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CONTESTED GOALS AND COMPETING INTERESTS: FREEDPEOPLE’S EDUCATION IN NORTH CAROLINA DURING THE CIVIL WAR AND RECONSTRUCTION ERA, 1861-1875

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DECLARATION

I declare that this dissertation represents my own work and has not been submitted in whole or in part, by me or by another person, for the purpose of obtaining any other qualification, and that all sources used have been fully and properly acknowledged. Articles based on sections of this dissertation that have been published include:

- AnneMarie Brosnan, ‘Representations of race and racism in the textbooks used in southern black schools during the American Civil War and Reconstruction era, 1861-1876’ in *Paedagogica Historica: International Journal of the History of Education.*

AnneMarie Brosnan

ABSTRACT

This dissertation examines the growth and development of North Carolina's schools for the freedpeople during the Civil War and Reconstruction era, 1861-1875. In particular, it investigates who taught the freedpeople in North Carolina, why they elected to teach the former slaves, and the curriculum that was used in the state's black schools. Recognising that the teachers of the freedpeople have been consistently portrayed as 'Yankee schoolmarms' in the historical literature, this dissertation begins by interrogating the life and work of northern white, southern white, and black teachers as three distinct yet interrelated teaching groups. To do this, this dissertation analysed a biographical database of over 1,400 teachers, known as the Freedmen's Teacher Project, as well as a wide range of traditional archival sources, such as the teachers' letters, memoirs, and diaries. Secondly, by conducting a textual analysis of nineteenth-century textbooks, including those that were created for the freedpeople in the aftermath of the Civil War as well as those that were used in antebellum northern common schools and subsequently donated to the freedpeople, this dissertation examines the curriculum that was used in North Carolina's schools for the freedpeople. Ultimately, this dissertation finds that northern white, southern white, and black teachers perceived black freedom and the role of education in very different ways. While northern white teachers saw education as a means of reforming the former slaves, southern white teachers viewed black schools as instruments of social control. Black teachers, on the other hand, saw education as a vehicle for securing civil and political equality, as well as economic mobility. Given that most of the textbooks used in North Carolina's post-Civil War black schools were written and produced by northern white men and women, they served to reinforce the northern white teachers' reforming agenda and by portraying black people as inherently inferior, the textbooks' primary function was to perpetuate the antebellum racial hierarchy. Ultimately, the contested goals and competing interests of teachers, institutions, and learners shaped the contours of black freedom in profound and lasting ways.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AASS	American Anti-Slavery Society
ABFMS	American Baptist Foreign Mission Society
ABHMS	American Baptist Home Mission Society
ACS	African Civilisation Society
AFUC	American Freedmen’s Union Commission
AMA	American Missionary Association
ATS	American Tract Society
FFA	Friends’ Freedmen’s Association
FTP	Freedmen’s Teacher Project
NEFAS	New England Freedman’s Aid Society
NFRA	National Freedman’s Relief Association
PCMF	Presbyterian Committee on Missions to Freedmen
PEFC	Protestant Episcopal Freedmen’s Commission
PFRA	Pennsylvania Freedmen’s Relief Association
WFAC	Western Freedmen’s Aid Commission

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INTRODUCTION

During the Civil War and Reconstruction era, 1861-1875, formerly enslaved men and women demanded access to education. Aided by northern white missionaries, free blacks, and some southern whites, freedmen and women throughout North Carolina built schoolhouses, hired teachers, and purchased textbooks. Despite their lack of formal education, many former slaves even taught in the first black schools. For these men and women, the meaning of freedom was inextricably intertwined with access to education and in the face of racial discrimination, rising hostility, and inadequate support from the federal government, black men and women relentlessly persevered in their quest for education.

After emancipation, the fundamental question that shaped Reconstruction policy was: what role should the former slaves play in American society? As W. E. B. Du Bois poignantly wrote in 1903, 'No sooner had Northern armies touched Southern soil than this old question, newly guised, sprang from the earth, – What shall be done with the Negroes?'.[1] Underpinning this question was a deep-rooted belief in black inferiority. Regardless of whether the former slaves were perceived as childlike and docile, on the one hand, or violent and aggressive on the other, black freedom was ultimately viewed as a destabilising threat to society. While some people feared that the former slaves would form a permanent dependent class, others worried that freedmen and women would seek revenge on those who were complicit in perpetuating racial slavery.[2]

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[1] W. E. B. Du Bois, *The souls of black folk: Essays and sketches* (Chicago, 1903), available at Documenting the American South, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, (http://docsouth.unc.edu/church/duboissouls/dubois.html) (16 September 2015).

[2] See, for example, Ronald E. Butchart, *Northern schools, southern blacks, and Reconstruction: Freedmen's education, 1862-1875* (Westport, 1980), p. 13; Jessica Enoch, *Refiguring rhetorical education: Women teaching African American, Native American, and Chicano/a students, 1865-1911* (Illinois, 2008), p. 41; *Harper's Weekly,* 10 February 1866; New England Freedmen's Aid Society, *Second annual report of the New England Freedmen's Aid Society* (Boston, 1864), p. 50. According to George M. Fredrickson, gradual emancipation was never seriously considered in the post-Revolutionary South because slaveholders feared that blacks would emerge from slavery with 'vengeful attitudes towards whites'. Fredrickson, *The black image in the white mind: The debate on Afro-American character and destiny, 1817-1914* (Middletown, CT, 1971), p. 3.

In an effort to limit the perceived threat black freedom imposed upon society, the federal government attempted to remake the former Confederate states in the image of the North while southern legislatures aimed to re-establish the antebellum hierarchal southern social order. Central to both of these goals was the regulation of labour.[3] However, while federal officers attempted to transform the South into a free-labour society, southern lawmakers and citizens alike aimed to re-establish a system of labour that closely resembled slavery. Notwithstanding these conflicting approaches, both labour systems centred on retaining a black agricultural workforce. 'Make them lords of the land', proclaimed Reverend Horace James, a Freedmen's Bureau officer, 'and everything else will naturally follow'.[4] Efforts to reorganise the southern economy easily found their way into southern black classrooms and white teachers from both the North and South attempted to use education as a means of imposing their beliefs, value systems, and way of life upon formerly enslaved black students, often in an effort to mould them into a subservient labour force.

Not surprisingly, black Americans had a very different vision of black freedom and the role education would play in shaping that freedom. While the former slaves were no less concerned about defining their place in American society, economic independence, as Enrico Dal Lago observed, was central to the freedpeople's definition of freedom.[5] Thus, black men and women saw education as a means of securing civil and political equality, as well as upward mobility and financial security. Ultimately these contested goals and competing interests of black freedom shaped the contours of southern black schooling. This dissertation examines the way in which these goals and interests informed freedpeople's education, particularly the work of the teacher, in North Carolina during the Civil War and Reconstruction era, 1861-1875.[6]

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[3] Eric Foner, *Reconstruction: America's unfinished revolution* (New York, 1988), p. 50.
[4] Horace James in *The Freedmen's Record* (September 1865), p. 142.
[5] Enrico Dal Lago, '"States of rebellion": Civil War, rural unrest, and the agrarian question in the American South and the Italian Mezzogiorno, 1861-1865' in *Comparative Studies in Society and History,* vol. 47, no. 2 (2005), pp 403-432, see specifically p. 416.

Literature review

Between 1861 and 1875, three distinct groups of teachers worked in North Carolina's black schools: northern white, southern white and black people from the North and South.[7] Yet, for over a century, the teachers of the freedpeople have been consistently portrayed as northern white women. Although historical interpretations of Reconstruction have changed over time, ranging from the caustic diatribes of those associated with the Dunning school of thought to the glowing affirmations of revisionists, the image of the freedpeople's teacher as a northern white schoolmarm has remained remarkably unchanged. As Sandra E. Small wrote in 1979, the teacher of the freedpeople is 'one of the most persistently stereotyped Americans' of the Civil War and Reconstruction period.[8]

Writing in 1903, W. E. B. Du Bois was one of the first historians to offer a description of the freedpeople's teacher. 'Behind the mists of ruin and rapine', he wrote, 'waved the calico dresses of women who dared…Rich and poor they were, serious and curious. Bereaved now of a father, now of a brother, now of more than these, they came seeking a life work in planting New England schoolhouses among the white and black of the South'.[9] Although Du Bois' work was often overshadowed by the vociferous Dunning School which dominated Reconstruction scholarship for much of the twentieth century, this description served to reinforce the idea that the teachers of the freedpeople were predominantly young, white, New England females.

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[6] Throughout this dissertation, I use the term 'freedpeople' to refer to the body of formerly enslaved men and women. I use the terms 'freedmen' and 'freedwomen' to refer to formerly enslaved men and women respectively and I use the words 'formerly enslaved', 'former slaves', and 'ex-slaves' interchangeably. When referring to black people from the South, including those who were free before the war, I use the term 'southern blacks'. For the sake of accuracy, I use the term 'freedmen' for historical usages, such as 'Freedmen's Bureau' or 'freedmen's aid society'.

[7] Because this dissertation uses Ronald Butchart's 2010 study of freedpeople's education as a general framework, I have chosen to analyse northern black and southern black teachers as one distinct group. Variations between northern and southern blacks are discussed more fully in Chapter III. Ronald E. Butchart, *Schooling the freed people: Teaching, learning, and the struggle for black freedom, 1861-1876* (Chapel Hill, 2010).

[8] Sandra E. Small, 'The Yankee schoolmarm in freedmen's schools: An analysis of attitudes' in *The Journal of Southern History,* vol. 45, no. 3 (1979), pp 381-402, quotation p. 381.

[9] Du Bois, *The souls of black folk* (http://docsouth.unc.edu/church/duboissouls/dubois.html) (16 September 2015).

Du Bois' contemporaries, on the other hand, namely those associated with the Dunning school of thought, painted a very different picture of the freedpeople's teacher. Regarding Reconstruction as a 'tragic era' in which unscrupulous 'carpetbaggers' and disloyal 'scalawags' attempted to exploit the defeated South for their own personal gain, Dunningite historians reserved much of their contempt for the northern white schoolmarms whom they perceived as committed to the ideal of racial equality.[10] Frequently described as foolish, meddlesome, and intensely idealistic, Wilbur J. Cash offered a particularly bitter description of the 'Yankee schoolma'am' in 1941 when he wrote, 'Generally horsefaced, bespectacled, and spare of frame, she was, of course, no proper intellectual, but at best a comic character, at worst a dangerous fool, playing with explosive forces which she did not understand'.[11] As the first historian to provide a fully comprehensive analysis of the teachers of the freedpeople, Henry L. Swint offered a more condescending, albeit less caustic, description of the 'highly emotional' female teachers whom he claimed were 'incapable of calm consideration or of restraint'.[12]

Southern historians associated with the Dunning school of interpretation were particularly resentful of the northern white schoolmarms for their putative attempts to move the freedpeople towards equality with whites.[13] As Cash wrote, northern teachers 'moved down upon the unfortunate South in the train of the army of occupation to "educate" the black man for his new place in the sun'.[14] This, Edgar W. Knight argued, was the cause of 'much insane intolerance' in the South.[15] Indeed, Swint charged that violent opposition to black education stemmed from the work and presence of northern white teachers rather than from an intrinsic opposition to black education.[16] Had northern white teachers not been so quick to interfere, he even suggested, southern whites would have gladly taken up the task of educating the freedpeople.[17]

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[10] Historians associated with the Dunning school of thought were adherents of the work of William Archibald Dunning, a Columbia University professor who perceived Reconstruction as an attack on the South and the southern social order. See, for example, William A. Dunning, *Essays on the Civil War and Reconstruction and Related Topics* (2nd ed., New York, 1904). Claude G. Bowers described Reconstruction as a 'tragic era'. See Claude G. Bowers, *The tragic era: The revolution after Lincoln* (Boston, 1929). 'Carpetbagger' was the name given to enterprising northerners who came South to seek economic and political gain. 'Scalawag' was the name given to white southerners who were perceived as disloyal to the Confederacy.

[11] Wilbur J. Cash, *The mind of the South* (New York, 1941), p. 137.

[12] Henry L. Swint, *The northern teacher in the South, 1862-1870* (Tennessee, 1941), p. 57.

[13] See, for example, Walter L. Fleming, *The sequel of Appomattox: A chronicle of the reunion of the states* (New Haven, 1919), p. 213; Swint, *The northern teacher,* p. 59.

Set against the backdrop of the Civil Rights Movement during the 1950s and 1960s, a new wave of revisionist scholarship emerged in the mid-twentieth century and Reconstruction was hailed as a commendable success. Freedpeople's education was also cast in a more favourable light and although the teachers of the freedpeople continued to be portrayed as northern white women, or as James McPherson described them, an 'army of New England schoolmarms', their work was interpreted as an extension of the pre-war abolitionist movement and fuelled by evangelicalism.[18] Revisionist studies were not without criticism, however, and while McPherson acknowledged that many of the teachers were profoundly paternalistic, Jacqueline Jones admitted that northern schoolmarms were not entirely devoid of racial prejudice.[19] Yet in spite of these flaws, revisionists continued to perceive the northern teachers as a powerful force for good who, as McPherson posited, 'had a sincere belief in racial equality'.[20]

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[14] Cash, *The mind of the South,* p. 137.

[15] Edgar W. Knight, 'The "messianic" invasion of the South after 1865' in *School and Society,* vol. 57, no. 1484 (1943), pp 645-651.

[16] Swint, *The northern teacher*, p. 136.

[17] Ibid., p. 138.

[18] James M. McPherson, *The abolitionist legacy: From Reconstruction to the NAACP* (Princeton, 1975), p. 143; Jacqueline Jones, *Soldiers of light and love: Northern teachers and Georgia blacks, 1865-1873* (Chapel Hill, 1980), p. 5.

[19] McPherson, *The abolitionist legacy,* p. 183; Jones, *Soldiers of light and love,* p. 9. See also, Linda B. Selleck, *Gentle Invaders: Quaker women educators and racial issues during the Civil War and Reconstruction* (Indiana, 1995), p. 13.

[20] James M. McPherson, 'White liberals and black power in Negro education' in *The American Historical Review,* vol. 75, no. 5 (1970), pp 1357-1386, quotation p. 1360.

During the 1970s, a more critical interpretation of Reconstruction emerged. Described by Eric Foner as 'post-revisionism', historians of this persuasion perceived Reconstruction as profoundly conservative and ultimately a failure. As Foner wrote, 'if the era was "tragic", it was because change did not go far enough'.[21] Freedpeople's education was not spared from this critical analysis and some historians viewed black schooling as 'an inadequate response to black freedom'.[22] The former slaves 'needed land, protection, and a stake in society', argued Ronald E. Butchart in 1980. 'They needed and demanded meaningful power. They were given instead a school'.[23] The teachers' motives also faced criticism and northern schoolmarms were condemned for attempting to inculcate the former slaves with northern ideals and values, an effort Foner described as 'cultural imperialism'.[24] 'These self-righteous teachers were blinded by their own cultural values and innate sense of superiority', concluded Judkin Browning in 2008.[25]

For much of the twentieth century, the role of black teachers in freedpeople's education remained absent from the historical literature. Although historians widely acknowledged that the former slaves inspired the growth of southern black schools, few studies chronicled black people's efforts to create, develop, and sustain a system of education as the Reconstruction era progressed.[26] One notable exception was James D. Anderson's *The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935.* Documenting a time period of over seventy years, this 1988 publication successfully challenged the idea that black people were culturally inferior and ambivalent towards education. On the contrary, Anderson argued that low academic achievement among contemporary black Americans stemmed from an unequal and inadequate school system. Moreover, Anderson persuasively argued that black people had manifested a commitment towards schooling since times of slavery and that this commitment persevered throughout the twentieth century as black communities actively engaged in the construction of black public schools.[27]

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[21] Eric Foner, 'Reconstruction revisited' in *Reviews in American History,* vol. 10, no. 4 (1982), pp 82-100, quotation p. 83.

[22] Butchart, *Northern schools,* p. 10.

[23] Ibid., p. 9.

[24] Foner, 'Reconstruction', p. 86.

[25] Judkin Browning, '"Bringing light to our land...when she was dark as night": Northerners, freedpeople, and education during military occupation in North Carolina, 1862-1865' in *American Nineteenth Century History,* vol. 1, no. 1 (2008), pp 1-17, quotation p. 2.

[26] Admittedly, Du Bois attributed the establishment of the southern system of public education to the former slaves. However, as discussed earlier, his work often remained in the shadows of Dunningite historians. See W. E. B. Du Bois, *Black Reconstruction in America: An essay toward a history of the part which black folk played in the attempt to reconstruct democracy in America, 1860-1880* (New York, 1935), p. 638, available at Internet Archive, (https://archive.org/details/blackreconstruc00dubo) (11 October 2015).

Almost a decade later, in 1995, Clara Merritt DeBoer focused her study of freedpeople's education solely on the work of black teachers. 'The conventional wisdom is that "New England schoolmarms" taught the freedmen', she wrote. 'Many did. But many came from other northern states, and one-third were men. Many were African Americans'.[28] Although DeBoer's study is limited to the work of black teachers who worked for the American Missionary Association (AMA), an evangelical organisation that sponsored teachers in the South, it is an important contribution to the study of freedpeople's education in particular and black history more generally.[29]

At the beginning of the twenty-first century, two important studies of freedpeople's education highlighted the significant role that black people played in the construction of southern black schooling. The first was Heather Andrea Williams' *Self-Taught: African American Education in Slavery and Freedom* which convincingly argued that 'freedpeople, not northern whites, initiated the educational movement in the South while the Civil War was being fought'.[30] Published in 2005, this study tells the story of black people's struggle to gain access to education before and after the destruction of slavery. Indeed, one of the most salient aspects of this study is the way in which it demonstrates that the desire to gain access to education was not a wartime phenomenon. On the contrary, Williams argued that enslaved people had always exhibited a profound desire to become literate. Those who succeeded ultimately used their literacy as a powerful act of resistance, not only through escape by forging slave passes but by passing their knowledge on to other members of the slave community. In this way, enslaved people challenged 'the power relations between master and slave' and succeeded in gaining 'some control over their own lives'.[31]

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[27] James D. Anderson, *The education of blacks in the South, 1860-1935* (Chapel Hill, 1988).

[28] Clara Merritt De Boer, *His truth is marching on: African Americans who taught the freedmen for the American Missionary Association* (New York, 1995), p. xiii.

[29] For an analysis of black AMA teachers, see also Judith Weisenfeld, '"Who is sufficient for these things": Sara G. Stanley and the American Missionary Association, 1864-1868' in *Church History,* vol. 60, no. 4 (1991), pp 493-507.

[30] Heather Andrea Williams, *Self-taught: African American education in slavery and freedom* (Chapel Hill, 2005), p. 5.

The second seminal study of black agency in freedpeople's education was Christopher M. Span's *From Cotton Field to Schoolhouse: African American Education in Mississippi, 1862-1875.* Published in 2009, Span's monograph documented the power struggles that ensued between black and white people over the meaning of education and who should control it. While whites regarded education as a means of maintaining social control, blacks saw schools as 'pathways to freedom'.[32] The freedpeople's objective, wrote Span, 'was to use schooling as a means to transform themselves and other formerly enslaved men and women into citizens and as a pathway to securing and maintaining freedom'.[33] Ultimately, as Span correctly deduced, black and white people rarely shared the same goals or visions of black freedom.

Until recently, a detailed analysis of the southern white teacher remained virtually absent from the historical literature. Although historians of freedpeople's education did not altogether reject the existence of southern white teachers, the extent to which they participated remained largely unrecognised and studies of black schooling continued to focus upon the work of northern whites.[34] In her study of Georgia's post-war black schools, for instance, Jacqueline Jones concluded that from a sample of over 350 teachers, at least 150 were native whites.[35] Her analysis of these teachers remained limited, however, and the bulk of her narrative centred on the work of northern white schoolmarms.

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[31] Ibid., p. 3.

[32] Christopher M. Span, *From cotton field to schoolhouse: African American education in Mississippi, 1862-1875* (Chapel Hill, 2009), p. 43.

[33] Span, *From cotton field to schoolhouse,* p. 13.

[34] See, for example, James McPherson, *The abolitionist legacy,* p. 161.

[35] Jones, *Soldiers of light and love,* p. 78.

The overrepresentation of northern white teachers in the historical literature partly stemmed from an overreliance upon sources that predominantly document the life and work of northern white teachers, such as the AMA archives, and a lack of sources pertaining to black or southern white teachers.[36] In addition, Jessica Enoch argued that northern freedmen's aid and missionary societies contributed towards the perpetuation of the 'Yankee schoolmarm' image by using their pamphlets and publications to focus 'the nation's attention on the freedpeople's teacher as a Northern, white woman'.[37] As the New England Freedmen's Aid Society (NEFAS) reported in 1864, 'Most of the teachers were women, intelligent and cultivated, who had been familiar in their Northern homes with all the refinements and elegances of the best forms of social life. Many had the assured means of independent support, and those who had to win their daily bread made pecuniary as well as social sacrifices in coming here'.[38] According to Enoch, the perpetuation of this image was intended to legitimise the work being done in the South because nineteenth-century women were perceived as ideally suited to teaching.[39]

During the twentieth century, Robert C. Morris's *Reading, 'Riting, and Reconstruction: The Education of Freedmen in the South, 1861-1870,* was the only study of freedpeople's education that offered a comprehensive analysis of the southern white teacher. In particular, Morris concluded that 'the fear of outside influence, coupled with a sincere desire to spread religion among blacks' motivated many southern whites to engage in black schooling.[40]

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[36] Butchart, *Schooling,* p. xvii.

[37] Enoch, *Refiguring rhetorical education,* p. 38. A detailed analysis of the northern freedmen's aid and missionary societies is provided in Chapter I.

[38] NEFAS, *Second annual report,* pp 21-22. See also, *American Missionary* (October 1873), p. 232.

[39] Enoch, *Refiguring rhetorical education,* p. 38.

[40] Robert C. Morris, *Reading 'riting, and Reconstruction: The education of freedmen in the South, 1861-1870* (Chicago, 1981), p. 134.

