during the progressive era utilized their unique personalities to forge relationships that garnered financial support for their schools. Schramm-Pate and Reynolds concluded these Southern school founders developed mechanisms to cope with a conservative, male society in which women had limited roles in political, social, economic, and educational development.[704]

Similarly, Audrey McCluskey found black Southern school founders educated to "uplift" the black race. In, *We Specialize in the Wholly Impossible: Black Women School Founders and Their Mission*, McCluskey credited Lucy Laney, Mary McLeod Bethune, Charlotte Hawkins Brown, and Nanny Burroughs with developing a black empowerment program to "uplift" the race.[705] This shared program focused on traditional middle class Christian values, character building, self-determination, and female accomplishments. These programs encompassed the initiation of community clubs that educated women about the middle class "female culture." Programs focused on self-enhancement and management of home functions. Although most female school founders did not marry, this group of academic leaders believed the climb to social equality for blacks would be through women and their ability to build cohesive family units. McCluskey noted a

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[703] Ibid.

[704] Ibid.

[705] McClusky, A. (1997). We specialize in the wholly impossible: Black women school founders and their mission. *Signs*, 22, 403–420.

"womanhood" perspective of all the school founders in her study yet noted a dichotomy in their training of women in industrial sciences. Funding sources contributed to this dichotomy by creating a staggered approach to racial "uplift."[706]

McCluskey's assessment of Southern black school founders' commitment to moral development was consistent with Linda Addo's analysis of Sea Island teachers. Addo explored eight female teachers who worked on the Sea Islands of South Carolina from 1862–1870.[707] Two of these women were Laura Matilda Towne and Elizabeth Evelyn Wright. Addo asserted Sea Island teachers were actively involved in improving religious, social, and moral development of students and their families.[708] Towne and Wright lived up to these expectations. Both involved themselves in developing students' moral character. Towne and her assistant, Ellen Murray, started a temperance society for the Sea Islanders. Students learned various biblical verses, captions from moral "sayings," and participated in a litter removal program. Wright instructed students in biblical principles, banned alcohol consumption (a common practice), and adopted strict rules of discipline.[709]

Addo applauded Towne for creating resolutions to exempt Beaufort County from a law which prevented school districts from levying school taxes.[710] Towne assembled

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[706] Ibid.

[707] Addo, L. (1988). A historical analysis of the impact of selected teachers on education for Blacks in Coastal South Carolina, 1862 – 1870 (Doctoral dissertation). Retrieved from http:www.library.sc.edu/

[708] Ibid.

[709] Ibid.

[710] Ibid.

influential black leaders and garnered support from the few white families who lived on St. Helena. As a result, the resolution passed. Wright started a farmers' club to update local farmers on laws that affected agriculture. Moreover, Wright worked with Senator Stanwix Mayfield to secure a track of land and gain his protection from acts of arson on her school campus. This was a strategic decision to gain support from a person with legitimate power and influence.[711] The biographical sketches that Addo provided were consistent with other biographies.

Towne. Researchers have offered various biographical accounts of Towne and her work. Mary-Lou Breitborde's study explored Towne's work through a feminist lens intersecting gender and Towne's political astuteness. Breitborde focused on Towne, the abolitionist, as Towne wrote of herself in her personal journal.[712] She recognized Towne's monumental accomplishment of founding a school with limited resources in the inhospitable South. She focused on Towne's antislavery positions and treatment of blacks post-Civil War, as written in Towne's diary. From Breitborde's perspective, Towne's maverick positions were uncharacteristic and socially heroic for white women amid such a volatile political climate. Although she romanticized Towne's life, she also identified ambiguity in Towne's position on gender equity.[713] Towne denounced slavery and barbaric practices such as spousal abuse among blacks, yet her position on black women's rights to vote was obscure.

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[711] Ibid.

[712] Breitborde, M. (2011). Discourse, education and women's public culture in the Port Royal experiment. *American Educational History Journal, 38*($^1/_2$), 427 – 446.

[713] Ibid.