However, he also found that some teachers taught because they were Unionist while others were motivated by financial necessity. Many, he found, 'were actuated by motives more pragmatic than idealistic', namely the desire to retain a stable labour force.[41] Although Ronald Butchart equally found that many southern white teachers engaged in freedpeople's education because it offered a source of income, he disagreed that a sizeable number of teachers were Unionist. Few southern whites, he argued, 'self-identified as Unionists in their letters or reports, despite the fact that they were applying to, and often desperately appealing to, men who they would have known would be susceptible to appeals of loyalty'.[42] Although North Carolina was home to a relatively large Unionist population during the Civil War era, none of the southern white teachers examined in this study made a successful claim to the Southern Claims Commission, an organisation established to reimburse loyal southern whites for losses during the war.[43]

Building upon the work of decades of historical revision, including some of his own work, Ronald Butchart's 2010 study of freedpeople's education successfully challenged the stereotypical 'Yankee schoolmarm' image. In *Schooling the Freed People: Teaching, Learning, and the Struggle for Black Freedom, 1861-1876,* Butchart argued that three distinct groups of teachers worked in southern black schools: northern white, southern white and blacks from the North and South. In particular, Butchart highlighted the significant role that black people played in the construction of southern black schooling. 'Freed people's education was…emphatically a work performed by African Americans for their own emancipation', he wrote. ‘Whites assisted, surely, in some cases generously. But the authors were the freed people and others of their race’.[44]

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[41] Ibid., p. 136, p. 145.

[42] Butchart, *Schooling,* p. 60.

[43] On Unionism in North Carolina, see, for example, David Brown, 'North Carolinian ambivalence: Rethinking Loyalty and Disaffection in the Civil War Piedmont' in Paul D. Escott (ed.), *North Carolinians in the era of the Civil War and Reconstruction* (Chapel Hill, 2008), pp 7-36; Robert C. Carpenter, *Gaston County, North Carolina, in the Civil War* (Jefferson, NC, 2016), pp 106-127.

Interestingly, Butchart argued that most of the teachers in southern black schools between 1861 and 1876 were white people from the South.[45] Although Butchart’s study found that out of a total of approximately 11,600 teachers, just over 1,600 were white southerners, he estimated that this number was significantly greater because data from some southern states revealed that southern white teachers often outnumbered northern white and black teachers on a yearly basis. In South Carolina’s black schools between 1868 and 1869, for instance, approximately 160 southern whites were teaching the freedpeople compared to just eighty northern whites and fifty black Americans.[46] Butchart’s analysis of the Alabama state records showed similar results. Subsequent state records did not yield similar results, however, principally because many were incomplete: the Texas state records did not identify the teachers’ race or whether they taught in a black or white school, the Louisiana records only extended for two years, and North Carolina’s records covered ‘fewer than one-quarter of the counties’.[47] Thus, Butchart argued that the records of Alabama and South Carolina were ‘sufficiently robust to provide a provisional baseline of an estimate of the number of black and white teachers in 1870’.[48] ‘Conservatively’, he concluded, ‘it is likely that throughout the South more than 3,000 southern white teachers were in the black schools by 1869, rising to nearly 6,000 two years later’.[49]

Butchart’s interrogation of the northern white teachers as a distinct group of educators worked to affirm, as well as reject, some long-held assumptions. Like previous studies of freedpeople's education, Butchart found that the vast majority of northern white teachers were female.[50] He also found that, as a group, northern white teachers were well-educated, 'overwhelmingly religious' and predominantly middle-class.[51] However, unlike previous studies, Butchart found that most of the teachers came from 'the middle and western states', rather than New England.[52] In addition, he argued that most of the teachers were aged thirty or older when they first began working in a southern black school: 'They were for the most part…mature men and women with a decade or more of adult life and work behind them, in sharp contrast to the assumption frequently repeated that the northern white teachers were primarily young women'.[53] In terms of motivation, Butchart concluded that the desire to help the freedpeople rarely featured in the teachers' decisions to head south. 'For many of the teachers', he wrote, 'the work was not about the freed people; it was about themselves'.[54] Finally, Butchart completely debunked the notion that the northern white teachers were pre-war abolitionists, arguing that few of the teachers he identified were active in the antebellum abolitionist movement.[55]

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[44] Butchart, *Schooling,* p. 19.
[45] Ibid., p. 55.
[46] Ibid., p. 54.
[47] Ibid., p. 184.
[48] Ibid., p. 185. See Appendix B in *Schooling* for additional information on how Butchart estimated the number of southern white teachers between 1869 and 1876, pp 184-188.
[49] Ibid., pp 54-55.

Although Butchart's interrogation of the teachers' profile did not always stray too far from those of earlier studies, he found that a significant number of the northern white teachers were male or from lower-class families.[56] 'For every teacher from a wealthy family', he wrote, 'another was from apparently genteel poverty'.[57] These teachers should not be excluded from the narrative of Reconstruction-era black education because such an omission has contributed towards an incomplete and inadequate image of the freedpeople's teacher. As a ground-breaking work of historical revision, Butchart's seminal study of southern black schooling has paved the way for fresh analyses and reinterpretations, particularly at state level.

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[50] Ibid., pp 79-80.
[51] Ibid., p. 81, p. 85, p. 84.
[52] Ibid., p. 70
[53] Ibid., p. 84.
[54] Ibid., p. 108.
[55] Ibid., p. 108.
[56] Ibid., p. 89, p. 85.
[57] Ibid., p. 85.

The aims and scope of this study

Using North Carolina as a case study, this dissertation aims to reconstruct the accepted image of the freedpeople's teacher. In particular, it addresses three central research questions: who taught the freedpeople in North Carolina? Why did they elect to teach the former slaves? What was the curriculum used in the state's black schools? Chapters I, II, and III examine the life and work of northern white, southern white, and black teachers respectively. In an effort to answer the first two questions, each of these chapters are divided into distinct sections that document the dominant attributes of a particular teaching group, such as age, home, and gender, an examination of the pre- or post-war socioeconomic conditions which may have influenced the teachers' decisions to engage in southern black schooling, and an analysis of the reasons why these men and women chose to teach the freedpeople.

Due to the conflicting interpretations of teacher motivation across traditional, revisionist**,** and post-revisionist scholarship, an analysis of the teachers' motives looms large in Chapters I, II, and III. Ultimately, Chapter I finds that a belief in black inferiority drove many white northerners into black classrooms while Chapter II argues that a combination of financial necessity and the desire to maintain social control inspired some white southerners to engage in freedpeople's education. Chapter III, on the other hand, finds that black teachers were moved by a desire to uplift the formerly enslaved members of their race. These were the dominant motivations across each group of teachers. However, while recognising that many teachers shared similar motives, this dissertation aims to avoid overgeneralising the reasons why some men and women engaged in black education by exploring the dominant motivations among the majority of teachers as well as the individual, and often unique, reasons some teachers gave for choosing to assume the role of freedpeople's teacher.

In terms of motivation, it is important to point out that regardless of their backgrounds, pre-war experiences or racial, gender or regional identities, the reasons why some teachers chose to engage in black education were ultimately as unique as the teachers themselves. While this may be taken for granted when we consider the work of white teachers, there has been a tendency, as Brian Kelly observed, to 'treat the black experience in the post-Reconstruction South as if it were monolithic'.[58] Indeed, in his study of post-Civil War black education, Ronald Butchart attributed the work of black teachers to 'racial solidarity and racial uplift and elevation'.[59] Surely black men and women were more complex than this. Although, as argued in Chapter III, racial solidarity inspired many black teachers to engage in freedpeople's education, conflicts often emerged within the black community regarding who should teach the freedpeople and who should control southern black schools. Not surprisingly, these tensions often erupted between the landless former slaves and their free black counterparts from the North, be they male or female. Thus, while this dissertation is primarily a study of race, it also deals with issues of class and gender within a broader racial context and by highlighting the diverging reasons that some black teachers gave for seeking work in a black school, this dissertation challenges the assumption that black racial solidarity was pervasive in the post-war South.

The fourth and final chapter of this dissertation examines the curriculum that was used in North Carolina's black schools. This was principally achieved by analysing the textbooks that were used throughout the state. Some of these textbooks were specifically created for the freedpeople in the aftermath of the Civil War while others were the same as those that were typically used in antebellum northern common schools and subsequently donated South. Although textbook analyses tell us little about what was actually taught or learned in schools, they provide important insights into the ideas, beliefs, and values of the culture and historical period of which they were written.[60] Ultimately, this chapter argues that both sets of textbooks portrayed black people as racially inferior to whites, principally in an effort to maintain white supremacy. Such a portrayal suggests that nineteenth-century white Americans subscribed to the notion that mankind was naturally divided into distinct racial groups and, more significantly, that the white race was inherently superior. It also suggests that the powerful white Americans of this period were committed to perpetuating the racial subordination of black people, both before and after the Civil War period.

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[58] Brian Kelly, 'No way through: Race leadership and black workers at the nadir' in *Labor: Studies in the Working-Class History of the Americas,* vol. 7, no. 3 (2010), pp 79-93, quotation p. 79.

[59] Butchart, *Schooling,* p. 43.

This dissertation uses North Carolina as a case study for two reasons. In the first instance, nineteenth-century North Carolina was home to an incredibly diverse white population. By 1860, less than one-third of North Carolina’s white population owned slaves. The vast majority of these men and women were situated along the eastern region of the state which, due to the abundance of fertile land, developed a plantation-based society similar to that of the Deep South. Western North Carolina, on the other hand, was dominated by non-slaveholding yeomen farmers, many of whom were northern immigrants of German or Scotch-Irish descent.[61] Due to the rural nature and rugged terrain of this particular region, settlements were widely dispersed, often hours apart, and many immigrant communities retained their native languages, cultures, customs, and religious beliefs. In addition, central North Carolina was home to a relatively large Quaker population, a group which was manifestly opposed to racial slavery and actively committed to black education.[62]

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[60] Eugene F. Provenzo, Annis N. Shaver and Manuel Bello (eds.), introduction to *The textbook as discourse* (New York, 2011), p. 3.

[61] Auman, *Civil War,* p. 9.

[62] According to Butchart, ‘Southern Quakerism was limited primarily to central North Carolina and parts of southern Virginia by the 1860s, having been largely driven out of the South over the previous century because of the Quaker witness against slavery’. During and after the Civil War, many North Carolina Quakers relocated to

Formally known as the Religious Society of Friends, Quakers first settled in the Albemarle region of Northeastern North Carolina during the late-seventeenth century. According to William T. Auman and J. Timothy Allen, an increased number of Quaker immigrants, mostly from Pennsylvania, fled to North Carolina during the mid-eighteenth century in search of cheaper land and to escape religious persecution, political strife, and rising tension with Native Americans.[63] The vast majority of these Quakers settled in the central piedmont region, an area that is commonly known as the 'Quaker Belt' (see Map 1). Comprising fifteen counties, namely, Randolph, Chatham, Moore, Davidson, Guildford, Forsyth, Yadkin, Davie, Surry, Wilkes, Montgomery, Orange, Alamance, Stokes, and Iredell, North Carolina's Quaker Belt was a centre of antislavery activism during the antebellum era.[64] Each of these factors ultimately rendered North Carolina an interesting state in which to study freedpeople's education and this dissertation aims to investigate if and how the existence of Quaker and culturally diverse communities helped to shape the contours of black education in North Carolina.

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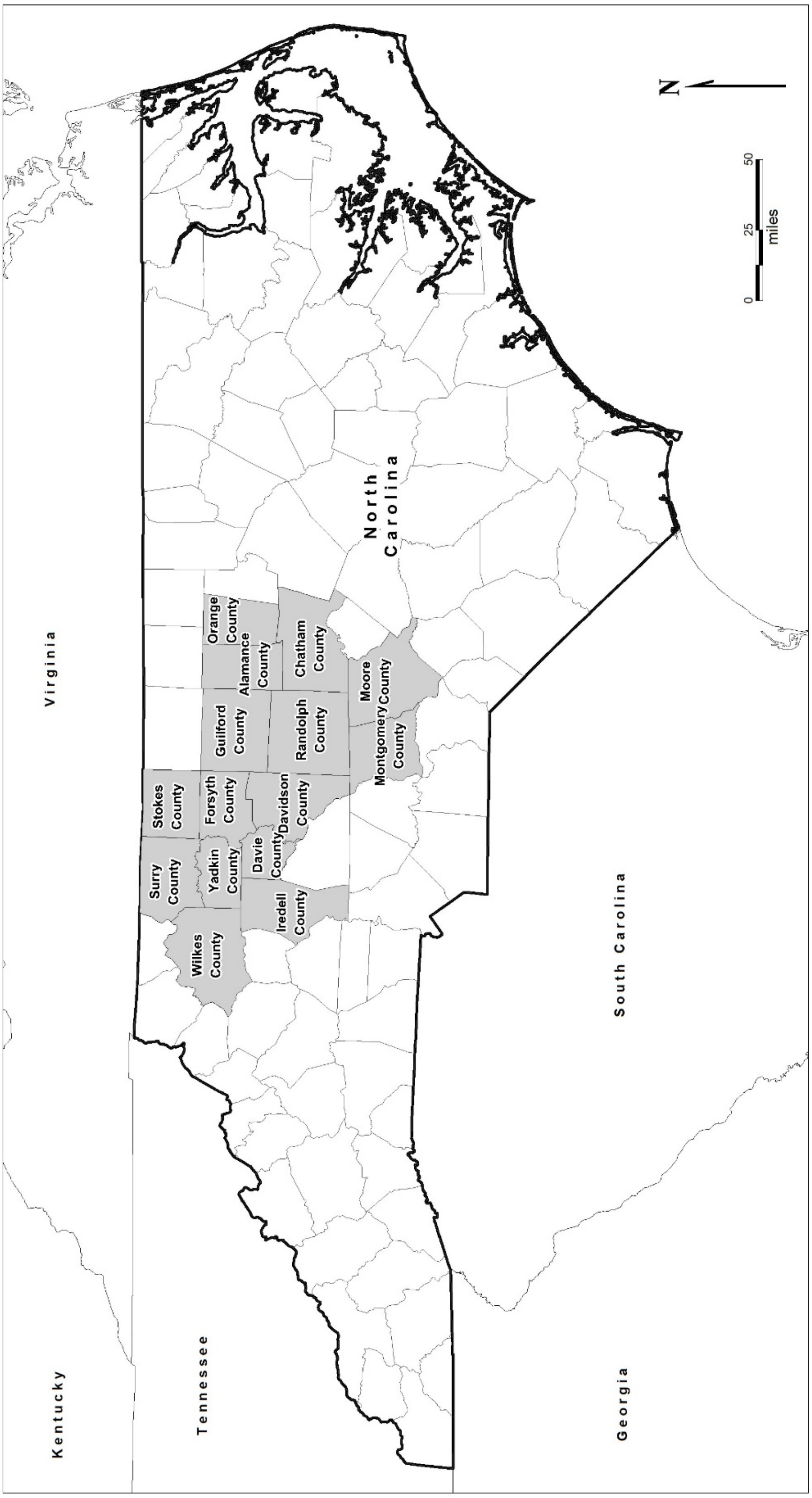
the free states of Indiana and Ohio, primarily because their antislavery position and refusal to participate in the war had, in the words of Damon D. Hickey, 'made the position of those who remained in the south increasingly difficult'. See Butchart, *Schooling,* p. 63; Damon D. Hickey, 'Pioneers of the new South: The Baltimore Association and North Carolina Friends in Reconstruction' in *Quaker History,* vol. 74, no. 1 (1985), pp 1-17, quotation p. 1. For more information on Quaker teachers see Scot Beck, 'Friends, freedmen, common schools, and Reconstruction' in *The Southern Friend, Journal of Quaker History,* vol. 17, no. 1 (1995), pp 5-31.

[63] William T. Auman, *Civil War in the North Carolina Quaker Belt: The Confederate campaign against peace agitators, deserters, and draft dodgers* (Jefferson, NC, 2014), p. 9; J. Timothy Allen, *North Carolina Quakers: Spring Friends Meeting* (Charleston, SC, 2011), p. 9.

[64] Auman, *Civil War,* p. 13.

North Carolina 'Quaker Belt'


Virginia
Kentucky
Tennessee
North Carolina
South Carolina
Georgia
Orange County
Alamance County
Chatham County
Moore County
Guilford County
Randolph County
Montgomery County
Stokes County
Forsyth County
Davidson County
Davie County
Surry County
Yadkin County
Iredell County
Wilkes County
0
25
50
miles
N

Map 1: North Carolina 'Quaker Belt'

Secondly, North Carolina's history of post-Civil War black education is in need of revision. Indeed, there is no fully comprehensive study of black education in North Carolina during the Civil War and Reconstruction period. Although Hugh Victor Brown's 1961 publication, *A History of the Education of Negroes in North Carolina,* is an important contribution to the study of black education, it is predominantly focused upon chronicling the work of black educators over a time period of more than a century.[65] Thus, while this monograph successfully illustrates the role of black agency, it fails to illuminate the significant contributions that white teachers from the North and South made to freedpeople's education.

Other notable contributions to the history of freedpeople's education in North Carolina include Judkin Browning's study of northern teachers in the Carteret-Craven region of eastern North Carolina and Michael Goldhaber's analysis of the successes and failures of the Freedmen's Bureau, namely North Carolina's two successive superintendents of education, F. A. Fiske and H. C. Vogell.[66] While both of these studies are worthy of merit, they are ultimately focused upon telling the story of freedpeople's education from the northern perspective. Similarly, while Patricia C. Click's examination of the Roanoke Island freedmen's colony sheds light on the work of northern teachers, missionaries, and federal officers, it is geographically limited and does not interrogate the work of black or southern white educators.[67]

Roberta Alexander's analysis of Reconstruction North Carolina provides a useful counterbalance to each of the above studies. Although Alexander's monograph is primarily a study of post-war race relations, it documents the various ways in which white North Carolinians responded to freedpeople's education.[68] Equally important to the study of freedpeople's education in North Carolina is Maxine D. Jones' analyses of black teachers who worked for the AMA. Although Jones' work is focused upon a specific subset of teachers, it offers important insights into the lives and work of these otherwise understudied teachers.[69]

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[65] Hugh Victor Brown, *A history of the education of negroes in North Carolina* (Raleigh, 1961).

[66] Browning, 'Bringing light to our land'; Michael Goldhaber, 'A mission unfulfilled: Freedpeople's education in North Carolina, 1865-1870' in *The Journal of Negro History,* vol. 77, no. 4 (1992), pp 199-210.

[67] Patricia C. Click, *A time full of trial: The Roanoke Island freedmen's colony* (Chapel Hill, 2001).

[68] Alexander, *North Carolina faces the freedmen.*

Used collectively, each of the above studies offer valuable insights into the growth and development of freedpeople's education in North Carolina. Building upon this work, this dissertation uses North Carolina as a case study to revise prevailing interpretations of southern black schooling, particularly in relation to the image and understanding of the freedpeople's teacher. By illuminating the significant and mutually reinforcing roles that northern white, southern white, and black teachers played in North Carolina during the Civil War and Reconstruction era, this dissertation challenges the assumption that most of the teachers in southern black schools were northern white schoolmarms. Although this dissertation is a case study of North Carolina, it reflects broader trends in the construction of freedpeople's education throughout the Reconstruction South. Thus, while this dissertation makes an important contribution to the study of North Carolina's history, it makes an equally important contribution to the study of freedpeople's education, in particular, and Reconstruction history more generally.

Methodology

In an effort to reconstruct the accepted image of the freedpeople's teacher, this dissertation analysed a wide range of traditional archival sources, including the records of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, more commonly known as the Freedmen's Bureau, nineteenth-century newspapers and periodicals, census records, slave narratives, college catalogues, and the letters, memoirs, and diaries of the teachers themselves. The archives of the northern freedmen's aid and missionary societies were a particularly useful source for this study. As discussed in Chapter I, some of these societies were secular while others were religious and most, but not all, were established at the onset of the Civil War to aid the freedpeople's transition from slavery to freedom. Although these aid and missionary societies provided many useful tasks, such as collecting and dispatching donations of aid to the South, one of their most important roles lay in the provision of education. From as early as 1862, organisations such as the AMA, the NEFAS, and the Friends' Freedmen's Association established schools in North Carolina and hired teachers to work in them.

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[69] Maxine D. Jones, 'The American Missionary Association and the Beaufort, North Carolina, school controversy, 1866-67' in *Phylon, The Atlanta University Review of Race and Culture,* vol. 48, no. 2 (1987), pp 103-111; Maxine D. Jones, 'They are my people: Black American Missionary Association teachers in North Carolina during the Civil War and Reconstruction' in *The Negro Educational Review,* vol. 36, no. 2 (1985) pp 78-89.

Different sources were useful for telling the stories of different groups of teachers. The records of the aid and missionary societies, for instance, were replete with letters to and from northern white teachers stationed in North Carolina. Some of these letters were transcribed and published online while others were printed in the aid societies' monthly publications, the vast majority of which are available in digital format.[70] The journals that were examined for this study include the *American Missionary, The American Freedman, The National Freedman,* and *The Freedmen's Record,* published by the AMA, the American Freedmen's Union Commission (AFUC), the National Freedman's Relief Association (NFRA), and the NEFAS respectively.

Although the teachers' published letters constituted an important archival source, it is important to point out that they were carefully analysed and often heavily edited before being published. This was done, as both Jessica Enoch and Jacqueline Jones have argued, to ensure readers that their financial contributions were being put to good use.[71] These letters also served to raise funds in the North. As the NEFAS admitted in 1864, public meetings and published letters were intended to create and increase ‘an interest in the welfare of the Freedmen, and of procuring contributions’.[72] This explains why the teachers of the freedpeople often pleaded with their readers for financial aid and donations. As Sarah P. Freeman wrote in 1864, ‘Oh that some philanthropist from the North would come down and survey this field, and our wants, that I should not be obliged to write them. Will not some of the benevolent North help us?’.[73]

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[70] In 2001, Patricia Click transcribed and published online a selection of letters from the Roanoke Island missionary teachers. See Click, The Roanoke Island Freedmen Colony, (http://roanokefreedmenscolony.com/history.html) (21 October 2015). In 2006, Lucia Z. Knowles, in conjunction with the American Antiquarian Society, transcribed and published online a series of documents relating to freedpeople throughout the American South and their northern teachers. See Knowles, Northern Visions of Race, Region, and Reform in the Press and Letters of Freedmen and Freedmen's Teachers in the Civil War era, (http://www.americanantiquarian.org/Freedmen/) (20 May 2015).

[71] Enoch, *Refiguring rhetorical education,* p. 40; Jones, *Soldiers of light and love*, p. 99

Unlike their northern white counterparts, few black or southern white teachers were employed by an aid or missionary society. Instead, most of these teachers worked in independent schools that were supported by private tuition fees, aid from the Freedmen’s Bureau, or a combination of both. Thus, unlike many of the northern white teachers who regularly corresponded with their sponsoring organisations, there are very few records of black or southern white teachers in the aid and missionary association archives. Moreover, few black or southern white teachers left any record of their work in a southern black school. This was partly because most of the black teachers during the early days of freedom were semi-literate, at best, but also because, as Butchart intimated, southern white teachers were ashamed of their work. ‘Having been a teacher in a black school appears not to have been a point of pride among these teachers, in contrast to their black and northern white peers’, he wrote. ‘Thus they wrote no memoirs or retrospectives of their work. Many never reported their schools to the Freedmen’s Bureau or to the aid and missionary associations’.[74]

Due to their marginal position within the historical literature, many historians of freedpeople’s education were compelled to ask, ‘Where are the black people?’.[75] In an effort to explain how she answered this question, Heather Williams wrote, ‘I relied on a vast number of sources to tell this history of freedpeople's role in educating themselves. I returned, in the first place, to the same missionary archives that other historians have used, and I learned to read between the lines, to pull out people that are mentioned only in passing'.[76] In an effort to tell the history of black teachers in North Carolina's schools for the freedpeople, this dissertation followed Williams' process of data collection. Thus, this dissertation analysed many of the same sources that were used to tell the story of northern white teachers, including the Freedmen's Bureau records and the aid and missionary association archives. However, I placed particular emphasis on finding the voices of black people. Although this was not a difficult task when analysing the letters and diaries of black teachers, the records of the Freedmen's Bureau and the aid and missionary society archives are dominated by white voices. Accordingly, by pulling out the 'people that are mentioned only in passing', and by cross-referencing their names with other sources, such as census records or slave narratives, I was able to develop the unfolding story of black teachers in North Carolina's schools for the freedpeople.

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[72] NEFAS, *Second annual report,* p. 6.

[73] Sarah P. Freeman to C. C. Leigh, 29 September 1864, Roanoke Island Freedmen’s Colony, (http://roanokefreedmenscolony.com/let5.pdf) (09 October 2015).

[74] Butchart, *Schooling,* p. 58. A. J. McIntire is a case in point. After serving as an orderly in the Confederate Army, McIntire taught the freedpeople in Sampson County, North Carolina. However, an analysis of his diaries reveals that McIntire did not discuss his school activities or students at any great length, suggesting that he was not committed to teaching the freedpeople and possibly ashamed of this work. See A. J. McIntire Diaries, 1864, 1867-1868, Southern Historical Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

[75] Williams, *Self-taught,* p. 1.

Slave narratives were a particularly important source for telling the story of black teachers because many former slaves discussed, to some degree, the role of education in slave society. According to Norman R. Yetman, the majority of slave narratives appeared before the Civil War. Many of these were published and can be found as hard copies or digitally through sites such as Documenting the American South.[77] Between 1936 and 1938 the Federal Writers' Project of the Works' Project Administration (WPA) collected over 2,300 first-person accounts of slavery. Accounting for one-third of the entire range of slave narratives, these autobiographical accounts of former slaves are available through the Library of Congress' online collection known as 'Born in Slavery'.[78]

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[76] Ibid.

[77] Norman R. Yetman, 'An introduction to the WPA slave narratives', Library of Congress, (http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/snhtml/snintro00.html) (06 October 2015).

[78] Ibid.

Although the WPA slave narratives are a valuable source for any study of black history, they can be problematic for the simple reason that seventy-one years had passed since the end of the Civil War in 1865 to the start of the project in 1936. This meant that not only were the former slaves reflecting upon a period of their life that had occurred decades earlier, but many had experienced life in slavery as children rather than as adults. Unsurprisingly, enslaved children often had very different experiences of slavery than enslaved adults. Indeed, many of the former slaves interviewed for this project presented an idealised image of slavery. Several black men and women reported that they spent their days playing with black and white children, some expressed love and devotion for their masters and mistresses, and few reported being punished or whipped. As ex-slave Robert Hinton observed, 'No sir, dey did not whup me. I wus mighty young. Dey didn't work chillun much. I have seen 'em whup de grown ones do'. I never saw a slave sold and never saw any in chains'.[79] Hinton was five years old when the Civil War began in 1861.[80] Thus, some of the information presented in the WPA narratives is either untrue or exaggerated. On one occasion, for instance, ex-slave Penny Williams reported that her owner, Lawrence Hinton, had about two hundred slaves on his plantation.[81] However, an analysis of the slave schedules demonstrates that in 1860 Hinton owned just thirty-two slaves.[82]

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[79] Robert Hinton, 'Born in slavery: Slave narratives from the Federal Writers' Project, 1936-1938', North Carolina narratives, vol. 11, part 1, Library of Congress, (http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage?collId=mesn&fileName=111/mesn111.db&recNum=442&itemLink=D?mesnbib:1:./temp/~ammem_LXxb::) (06 October 2015), hereafter cited as 'Born in slavery'. It is also worth considering that some ex-slaves spoke favourably about their former masters in particular and white people more generally for fear of reprisal. For a critical analysis of the use of slave narratives, see, for example, Paul D. Escott, *Slavery remembered: A record of twentieth-century slave narratives* (Chapel Hill, 1979), pp 3-17.

[80] Ibid. As is demonstrated by Hinton's transcript, many interviewers attempted to transcribe the narratives in the vernacular. Although this may have reflected the dialect of some speakers, it did not reflect the dialect of all. Thus, the narratives are often considered to be racist or, at the very least, a reflection of some of the misconceptions or biases that white people held about blacks during the early twentieth century.

[81] Penny Williams, 'Born in slavery', (http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage?collId=mesn&fileName=112/mesn112.db&recNum=405&itemLink=D?mesnbib:1:./temp/~ammem_DReE::) (06 October 2015).

[82] 1860 U.S. federal census, slave schedule, Laurens Hinton, Wake County, North Carolina, Ancestry, (www.ancestry.com) (06 October 2015). Although the WPA interviewer recorded Hinton's name as 'Lawrence', the correct spelling is 'Laurens'. His papers, 1825-1896, can be found in the Southern Historical Collection, Wilson Library, The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, hereafter cited as Laurens Hinton papers. A confirmation of the number of slaves owned by Hinton can be found in the memoirs of Hinton's wife. See Jane Constance Miller Hinton, 'The reminiscences of the key basket of a southern matron', 1890, 1895, and undated, Laurens Hinton papers.

In an effort to tell the story of southern white teachers, this dissertation followed a similar process of data collection. Nineteenth-century southern newspapers were particularly useful for identifying white North Carolinians' attitudes towards freedpeople's education. Some of the papers examined include the *North Carolina Standard, The North Carolinian, The Fayetteville News,* and *The North Carolina Presbyterian.* While some of these newspapers were affiliated with the Republican Party, others were more staunchly Democratic. Williams Woods Holden, for instance, North Carolina's twice-governor and leader of the Republican Party, was editor of the *North Carolina Standard.* Thus, this particular paper espoused Republican ideals and values.

The North Carolinian, on the other hand, aligned itself with the Democratic Party. Describing itself as 'A Daily Democratic, White Man's Newspaper', this periodical was profoundly racist and the editors opposed any effort to educate and elevate the freedpeople. Frequently employing racist rhetoric to describe black people, the editors of this particular newspaper mocked the former slaves by transcribing all black speech, regardless of the person, in the supposed vernacular. Reporting on the state's constitutional convention in 1868, for example, the editors wrote that Cuffee Mayo, a black delegate whom they described as 'de poor ole nigger from Granville, Who has no hair on de top of his head, De place whar de wool ought to grow', 'said the white man from Cleebelan was rite as to de fac dat de Impublicans on dis floare wanted to mix de kullers in skules [*sic*]'.[83] Thus, an analysis of both sets of newspapers provides some valuable insights into the racial ideologies of North Carolina's white population.

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[83] *The North Carolinian,* 7 March 1868.

The Freedmen's Teacher Project

Ronald Butchart's database, the Freedmen's Teacher Project (FTP), formed an integral part of this dissertation.[84] Used to construct the teachers' biographical profile, the North Carolina section of this large-scale database identifies 1,419 teachers who taught the freedpeople in North Carolina between 1861 and 1875. Although complete data is not available for every teacher, the database can identify their full name, gender, race, birth year, family relationships, religion, parents' occupation, the teacher's occupation before and after teaching in the black schools, changes in marital status, educational level attained, institution they attended, years they taught, with location of each year, and home. For southern white teachers, the database may also indicate if they or their parents had been slaveholders, were immigrants or were of northern extraction. A supplemental database, known as the wealth database, provides information relating to the teachers' relative economic status in 1860 and 1870. However, this database only provides information on the black and white teachers who were natives of North Carolina and partial information is provided for just 190 of the 751 teachers listed in the database.

Unfortunately, the FTP only occasionally revealed if a teacher was born in slavery. Although Butchart speculated that most of the southern black teachers were probably former slaves rather than free-born, he admitted that there was no way of confirming this. 'It is often not possible to establish the slave or free status of African Americans', he explained. 'If they appear in the decennial census, they were most likely free. However, many free blacks avoided census takers, and census takers may have not bothered to enumerate free blacks'.[85] While slave schedules can also be an extremely valuable source, they do not identify the slaves by name.

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[84] Ronald E. Butchart, The Freedmen's Teacher Project (2013), used with permission, hereafter cited as the FTP.

[85] Butchart, *Schooling,* p. 201.

Although the FTP was primarily used to construct the teachers' biographical profile, it was also useful for clarifying and redressing many of the misconceptions held about the freedpeople's teachers. The idea that northern white teachers were committed to black educational advancement, for instance, was undoubtedly affirmed by the words of Frances E. Bonnell who, in 1865, expressed her delight at teaching the freedpeople. 'I think I could work among these people all my life', she admitted to her sponsoring organisation.[86] However, an analysis of the FTP reveals that Bonnell did not continue teaching in New Bern, North Carolina, beyond 1865, suggesting that she may have been less committed to black education than her correspondence suggests.[87]

Similarly, in her study of the Roanoke Island freedmen's colony, Patricia Click suggested that Sarah Freeman was seventy years old when she first began teaching the freedpeople while her daughter Kate was between forty-five and fifty.[88] Although the FTP does not identify either Sarah or Kate's year of birth, Click's estimation was based on the words of a visitor who, in 1867, described meeting a mother-daughter team in North Carolina. Because Click believed that Sarah and Kate was the only mother-daughter team in the state, she considered it likely that the author was referring to them. However, the FTP reveals that there was another mother-daughter team in North Carolina during the Reconstruction period. From 1866 to 1873, Ann C. Hall laboured in a black school in Fayetteville, North Carolina, while her daughter Mary C. Hall worked in the same location between 1867 and 1873. Both were native whites and the database reveals that in 1867, Ann was sixty-two years old while Mary was thirty-nine. As both Sarah and Kate had left the state by 1867, it is likely that the writer was actually referring to them.[89]

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[86] Frances E. Bonnell in *The Freedmen's Record* (June 1865), p. 96
[87] Butchart, The FTP.
[88] Click, *A time full of trial,* p. 86.
[89] Butchart, The FTP.

Finally, the FTP could also be used to provide some initial clues to the teachers' motivations. The length of time an individual spent in a black school, for example, was often indicative of their commitment to black education, particularly when this information was used alongside data from other archival sources. The teachers' religion, education, sponsoring organisation, and previous occupation could also be used to interpret their attitudes towards and expectations of black freedom. As discussed earlier, Quakers had a long history of engagement in black education and the pre-war abolitionist movement so it is likely that most of the Quaker teachers were motivated by a genuine commitment to black educational advancement rather than pecuniary or other interests.

Although the FTP was a valuable source, it is important to remember that each of the teachers included in the database are there because there was some record, however partial, of their work in a black school. This is particularly important when we consider the work of southern white teachers. As discussed earlier, Butchart estimated that 'far more southern white teachers worked in black schools than can currently be fully identified for inclusion' in the database.[90] In 1867, for instance, William R. Ashworth, an ex-Confederate soldier from Randolph County, North Carolina, applied for work in a black school.[91] Although we do not know whether Ashworth was given a position or not, various archival records show that he worked as a teacher until his death in 1927. Unfortunately, these records do not stipulate whether Ashworth worked in a white or black school. In Randolph County's 1894 business directory, for example, Ashworth is listed as a teacher in Asheboro. However, the race of the school is not identified and Ashworth is not included in the FTP.[92]

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[90] Butchart, *Schooling,* p. 55.

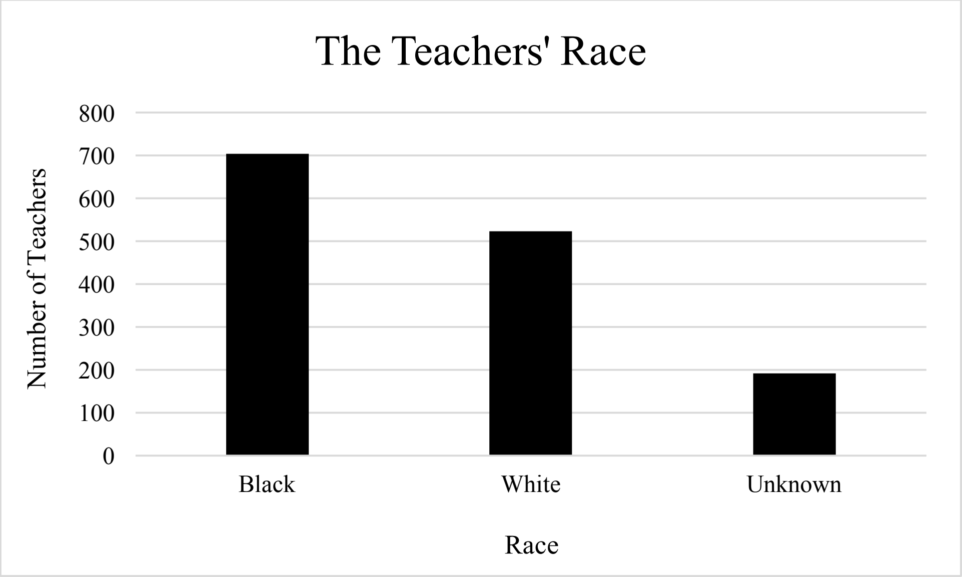
[91] William R. Ashworth to Nathan Hill, 13 August 1867, Nathan Hill papers, David M. Rubenstein Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Duke University, Durham.

[92] *North Carolina death certificates, 1909-1976,* (www.ancestry.com) (10 November 2015); Levi Branson (ed.), *Randolph County Business Directory* (Raleigh, 1894), p. 89, Internet Archive, (https://archive.org/stream/randolphcountybu00bran#page/n11/mode/2up) (10 November 2015).

The freedpeople's teacher in North Carolina

Based upon an analysis of the FTP, it is clear that northern white women did not dominate North Carolina's schools for the freedpeople during the Civil War and Reconstruction period. On the contrary, most of the teachers were black, 705 to be exact. 523 teachers were white and the race of 191 is unknown (see Table 1). In addition, men and women taught in almost equal numbers. Between 1861 and 1875, 720 men taught the freedpeople compared to 666 women; the gender for thirty-three teachers is unknown. Admittedly, there were variations in gender participation across regional and racial lines. For instance, northern white women taught more frequently than northern white men while northern black men and women taught in almost equal numbers.[93] These gender variations are discussed more thoroughly in Chapters I, II and III.

Table 1: The teachers of the freedpeople by race, 1861-1875



Source: The Freedmen's Teacher Project

The home is known for each of the 1,419 teachers. Although the home state has not been identified for fifty teachers, the database has established whether they came from the North or the South. Contrary to previous historical interpretations, most of the teachers did not come from New England. In fact, numbering 868, most of the teachers came from a southern or slaveholding state, including the border states of Delaware and Maryland as well as the slaveholding District of Columbia. Tellingly, 812 of these teachers came from North Carolina. Almost forty percent of the teachers, 534 to be exact, came from the North while seventeen others came from countries outside of the U.S., including the Bahamas, Canada, England, Ireland and the West Indies (see Table 2).[94]

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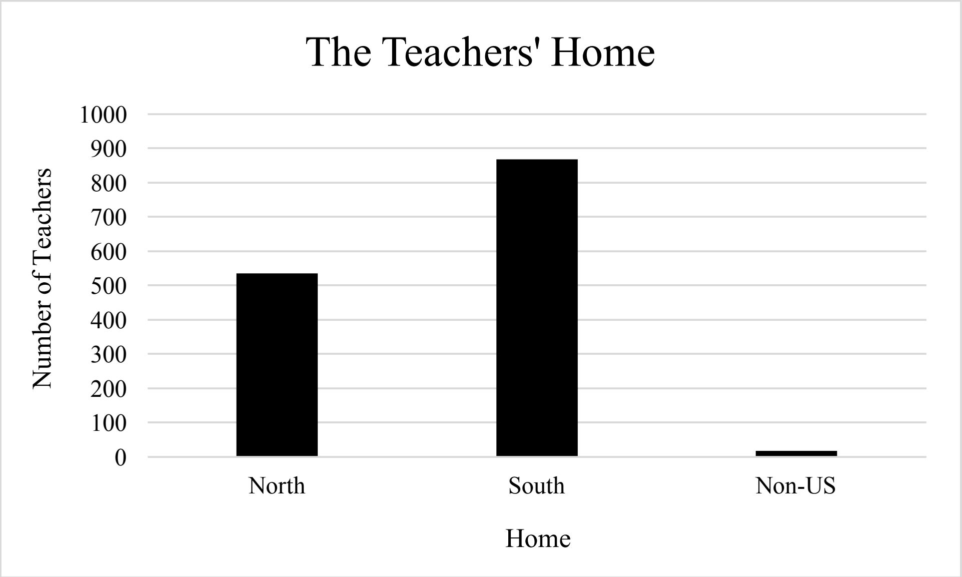
[93] Butchart, The FTP.

Table 2: The teachers of the freedpeople by home, 1861-1875



Source: The Freedmen's Teacher Project

Based upon an analysis of the teachers' home and race, the FTP reveals that 371 teachers were northern whites, 143 were southern whites, and nine white teachers came from countries outside of the U.S. 613 teachers were black southerners, eighty-five were black northerners, and seven black teachers came from non-U.S. countries. The race has not been established for 191 teachers so it has not been possible to categorise these men and women. However, if and when the information becomes available, it will be added to the database.[95] Admittedly, 210 of the 371 northern white teachers came from the New England states of Connecticut, Massachusetts, Maine, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Vermont so the 'Yankee schoolmarm' epithet is not entirely unfounded.

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[94] Mary Kildare from Newry, Co. Down, was the only teacher who came from Ireland. Kildare was a committed missionary worker and after teaching the freedpeople for a total of eight years, she commenced working as a missionary in the Congo. Although Kildare's life and work is not fully examined in this dissertation, it is an avenue for future research.

[95] Butchart, The FTP.

In her analysis of Georgia's post-war black schools, Jacqueline Jones claimed that most of the teachers 'were young, well-educated, unmarried women from middle-class northern homes'.[96] Although, as argued in Chapter I, this description serves the northern white teaching cohort, it cannot be applied to the entire group of teachers who worked in North Carolina's schools for the freedpeople. Not surprisingly, few of the black teachers, particularly the southern black teachers, could claim any wealth during the early days of freedom and many were as destitute as their students. Likewise, as demonstrated in Chapter II, while many southern planters supported black education, largely as a means of maintaining social control, those who taught the freedpeople rarely came from this class. Many, in fact, having been famers of limited means before the Civil War, were ultimately driven by financial necessity to seek work in a southern black school. Ultimately, determining the teachers' social status required analysing their educational background, occupation, and parents' occupation, as well as any other information that was available through traditional archival sources.

Finally, an analysis of the FTP repudiated the oft-cited claim that the teachers of the freedpeople were, as Jones argued, 'neoabolitionists' bent on extending and securing the boundaries of black freedom.[97] Only twenty-three teachers have been positively identified as pre-war abolitionists while there is evidence to suggest that ten other white teachers may have been active in antebellum abolitionism. All black teachers, however, are included in the FTP as showing evidence of abolitionism.[98]

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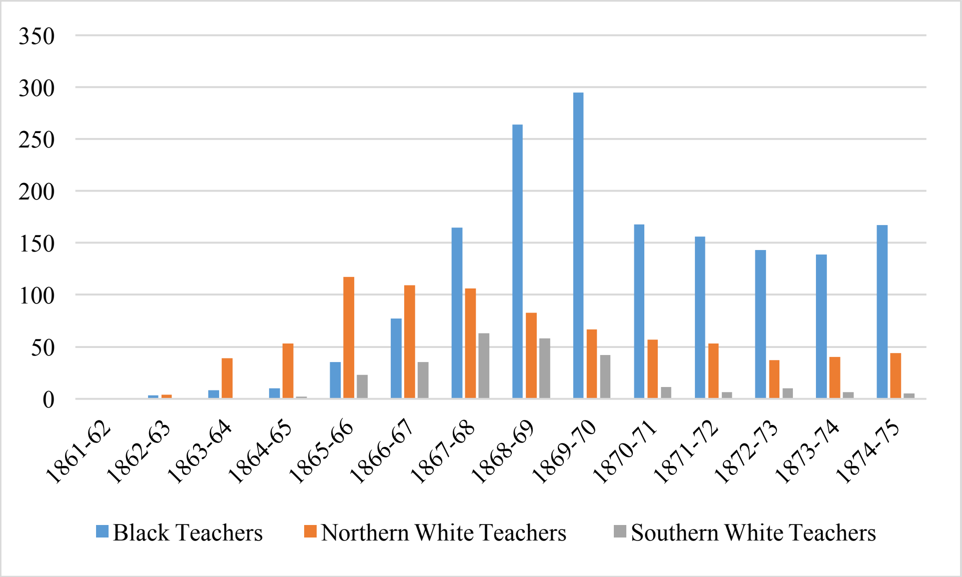
[96] Jones, *Soldiers of light and love,* p. 5.