Coupled with political activism, Towne embodied resourcefulness. Most secondary literature sources reflect Towne's success in garnering financial resources for Penn School. This observation is significant because it addresses resourcefulness, a marker in this study. During and after the Civil War, financial resources were limited, but several relief organizations contributed to Southern education from 1861–1870's. Ira Brown described Lyman Abbott's efforts to educate Southern blacks. Abbott was a Northern, Congregational minister who embraced antislavery doctrine. He was instrumental in securing funds from Freedmen Aid Societies that rebuilt the South through education of Southern blacks and whites. Brown confirmed the Port Royal Relief Commission in Philadelphia supported the Port Royal Experiment, the purpose for Towne's work.[714] The government provided fuel and food; however, benevolent societies such as the Port Royal Relief Commission of Philadelphia and the Benezet Society supplied materials needed for schools, daily operations, and teachers' salaries. By October, 1865, the American Union Commission assisted approximately 100,000 Northern and Southern refugees to find homes and distributed $150,000 worth of supplies, food, clothes, seeds, and books. Some of the various independent societies combined under the auspices of the American Freedmen's Union Commission in 1866.[715]

Decades after Brown's study, John Rachal explored the history of the federal government's funding for adult education. He contended the Freedman's Bureau, a federal agency, provided funding to advance education of African Americans on the Sea

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[714] Brown, I. (1949). Lyman Abbott and freedmen's aid: 1865 – 1869. *The Journal of Southern History, 15* (1), 22 – 38.

[715] Ibid.

Islands under the auspices of the Port Royal Experiment.[716] The United States Treasury Department funded travel to the Sea Islands and provided meager allowances to the freed slaves for their labor on the cotton crops and other supplies. Rachal confirmed that the Philadelphia Freedmen Association supported Penn School.[717] Interestingly, the Bureau collapsed in 1872 due to resistance from Southern whites. Rachal's study corroborated other accounts of the federal government's financial support of the Port Royal Experiment.

Biographical illustrations of Towne's life were published late in the 20th century. Willie Lee Rose's first publication in 1964 revealed explicit details of the Port Royal Experiment. In Rose's award-winning study, she weaved Towne's work at Penn School into a context of historical significance.[718] Kurt Wolf's historical outline exposed Towne's positions on social issues, political involvement, influence among the native islanders, and relationships with Union soldiers.[719] Wolf did not question Towne's leadership methods or decision-making. He seemed to follow a cautious but accurate account of Towne's life.

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[716] Rachal, J. (1986). Gideonites and freedmen: Adult literacy education at Port Royal, 1862 – 1865. *The Journal of Negro Education, 55*(4), 453–469.

[717] Ibid.

[718] Rose, W. L. (1964). *Rehearsal for Reconstruction: The Port Royal Experiment.* Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press.

[719] Wolfe, K. (1997). Laura M. Towne and the freed people of South Carolina, 1862 – 1901. *South Carolina Historical Magazine, 98*(4), 375-405.

Later, Rose chronicled Towne's life and detailed points neglected in other brief biographies.[720] Contrary to Edith Dabbs's history of Penn School, Rose contended the school started in a local Baptist church in September, 1862.[721] Unlike other accounts of Towne's life, Rose revealed Towne taught at various charity schools in the North. The school's success was due to Towne's family. Towne's wealthy father provided enough money in her dowry to help sustain Penn School. His son, Henry Towne, was an engineer who also supported Penn School even after Laura's death.[722]

Bethune. Of the school founders in this study, Bethune was the most researched. Lynn Gordon hailed Bethune as one of America's most influential persons during the progressive era.[723] In 2001, Audrey McCluskey and Elaine Smith compiled an amalgamation of Bethune's essays and documents. McCluskey and Smith's work featured Bethune's (1944) *Certain Unalienable Rights*, an essay in which Bethune exhorted black women to incite their politics.[724] This essay illustrated Bethune's passion for social equality and her inherent duty to galvanize Black women. She wrote: "Take

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[720] Rose, W. L. (1997). Laura M. Towne. In E. James (Series Ed.), *Notable American Women, 1607–1960: A Biographical Dictionary: Vol 3. P – Z* (pp. 472-474). Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

[721] Dabbs, E. (1964). *Walking tall.* Frogmore, South Carolina: Penn Community Services, Inc.

[722] Ibid.

[723] Gordon, L. D. (2005). Education and the professions. In N. Hewitt (Ed.), *A companion to American women's history* (pp. 227 – 249). Malden, Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishing.