[97] Ibid., p. 3.

[98] Butchart, The FTP.

Ultimately, an analysis of the FTP illustrates that northern white women did not dominate North Carolina's black schools during the Civil War and Reconstruction period. On the contrary, the main protagonists in the history of freedpeople's education were the black men and women who engaged in freedpeople's education to elevate their race. Indeed, used in conjunction with traditional archival sources, the FTP demonstrates that black teachers were the driving force behind the growth and development of southern black schools beyond the immediate wartime period. Although black educators began teaching later than their northern white counterparts, and in fewer numbers (most likely because of the low levels of literacy among southern blacks), the number of black teachers increased throughout the Reconstruction period while the number of white teachers declined (see Table 3). Thus, while black agency has long been recognised during the early stages of southern black schooling, by documenting the numerous ways in which the black community organised to ensure greater access to education, this dissertation argues that black mobilisation was instrumental to the growth and development of freedpeople's education beyond the early days of freedom.

Table 3: Participation rates of teachers by race and home, 1861-1875



Source: The Freedmen's Teacher Project

CHAPTER I

‘Women who Dared’? Reconstructing the Dominant Narrative of Northern White Teachers in North Carolina’s Black Schools, 1861-1875

‘The educating and elevating of this people must go forward or they will become a curse to the nation and, in their freedom a curse rather than a blessing to themselves’, Sarah P. Freeman, 1866

Introduction

Between 1861 and 1875, 371 northern white men and women, approximately thirty per cent of the entire teaching cohort, worked in North Carolina’s schools for the freedpeople. Susan A. Hosmer, Antoinette L. Etheridge, Mary Ann Burnap, and George N. Greene were the pioneer teachers in the state. Together, they taught for a combined total of twenty-eight years across seven different southern states. Hosmer, a single twenty-eight-year-old woman from Ashby, Massachusetts, taught for twelve consecutive years in New Bern, North Carolina, and Augusta, Georgia, before finally returning home in 1874. Etheridge, a thirty-year-old native of Montrose, Pennsylvania, taught the freedpeople intermittently for a total of ten years and served as the principal of a black teacher training institute in Charleston, South Carolina. Burnap, a native of Roxbury, Massachusetts, and Greene, a Yale-educated minister, both spent three years teaching formerly enslaved men and women along North Carolina’s eastern seaboard. Each of these teachers were employed, either fully or in part, by the American Missionary Association

(AMA) and all began their southern teaching careers in the coastal towns of New Bern and Beaufort shortly after the Union Army gained control of the region in 1862.[1]

Interestingly, not one of these teachers was active in the pre-war abolitionist movement. What then, in the midst of a bloody civil war, drove these men and women to leave their homes in the North to teach in a southern black school? Burnap, it would appear, was motivated by a profound sense of religious mission and, ignoring the fact that many enslaved people had converted to Christianity during slavery, actively attempted to proselytise the freedpeople. 'I shall not be satisfied so long as there is *one* that has not a song of praise in the mouth for my Saviour', she wrote in 1865.[2] Etheridge, on the other hand, was motivated by a sense of racial paternalism, as evinced by her reluctance to teach southern blacks who had been free before the war. 'The people are self-sustaining, have never been slaves', she complained of her new appointment in Clubfoot Creek, North Carolina. 'This takes a little from the interest. I mean we can not feel the tender sympathy that we would have were they recently bondsmen'.[3] Although Greene's reasons for seeking work in the South are as yet unclear, he was not well regarded in North Carolina and frequently faced criticism for being lazy and incompetent.[4] Clearly, then, northern white teachers were motivated by a complex mixture of ideological factors, thus the oft-cited claim that the teachers of the freedpeople were committed abolitionists no longer rings true.[5]

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[1] Ronald E. Butchart, The Freedmen's Teacher Project (2013), used with permission, hereafter cited as the FTP. The words 'women who dared' in the title of this chapter refers to a quote made by W. E. B. Du Bois which is included in the introduction to this dissertation. See Du Bois, *The souls of black folk: Essays and sketches* (Chicago, 1903), available at Documenting the American South*,* University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, (http://docsouth.unc.edu/church/duboissouls/dubois.html) (16 September 2015).

[2] Letter from Mary Ann Burnap, Roanoke Island Freedmen's Colony, (http://www.roanokefreedmenscolony.com/let8.pdf) (26 March 2015), emphasis in original.

[3] Antoinette L. Etheridge cited in Judkin Browning, *Shifting loyalties: The Union Occupation of eastern North Carolina* (Chapel Hill, 2011), p. 112.

[4] Judkin Browning, '"Bringing light to our land…when she was dark as night": Northerners, freedpeople, and education during military occupation in North Carolina, 1862-1865' in *Nineteenth Century American History,* vol. 9, no. 1 (2008), pp 1-17; Joe M. Richardson, *Christian Reconstruction: The American Missionary Association and southern blacks, 1861-1890* (Tuscaloosa, 1986), p. 171.

[5] As explained in the introduction to this dissertation, many historians believed that the teachers of the freed people were inspired by abolitionism. See, for example, James M. McPherson, *The abolitionist legacy: From*

Freedpeople's education was much more than the work of the benevolent North.[6] Yet, until recently the prevailing interpretation of post-Civil War southern black schooling was clouded by the misconception that the teachers of the freedpeople were predominantly northern white women, a notion which effectively omitted the efforts of thousands of black, male, and southern white teachers. Moreover, the enduring image of the northern white schoolmarm as a committed abolitionist or racial activist has proven to be wholly inaccurate. Contrary to previous assumptions, many of the teachers were unconcerned about extending and securing the boundaries of black freedom. This chapter reconstructs the accepted image of the freedpeople's teacher by interrogating the profile of northern white teachers in North Carolina's schools for the freedpeople between 1861 and 1875. In particular, it investigates the reasons why northern white men and women chose to engage in southern black schooling, how the socioeconomic context may have shaped their decisions to teach the freedpeople, and chronicles their experiences of post-Civil War North Carolina. Recognising that northern aid and missionary societies played a key role in the lives of northern white teachers, this chapter also analyses the ideological underpinnings of both the religious and secular freedmen's aid organisations.

The teachers' biographical profile

Northern white teachers began working in North Carolina's schools for the freedpeople in 1862. Thereafter, the number of northern white teachers continued to increase so that by the school year 1865-1866, their peak year of participation, 117 northern white men and women were working in schools throughout the state. After 1866, the number of northern white

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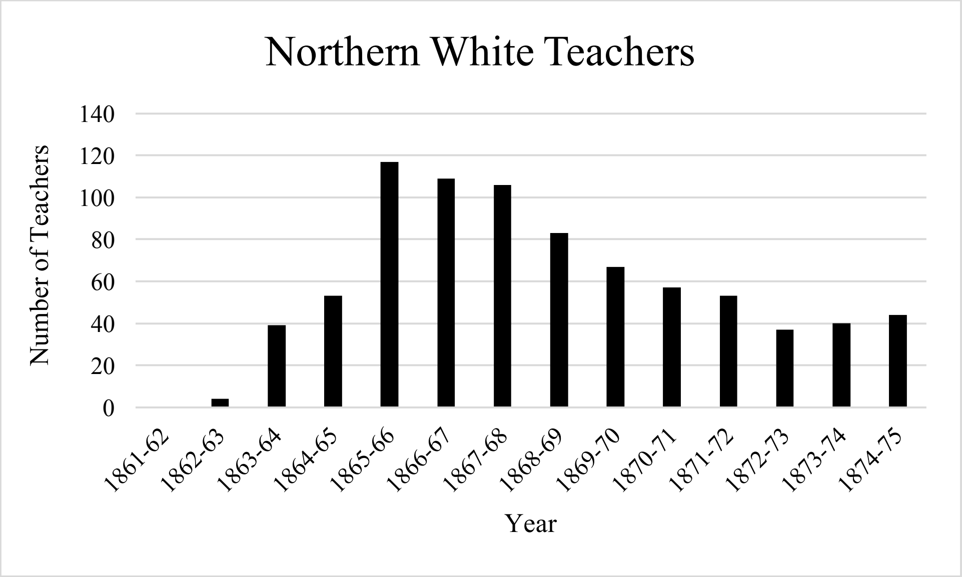
Reconstruction to the NAACP (Princeton, 1975), p. 143; Jacqueline Jones, *Soldiers of light and love: Northern teachers and Georgia blacks, 1865-1873* (Chapel Hill, 1980), p. 5.

[6] As explained in the introduction to this dissertation, 1,419 teachers worked in North Carolina's black schools during the Civil War and Reconstruction era, 1861-1875. 371 of these teachers were northern whites, 705 were black and 143 were southern whites. Butchart, The FTP.

teachers began to decline so that by 1875 only forty-four white northerners were teaching the freedpeople in North Carolina.[7]

Table 4: Participation rates of northern white teachers, 1861-1875



Source: The Freedmen's Teacher Project

Most of the northern white teachers were women, 276 to be exact, and most were younger than thirty when they first began working in a southern black school. One of the youngest female teachers, Miranda C. Owen from Wyoming, New York, was just sixteen years old when she began teaching the freedpeople in Alexandria, Virginia. Over a period of eight years, Owen taught the freedpeople across three southern states and when she finally left her post in Beaufort, North Carolina, Owen was twenty-six years old. Many of the young female teachers were single when they first began working in the South. Although the marital status has been established for just 102 women, fifty-four, or over half, remained single until at least 1880.[8] So while it can no longer be said that most of the freedpeople's teachers in North Carolina were white northerners, it is true that most of the northern white teachers were young, unmarried females.

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[7] Butchart, The FTP.

[8] Ibid.

Most of the northern white men, on the other hand, were in their forties, fifties or sixties when they first began teaching the freedpeople. Daniel T. Bachelor from New York was sixty-seven years old when he first entered a black school. When the Civil War ended in 1865, Bachelor and his sixteen-year-old daughter Ella secured the sponsorship of the National Freedman's Relief Association (NFRA) and together they spent three years in schools throughout the South. Unsurprisingly, most of these male teachers were married when they first began teaching the freedpeople. Although the marital status has been established for just fifty-four of the ninety-five male teachers, thirty-four were married before being appointed to a black school. Generally, these teachers worked in the South alongside a family member. Some, like Bachelor, went with a son or daughter while others travelled with a spouse, many of whom also taught the freedpeople. Samuel Nickerson from Massachusetts, for example, came South in 1863 and sent for his wife one year later. Together, the Nickersons taught the freedpeople for a total of three years across three southern states.[9]

There were, of course, exceptions and those who did not conform to the dominant profile are equally important to the study of freedpeople's education. The oldest female teachers, Jane M. Cock and Abby H. Horton, were both fifty-five years old when they first ventured into the southern missionary field. Cock, a Quaker, spent two years in the South while Horton spent one year in Beaufort, North Carolina, alongside her husband Francis. While their brief tenures may suggest that older teachers were less likely to spend an extended period of time in the South, the opposite was often true. Of the eighty-three women who were aged thirty or older when they first entered a black school, only nineteen taught for one year. Forty-seven-year-old Anna Gardner from Nantucket, Massachusetts, taught for twelve years under the auspices of the New England Freedmen's Aid Society (NEFAS). She was fifty-nine years old when she finally left the South in 1875. Tellingly, Gardner was a Quaker who was also active in the pre-war abolitionist movement.[10]

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[9] Ibid.

Likewise, the youngest northern white teacher to engage in black education was fourteen-year-old William Gardner Dorland. In 1868, William began teaching formerly enslaved women at Scotia Seminary in Concord, North Carolina. Established by William's father, Reverend Luke Dorland, in 1867, Scotia Seminary was the first Historically Black College and University (HBCU) for black women in the Southern United States. William taught for a total of two years alongside his father, mother, and older brother Charles, once between 1868 and 1869 and again between 1871 and 1872. This suggests that, rather than making a career for himself in black education, William was simply assisting his family. Luke Dorland, on the other hand, dedicated his life's work to black education and remained president of the institution until 1885.[11]

Most of the northern white teachers came from New England: 210 to be exact. The remaining teachers came from the surrounding Northeastern or mid-Western states of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, Wisconsin and Michigan. Massachusetts was the dominant source of teachers, contributing a total of 102 men and women to the freedpeople's cause, while New York produced the second largest number of teachers at seventy-four. Only one teacher, sixty-three-year-old Thomas Judkins from Oregon, came from the Northwest, presumably because this region of the United States remained significantly less developed than the remaining states and access to the South was undeniably more difficult due to the poor, albeit steadily improving, infrastructure.[12]

Many northern white teachers were members of a church. Of the 187 teachers whose religion is known, 145 were members of a Protestant denomination, namely Presbyterian (46),

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[10] Ibid.
[11] Ibid.
[12] Ibid.

Congregational (36), Methodist (24), Baptist (19), Episcopal (15), Free Will Baptist (3), and Dutch Reformed (2). Thirty-eight teachers were members of the Religious Society of Friends, more commonly known as Quakers, and four were Unitarian.[13] Although Ronald Butchart's database, the Freedmen's Teacher Project (FTP), does not identify the religion for 184 teachers, an analysis of their letters reveal that many were nonetheless profoundly religious. The aforementioned Mary Ann Burnap best illustrates this point. Although Burnap's religion is unknown, she was deeply committed to converting the freedpeople and her letters are punctuated with biblical references and powerful religious imagery. 'There is no place like Roanoke. It is the Eden of North Carolina', she wrote of Roanoke Island in 1865. 'The dear Lord Jesus comes and wraps the teachers and taught in his great, great love, and the music of heaven rings in these tall pines'.[14]

The northern white teachers in North Carolina's schools for the freedpeople were very well-educated. This is particularly significant when we consider that most of the teachers in the antebellum North had little or no training beyond the common school.[15] Most of the female teachers whose educational attainment is known attended an advanced second-level institution, such as a high school, normal school, academy, commercial college or female seminary. Only three women did not advance beyond common school. Anne Shaw Fernald and Josephine C. Field both attended a third-level institution, although there is no record of either having graduated. Field attended Oberlin College, an interracial, coeducational institute in Ohio, and she worked as a teacher before venturing into the southern missionary field. Fernald's institution has not yet been identified and there is no available information relating to her prior occupation. Like Field, an overwhelming majority of the female teachers worked in education prior to seeking work in a southern black school.[16] One of these teachers, Elizabeth H. James, cousin of the Reverend Horace James, a Freedmen's Bureau officer in North Carolina, taught for seventeen years before coming to North Carolina. She had also been a principal of a grammar school in Milford, Massachusetts.[17]

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[13] Ibid.

[14] Letter from Mary Ann Burnap, 7 January 1865, Roanoke Island Freedmen's Colony, (http://roanokefreedmenscolony.com/let8.pdf) (09 October 2015).

[15] Ronald E. Butchart, *Schooling the freed people: Teaching, learning, and the struggle for black freedom* (Chapel Hill, 2010), p. 26.

Most of the male teachers whose educational attainment is known attended a third-level institution. Only one did not advance beyond common school. Five men engaged in postgraduate studies but did not graduate and twelve men attained an advanced degree such as a Doctor of Medicine or Doctor of Divinity. Such teachers include the aforementioned Reverend Luke Dorland and Henry Martin Tupper. Like Dorland, Tupper founded a third-level institution for formerly enslaved black men in North Carolina's state capital of Raleigh. Prior to seeking work in a southern black school, most of the male teachers worked in education or the ministry. Other occupations included farmer, skilled labourer, white collar worker (other than business owner), and business professional.[18]

The educational institution has been established for sixty-three teachers. Most of these institutions produced between one and four teachers. However, sixteen teachers, just over twenty-five per cent of those whose alma mater is known, attended Mount Holyoke Female Seminary in Massachusetts. These women dedicated a significant amount of time to black education, typically spending just under five years in the South. Of course, some teachers taught for even longer. Martha Hale Clary, for instance, was just twenty-four years old when she first began teaching the freedpeople in Beaufort, South Carolina, under the auspices of the AMA. In 1873, Clary began teaching freedwomen at Scotia Seminary in Concord. After spending twenty-five years in the South, Clary finally returned to her Massachusetts home.[19]

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[16] Butchart, The FTP.

[17] Patricia C. Click, *A time full of trial: The Roanoke Island freedmen's colony* (Chapel Hill, 2001), p. 82.

[18] Butchart, The FTP.

[19] Butchart, The FTP; Ronald Butchart, 'Mission matters: Mount Holyoke, Oberlin, and the schooling of southern blacks, 1871-1917' in *History of Education Quarterly*, vol. 42, no. 1 (2002), pp 1-17.

Nine teachers attended either Oberlin College or Oberlin Academy, the college's preparatory school.[20] Established in 1833 as the first coeducational, interracial third-level institution in the United States, J. Brent Morris argued that Oberlin College was 'a hotbed of abolitionism'. 'The school [was] a beacon for the nation's most progressive students', he wrote, 'and together with a thoroughly abolitionist faculty and community, they set about the mission of ridding America of its greatest and most pressing sin – slavery'.[21] With this in mind, it is surprising that just fourteen per cent of the northern white teachers whose educational institution is known have been identified as Oberlin students. Indeed, an analysis of the entire teaching cohort, consisting of 1,419 individuals, reveals that twenty-two teachers, just over ten per cent of those whose educational institution is known, attended either Oberlin College or Oberlin Preparatory.[22] These figures are even more surprising when compared to those of Ronald Butchart who found that approximately twenty per cent of the teachers whose institution is known came from Oberlin College.[23] Morris reiterated Butchart's finding, claiming that 'more men and women from Oberlin' engaged in freedpeople's education 'than from any other place in America'.[24]

Although neither Butchart nor Morris identified the location these teachers taught in, it is evident that many of the Oberlin teachers worked in schools located outside of North Carolina. Indeed, it is possible that, like William O. King from Hartland, New York, many Oberlin students sought work in the South shortly after the Civil War began in 1861.[25] Due to the volatile wartime conditions, northern aid and missionary societies sent teachers to locations that were already under Union occupation, such as the Sea Islands off the south coast of South

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[20] Butchart, The FTP.

[21] J. Brent Morris, *Oberlin, hotbed of abolitionism: College, community, and the fight for freedom and equality in antebellum America* (Chapel Hill, 2014), p. 3.

[22] Butchart, The FTP. Of the 1,419 teachers in North Carolina, the educational institution is known for 212 teachers.

[23] Butchart, 'Mission matters', p. 7.

[24] Morris, *Oberlin,* p. 240.

[25] Butchart, 'Mission matters', p. 3.

Carolina and some parts of Virginia.[26] During the spring of 1862, the eastern region of North Carolina came under the control of the Union Army and aid and missionary societies gradually began sending teachers to this region of the state. Indeed, most of the Oberlin students examined in this study did not begin working in North Carolina until 1864.[27]

Eight female teachers attended a normal or teacher training school, including Albany Normal in New York, Framingham Normal in Massachusetts, and Westfield Normal, also in Massachusetts. Five male teachers attended Yale University, all of whom were older than thirty when they first began working in the South. Typically, these men taught for just over two and a half years, largely staying in the one location. Tellingly, three of these teachers worked in professional or managerial positions. Cornelius T. Perry was a professor of black higher education, the aforementioned Horace James was a Freedmen's Bureau officer and Fisk Parsons Brewer was principal of a black school in Raleigh.[28] Although Brewer spent just four years teaching the freedpeople in North Carolina, he did not immediately return to his home in Massachusetts, choosing instead to accept teaching positions at the Universities of North and South Carolina in Chapel Hill and Charleston respectively.[29]

An analysis of the teachers' educational attainment, previous occupation and parents' occupation suggests that the majority came from the middle-class. Of the teachers whose education is known, the vast majority attended a second- or third-level institution. During the antebellum period, access to higher education was generally limited to those of the middle and upper classes or, as Mary Kelley suggested, those who had sufficient access to economic, social, and cultural capital.[30] Of the teachers whose prior occupation is known, the majority worked in socially respectable positions such as education, the ministry, business, or administration. While some occupations may not have required an education, such as skilled labourer or farmer, these professions nonetheless possessed a degree of occupational prestige during the early nineteenth century. The data relating to the teachers' parents' occupation is also highly indicative of their social status. Of the ninety-nine professions known, forty-five were farmers. Business professionals ranked second at twenty while skilled labourers were the third most common workers at sixteen. Other parents' occupations, in order of commonality, included minister, white collar worker, teacher, domestic servant, and manual labourer.[31]

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[26] For an analysis of some of the first missionaries in the South, see Willie Lee Rose, *Rehearsal for Reconstruction: The Port Royal experiment* (New York, 1964).
[27] Butchart, The FTP.
[28] Ibid.
[29] Fisk Parson Brewer and William P. Vaughan, '"South Carolina University – 1876" of Fisk Parsons Brewer' in *The South Carolina Historical Magazine,* vol. 76, no. 4 (1975), pp 225-231.
[30] Mary Kelley, *Learning to stand and speak: Women, education, and public life in America's republic* (Chapel Hill, 2006), p. 4.

Although northern white teachers constituted just thirty per cent of the entire teaching cohort, most of these teachers were young, unmarried, well-educated women from comfortable, middle-class New England homes. While the histories of those who did not conform to this image are equally important to the study of Reconstruction-era black education, the persistence of the 'Yankee schoolmarm' archetype warrants a more detailed study of nineteenth-century American society. What exactly was happening in the antebellum North which influenced the influx of such pious young women to North Carolina's schools for the freedpeople?

The antebellum North

The antebellum period in the northern states of America was a time of profound social, economic, and political transformation. Influenced by a complex interplay of industrialisation, evangelicalism, and sentimentalism, three factors, in particular, shaped the biographical make-up of North Carolina's teaching force: the feminisation of teaching, the rise of antislavery sentiment, and increased engagement in social reform and missionary work.

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[31] Butchart, The FTP.

The feminisation of teaching

During the antebellum period, teaching became feminised in the northern states of America. Thus, most of the northern white teachers in North Carolina were women because most of the teachers in the antebellum North were women. Indeed, based upon the number of northern white female teachers whose prior occupation is known, ninety-two to be precise, eighty were teachers before the war.[32] While multiple factors worked to propel women into the classroom, the common school movement was, without doubt, one of the most salient factors. Although a diverse range of elementary schools, including public schools, private schools, church schools, and charity schools, were available to most northern whites by the early 1830s, there was no unified school system. This meant that, as Carl Kaestle found, 'school sessions were brief, facilities were crude, and teachers were only a few steps ahead of their pupils'.[33] Thus, in an effort to create a 'unified and improved school system', nineteenth-century educational reformers called for tax-supported elementary schools, increased school spending, longer school terms, and the establishment of teacher training institutions.[34]

The feminisation of teaching partly occurred for remunerative reasons. Predictably, increased school spending and the necessitated increased taxes were resisted by many white Americans, thus educational reformers promoted the use of female teachers on the grounds that they would be cheaper to employ. As Alison Prentice and Marjorie Theobauld concluded in their study of Canadian education, during the mid-nineteenth century 'the major justification that school boards used for hiring women teachers was a financial one. Women teachers saved their employers money, for they could often be paid as little as half the male teacher's wage'.[35]

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[32] Butchart, The FTP.

[33] Carl Kaestle, *Pillars of the republic: Common schools and American society, 1780-1860* (New York, 1983), p. ix. See also, Barry Joyce, *The first U.S. history textbooks: Constructing and disseminating the American tale in the nineteenth-century* (London, 2015), p. 29.

[34] Kaestle, *Pillars of the republic,* p. ix.

[35] Alison Prentice and Marjorie R. Theobauld, 'The historiography of women teachers: A retrospect' in Prentice and Theobauld (eds.), *Women who taught* (London, 1991), p. 5. See also Kaestle, *Pillars of the republic*, pp 122-123.

A similar argument was adopted by some of the freedmen's aid societies which sponsored teachers in the South. In 1867, for example, the Presbyterian Committee of Missions for Freedmen (PCMF) argued that female teachers were not only cheaper to employ but also better suited to engage with the work.[36]

As the PCMF intimated, the idea that women were ideally suited to teaching also influenced the feminisation of teaching. Such a notion ultimately emerged from a growing acceptance of the ideology of domesticity, central to which was the gendered division of women into the domestic sphere and men into the public realm. Inspired by rapid industrialisation, a growing middle-class, and an emerging middle-class consciousness, Barbara Welter argued that the ideology of domesticity, or 'cult of true womanhood' as she termed it, prescribed for women the four cardinal virtues of piety, purity, submissiveness, and domesticity.[37] Promoted by women's magazines, housekeeping manuals, religious literature, and other forms of popular culture, this ideal of femininity labelled women as more religious, virtuous, and moral than men.[38] They were also considered to be the weaker, more fragile, and ultimately inferior sex. As the Unitarian clergyman George W. Burnap wrote in *The Sphere and Duties of Women:*

> She feels herself weak and timid. She needs a protector. She is in a measure dependent. She asks for wisdom, constancy, firmness, perseverance, and she is willing to repay it all by the surrender of the full treasure of her affection. Women despise in men everything like themselves except a tender heart. It is enough that she is effeminate and weak; she does not want another like herself.[39]

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[36] The General Assembly's Committee on Freedmen of the Presbyterian Church, *Second annual report of the committee on Freedmen, from May 1, 1866, to May 1, 1867* (Pittsburgh, 1867), p. 10.

[37] Barbara Welter, 'The cult of true womanhood: 1820-1860' in *American Quarterly,* vol. 18, no. 2 (1966), pp 151-174.

[38] Although prescriptive literature advised women how they should and should not behave, antebellum representations of gender should not be considered direct representations of nineteenth-century women. See Isabelle Lehuu, 'Sentimental figures: Reading *Godey's Ladies Book* in antebellum America' in Shirley S. Samuels (ed.), *The culture of sentiment: Race, gender, and sentimentality in nineteenth-century America* (New York, 1992), pp 73-91.

[39] George W. Burnap, *The sphere and duties of woman: A course of lectures* (Baltimore, 1848), p. 47.

As Burnap intoned, nineteenth-century men were equally expected to subscribe to certain characteristics and while the female sphere of work and influence was limited to the home and family, men were encouraged to pursue politics and commerce in the public arena.[40]

Although the ideology of domesticity may initially seem restrictive, it was liberating for some women, particularly white middle-class women, because it helped to extend the boundaries of the domestic sphere in order to permit their participation in the public realm, however limited that participation actually was.[41] In particular, nineteenth-century white women used their prescribed domesticity and moral superiority to justify their work as educators, missionary workers, social reformers and, in some cases, writers and editors.[42] As Catherine Beecher, sister of the antislavery activist Harriet Beecher Stowe, argued in 1852, 'In matters pertaining to the education of their children, in the selection and support of a clergyman, in all benevolent enterprises, and in all questions relating to morals or manners, [women] have a superior influence'.[43] Such a view was quickly adopted by nineteenth-century educational reformers. As the Connecticut Board of Education argued in 1840, 'Heaven has plainly appointed females as the natural instructors of young children and endowed them with those qualities of mind and disposition, which pre-eminently fit them for such a task'.[44] Samuel

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[40] Kay Boardman, 'The ideology of domesticity: The regulation of the household economy in Victorian women's magazines' in *Victorian Periodicals Review,* vol. 33, no. 2 (2000), pp 150-164.

[41] Due to the socioeconomic restrictions placed upon them, many women, including blacks, Native Americans, immigrants, prostitutes and those from the working-class, were unable to conform to the emerging ideals of nineteenth-century femininity. Thus, it was more difficult for these women to use the ideology of domesticity to expand their social or political role. See, for example, Laura Wexler, *Tender violence: Domestic visions in an age of U.S. imperialism* (Chapel Hill, 2000), p. 67.

[42] Lori D. Ginzberg, *Women and the work of benevolence: Morality, politics, and class in the 19th-century United States* (New Haven, 1990); Kelley, *Learning to stand and speak,* p. 2; Mary Kelley, 'Reading women/women reading: The making of learned women in antebellum America' in *The Journal of American History,* vol. 83, no. 2 (1996), pp 401-424.

[43] Catherine Beecher, *A treatise on domestic economy, for the use of young ladies at home and at school,* (revised ed., New York, 1845), available at Project Gutenberg, (http://www.gutenberg.org/files/21829/21829.txt) (14 March 2015). Although Beecher approved of women's participation in some reform organisations, such as the American Colonization Society, she did not approve of women's participation in the antislavery organisation, namely because she believed that antislavery activism was a public and masculine issue. For more information on the gendered construction of benevolent work, see Bruce Dorsey, *Reforming men and women: Gender in the antebellum city* (London, 2002), p. 165.

[44] The Connecticut Board of Education cited in Kaestle, *Pillars of the republic,* p. 123.

S. Ashley, an AMA teacher, missionary, and Freedmen's Bureau officer in North Carolina, reiterated this view in 1869 when he proclaimed that 'Teaching is pre-eminently women's sphere and prerogative'.[45]

During the antebellum era, white middle-class women were also able to use the ideology of domesticity to increase their educational opportunities, namely by arguing that the social and moral responsibilities placed upon them demanded intelligent females.[46] As James P. Patterson wrote, during the nineteenth century, 'Education gained new urgency for girls' own well-being but especially for the well-being of their future families and, by extension, the moral and political health of the nation'.[47] Unsurprisingly, the number of female academies and seminaries rose dramatically during this period and nearly four hundred schools for white women were established throughout the United States between 1790 and 1830.[48] Increased educational opportunities ultimately led to increased professional opportunities and many women found their calling in education.[49]

Rising industrialisation also influenced the feminisation of teaching and increased job opportunities led many men to abandon their work in education in pursuit of capitalist enterprises. As Welter wrote, during the mid-nineteenth century, men's interest in 'certain work', such as education, diminished 'when other work offered greater rewards of money or status'.[50] Thus, during the antebellum period a space was both created and legitimated for female educators and on the eve of the Civil War, the northern states of America was home to a relatively large pool of female teachers. Indeed, by 1860 Mary Kelley found that 'women constituted between 65 and 80 percent of the teachers' in northern towns and cities.[51] In some rural areas, where eighty per cent of the antebellum population resided, Kelley found that women constituted eighty-four per cent of the teachers.[52]

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[45] Samuel S. Ashely, *Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of North Carolina, for year 1869*, (Raleigh, 1869), p. 6, available at Documenting the American South, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, (http://docsouth.unc.edu/nc/report1869/report1869.html) (3 November 2014).

[46] Beecher, *A treatise,* see Chapter III specifically, (http://www.gutenberg.org/files/21829/21829.txt) (14 March 2015).

[47] James Paul Patterson, 'The cultural reform project of northern teachers of the freed people, 1862-1870' (PhD thesis, University of Iowa, 2012), p. 25.

[48] Kelley, 'Reading women', p. 407.

[49] Kelley, *Learning to stand and speak,* p. 2.

[50] Barbara Welter, 'She hath done what she could: Protestant women's missionary careers in nineteenth-century America' in *American Quarterly,* vol. 30, no. 5 (1978), pp 624-638.

Although teaching became increasingly perceived as an appropriate female occupation, northern freedmen's aid societies worked hard to justify sending young women into the southern missionary field, particularly during the turbulent, and often dangerous, wartime period. Drawing upon the female virtues of piety and domesticity, the AMA argued that northern white women were needed in the South:

> The question which, just now, is exciting a good deal of inquiry and debate, and which is likely to excite more in the future, is "Woman's sphere and work." She feels, to a degree, the degradation of enforced idleness, and asks for work, as she has a right to, in all proper ways and places. This feeling led her into the hospitals during the war; where, on a limited scale, she won a good name as a nurse. But this was exceptional. Her work properly began after the war. The rough work of camp, and march, and field, was man's. Hers was that of education and religion; bringing in the ameliorating and purifying influences of church and school and Christian home, to close the wounds of war, and smooth the level furrows of battle.[53]

In particular, the AMA perceived female teachers as central to the elevation of formerly enslaved black women and, by extension, to the reformation of the black household.[54] Evidently, arguments such as this inspired northern white women to engage in freedpeople's education and throughout the American South, white women from the North taught in significantly greater numbers than their male counterparts.[55]

Although the common school movement was important for the role it played in feminising the teaching force, it was also important for defining the type of schooling that was to be carried out in the post-war South. During the nineteenth century, the purpose of northern common schools was twofold. The first was to provide a rudimentary education and the second was to provide moral instruction, namely through the transmission of middle-class values such as industry, piety, frugality, and morality. Growing immigration and rapid urbanisation partly necessitated the second goal of common schooling. As Diane Ravitch explained, during the mid-nineteenth century, 'The population of cities increased, as did the proportion of immigrants who were neither English nor Protestant. Along with these changes went a rise in social tensions as cities began to experience poverty, slums, crime, intemperance, and related ills'.[56] The common school was perceived as a means of rectifying these social issues. By implementing a curriculum that emphasised reading, writing, and arithmetic as well as religious and moral instruction, the common school not only worked to provide a rudimentary education to the masses of school-aged children but also served to maintain social order and 'Americanise' the growing and expanding immigrant population.[57] After emancipation, the former slaves were also viewed as a destabilising force in society, so northern educators advocated implementing a similar system of education in the South. As Horace James proclaimed in 1866, 'The only manner in which the South is to be regenerated and its society rejuvenated and made what it ought to be, and hence the country saved, is by reproducing New England and its institutions'.[58]

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[51] Kelley, *Learning to stand and speak,* p. 10.

[52] Ibid.

[53] *American Missionary* (October 1873), p. 231.

[54] Ibid., p. 232. The work of female missionaries was also legitimised during the nineteenth century on the grounds that the 'women of the heathen lands' were often inaccessible to male missionaries. See Welter, 'She hath done what she could', p. 630.

[55] Butchart, *Schooling,* p. 79.

Antislavery sentiment

The rise of antislavery sentiment in the antebellum North also served to predispose northern white women towards engaging in freedpeople's education. Although the FTP identified just fifteen northern white female teachers who were active in the pre-war abolitionist movement, most of the teachers were arguably opposed to slavery.[59] Indeed, this opposition to slavery partly explains why the teachers examined in this study went to the southern, rather than western, missionary field. Sentimental literature, the antislavery novel in particular, was a powerful force in fuelling antislavery sentiment in the antebellum North. Essentially, this literary genre was designed to evoke an emotional response in the reader, usually empathy, in an effort to incite social reform. 'Reading sentimental fiction is…a bodily act', wrote Karen Sanchez-Eppler, 'and the success of a story is gauged, in part, by its ability to translate words into pulse beats and sobs'.[60] Although northern abolitionists used newspapers, pamphlets, slave narratives, and other forms of literature to mobilise readers against slavery, antislavery fiction was one of the most powerful forces in winning northerners to the abolitionist cause. Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* is undeniably one of the best known examples of antislavery fiction. Written in response to the controversial Fugitive Slave Act of 1850 and subsequently published in 1852, this work of fiction was the best-selling novel of the entire nineteenth century. Although it has been heavily criticised for its racist undertones, support for colonisation, and perpetuation of black stereotypes, *Uncle Tom's Cabin* had a profound impact upon its worldwide readers and rallied many to antislavery activism.[61]

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[56] Diane Ravitch, 'American traditions of education' in Terry M. Moe (ed.), *A primer on America's schools* (Stanford, 2001), p. 8.

[57] Kaestle, *Pillars of the republic,* pp 71-72.

[58] Horace James cited in Browning, 'Bringing light to our land', p. 2.

Recognising that sentimental fiction was a fundamentally female genre, whereby women readers and writers formed the majority, it is not surprising that antislavery sentiment rose rapidly amongst antebellum women.[62] However, the social limitations imposed upon women readers and writers meant that female authors were often prevented from exploring the harsh realities of slavery, including the separation of families, the sexual exploitation of female slaves, and the inhumane cruelty often inflicted upon enslaved people. As Carolyn L. Karcher found, women's antislavery fiction 'represented a compromise with the code of gentility which forbade women writers to "name" the wrongs they sought to expose'.[63] Accordingly, works of antislavery fiction often depicted enslaved people as childlike, humble, docile, and submissive.[64] This meant that many women went South with a skewed image of southern blacks. Indeed, many northern white teachers were perplexed, and even offended, to encounter assertive black people who were eager to take control of their own educational institutions.[65]

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[59] Butchart, The FTP.

[60] Karen Sanchez-Eppler, 'Bodily bonds: The intersecting rhetorics of feminism and abolition' in Samuels, *The culture of sentiment,* pp 92-114, quotation p. 100.

[61] Harryette Mullen, 'Runaway tongue: Resistant orality in *Uncle Tom's Cabin, Our Nig, Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl,* and *Beloved'* in Samuels, *The culture of sentiment,* pp 244-264.

[62] Sanchez-Eppler, 'Bodily bonds', p. 98.

The rise of evangelical religion during a period which is loosely termed the Second Great Awakening, 1790-1840, also inspired antislavery activism in the antebellum North.[66] Marked by a series of religious revivals that swept the country during the early 1800s, this period of American history witnessed a rise in the number of evangelical converts, particularly female converts, in the Congregational, Presbyterian, Methodist, and Baptist churches, as well as a rise in the number of antislavery activists.[67] Although northern churches were initially slow to condemn slavery, principally because they did not want to alienate their southern members, the evangelical belief that slavery was a personal sin that was preventing the millennial coming of Jesus Christ influenced many northern abolitionists to call for the immediate, rather than gradual, emancipation of southern slaves.[68] According to Enrico Dal Lago, William Lloyd Garrison, a leading antislavery activist, began to demand immediate emancipation because he perceived slavery as 'a violation of the principles written in the Declaration of Independence' and a sin 'in the eyes of God'.[69] In 1833, Garrison co-founded the American Anti-Slavery Society (AASS) which was dedicated to the immediate emancipation of southern slaves.[70] By 1840 the AASS was organised into thousands of regional auxiliaries, many of which were female-led. Such organisations included the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society and the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society, both established in 1833, as well as the Ladies' New York City Anti-Slavery Society, founded in 1835.[71]

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[63] Carolyn L. Karcher, 'Rape, murder, and revenge in "Slavery's Pleasant Homes": Lydia Marie Child's antislavery fiction and the limits of the genre' in Samuels, *The culture of sentiment,* pp 58-72, quotation p. 59.

[64] Bruce Dorsey argued that female abolitionists helped to develop a gendered discourse of race and slavery that was rooted in the 'sentimentalized portrayal of slaves as feminized'. Dorsey, *Reforming men and women,* p. 140.

[65] Christopher M. Span, *From cotton field to schoolhouse: African American education in Mississippi, 1862-1875* (Chapel Hill, 2009), p. 40.

[66] For detailed analyses and reinterpretations of the Second Great Awakening see, for example, Jon Butler, *Awash in a sea of faith: Christianizing the American people* (Massachusetts, 1990); Joseph Conforti, 'The invention of the Great Awakening, 1795-1842' in *Early American Literature*, vol. 26, no. 2 (1991), pp 99-118; John. G. West Jnr., 'Nineteenth-century America' in Don Eberly (ed.), *Building a healthy culture: Strategies for an American Renaissance* (Grand Rapids, 2001), pp 181-199.

[67] Nancy F. Cott, 'Young women in the Second Great Awakening in New England' in *Feminist Studies,* vol. 3, no. ½ (1975), pp 15-29.

[68] Dorsey, *Reforming men and women,* p. 167.

Social reform and missionary work

During the nineteenth century, the number of social reform and missionary organisations rose dramatically. Headquartered in the North but working throughout the country with the aid of local male, female, and eventually mixed-sex auxiliaries, such organisations included the American Education Society (1815), the American Bible Society (1816), the American Sunday School Union (1817), the American Tract Society (1826), the American Home Missionary Society (1826), and the American Temperance Society (1826).[72] Scores of domestic and foreign missionary societies were also established during this period, many of which subsequently directed their efforts towards the southern missionary field in the aftermath of the Civil War.[73] The AMA, for instance, was one of the most prolific aid societies to engage in freedpeople's education and it was founded in 1846 'to send the gospel to those portions of our own and other countries which are destitute of it'.[74]

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[69] Enrico Dal Lago, *American slavery, Atlantic slavery, and beyond: The U.S. "peculiar institution" in international perspective* (London, 2012), pp 133-134. For more information on Garrison, see Dal Lago, *William Lloyd Garrison and Giuseppe Mazzini: Abolition, democracy, and radical reform* (Baton Rouge, 2013); *The Liberator,* 1 January 1831.

[70] American Anti-Slavery Society, *Constitution of the Anti-Slavery Society* (Boston, 1838), p. 11, available at Internet Archive, (https://archive.org/details/constitutionofan00amer) (21 November 2015).

[71] Dorsey, *Reforming men and women,* p. 166.

[72] Dorsey, *Reforming men and women,* pp 142-143.

[73] Butchart, *Schooling,* p. 86.

[74] Constitution of the American Missionary Association, Roanoke Island Freedmen's Colony, (http://www.roanokefreedmenscolony.com/amaconst.pdf) (21 November 2015); Click, *A time full of trial,* p. 75.

Although multiple factors inspired the creation of social reform and missionary organisations, the growth of evangelical religion was one of the most salient factors.[75] As discussed in the previous section, postmillennialism, a belief in the second coming of Jesus Christ, precipitated the establishment of the AASS. However, it also inspired the creation of other organisations, such as temperance societies, anti-poverty programs, and prison reform movements, which were designed to rid American society of its greatest sins in anticipation of the millennial coming of Jesus Christ. The evangelical belief that an individual could achieve spiritual salvation through faith, repentance, and benevolence also inspired increased engagement in social reform and missionary work. Inspired by Charles G. Finney's theology of disinterested benevolence which, as Butchart explained, entailed 'the rejection of one's own interests and its replacement by benevolence, usefulness, and good works', many northern evangelicals believed that salvation could be achieved for both themselves and others through religious conversion and social reform.[76]

During the nineteenth century, women actively engaged in social reform and missionary work; by 1830, women constituted forty-nine per cent of the missionary force, rising to just over sixty per cent in 1893.[77] This was largely because most of the evangelical converts during the antebellum era were young, unmarried women.[78] According to Nancy F. Cott, the disorientating effects of industrialisation inspired nineteenth-century women to convert in large numbers. Released from the drudgery of household labour and often compelled to find work outside of the family home, many women were faced with uncertainty, insecurity, and a waning sense of identity. Thus, religious conversions provided these women with an 'ideological ballast useful to stabilize their lives and identities'.[79] According to Amy Swerdlow, the controversial 'new measures' introduced to religious worship services during the revivalist period equally contributed towards the rise of female converts. Largely attributed to the work of Charles Finney, these new methods allowed women to pray aloud and repent with men.[80]

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[75] Rising industrialisation (and related social issues), a growing middle-class and emerging ideals of domesticity also influenced the rise in the number of social reform and missionary organisations.
[76] Butchart, *Schooling,* p. 107.
[77] Welter, 'She hath done what she could', p. 632.
[78] Cott, 'Young women', pp 16-17.
[79] Ibid., p. 21.

Some historians, including Jacqueline Jones and James McPherson, have argued that freedpeople's education was an extension of the antebellum social reform movement.[81] 'The machinery, tactics, and goals of freedmen's work mirrored the antebellum effort in large part because the agents of reform in both periods included many of the same people, especially those active in the antislavery cause', wrote Jones.[82] Although few northern white teachers have been identified as pre-war abolitionists, an analysis of their motives, as will be discussed later in the chapter, reveals that many white northerners perceived the southern missionary field as an appropriate site for social reform. While the decision of each individual teacher to engage in freedpeople's education was informed by a complex mixture of ideological factors, there was often a single motive, chief among them the desire to reform the former slaves.

Ultimately, the prevailing northern culture, particularly the feminisation of teaching, the rise of antislavery sentiment, and increased engagement in social reform and missionary work, predisposed some white northerners, and women in particular, towards engaging in southern black schooling. That most of the northern white teachers were young, unmarried, well-educated women of the evangelical middle-class is ultimately owing to the potent role that evangelicalism, industrialism, and sentimentalism played in the antebellum North while the fact that these women chose to work in the southern, rather than western, missionary field was largely due to rising antislavery sentiment.

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[80] Amy Swerdlow, 'Abolition's conservative sisters: The ladies' New York City anti-slavery societies, 1834-1840' in Jean Fagan Yellin and John C. Van Horne (eds.), *The abolitionist sisterhood: Women's political culture in antebellum America* (Ithaca, 1994), pp 31-44.