[724] McClusky, A. & Smith, E. (Eds.). (2001). *Mary McLeod Bethune: Building a better world–Essays and selected documents.* Bloomington, Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.

full part in the political life of our community, state, and nation."[725] McCluskey and Smith combined Bethune's *Last Will and Testament*, letters to the secretary of War, Henry Stimson; and letters to President Franklin D. Roosevelt and Eleanor Roosevelt. These documents confirmed Bethune's educational philosophy, resourcefulness, and political acumen.[726]

Joyce Hanson explored the gravity of Bethune's political activism. She confirmed Bethune's position that women shaped their own perspectives of gender, class, and race.[727] This was evident in Bethune's accomplishments as a national advocate for black education and black women. As president of the National Association of Colored Women, Bethune became the "voice" of black women on various public issues and questioned the traditional roles of black women, which were limited to domestic and religious capacities. Bethune envisioned a women-centered organization that focused on national education, health, nursing, business associations, community, and racial organization. In Bethune's role as Director of the Office of Minority Affairs in the National Youth Administration, Hanson reinforced Bethune's utilization of various strategies to diffuse racial discrimination. Furthermore, Bethune influenced white liberals to expand opportunities for blacks in the political domain.[728]

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[725] Ibid., 26

[726] Ibid.

[727] Hanson, J. (1997). *The ties that bind: Mary McLeod Bethune and the political mobilization of African American women.* (Doctoral Dissertation). Retrieved from http:www.library.sc.edu/

[728] Hanson, J. (2003). *Mary McLeod Bethune and Black women's political activism*. Columbia, Missouri. University of Missouri Press.

In 2003, Hanson once again studied Bethune's involvement in politics but differentiated Bethune's political astuteness from traditional political roles of elected officials. In this study, Hanson relied on a broader definition of political acumen encompassing "activities that included all community work which is oriented to change through multifaceted goals including service, support, public education and advocacy."[729] Bethune saw the importance of changing social, economic, and political institutions to "uplift" her race. At an early age, she realized blacks had to be in influential positions to progress socially and economically. This realization was her impetus to move beyond her role as educator and into political activism. She worked within the Roosevelt administration to ensure blacks were represented in national policies. As the director of the Office of Minority Affairs of the National Youth Administration, Bethune was well aware that Roosevelt's programs were most beneficial to whites, not blacks. Using propriety and discretion, she criticized some of the administration's decisions and threatened to revoke black political support from the administration. Nonetheless, Bethune remained committed to the administration. To her credit, Bethune persuaded the administration to place blacks into "meaningful" positions, thus supporting her mission of social "uplift."[730]

Bethune's national role legitimized her power to promote blacks in state-level administrative assistant positions. Bethune reorganized the Office of Minority Affairs of the National Youth Administration so that black local and state administrators reported to

[729] Ibid., 2

[730] Ibid.

her, thus yielding federal control over distribution of state.[731] Similarly, Bethune coordinated the National Council of Negro Women (NCNW) for the purpose of "advancing African American women, agitating for equal opportunity, and secure full citizenship rights."[732] Bethune's vision for black women's involvement in social, economic, and political change met resistance in the NCNW.

Bethune's ability to assert herself politically attested her resourcefulness. McCluskey captured Bethune's resourcefulness in a case study exploring the impact of Bethune's work in Daytona.[733] In 1904, Daytona was a popular location of Northern retirees–a potential financial resource for the school. Bethune often scanned newspapers for new residents and invited them to come to the school so she could share the mission and work of her students. To demonstrate resourcefulness, McCluskey quoted Bethune:

> I burned logs and used charred splinters as pencils, and mashed elderberries for ink. I begged strangers for a broom, a lamp, a bit of cretonne to put around the packing case which served as my desk. I haunted the city dump and trash piles behind hotels, retrieving discarded linen and kitchenware, cracked dishes, broken chairs, pieces of old lumber.[734]

The school had a farm, home crafts, and clothes from the dressmaking department for commercial enterprises. Bethune enlisted affluent white residents such as James N. Gamble, of Proctor and Gamble, who was a lifelong supporter. John D. Rockefeller and Samuel White volunteered on the board of trustees.

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[731] Ibid.

[732] Ibid., 210

[733] McClusky, A. (1997). We specialize in the wholly impossible: Black women school founders and their mission. *Signs*, 22, 403–420.