[81] Jones, *Soldiers of light and love,* p.14; McPherson, *The abolitionist legacy,* p. 150

[82] Jones, *Soldier of light and love,* p. 14.

The freedmen's aid movement

When the Civil War ended in 1865, many white northerners grew concerned about the implications of black freedom. Some feared that free blacks would invade the North while others worried that the former slaves would seek revenge on those who were complicit in perpetuating racial slavery.[83] Most, however, feared that the freedpeople would form a permanent dependant class or become a destabilising force in society.[84] Such fears were ultimately rooted in the conflicting racial stereotypes that permeated American culture throughout the nineteenth century. Perpetuated by literature, the sciences, theatre, and the press, these racial stereotypes constructed blacks as unintelligent, lazy, and childlike, on the one hand, or uncivilised, dangerous, and predisposed to criminality on the other.[85] In order to limit the perceived threat that southern blacks imposed upon American society, northern aid and missionary organisations actively engaged in the construction of southern black schools. Modelled upon the northern system of common schooling, these schools taught the rudiments of reading, writing, and arithmetic as well as religious and moral values. Northern aid and missionary societies also embarked on a broader mission of what James Patterson termed 'cultural reform' by attempting to reform the freedpeople's religious practices, personal relationships, organisation of labour, gender ideologies, and domestic affairs.[86] In this sense, northern involvement in freedpeople's education represented a form of cultural colonialism or, in other words, a deliberate attempt to impose the dominant society's culture, values, and way of life upon a recently liberated people.[87]

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[83] Ronald E. Butchart, *Northern schools, southern blacks, and Reconstruction: Freedmen's education, 1862-1875* (Westport, 1980), p. 13.

[84] Enoch, *Refiguring rhetorical education*, p. 41

[85] Anthony L. Brown, 'Counter-memory and race: An examination of African American scholars' challenges to early twentieth century K-12 historical discourses' in *The Journal of Negro Education,* vol. 79, no. 1 (2010), pp 54-65. See also, Patterson, 'The cultural reform project', pp 101-115.

[86] Patterson, 'The cultural reform project'.

[87] Although, as Angela Onwuachi-Willig observed, previous historical scholarship has examined American colonialism in terms of the colonisation of Native Americans, more recent studies have looked at how the United States has used the law to colonise, or 'civilise', racialized groups such as blacks and Latino/as. Indeed, Onwuachi-Willig examines how marriage laws have been used to colonise black people during the

Viewing freedpeople's education through the lens of cultural colonialism, this chapter argues that two objectives underpinned northern involvement in southern black schooling: to inculcate the former slaves with northern ideals and values and to mould southern blacks into a reliable labour force. As Janice E. Hale explained:

> In a system of colonialism, the colonizer has a dual purpose for educating the colonized. The first is socialization into accepting the value system, history, and culture of the dominant society. The second is education for economic productivity. The oppressed are treated like commodities imbued with skills that are bought and sold on the labor market for the profit of the capitalists.[88]

Shaped by a fundamental belief in black inferiority, each of these objectives served the wider aims of reforming the freedpeople, protecting society, and restructuring the former Confederate states.[89] Although the teachers of the freedpeople did not necessarily share the same goals or vision of black education as their sponsoring organisations, by placing the freedmen's aid movement within the context of the Reconstruction South we can better understand the ideas, beliefs, and values that shaped their decisions to seek work in a southern black school.

Freedpeople's education was financed by a combination of northern benevolence, federal funding, and whatever financial resources the freed black community could raise. From the federal perspective, the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, more commonly known as the Freedmen's Bureau, played a key role in southern black schooling. Established by Congress in March 1865 as a temporary agency under the leadership of Maine-born General Oliver Otis Howard, the Freedmen's Bureau, in the words of Ira C. Colby, 'provided federally mandated social welfare programs to the former rebellious states and their

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Reconstruction period and in contemporary U.S. society. See, Angela Onwuachi-Willig, 'The return of the ring: Welfare reform's marriage cure as the revival of post-bellum control' in *California Law Review,* vol. 93, no. 6 (2005), pp 1647-1696. Eric Foner describes some northern teachers' role in freedpeople's education as 'cultural imperialism'. See Foner, 'Reconstruction revisited' in *Reviews in American History,* vol. 10, no. 1 (1982), pp 82-100. For more information on cultural imperialism, see Herbert Schiller, *Communication and cultural domination* (New York, 1876); Anne McClintock, *Imperial leather: Race, gender and sexuality in the colonial contest* (New York, 1995).

[88] Janice E. Hale, *Black children: Their roots, culture, and learning styles* (Baltimore, 1982), p. 154. See also, Patrick Walsh, 'Education and the 'universalist' idiom of empire: Irish national school books in Ireland and Ontario', *History of Education,* vol. 37, no. 5 (2008), pp 645-660.

[89] Butchart, *Northern schools,* p. 31.

localities primarily to assist and protect the freedmen in their new social status within white America'.[90] The Bureau's assistance was not limited to the freedpeople, however, and it also attempted to aid displaced southern whites.

Although one of the Bureau's primary functions lay in the promotion of education, it also provided food, clothing, and medical aid, settled labour disputes, investigated claims of racial violence and, prior to President Johnson's order that abandoned or confiscated property must be returned to their southern white owners, facilitated land redistribution among the former slaves.[91] As Gregory P. Downs found in his analysis of the Freedmen's Bureau in North Carolina, 'In the first six months [of operation], the Freedmen's Bureau certified contracts for more than 5,300 freedpeople, moved fifty criminal cases to trial, heard at least 5,000 complaints, oversaw several thousand sick people in hospitals, apprenticed 400 orphans, and rented out large tracts of abandoned lands to freedpeople'.[92] According to Daniel Brown, the regulation of labour was the Bureau's most pressing goal and by enforcing a labour-contract system he argued that the Bureau attempted to push the former slaves back into the fields and onto the plantations as a subservient labour force.[93]

From the outset, the Freedmen's Bureau was significantly underfunded and understaffed. According to Paul A. Cimbala and Randal M. Miller, not more than 900 Bureau agents were working throughout the entire southern region at any one time.[94] Because it was initially established as a temporary agency, Congress did not provide the Bureau with any funding, believing instead that the sale of abandoned plantations and rents from the surrounding lands would be enough to finance the agency's operations.[95] Thus, the amount of money at the Bureau's disposal varied from state to state and after President Johnson authorised the return of confiscated land to its former owners, the Bureau's primary source of funding was drastically reduced. In 1866, North Carolina's budget was ranked the second smallest in the entire southern region. It's per capita spending, at a mere eighty cents, was also the lowest in the South. Arkansas' per capita spending, for comparison, was the highest in the South at $3.59.[96] Such inconsistent figures across the former Confederacy, as Colby wrote, 'suggests that the quantity and quality of the Bureau's programs also varied on a state by state basis'.[97]

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[90] Ira C. Colby, 'The Freedmen's Bureau: From social welfare to segregation', in *Phylon*, vol. 46, no. 3 (1985), pp 219-230, quotation p. 219.

[91] E. Allan Richardson, 'Architects of a benevolent empire: The relationship between the American Missionary Association and the Freedmen's Bureau in Virginia, 1865-1872' in Paul A. Cimbala and Randall M. Miller, *The Freedmen's Bureau and Reconstruction: Reconsiderations* (New York, 1999), pp 119-139. See also, Colby, 'The Freedmen's Bureau', p. 222; Bruce E. Baker, *What Reconstruction meant: Historical memory in the American South* (London, 2007), p. 13.

[92] Gregory P. Downs, 'Anarchy at the circumference: Statelessness and the Reconstruction of Authority in Emancipation North Carolina' in Bruce E. Baker and Brian Kelly (eds.), *After slaver: Race, labour, and Citizenship in the Reconstruction South* (Gainesville, 2013), pp 98-121, quotation p. 105.

[93] Daniel Brown, 'The Freedmen's Bureau in Reconstruction North Carolina' (PhD thesis, Queen's University Belfast, 2012), p. 4. See also, Jones, *Soldiers of light and love,* p. 27.

[94] Cimbala and Miller, introduction to *The Freedmen's Bureau,* p. xxix. See also Eric Foner, *Reconstruction: America's unfinished revolution, 1863-1877* (New York, 1988), p. 143.

In terms of education, if and when the funds were available, the Bureau could pay for a teacher's transportation to and from the South as well as the rent of a school building. It could also provide financial assistance for the establishment of black colleges. The Bureau could not, however, hire teachers or pay their salary.[98] In North Carolina, the education division of the Freedmen's Bureau was under the control and management of two successive superintendents of education, F. A. Fiske and H. C. Vogell. Although both agents were committed to growing and sustaining a system of black education, financial limitations, a lack of manpower, and volatile race relations ultimately meant that when the Bureau finally closed its doors in 1870, less than half of North Carolina's black school-aged children had gained access to education.[99]

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[95] Adriane Ruggiero, *American voices from Reconstruction* (New York, 2007), p. 24.

[96] Colby, 'The Freedmen's Bureau', p. 226.

[97] Ibid.

[98] Walter H. Conser and Robert J. Cain, *Presbyterians in North Carolina: Race, politics and religious identity in historical perspective* (Knoxville, 2010), p. 137.

[99] According to Michael Goldhaber, the Bureau's educational efforts in North Carolina were relatively successful compared to other southern states; throughout the entire southern region, only ten per cent of school-aged blacks gained access to education during the Bureau's lifetime. See Goldhaber, 'Mission unfulfilled: Freedpeople's education in North Carolina, 1865-1870' in *The Journal of Negro History,* vol. 77, no. 4 (1992), pp 199-210.

Long before the Freedmen's Bureau was established in 1865, northern aid and missionary societies began sending teachers to North Carolina. Some of these societies were secular while others were religious and most, but not all, were established at the onset of the Civil War to aid the freedpeople's transition from slavery to freedom. The American Baptist Home Mission Society (ABHMS) and the AMA, for instance, had been in operation during the antebellum period as Christian missionary societies. Other organisations, such as those organised by the Quaker, Presbyterian, Methodist, and Protestant Episcopal churches, formed new societies, separate from the rest of their missionary work, in direct response to the Civil War crisis.[100] Although some teachers, namely southern blacks and whites, worked without the sponsorship of an aid society, few northern white teachers ventured into the southern missionary field without securing employment.[101]

Between 1862 and 1875, at least seventeen freedmen's aid societies were in operation in North Carolina (see Table 5). The major aid societies operated with the assistance of local branch or auxiliary agencies. In January 1865, for instance, the NEFAS recorded that fifty-six branch societies were operating in various towns and cities throughout New England.[102] Essentially, members of these societies sent donations of food, clothing, bedding, tools, and household goods to their headquarters in the South. They also raised money through donations, fundraisers, and membership subscriptions to sponsor teachers.[103] In 1864, twenty-two-year-old Margaret R. Smith from Beverly, Massachusetts, was sponsored by the Beverly branch of the NEFAS to work in North Carolina.[104] Smith spent one year working in New Bern under the auspices of the NEFAS before moving on to Tennessee in 1865. There she remained for a further nine years under the sponsorship of the Pennsylvania Freedmen's Relief Association

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[100] Butchart, *Schooling,* p. 86.

[101] Butchart, The FTP.

[102] *The Freedmen's Record* (January 1865), pp 3-4

[103] New England Freedmen's Aid Society, *Extracts from letters of teachers and superintendents of the New England Freedmen's Aid Society, fifth series* (Boston, 1864), p. 6.

[104] *The Freedmen's Record* (January 1865), p. 3.

(PFRA) and another unidentified organisation.[105] Smith probably moved to Tennessee because the Beverly branch of the NEFAS lacked the funds to sponsor her for an additional year. Indeed, *The Freedmen's Record,* the society's monthly organ, shows that the Beverly branch did not sponsor any teacher for the school year 1865-1866.[106]

Table 5: A list of the freedmen's aid societies that operated in North Carolina between 1861 and 1875

Religious aid societies	Secular aid societies
American Baptist Foreign Mission Society	American Freedmen's Union Commission
American Baptist Home Mission Society	Delaware Association
American Missionary Association	National Freedman's Relief Association
Baltimore Association (Quaker aid society)	New England Freedmen's Aid Society
Friends' Freedmen's Relief Association	North Western Freedmen's Aid Commission
Methodist Episcopal Freedmen's Aid Society	Pennsylvania Freedmen's Relief Association
Presbyterian Committee on Missions for Freedmen	Other (public schools, Michigan Freedmen's Aid Commission, Nat. Theological. Inst., Richmond Ed. Assoc., etc.)
Protestant Episcopal Freedmen's Commission	Western Freedmen's Aid Commission
Quaker Yearly Meetings	

Source: The Freedmen's Teacher Project

Like Margaret Smith, few northern white teachers were sponsored by just one aid or missionary society for the duration of their southern teaching careers. This was usually because the organisation could no longer afford to support a teacher or because the school had shut down or relocated. In 1864 Lucelia Electa Williams began teaching under the sponsorship of the NFRA. By 1867 she was teaching for the AMA and five years later she was working for an unidentified organisation. By this stage, North Carolina's public school system was up and running so it is possible that she was employed by the state.[107] During the eleven long years that Williams spent in the South, she worked in a total of six different states.[108] Although some teachers, like Anne B. Brown from Vermont, spent their entire southern teaching careers in North Carolina, this was generally uncommon.[109]

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[105] Butchart, The FTP.

[106] *The Freedmen's Record (*November 1865), p. 185.

Upon receipt of a teaching position, which was generally obtained by directly applying to an aid society, a teacher was assigned a teaching destination.[110] As discussed at the beginning of this chapter, North Carolina was a popular place to establish schools because much of eastern North Carolina, including Roanoke Island, Newbern, and Beaufort, came under military control during the spring of 1862.[111] The number of freedpeople in a given place also influenced the placement of teachers and aid societies aimed to establish schools wherever there were enough people to sustain them. Upon sending Lucy Chace to Norfolk, Virginia, in 1863 the Roxbury branch of the NEFAS wrote, 'Another circumstance rendered Norfolk an interesting point for our labors. In consequence of its vicinity to our armies, the colored people flocked there; hundreds at a time escaping from slavery'.[112] In North Carolina, black-majority counties were predominantly located in the East so aid and missionary societies generally preferred establishing schools in this region of the state.[113]

Almost half of the northern white teachers were sponsored by a religious society at one point during their southern teaching careers, 139 to be exact. These societies were organised by the Presbyterian, Baptist, Methodist, Protestant Episcopal, and Quaker churches.[114] 159 teachers were sponsored by a secular organisation at one point during their time in the South. These societies included the NFRA, the NEFAS, the North Western Freedmen's Aid Commission (NWFAS), and the PFRA. The NFRA and the NEFAS were the most prominent secular organisations in North Carolina, sponsoring ninety-three and forty-five teachers respectively. Unsurprisingly, all but one of the teachers sponsored by the NEFAS, Emeline Norris from New York, came from New England.[115] For the purposes of cohesion, uniformity, and increased productivity, the secular organisations were federated into one large national organisation in 1866, eventually becoming known as the American Freedmen's Union Commission (AFUC).[116]

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[107] North Carolina's system of public schooling is examined more thoroughly in Chapter II.
[108] Butchart, The FTP.
[109] Ibid.
[110] 'Teacher Instructions American Missionary Association' (http://www.drbronsontours.com/bronsonamateacherinstructions.html) (12 November 2014); Jones, *Soldiers of light and love,* p. 35.
[111] Judkin Browning, 'Removing the mask of nationality: Unionism, racism, and federal military occupation in North Carolina, 1862-1865' in *The Journal of Southern History,* vol. lixxi, no. 3 (2005), pp 589-620.
[112] Anna C. Lowell, 'First Annual Report of the Roxbury Branch of the New-England Freedmen's Aid Society' in *The Freedmen's Record,* (January 1865), p. 12.
[113] Steven E. Nash, 'North Carolina' in Richard Zuczek, *Encyclopaedia of the Reconstruction era: M-Z and primary documents, volume 2* (London, 2006), p. 454.
[114] Butchart, The FTP.

The AMA was the premier freedmen's aid society in North Carolina and it sponsored a total of 109 northern white teachers between 1862 and 1875.[117] Established as an interdenominational abolitionist organisation in 1846, the AMA developed close ties with the Congregational Church during the Civil War period. Although proselytisation was not the AMA's first priority, by 1870 the conversion of freedpeople to Congregationalism became an explicit goal. According to Joe M. Richardson, this was because the AMA succumbed to pressure from within the Congregational Church to gain more religious converts. Thus, fearful of losing the church's financial support, the AMA began establishing black churches alongside black schools.[118] However, as Jacqueline Jones found, their efforts were largely unsuccessful because the former slaves were not attracted to the Congregational style of worship.[119]

The major difference between the secular and religious organisations was their approach to religious conversion. Unsurprisingly, most of the religious societies, excluding the Quaker organisations, were explicitly focused upon gaining new converts.[120] As the

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[115] Ibid.
[116] Jones, *Soldiers of light and love,* p. 16.
[117] Butchart, The FTP.
[118] Richardson, *Christian Reconstruction,* p. 146.
[119] Jones, *Soldiers of light and love,* p. 17.
[120] Jones, *Soldiers of light and love,* p. 25; Butchart, *Schooling,* p. 86.

Presbyterian Church stated in 1867, the goal of their missionary work was 'to gather the scattered sheep from the wilderness, into the folds where they can have the appointed shepherds'.[121] This goal became significantly more pressing as more and more freedpeople began leaving their former places of worship for the leadership of black preachers, some of whom were members of their own church but many of whom were members of other denominations.[122] Thus, throughout the Reconstruction era, northern churches engaged in an aggressive proselytising campaign that served the dual function of attracting new converts and winning back former members. This was particularly true for the Protestant Episcopal Church which experienced a significant loss in numbers in the aftermath of emancipation.[123] Speaking of the South Carolina diocese in 1868, Bishop Thomas Frederick Davis lamented that although there were three thousand black Episcopalians in 1860, there were not more than three hundred in 1867. 'Many have joined the Northern Methodists', he wrote. 'Many have followed teachers of their own color; but if our services were revived in our suspended parishes, we might hope to rescue some of them from the fanatical and political preaching to which they are subjected…this is the only successful effort to win them back to our fold'.[124]

In an effort to win back the black congregants who left the church at the time of their emancipation, religious societies established black schools alongside black churches. As the Methodist Episcopal Church reported, 'The efficiency of missions among the freedmen will be greatly increased by having schools connected with them'.[125] Indeed, in return for the provision of education, as well as other basic necessities, many southern blacks willingly converted to another Christian religion. As Judkin Browning wrote, 'African Americans were quite practical, accepting a certain amount of northern proselytizing while utilizing the benevolent society members to garner the material possessions as well as the intellectual ones they needed to achieve autonomy'.[126] These conversions were rarely genuine, however, and one Presbyterian minister advised the PCMF to stop sending missionaries to the Baptist and Methodist congregations 'as they would welcome teachers and preachers and still retain their connection with their own denomination'.[127]

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[121] PCMF, *Second annual report,* p. 4.

[122] Conser and Cain, *Presbyterians in North Carolina,* p. 136.

[123] Protestant Episcopal Freedman's Commission, *Occasional Paper*, *January 1866* (Boston, 1866), available at Internet Archive, (https://archive.org/details/protestantepisco00epis) (27 July 2014); Gardiner H. Shattuck Jnr., *Episcopalians and race: Civil War to Civil Rights* (Lexington, 2010), p. 10.

[124] Protestant Episcopal Church, *Journal of the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church* (New York, 1868), p. 340.

[125] Methodist Episcopal Church, *Minutes of the Cincinnati Conference* (Cincinnati, 1866), p. 40.

Although the secular organisations did not attempt to convert the freedpeople to a particular religion, they were no less concerned about the former slaves' religious development. One of the NFRA's aims, for example, was 'to instruct the Freedmen in…the principles of Christianity [and] their accountability to the laws of God and man'.[128] Similarly, the object of the AFUC was to aid 'in the improvement of [the freedpeople's] condition upon the basis of industry, education, freedom, and Christian morality'.[129] Thus, regardless of their sponsoring organisation, many teachers taught Sunday School as well as 'general religious exercises' in which all Christians could unite.[130] Many also engaged in religious meetings outside of normal school hours. However, as the AFUC warned its teachers, 'You are not missionaries, nor preachers, nor exhorters; you have nothing to do with churches, creeds, or sacraments; you are not to inculcate doctrinal opinions, or take part in sectarian propagandism of any kind'.[131]

Ultimately, the aid societies' conflicting approaches to religious conversion was reflected in their methods of teacher selection. In general, religious aid societies attempted to employ only those who were members of their churches. 'As a rule', the Presbyterian Church only employed Presbyterians because ‘they seem in general to feel that their mission to the Freedmen is *religious* as well as educational’.[132] The PCMF appear to have adhered to this rule and only three non-Presbyterian teachers in North Carolina were sponsored by the organisation between 1861 and 1875. One of these teachers was Caroline Waugh, a Baptist. In 1869, Waugh was sponsored by the Presbyterian Church to teach in New Bern, North Carolina. The remaining eight years she spent in the South were under the sponsorship of the secular NFRA, an undetermined organisation, and the interdenominational AMA.[133]

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[126] Judkin Browning, 'Visions of freedom and civilization opening before them: African Americans search for autonomy during military occupation in North Carolina' in Paul D. Escott, *North Carolinians in the era of the Civil War and Reconstruction* (Chapel Hill, 2008), pp 69-100.

[127] *The Presbyterian,* 27 August 1902.

[128] National Freedman's Relief Association, *First annual report of the National Freedman's Relief Association*, (Washington, D.C., 1863), (http://www.drbronsontours.com/bronsonnationalfreedmansreliefassociationfirstannualreport.html) (26 October 2015).

[129] *The American Freedman* (July 1866), p. 1.

[130] Ibid., p. 108.

[131] Ibid., p. 1.

The Quaker church was the exception to this rule. Although most of the Quaker teachers were sponsored by a Quaker organisation, such as the Friends’ Freedmen’s Association (FFA), many teachers from other religious denominations also found employment with Quaker aid societies. Margaret Newbold Thorpe, for instance, an Episcopalian from New Jersey, taught the freedpeople in Virginia and North Carolina for a total of six years under the sponsorship of the FFA. Likewise, Frances A. Gorham, a Methodist from New York, taught the freedpeople for a total of three years, two of which were under the sponsorship of the FFA. Quaker organisations also employed a significant number of black teachers. Sallie A. Daffin and Robert G. Fitzgerald, black teachers from the North, were both sponsored by the FFA at one point during their southern teaching careers.[134] Evidently, as James W. Hood, North Carolina’s Assistant Superintendent of Public Instruction, reported, Quaker organisations did not discriminate on the basis of ‘sex, sect, section, nativity or complexion’.[135]

As an interdenominational organisation, the AMA was open to employing any teacher from an evangelical Protestant denomination, providing such teachers possessed a strong

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[132] Presbyterian Committee on Missions for Freedmen, *Annual report of the Presbyterian Committee of Missions for Freedmen* (Pittsburgh, 1871), p. 6, emphasis in original; Butchart, The FTP.

[133] Butchart, The FTP.

[134] Ibid.

[135] Report of James W. Hood in Ashley, *Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction,* p. 21, (http://docsouth.unc.edu/nc/report1869/report1869.html) (08 November 2015).

‘missionary spirit’.[136] ‘Keep constantly in mind the missionary character of your work’, advised the AMA in its instructions to teachers. ‘In our prescribed qualifications we insisted on a missionary spirit. Your acceptance of our Commission we regard as your acquiescence in this requirement’.[137] Secular organisations also exercised great care over the selection of their teachers. Although James Hood claimed that the secular organisations deemed the teachers’ evangelical background ‘immaterial’, they nonetheless attempted to employ only those who possessed ‘the spirit of true religion’.[138]

Teachers were also selective about the aid societies they chose to work for and while these choices were often based on pragmatic reasons, such as the accessibility of a particular organisation, their religious orientation was not always indicative of their sponsoring organisation. Indeed, many church members worked under the auspices of a secular society. This was often because church organisations did not have the funds to support the teacher, or because the teacher could secure sponsorship more easily with a local secular organisation. Indeed, some teachers may not have been aware that their church was sending teachers to the South. In 1864, the ABHMS reported that many Baptists donated money to the freedmen through other organisations because they were unaware that the ABHMS was working in the South. ‘Thousands of dollars have been given by the families and friends of our congregations, all anxious to assist the freedmen, to Societies not Baptist that would have been given to this Society, had it been known that we had such a fund, and were appointing and supporting competent brethren and sisters to labor in connection with our missionaries as fast and as far as our receipts would justify’.[139]

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[136] Teachers belonging to a Unitarian, Universalist or Roman Catholic church were refused sponsorship with the AMA. Jones, *Soldiers of light and love,* p. 18.

[137] ‘Teacher Instructions American Missionary Association’, (http://www.drbronsontours.com/bronsonamateacherinstructions.html) (12 November 2014).

[138] Hood, *Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction,* p. 17, (http://docsouth.unc.edu/nc/report1869/report1869.html) (08 November 2015); *American Freedman* (July 1866), p. 108.

[139] American Baptist Home Mission Society, *Thirty-second annual report of the American Baptist Home Mission Society* (Philadelphia, 1864), p. 14.

Although the religious and secular societies differed in their approach to religious conversion, both types of organisations perceived education as a means of reforming the freedpeople, protecting society, and restructuring the former Confederate states. As the Protestant Episcopal Church warned its northern congregants in 1866, the former slaves must be educated in order to protect the republic:

> [The freedpeople] must be elevated to self-support, and self-control, and to a wise, intelligent, and loyal citizenship, if we would protect our country, and especially our Southern country, from the constant danger of revolt. The negro, if free, intelligent, and conscientious, will contribute to restore our country to a prosperity and vigor and moral dignity heretofore unapproached; free, but uneducated, he will not only corrupt, but shatter our whole social fabric.[140]

Late in 1868, the AMA went a step further and argued that freedpeople's education was needed to save the world:

> Let it be remembered that the work is not alone for the people of color, but for the whole South, and, in the final outlook, for the country, and the world. This land is worth more to civilization, christianity and missions, than any other. For the sake of the world, then, it must be saved – saved from ignorance, vice, and infidelity, from intemperance, Romanism and the unsubdued spirit of rebellion.[141]

As the AMA intimated, the Roman Catholic Church was viewed as a significant threat to southern black schooling. Although Catholic missionaries did not sustain a significant number of schools in the South, the AMA often framed its educational efforts as a fight against the expansion of Romanism, primarily in an effort to gain the financial support of northern Protestants. 'Rome is already [in the South] with a thousand sisters of charity, with scores of priests, building churches and schools for white and black, and expending in her work more than a million of dollars, per annum', argued the AMA in 1868. 'The Association then has no choice, but to meet her on her chosen field, with all her advantages of men and money. Will the churches see us fight this battle against such odds, crippled for want of means?'.[142]

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[140] PEFC, *Occasional paper*, (https://archive.org/details/protestantepisco00epis) (02 August 2015).
[141] *American Missionary* (December 1868), p. 275.
[142] Ibid.

The following year, in 1869, the AMA claimed that approximately 200,000 black children were being educated in Catholic schools throughout the South and in 1872 it reported that Catholic missionaries had raised $600,000 for freedpeople's schooling in 1866.[143] According to Butchart, these figures were 'fabricated nonsense'.[144] Although Catholic schools had been established in Baltimore, Maryland, Savannah, Georgia, and St. Augustine, Florida, they were taught by a 'handful of nuns' and 'without significant results'.[145] James McPherson reiterated Butchart's argument and found that Catholic schools were 'sustained primarily by local parishes or dioceses' and not established on a large scale.[146] Ultimately, as Butchart concluded, 'The Catholic bogey was used to stimulate contributions to the denominational societies'.[147]

Regardless of the veracity of these claims, it appears as though the AMA's scare tactics achieved the desired effect and in 1868 Reverend Crammond Kennedy, secretary of the New York branch of the AFUC, was forced to address rumours that Catholic schools were driving the AFUC's secular schools from the southern missionary field. Although Kennedy admitted that some black parents in St. Augustine, 'being papists', sent their children to Catholic schools, he steadfastly maintained that AFUC schools were still flourishing.[148] Moreover, Kennedy claimed that parents often removed their children from the Catholic schools because 'they did not learn to read and write so well'.[149] Catholic missionaries, he argued, were primarily focused upon teaching 'the Catechism and ceremonies of the church', much to the frustration of local black parents who were more concerned about literacy instruction.[150]

Inculcating southern blacks with northern ideals and values was central to the aid societies' reforming mission. As the NEFAS reported in 1864, it employed teachers 'not only of reading, writing, and arithmetic, but of all that pertains to domestic comfort and of progress in civilization'.[151] Teaching the freedpeople to be temperate was considered to be one of the most important functions of schooling, largely because many freedmen's aid workers worried that the former slaves would succumb to a life of drunken idleness if left to their own devices. Writing in 1867, the AMA proclaimed that it endeavoured 'to promote everywhere among [the freedpeople] the cause of Temperance, and to create such a public sentiment against the use of intoxicating drinks, as will lead them *en masse* to fight as valiantly against Intemperance as they did for Freedom and the Union'.[152]

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[143] Butchart, *Northern schools,* p. 39.
[144] Ibid.
[145] Ibid.
[146] McPherson, *Abolitionist Legacy*, p. 155.
[147] Butchart, *Northern schools,* p. 39.
[148] *The American Freedman* (March 1868), p. 378.
[149] Ibid.
[150] Ibid.

Teaching the freedpeople the value of industry and the dignity of labour was also an important goal of southern black schooling. Formerly enslaved men and women must be taught 'that labor is not degrading', wrote the NEFAS in 1867, 'and that labor is the greatest necessity in their present exhausted condition'.[153] Inspired by fears that the former slaves would not work willingly and thus, form a permanent dependent class, northern aid and missionary societies perceived lessons in industry as a means of stabilising the workforce, rebuilding the southern economy, restoring economic prosperity, and protecting American society. As Reverend Francis Wharton of the PEFC argued in 1866, 'No industrial class is now ready to take [the freedpeople's] place; yet, without some competent industrial class, not merely will the South be permanently desolated, but the prosperity, the peace, the solvency of the whole country will be seriously shocked'.[154]

Going beyond the remit of simply teaching the former slaves the value of industry, some organisations helped freedmen and women find employment, a task the NEFAS termed 'the organizing of industry', while others attempted to teach the freedpeople the skills necessary to become self-sufficient workers.[155] Horace James, for instance, argued that the freedwomen in North Carolina should be taught basket weaving or straw braiding. 'These or similar processes of light handicraft ought to be introduced among the negroes of the South as an essential part of the new social order to be established among them', he concluded.[156] To this end, the NFRA established an industrial school on Roanoke Island in 1865. Although the school closed its doors less than one year later, it trained over 130 formerly enslaved black women to sew, knit, straw braid, and quilt.[157]

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[151] NEFAS, *Extracts from letters of teachers,* p. 3. See also NEFAS, *Second annual report,* p. 3.
[152] *American Missionary* (April 1867), p. 82, emphasis in original.
[153] The NEFAS cited in Butchart, *Northern schools,* p. 29.
[154] PEFC, *Occasional paper*, (https://archive.org/details/protestantepisco00epis) (2 August 2015).

The 'new social order' that James was referring to was the free-labour society that the federal government intended to impose upon the South as part of its broader plan of Reconstruction. As Brian Kelly argued, due to their commitment to free-labour ideology, northern aid workers such as James often 'saw it as their duty to implant the unmitigated benefits of northern industrial society in the South'.[158] Thus, by teaching the freedpeople the value of industry, organising them into employment, and teaching them skilled trades, northern aid and missionary societies played an active role in transforming the South from a slave to a free-labour society.

However, as far as the aid societies were concerned, teaching northern values was not enough; the freedpeople must be taught in schools that resembled those in the North as closely as possible. The South 'needs, most of all, Christian institutions', argued the AMA in 1868. '[The South] needs…the New England church and school, and whatever has grown out of them, to civilize the people, and beget order, sobriety, purity, and faith. This is the principal work of the American Missionary Association, to plant these institutions in the South. Only this can help the South and save the country'.[159] Thus, by transplanting the northern common school system in the South, freedmen's aid and missionary societies attempted to restructure the former Confederate states.

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[155] NEFAS, *Second annual report,* p. 3.

[156] Letter from Horace James in NEFAS, *Second annual report,* p. 73.

[157] Click, *A time full of trial*, p. 120. The NEFAS also established industrial schools in the South to 'educate negro women to be thrifty housewives' and 'to make the negroes self-reliant and self-supporting'. See *Harper's Weekly,* 10 February 1866.

[158] Brian Kelly, 'Labor and place: The contours of freedpeoples' mobilization in Reconstruction South Carolina' in *The Journal of Peasant Studies,* vol. 35, no. 4 (2008), pp. 653-687, quotation p. 665.

Efforts to reform the freedpeople gained urgency when black men received the franchise.[160] Although secular organisations were generally open to the idea of extending the franchise to black men, some of the religious societies were dubious about black suffrage. 'Right or wrong', the Presbyterian Church proclaimed in 1871, 'the Freedmen do now possess a *power* in our Nation which only "intelligence and virtue" will enable them to use wisely, and that this can be had only by giving them "the Spelling Book and the Bible" – *the School and the Church*'.[161] Reverend James Sinclair, a Presbyterian minister, shared this opinion and admitted, 'I would rather give the negro education than the ballot, if he is to have but one'.[162] The AMA, on the other hand, was fully supportive of enfranchising black men, although it deemed education all the more necessary because of it.[163]

Not surprisingly, religious aid societies believed that freedpeople's education would only be successful if the former slaves were provided with a religious education. As Samuel Haskell of the Baptist Church reported in 1863:

> It was natural and praiseworthy that many temporary agencies should spring into life, to minister to the suffering, ignorance, and helplessness of the freedpeople, as they were suddenly thrown upon us by the waves of war. But we believe that only the sober second thought is needed to convince wise Christian men that general denominational Societies are the bodies into whose hands the work should be permanently taken.[164]

Another Baptist missionary reiterated Haskell's point of view and argued that religious education was needed to keep the freedpeople in their place: 'Education is important, and so long as it is under the control of religious principle is safe. But as man is, the more you educate him, the more powerful he is to do evil'.[165] Evidently, northern churches viewed freedpeople's education as a means of perpetuating, rather than challenging, the pre-war racial hierarchy.

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[159] *American Missionary* (December 1868), p. 274.
[160] Butchart, *Northern schools,* p. 19.
[161] PCMF, *Annual report,* p. 8, emphasis in original.
[162] Testimony of Reverend James Sinclair, U.S. Congress, *Report of the Joint Committee on Reconstruction, at the first session thirty-ninth Congress* (Washington, D.C., 1866), p. 174.
[163] *American Missionary* (April 1867), p. 82.
[164] American Baptist Home Mission Society, *Thirty-first report of the American Baptist Home Mission Society* (New York, 1863), p. 33.

Implicit in the aid societies' mission to reform the former slaves was a fundamental belief in black inferiority. This is clearly evident in the AMA's monthly report which asked teachers, 'Do the mullatoes [*sic*] show any more capacity than the blacks?'. As Heather Williams pointed out, the AMA did not ask if black students were more capable than those of a mixed race, simply because they 'did not consider that possibility'.[166] However, rather than perceiving the freedpeople as inherently inferior, freedmen's aid workers saw the former slaves as degraded by slavery. Indeed, the very nature of freedpeople's education suggests that black inferiority was perceived as a shortcoming that could be overcome through schooling. At the same time, black people were occasionally attributed with 'positive', rather than 'negative', racial characteristics. In 1865, for instance, General Rufus Saxton, a Civil War veteran and Freedmen's Bureau officer, concluded that black people had certain 'peculiarities' that were unique to their race.[167] Likening the former slaves to children, Saxton claimed that blacks were more sensitive, emotional, and affectionate than whites:

> Great sensitiveness to beauty, sensibility to religious emotion, warm affections, undoubting faith, seem to us the finest characteristics of this race. They may be sensual, but rarely brutal. They are undoubtedly lazy; as all mankind are; but they are easily stimulated by motives; and their imaginative power gives them a wide range of desire, whose gratification will urge them to exertion.[168]

Although Saxton's conclusions about black people were undeniably racist, as the son of an abolitionist father, his assessment of the freedpeople was a lot fairer than those of some of his comrades. As one Irish Union soldier wrote his sister in New York, 'We don't want to fight side by side with the nigger...We think we are a too superior race for that'.[169] Yet, regardless of whether they were deemed to possess 'positive' or 'negative' racial qualities, such views ultimately inspired attitudes of racial paternalism and few northern white educators were willing to allow southern blacks to take control of their own educational institutions.

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[165] Ibid., p. 41.
[166] Heather Andrea Williams, '"Clothing themselves in intelligence": The freedpeople, schooling, and northern teachers, 1861-1871' in *The Journal of African American History,* vol. 87 (2002), pp 372-289, quotation p. 380.
[167] General Saxton in *The Freedmen's Record* (August 1865), p. 121.
[168] Ibid.

Motivation

Northern white teachers engaged in southern black schooling for a variety of reasons. However, like their sponsoring organisations, their reasons for engaging in the work were heavily influenced by their beliefs about black people, and the enslaved person in particular. Although none of the teachers believed that the freedpeople were inherently inferior, almost all regarded the former slaves as degraded by slavery. As James D. Anderson explained, 'Most northern missionaries went south with the preconceived notion that the slave regime was so brutal and dehumanizing that blacks were little more than uncivilized victims who needed to be taught the values and rules of civil society'.[170] The teachers' racial beliefs were ultimately betrayed by their casual, and often flippant, remarks about the freedpeople's aptitude for learning. As Frances Bonnell confessed in 1865, 'I can sometimes scarcely realise that I am teaching among these ignorant, uncultivated children, so pleasantly does everything go on from day to day'.[171] While stationed at Hilton Head, South Carolina, Martha L. Kellogg appeared equally surprised to find that her students 'differ like others in mental capacity – but when their degradation is remembered – their success seems almost wonderful, and as a people, they are much more intelligent than I supposed'.[172]

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[169] Corporal Felix Brannigan cited in Richard M. Reid, *Freedom for themselves: North Carolina's black soldiers in the Civil War era* (Chapel Hill, 2008), p. 7.

[170] James D. Anderson, *The education of blacks in the South, 1860-1935* (Chapel Hill, 1988), p. 6.

[171] Frances E. Bonnell in *The Freedmen's Record* (June 1865), p. 96.

[172] Martha L. Kellogg in *American Missionary* (March 1863), pp 64-65. Kellogg spent a total of seven years in the South, one of which was in Wilmington, North Carolina. Butchart, The FTP. See also a remark by General Armstrong, a Freedmen's Bureau officer, regarding the ability of black students in North Carolina in *American Missionary* (September 1867), p. 194.

A desire to reform the freedpeople moved many northern whites to engage in freedpeople's education. Inspired by deep-rooted notions of black inferiority, northern white teachers actively attempted to remake the former slaves by inculcating them with northern ideals and values, particularly industry, thrift, sobriety, and piety. As a teacher in Elizabeth City confessed, 'I have aimed to instruct [the freedpeople] in the practical duties of life, not only of judgement, but of temperance, of love, and of purity'.[173] In this way, the work of the teachers was often aligned with the goals of their sponsoring organisations. Committed to free-labour ideology and inspired by the belief that benevolence enabled dependency, the teachers' most pressing goal was to mould the freedpeople into self-reliant labourers. To this end, Sarah Freeman taught the freedwomen on Roanoke Island how to refashion unwanted clothing into 'good serviceable garments', a skill that ultimately facilitated their transformation into 'good frugal' housewives.[174] Indeed, Freeman was particularly determined to inculcate the freedpeople with the value of industry if for no other reason than to ensure they would not form a permanent dependant class. As she proudly wrote in 1866, 'I have given employment to another class, including some old men, who were unable to earn anything in any other way, but could sit by their fireside and tie a few yards of net, and thus have the satisfaction of feeling that they had paid for a pair of pants or a jacket, and that they are thus living like freemen'.[175] Although there is little evidence in the teaches' letters to suggest that they deliberately attempted to mould the freedpeople into a subservient workforce, an AFUC teacher in Elizabeth City admitted that, due to the prevalence of small pox, efforts were being made to remove the freedpeople to the plantations, where the disease had yet to surface.[176]

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[173] *The National Freedman* (May 1866), p. 142.

[174] Sarah P. Freeman, 26 July 1866, Roanoke Island Freedmen's Colony, (http://www.roanokefreedmenscolony.com/let21.pdf) (04 October 2015).

[175] Ibid.

[176] *The National Freedman* (May 1866), p. 142.

Other teachers attempted to instil the freedpeople with the habits of cleanliness, neatness and punctuality. Fannie G. and Annie M. P. were particularly concerned about their students 'manners, appearance, and faces' and they perceived any change in the former slaves' demeanour or deportment as proof of the civilising influence of education. 'We are rejoiced to see that education has already produced a decided change for the better, that can be perceived in the bright, intelligent countenance', they wrote from their post in New Bern. 'We are more than ever satisfied that our labors are not in vain, and that the seed we are now sowing is already springing up to be a blessing to future generations'.[177] Some freedmen's aid workers perceived these changes as proof of the black people's educability and General Saxton was pleasantly surprised to find that 'efforts to teach [the freedpeople] good habits of housekeeping are responded to more quickly than we had expected'.[178] Efforts to train the freedpeople in the 'habits of punctuality' was also considered to be an important aspect of southern black schooling and Fiske regularly encouraged teachers to keep '*stated* hours, both for the commencement and close of' daily school.[179]

For both health and moral reasons, northern white teachers were particularly focused upon teaching the freedpeople about the dangers of alcohol and tobacco. In 1865, Mary Ann Burnap triumphantly reported that several black soldiers on Roanoke Island had taken the pledge. 'It is wonderful to see what the Lord is doing on this island', she wrote, 'I can do nothing but praise him'.[180] One year later, in Elizabeth City, a teacher even convinced a local black shopkeeper to stop selling alcohol.[181] H. S. Beals, an AMA superintendent stationed in Beaufort, also championed the temperance movement and openly rejoiced when eighty children joined the Temperance Band of Hope, promising to abstain from alcohol and 'that curse of North Carolina, tobacco'.[182]

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[177] *The Freedmen's Record* (June 1865), p. 94.

[178] General Saxton in *The Freedmen's Record* (August 1865), p. 121.

[179] F. A. Fiske to A. M. (?) Hall, 29 July 1868, Records of the Superintendent of Education, M844:2.

[180] Mary Ann Burnap, 7 January 1865, Roanoke Island Freedmen's Colony, (http://www.roanokefreedmenscolony.com/let8.pdf) (04 October 2015).

[181] *The National Freedman* (May 1866), p. 142.

Because slaves were unable to legally get married, northern white teachers, missionaries, and government officials were particularly determined to reform the freedpeople's domestic relations. As George Newcomb, a Massachusetts native, reported in 1865, 'My instructions in relation to marriage are well received, and are producing favourable results. The evils and irregularities are so deeply rooted, it will take a long time to remove and regulate them'.[183] Ultimately, northern white aid workers perceived slave marriages as not only illicit but also immoral and totally opposed to northern norms of domesticity, femininity, and sexual purity.[184]

Northern white men and women also tasked themselves with reforming the former slaves' unique style of religious worship which, as J. W. Burghduff claimed, was 'one of *excessive emotion*'.[185] Although many enslaved people had converted to Christianity during the mid- to late-eighteenth century in what Jon Butler termed the 'African spiritual holocaust', they adapted Christian practices to suit their particular needs and often merged African traditions with Protestant modes of worship.[186] Yet, neither the male nor female teachers approved of the freedpeople's highly emotional and, according to Ella Roper, 'rude forms of worship'.[187] By undermining the former slaves' unique cultural heritage, attempts to reform the freedpeoples' domestic relations and religious practices ultimately represented a form of cultural colonialism.