[734] McClusky, A. (1994). Ringing up a school: Mary McLeod Bethune's impact on Daytona. Florida Historical Magazine, 73(3), pp.200-218.

Decades earlier, Dees asserted Bethune planned her methods strategically.[735] Her humble beginning cultivated strategic thinking. She understood how to "sell" her students' stories to the sympathetic and wealthy public. Her resourcefulness was perhaps the characteristic that sustained the school.

Bethune's resourcefulness depended on her ability to market her school to Northern philanthropists who supported industrial education.[736] Jacqueline Young confirmed industrial education was the preferred route for women because it focused on domestic training.[737] Southern black school founders taught vocational skills to "uplift" the socioeconomic conditions of blacks. Given the mission of Southern black school founders, it is not surprising that industrial training was the core curriculum at many Southern black schools. Yet, moral development was equally important.[738] Bethune, like her counterparts, integrated character education into school curricula. Character education equipped students with necessary social skills to overcome racism; and thus, a crucial necessity for survival of blacks.[739] School founders in Sarah Bair's study used the

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[735] Dees, J. W. (1953). *The college built on prayer: Mary McLeod Bethune*. New York: Gavis and Harris.

[736] McClusky, A. (1994). Multiple consciousnesses in the leadership of Mary McLeod Bethune. *NWSA Journal, (6)*1, 69-81.; Hanson, J. (1997). *The ties that bind: Mary McLeod Bethune and the political mobilization of African American women.* (Doctoral Dissertation). Retrieved from http:www.library.sc.edu/

[737] Young, J. (1987). *A study of the educational philosophies of three pioneer black women and their contributions to American education*. (Doctoral dissertation). Retrieved from http:www.library.sc.edu/

[738] Ibid.

[739] Bair, S. (2009). The struggle for community and respectability: Black women school founders and the politics of character education in the early twentieth century. *Theory and Research in Social Education, 37*(4), 570 – 599.

"language and practice of character education" to gain respect from whites, economic advancement, and spirituality. Chapel responsibility and church work "shaped" character and defined missions of their schools.[740]

Bethune, like Fanny Jackson Coppin, and Charlotte Hawkins, used their personal educational pursuits to create positive images of black women.[741] They undertook nontraditional roles and ventured into the world of politics thus increasing social liberties for blacks. They urged women to become involved in local and national politics and re-conceptualized the role of black women. Their most profound work was founding schools during intense political and social upheaval in the South. Young confirmed Louisiana and South Carolina had laws requiring integration of schools after the emancipation but only schools in New Orleans adhered to these laws. Southern resistance forced school founders to rely on other entities for resources, such as churches.[742]

Religious affiliations were common during the progressive era for obvious reasons and Bethune's school was no exception. Newsome comprehensively described Bethune's life in the context of her religious convictions and experience at Moody Bible Institute.[743] This comprehensive work verified Bethune's change in church affiliation. Early in Bethune's career, she asked the Presbyterian Board of Missions for a position in

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[740] Ibid.

[741] Young, J. (1987). *A study of the educational philosophies of three pioneer black women and their contributions to American education*. (Doctoral dissertation). Retrieved from http:www.library.sc.edu/

[742] Ibid.

[743] Newsome, C. (1982). *Mary McLeod Bethune in religious perspective: A seminal essay* (Doctoral dissertation). Retrieved from http:www.library.sc.edu/

Africa. The board denied her request due to the lack of positions. Disappointed, but not distracted, Bethune took her zeal for education to South Carolina and eventually Daytona where she founded Daytona Literary Institute for Girls. Sometime after the Presbyterian Board of Missions denied her request to work in Africa, Bethune changed denominations to the African Methodist Episcopal Church. Newsome intimated Bethune's change in religious affiliation was orchestrated to ensure the longevity of her school.[744]

Rackham Holt, Bethune's official biographer, detailed Bethune's life from her informal years to adulthood.[745] Bethune was born to former slaves in Mayesville, South Carolina, a rural town plagued with impoverishment. Her father, Samuel, was reared on the McLeod plantation where he worked as a slave for many years. Patsy, Bethune's mother, was a small woman who had a "regal" appearance, which embodied her African heritage. Contrarily, Bethune was thought of as "homely." Of the seventeen children, she was the fifteenth who fortunately escaped the clutches of slavery. Her older siblings were not so lucky. Compared to other freed slaves, the family seemed articulate with "clarity" of speech. The family was resourceful. Her grandmother purchased 30 acres of land and some years later the family purchased additional land. Bethune was proud of the family's independence.[746] Holt's account of Bethune's life identified examples of Bethune's national accomplishments, political involvement, and resourcefulness.

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[744] Newsome, C. (2001). Mary McLeod Bethune and the Methodist Episcopal Church North: In But Out. *Journal of Religious Thought, (3*), 7 – 20.

[745] Holt, R. (1964). *Mary McLeod Bethune: A biography.* Garden City, New York: Double Day and Company, Inc.

[746] Ibid.

Wright. Larry Watson's descriptive study of school founders compared Elizabeth Evelyn Wright and Martha Schofield–two women who initiated private schools for blacks in rural South Carolina.[747] Similar to other women who founded primary schools for blacks in the South, Wright and Schofield were committed to social "uplift" through education. Watson emphasized examples of violence local whites displayed to demonstrate resistant to black education in South Carolina. Even after the reconstruction, white supremacy continued and Wright found it difficult to garner support from Hampton County residents. Moreover, several attempts at building a school failed before her first building in Denmark, South Carolina, was erected.[748] Under the direction of Almira Steele, Wright sought an amicable location for her school; an area that would support education for blacks. She found the perfect location in Denmark, South Carolina. She befriended and purchased land from Senator Stanwix Mayfield and started her school. As she built a network of philanthropists, a mentor gave her the name of Ralph Voorhees, a blind Northern philanthropist from New Jersey whose magnanimous funds continued to support the school even after his death. Due to Voorhees's generosity, Wright renamed the school to bear his name.[749] Wright's mission was clear, to "uplift" the black race through education. Her dedication was admirable. In her short life, she managed to

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[747]Watson, L. (2010). Martha Fell Schofield and Elizabeth Evelyn Wright: Women Founders of South Carolina African American Schools, (pp. 31 – 47). In *South Carolina Women: Their Lives and Times,* Volume 2 M. J. Spruill, V. W. Littlefield, & J. M. Johnson (Eds.). Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press.

[748] Ibid.

[749] Ibid.

found a school for blacks in the South during the political and financial hardships of the progressive era.

Watson's historical account of Wright's work offered vivid examples of challenges Wright and Schofield faced as they started schools. Robert Blanton's publication, *The Story of Voorhees College: From 1897-1982*, was an overview of the founding of Denmark Industrial and Agricultural School.[750] He acknowledged Wright's dedication to the mission of black education in spite of an arduous path. Blanton corroborated other accounts confirming the school's maintenance, in its early years, was attributed to the generous support of Ralph Voorhees. Within four months of meeting Wright, Ralph Voorhees contributed $5,000 for the purchase of land.[751] Blanton acknowledged the instrumental work of Jessie Dorsey Green, a nurse, who assisted Wright in founding the school. Senator Mayfield allowed Wright to purchase a tract of land in Denmark and continued to support and advise Wright until her death.[752]

Albert Jabs, in his dissertation, explored the founding of Voorhees Industrial and Agricultural School and significant developmental factors relevant to the school's history.[753] His study included the school's history through 1983. Jabs concluded Wright started Voorhees Industrial and Agricultural School from a need to transition blacks from slavery to socioeconomic freedom, which could only be achieved through rudimentary

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[750] Blanton, R. (1983). *The story of Voorhees College: From 1887 to 1982.* (1st ed.). Smithtown, New York: Exposition Press, Inc.

[751] Ibid.

[752] Ibid.

[753] Jabs, A. (1983). *The mission of Voorhees College: Its roots and its future.* (Doctoral Dissertation). Retrieved from http:www.library.sc.edu/

education. Wright's format emulated Booker T. Washington's educational model for which Wright was impressed.[754] The developmental factors in the history of the school are most evident in the school's perpetual financial struggles. From its inception, Wright had difficulty securing funding for the school. She relied on the supportive black community in the Denmark area to help maintain the school, along with continued donations from Ralph Voorhees. Jessie Dorsey and Almira Steele provided Wright with emotional support and governance. Steele offered educational guidance and wisdom to the young Wright who lacked an education degree, social skills, and resources.[755]

In addition to Ralph Voorhees, Jabs credited the school's longevity to financial support from the Protestant Episcopal Church. Other denominations were also instrumental in maintaining the school. He detailed Wright's business savvy and resourcefulness. Jabs and Kenneth Morris chronicled the typical methods Wright employed to obtain funds for the school such as letter writing campaigns, soliciting funds from Blacks in Denmark, meeting with prospective Northern philanthropists, and selling goods and crafts.[756] Wright maintained records of collected funds, deposited all monies in a local bank, and prepared reports for board members. Jabs documented Wright's political skills; for example, the decision to get support from Senator Mayfield was a strategy to ensure a higher level of protection. Wright's decision was fueled by a need to prevent burning of school buildings – a problem that plagued black schools in the South.

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[754] Ibid.

[755] Ibid.

[756] Ibid.

Unlike other studies, Angel Nieves hypothesized Wright erected buildings that illustrated traumatic experiences of former slaves.[757] She used her experiences of poverty, and knowledge of slavery to display black pride through the erection of buildings that provided identity to the black race. Nieves contended there was a sort of "vindication to the race through institution-making." During the reconstruction years, neo-nationalists "uplifted" the race through education and architecture of school buildings unlike white schools that built monuments as solidifying culture and establishing symbolism of civilization. School founders created campuses that institutionalized power and order. He lauded Wright for her global vision to found a school for blacks modeled on the Tuskegee principles.[758] Wright understood the pertinence of campus architecture for social, political, and economic "uplift" in an orderly but powerful black community.

Similar to Bethune, Wright used unique characteristics and creative methods to start and sustain her school. Kenneth Morris's biography of Wright's life illustrated a comprehensive study inclusive of her resourcefulness, political acumen, determination, self-denial, and challenges of school founding.[759] He described Wright's onerous search of a supportive location for her school. Morris noted Wright sacrificed food and salary for her school. She spent many days and hours walking miles for meager donations to

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[757] Nieves, A. (2002). Voorhees: Elizabeth Evelyn Wright's "Small Tuskegee" and Black education in the Post-Reconstruction South. *ARRIS, 3,* 25 – 36.

[758] Ibid.

[759] Morris, J. K. (1983). *Elizabeth Evelyn Wright: Founder of Voorhees College.* Sewanee, Tennessee: The University Press.

start and sustain her school. Once she gained the ear of wealthy Northern philanthropists, she traveled North to share her vision of education for Blacks.[760]

In 1922, Jim Coleman published *Tuskegee to Voorhees: The Booker T. Washington Idea Projected by Elizabeth Evelyn Wright.* He wrote this book in the immediate years after Wright's death. Coleman proposed Wright's founding of Voorhees Industrial School was based on her vast experiences at Tuskegee Industrial Institute.[761] Booker T. Washington and the scholastic setting at Tuskegee Industrial and Agricultural school captivated Wright. Her close relationships with Booker T. Washington, his first and second wives, industrial and agricultural training, and the friendships she nurtured while at Tuskegee imparted a sense of moral responsibility to found her school in South Carolina based on the Tuskegee model.[762]

Conclusion

Resistance to Black education surfaced in the form of colonial laws that prevented instruction of blacks and Jim Crow laws, which segregated and demoralized blacks. These laws created adverse environments in the South, which prohibited black education. Southern, white businessmen, farmers, legislators, former slave owners, professors, and theologians dictated and enforced these laws, which threatened the action of black education thus creating an inhospitable environment which school founders had to overcome to be successful in their mission to educate. Local Southerners patrolled

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[760] Ibid.

[761] Coleman, J. E. B. (1922). *Tuskegee to Voorhees: The Booker T. Washington idea projected by Elizabeth Evelyn Wright.* Columbia, South Carolina: Thomco, Inc.

[762] Ibid.

communities for occurrences of black education and in many cases burned building supplies before schools were erected. Southern and Northern women accepted teaching roles in the South. Notably, only a few found schools that persisted decades after they were initiated. Towne, Mather, Bethune, and Wright were among the few pioneering women who dedicated their lives to the mission of education for Southern blacks during the nation's most contentious years and the South's debilitating economic drought. Yet, in the midst of these hardships, these women employed techniques to effectively initiate and sustain schools.