Efforts to inculcate the former slaves with northern ideals and values were ultimately intended to facilitate social control, a goal made explicit by Samuel Ashley who, in a letter to a prominent North Carolina planter, outlined the role of the teachers under his care:

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[182] H. S. Beals in *American Missionary* (January 1868), p. 6.
[183] *The National Freedman* (May 1866), p. 142.
[184] Slave marriages and the freedpeople's domestic relations will be discussed more thoroughly in Chapter IV.
[185] *The American Freedman* (April 1868), p. 389, emphasis in original.
[186] Butler, *Awash in a sea of faith,* p. 129; Jones, *Soldiers of light and love,* p. 67.
[187] Ella Roper cited in Click, *A time full of trial,* p. 119.

> Their business is not only to teach the knowledge of letters, but to instruct [the freedpeople] in the duties which now devolve upon them in their new relations – to make clear to their understanding the principles by which they must be guided in all their intercourse with their fellowmen – to inculcate obedience to law and respect for the rights and property of others, and reverence for those in authority; enforcing honesty, industry and economy, guarding them against fostering animosities and prejudices, and against all unjust and indecorous assumptions, above all indoctrinating them in the Gospel of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.[188]

Evidently, Ashley believed that the teachers' primary function was to prepare the former slaves for responsible citizenship by teaching them their duties and responsibilities as freedmen and women.

Admittedly, it could be argued that Ashley, a Congregationalist minister from Northboro, Massachusetts, was presenting a certain image of the teachers in order to gain the support of the local white community.[189] Indeed, as I will demonstrate more thoroughly in Chapter III, much of Ashley's work was spent placating southern white fears of racial equality. Although Ashley profusely denied that he supported social equality, even going so far as to refuse a black teacher permission to board with white teachers, he worked tirelessly to implement an equitable system of public schooling in North Carolina for both black and white children as the state's first post-war Superintendent of Public Instruction.

As a Republican delegate to North Carolina's constitutional convention in 1868, and as chairman of the convention's Committee on Education, Ashley was responsible for drafting Article IX of North Carolina's new state constitution which established a system of free public schooling for all children, regardless of race, between the ages of six and twenty-one.[190] Although many conservative delegates opposed the new constitution's article on education, principally because it did not provide for segregated schools, Ashley refused to make a provision for separate schools. As he argued, the United States Constitution made no mention of race in terms of education so neither should the state constitution. Despite rising opposition, Ashley refused to relent because he feared that the constitutional provision of segregated schools would work to undermine black education and increase racial prejudice.[191]

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[188] Samuel S. Ashley to N. A. McLean, 7 February 1866, American Missionary Association archives, Amistad Research Centre, Tulane University, New Orleans, Louisiana, accessed at New York Public Library, hereafter cited as AMAA.

[189] Butchart, The FTP.

[190] *Journal of the Constitutional Convention of the state of North Carolina at its session 1868* (Raleigh, 1868), pp 338-341, Documenting the American South, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, (http://docsouth.unc.edu/nc/conv1868/conv1868.html) (09 November 2014); *School laws of North Carolina, as ratified April 12th, A. D. 1869* (Raleigh, 1869), p. 5, available at Internet Archive, (https://archive.org/stream/schoollawsofnortnort#page/n5/mode/2up/search/four) (18 November 2015).

In April 1868 North Carolina's constitution was ratified by a vote of 93,086 to 74,014 and Ashley was appointed Superintendent of Public Instruction.[192] However, when southern Democrats regained control of the legislature in 1870, they slashed educational funding as well as Ashley's salary. Fearing that the legislature would continue to undermine the public school system while he was in control, Ashley resigned in 1871.[193] As he wrote to George Whipple of the AMA one year earlier, 'If I resign some Southern man can be appointed who is not so obnoxious to the ruling class as myself, and who can secure better than I can, the attention of the people, white people, I mean'.[194] Thus, although Ashley did not actively support social equality, he made a significant contribution to the growth and development of southern black schooling. As John Bell observed, in spite of his shortcomings, 'Ashley bequeathed a positive educational legacy to North Carolina. Seeing that the legislature could abolish the school system by law in 1866, he insisted that the guarantee of a public school education for all of North Carolina's children be embedded in the constitution beyond the reach of legislative majorities'.[195]

While efforts to reform the freedpeople were the dominant motivation among teachers, notions of patriotism also influenced many northern whites to engage in freedpeople's education. Indeed, both male and female teachers perceived their work as a means of contributing to the Union war effort. At least seventeen of the ninety-five male teachers fought in the Union Army prior to working in a black school.[196] Although six of these veteran teachers taught for just one year, others dedicated their life's work to black education. In 1865, the aforementioned Henry Martin Tupper, a Baptist minister and Union veteran from Monson, Massachusetts, began teaching the freedpeople in Raleigh, North Carolina. What began as a small school for freedmen gradually evolved into Shaw University, the oldest HBCU in the South. Tupper served as president of the university until his death in 1893.[197] Other Union veterans, such as Albion W. Tourgée, taught briefly in the state's black schools before moving onto other professions. Between 1865 and 1868 Tourgée taught black students in Greensboro, North Carolina, before being appointed Superior Court Judge.[198] In 1873 Tourgée founded Bennett College, a teacher training institute for black men and women.[199]

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[191] John L. Bell, 'Samuel S. Ashley, carpetbagger and educator' in *The North Carolina Historical Review,* vol. 71, no. 4 (1995), pp 456-483; *Journal of the Constitutional Convention,* p. 342, (http://docsouth.unc.edu/nc/conv1868/conv1868.html) (09 November 2014).

[192] Daniel J. Whitener, 'The Republican Party and public education in North Carolina, 1867-1900' in *The North Carolina Historical Review,* vol. 37, no. 3 (1960), pp 382-396.

[193] Bell, 'Samuel S. Ashley', p. 481.

[194] Samuel S. Ashley to George Whipple, 23 November 1870, AMAA.

[195] Bell, 'Samuel S. Ashley', pp 482-483.

According to Horace James, the bereavements of war influenced many northern white women to seek work in North Carolina's black schools, not least because war widows sought to continue the patriotic work their deceased husbands had been doing for the preservation of the Union. In 1865 Carrie E. Croome began working in a black school in Clumford Creek, North Carolina, under the auspices of the NEFAS. Her motivation for seeking work in the South, James observed, was due to her husband's wartime death. 'The rebels had slain her noble husband while in command of his battery at South Mountain; and she would avenge his untimely death by teaching the ignorant negroes how to throw off the yoke which those dastardly rebels had put upon their necks'.[200]

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[196] Butchart, The FTP.

[197] F. Erik Brooks and Glenn L. Starks, *Historically black colleges and universities: An encyclopaedia* (Oxford, 2011), p. 23.

[198] Butchart, The FTP; Mark Elliott, 'Albion Tourgée and the fight for civil rights', (http://web.uncg.edu/hrs/documents/JusticeDeferred.pdf) (29 March 2015).

[199] Kevin Reid, *Greensboro* (Charleston, SC, 2014), p. 83.

[200] Butchart, The FTP; Horace James, *Annual report of the Superintendent of Negro Affairs in North Carolina, 1864* (Boston, 1865), p. 20. Croome also administered to the needs of white refugees in New Bern under the auspices of the United States Sanitary Commission, an organisation established in 1861 to support sick and

Notions of patriotism also extended to the South and some male teachers argued that black education would contribute towards the successful reconstruction of the former Confederate states and, by extension, the entire nation. As J. W. Burghduff proclaimed in 1868, 'Education is the only thing to save the South. With it trade will be revived, industry will be quickened' and 'the capacity of the freedmen will be shown'.[201]

Religious motivation featured heavily in the teachers' decisions to go South and both men and women perceived their work amongst the former slaves as a form of religious duty. As Ella Roper admitted to the AMA in 1864, 'I know very well that the ease and comfort of home, the society of friends will be withdrawn, but this is nothing to the consciousness of giving a cup of cold water to *one* of His little ones'.[202] Elizabeth James was another particularly pious teacher and much of her work in the South was focused upon evangelising. Reflecting upon an encounter with a member of the white community, James wrote:

> Some of the whites, I think, are seeking Christ. They walk two and three miles to attend the evening prayer-meeting. I make it sometimes a meeting for social converse on the subject of salvation, and sad and sincere are the confessions made there. One who has persecuted us much, and in every way caused us all the trouble he could, but has had it all his own way, no notice having been taken of it on our part, last evening came into meeting and with much apparent meekness and sincerity acknowledged that he was "a very wicked man", and listened attentively while I endeavoured to point him to the way of duty.[203]

Evidently, James did not confine her work to the classroom and she endeavoured to use every opportunity to spread the Christian message among black and white alike.

The desire to fulfil a religious duty undoubtedly stemmed from the frequent appeals that northern churches made for more teachers and missionaries to go South on their behalf. In 1867, for example, the Baptist church called for more volunteers to go South because their

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wounded Union soldiers. See Lucy Chase to Sarah Chase, 15 January 1865, Northern Visions of Race, Region, and Reform in the Press and Letters of Freedmen and Freedman's Teachers in the Civil War era, (http://www.americanantiquarian.org/Freedmen/Manuscripts/Chase/01-15-1865.html) (20 May 2015).

[201] *The American Freedman* (April 1868), p. 389.

[202] Ella Roper cited in Click, *A time full of trial,* p. 83, emphasis in original.

[203] *American Missionary,* (September 1867), p. 196.

denominational rivals were gaining a worrying numbers of black converts: 'Pastors, contemplate these figures. Spread them out before your people. And tell us, will you not come up and bring your people up to do ten, twenty, and if possible, an hundred times more than ever for the Home field'.[204] Northern churches also appealed to their congregants' sense of moral compassion by informing them that hundreds of their southern black members were in need of aid and benevolence. In 1871 the Presbyterian Church reminded its members that approximately fourteen thousand southern black Presbyterians were in need of northern largesse: 'These scattered poor are of *her own* fold, look to *her* for care, and by *her* should be gathered and fed'.[205] Undoubtedly, these calls for volunteers inspired many of the northern teachers to engage in black education and an analysis of the FTP shows that thirty-one of the male teachers were ministers while thirteen others were the sons or daughters of ministers.[206]

Ignoring the fact that the former slaves had, in Butchart's words, 'been thoroughly Christianized' during slavery, many northern white teachers engaged in aggressive proselytising among the freedpeople.[207] Elizabeth James was particularly determined to convert the freedpeople and rejoiced to see 'much zeal on the subject of religion' and 'many genuine conversions' amongst the former slaves on Roanoke Island. 'Quite a number of children have recently professed faith in Christ, and many of them *do* bring forth fruits meet for repentance', she wrote. 'There is certainly a great change in them, and in old converts, though I fear it will be some time before the great mass of people will remember, *feel*, that religion extends to every action of life'.[208]

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[204] American Baptist Home Mission Society, preface to *Thirty-fifth annual report of the American Baptist Home Mission Society* (New York, 1867).
[205] PCMF, *Annual report,* p. 8, emphasis in original.
[206] Butchart, The FTP.
[207] Butchart, *Schooling,* p. 111. See also Butler, *Awash in a sea of faith,* p. 129.
[208] Letter from Elizabeth James, 29 December 1864, Roanoke Island Freedmen's Colony, (http://www.roanokefreedmenscolony.com/let7.pdf) (26 March 2015), emphasis in original.

Recognising the highly charged religious atmosphere of the pre-Civil War period, it is also highly likely that the promise of spiritual salvation motivated many white northerners to engage in the southern missionary field. Indeed, Butchart argued that the teachers who attended Mount Holyoke Female Seminary were inspired to '"move the world" through disinterested benevolence in the interest of salvation'.[209] Influencing this goal, Butchart suggested, was the words of a minister who implored Mount Holyoke's female students to seek work in southern black schools, 'not in solidarity with freed slaves' but 'to be in the service of the republic'.[210] Acquiescence in the concept of disinterested benevolence is certainly reflected in the words of Ella Roper, a Massachusetts native and graduate of Mount Holyoke, who declared how much more blessed it was 'to give than to receive'.[211] Although the teachers of the freedpeople were rarely guided by just one motivating factor, those who engaged in southern black schooling explicitly for the purpose of seeking salvation were rarely concerned about extending or securing the boundaries of black freedom. As Butchart concluded, this motivation was 'self-referential, fastening attention on the one providing the service as much as the one presumably being served'.[212]

Although there is little evidence in the teachers' letters to demonstrate that they engaged in black education to facilitate their own salvation, the implicit content of their writing reveals that the issue was often not far from their minds. In 1864, for instance, Sergeant Bryant of the Union Army commended army chaplain and Superintendent of the Poor, Vincent Colyer, on the work he was doing amongst the freedpeople in North Carolina, certain that he would have his reward in heaven.[213] In a similar fashion, H. C. Vogell, North Carolina's Superintendent of

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[209] Butchart, 'Mission matters', p. 10, p. 12.
[210] Ibid., p. 12.
[211] Letter from Ella Roper, 12 February 1865, Roanoke Island Freedmen's Colony, (http://roanokefreedmenscolony.com/let10.pdf) (07 May 2015).
[212] Butchart, 'Mission matters', p. 12.
[213] Sergeant Bryant to Vincent Colyer, 23 March 1864, (http://www.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~ncusct/freemen1.htm) (18 November 2014)

Education, advised Philadelphian teacher Joanna P. R. Hanley that the rewards of freedpeople's education would be found in the afterlife.[214] These words suggest that, at the very least, northern white educators were aware of the otherworldly benefits they believed their benevolent work would achieve.

Of course some teachers engaged in freedpeople's education to extend the boundaries of black freedom. Albion W. Tourgée, a native of Ohio, was one such teacher. Between 1865 and 1868 Tourgée and his wife Emma taught the freedpeople just outside Greensboro in North Carolina.[215] Described by Mark Elliott as 'a pioneer of civil rights activism', Tourgée dedicated his life's work to securing equal rights for the newly freed slaves.[216] After serving as a delegate to North Carolina's constitutional convention in 1868, Tourgée served as a Superior Court Judge and used this position to challenge Ku Klux Klan activity in the war-torn South.[217] Tourgée's most powerful fight for black justice occurred in 1896 when he served as attorney for Homer A. Plessy in the renowned *Plessy v. Ferguson* Supreme Court case.[218] Although this case resulted in Tourgée's defeat by upholding the constitutionality of racial segregation under the doctrine of 'separate but equal', it clearly demonstrates his commitment to racial advancement. Unsurprisingly, Tourgée's campaign for racial equality was viewed with contempt by many local whites and he frequently faced death threats and intimidation.[219]

Although Tourgée was committed to black advancement, he equally sought to benefit from the South's unstable post-war economic conditions. Branded a 'carpetbagger' by hostile southern whites, Tourgée infuriated the local white community by attempting to buy and sell plantation land. In 1867, Tourgée wrote to Nathan Hill, a Quaker teacher in Lincolnton, North

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[214] H. C. Vogell to Mrs J. P. R. Hanley, 10 May 1868, Records of the Superintendent of Education, M844:10.
[215] Butchart, The FTP.
[216] Mark Elliott, *Color-blind justice: Albion Tourgée and the quest for racial equality, from the Civil War to Plessy V. Ferguson* (Oxford, 2006), p. 3.
[217] Elliott, *Color-blind justice,* p. 115.
[218] Mark Elliott, 'Justice deferred: Albion Tourgée and the fight for civil rights', (http://web.uncg.edu/hrs/documents/JusticeDeferred.pdf) (2 September 2015).
[219] Ibid.

Carolina, requesting descriptions of plots of land which he hoped to sell. 'I am ready to convince people here that it is policy to sell', he wrote, 'and people North that it is policy to buy'.[220] Ultimately, as Elliott found, 'Though he hoped his entrepreneurial ventures would benefit the freedpeople, Tourgée also intended to make a profit'.[221] Nevertheless, Tourgée's primary commitment was to the freedpeople and, unaffected by notions of black inferiority, he was one of the few northern white teachers who actively promoted racial equality. 'The inherent inferiority of the African of the United States' he argued, 'has been shown by irrefrangible evidence of experience to be false'.[222]

In the end, Tourgée was deeply unhappy with the course of Reconstruction and he blamed his party, the Republican Party, for its ultimate failure. As Gregory Downs wrote, in Tourgée's view, 'Reconstruction faltered because Northern Republicans, especially Radicals, issued high sounding orders without providing the necessary materials'.[223] Reflecting upon the successes and failures of the Republican Party in 1884, Tourgée concluded that formerly enslaved black men and women made very few gains during the tumultuous Reconstruction period, particularly in terms of education but also in relation to the franchise:

> Those whom we made free in law, we have yet to make free in fact. Those whom we gave the sword of power, we have yet to teach to wield it; those upon whom we laid the burden of American citizenship, we have yet to give an opportunity to learn the duties of the American citizen; those whom we found oppressed with legal servitude, we have yet to free, not from formal fetters, but from the actual and more terrible enslavement of ignorance.[224]

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[220] Albion W. Tourgée to Nathan H. Hill, 17 July 1867, Nathan Hill papers, David M. Rubenstein Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina.

[221] Elliott, *Color-blind justice,* p. 145.

[222] Albion Tourgée cited in Elliott, *Color-blind justice,* p. 4.

[223] Downs, 'Anarchy at the circumference', p. 116. See also, Albion W. Tourgée, *A fool's errand* (New York, 1879), available at Documenting the American South, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, (http://docsouth.unc.edu/church/tourgee/tourgee.html) (12 April 2015).

[224] Albion Tourgée to A. H. Cole, 11 October 1884, Albion W. Tourgée (1838-1905) paper, North Carolina State Archives, Raleigh.

As far as Tourgée was concerned, the Republican Party had failed to secure black equal rights and until every free man had the right to vote and attend school, he believed that southern blacks remained 'enchained'.[225]

Tourgée was not the only teacher committed to black advancement and the FTP shows that seventeen northern whites were pre-war abolitionists while there is evidence to suggest that a further eight were also active in the movement.[226] Such teachers include the aforementioned Elizabeth James, Horace James, Martha Kellogg, and Samuel Ashley. Yardley Warner, a Quaker from Pennsylvania, was also active in the abolitionist movement. Arriving in North Carolina in 1864 under the auspices of the FFA, Warner was deeply committed to growing and sustaining a system of black education and he spent a total of eleven years the South. Indeed, the FTP indicates that Warner continued teaching beyond 1875, although corresponding data is not available for those dates. As Warner saw it, the teachers' primary goal should be 'to shield and enlighten the down pressed and patient children of Africa'.[227] Appointed superintendent by the FFA, Warner's duties included organising schools, raising funds, supervising teachers, and ensuring a uniformity amongst schools, particularly in relation to the curriculum and pedagogy.[228]

The teachers who have been identified as antebellum abolitionists were often staunch proponents of civil, political, and economic equality. Martha Kellogg, for instance, openly endorsed land redistribution among the former slaves and frequently pleaded with northern benefactors to help them acquire land. 'To one living among them, amid their continued and ever present distress', she wrote in 1868, 'the indispensableness of some such provision is constantly evident, and induces the belief that their friends must have the purpose to deliver them from the remains of their oppression, by some beneficent land appropriation'.[229] Kellogg spent a total of seven years in the South and it is likely that she would have continued teaching the freedpeople had it not been for her untimely death in March 1869.[230] Indeed, the abolitionist teachers' commitment to black education is further illustrated by the length of time they spent in the South. Collectively, these men and women spent a total of 139 years teaching the freedpeople, averaging at just over five and a half years per teacher. For comparison, a typical northern white teacher spent three and a half years working in a southern black school.[231]

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[225] Ibid.
[226] Butchart, The FTP.
[227] *The Friend* (August 1866), p. 390.
[228] *The Friend* (April 1868), p. 253.

Being a pre-war abolitionist did not necessarily mean being devoid of racial prejudice. Horace James, for instance, firmly believed that black people were inherently different from whites. Drawing upon the stereotype that black men and women were physically stronger than their white counterparts, James determined that miscegenation would be the worst thing that could possibly happen to the black race because it would diminish their 'vitality and force' and shorten their life.[232] Although, like Kellogg, James believed that black people deserved the right to own their own property, he drew sharp distinctions between granting the freedpeople political and social equality. 'Give the colored man equality', he wrote, 'not of social condition, but equality before the law'.[233]

Although few of the northern white teachers have been identified as pre-war abolitionists, the remainder were arguably antislavery. However, as just discussed, an opposition to slavery did not necessarily equate to a belief in racial or social equality. Margaret Thorpe, a native of Pennsylvania, best illustrates this point. While working in Virginia and North Carolina over a period of six years, Thorpe and her female teaching companion had been socially ostracised by members of the white community. Thus, they often attended black social gatherings instead. However, on these occasions Thorpe all but refused to interact with the black guests. Upon attending a neighbour's wedding, for example, Thorpe wrote that she was pleased to be seated separately from the black guests who never annoyed her with 'the slightest attempt at social equality'.[234]

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[229] Martha Kellogg in *American Missionary* (June 1868), p. 136.
[230] Butchart, The FTP; *American Missionary* (May 1869), p. 114.
[231] Butchart, The FTP.
[232] Horace James, *Annual report of the Superintendent of Negro Affairs in North Carolina, 1864* (Boston, 1865), p. 45.
[233] Ibid., p. 46.

Thorpe's reluctance to socialise with members of the black community was not uncommon and many teachers refrained from engaging with their students or other black individuals outside of normal school hours.[235] As one teacher in North Carolina remarked, 'It is one thing to sit in one's office or drawing room and weave fine spun theories in regard to the Negro character, but it is quite another to come into actual contact with him. I fail to see those beauties and excellencies [of black people] that some do'.[236] Thus, although the northern white teachers did not believe that the freedpeople were inherently inferior, they nonetheless regarded the freedpeople as socially degraded and, consequently, unequal to whites.

Evidently, the northern white teachers of the freedpeople were not egalitarians in the modern sense of the word and many harboured deep racial prejudices. However, their work should be situated within the national context. As C. Vann Woodward pointed out, racism was pervasive in antebellum America, both north and south of the Mason-Dixon Line.[237] In this sense, the teachers of the freedpeople were ahead of their time; and while few were willing to perceive black people as their equals, they nonetheless believed in the educability of the former slaves, something that few white northerners and even fewer white southerners were willing to concede.

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[234] Richard L. Morton (ed.), 'A "Yankee teacher" in North Carolina, by Margaret Newbold Thorpe', vol. 30, no. 4 (1953), pp 564-582.

[235] Click, *A time full of trial,* p. 90.

[236] North Carolina teacher cited in Leon Litwack, *Been in the storm so long: The aftermath of slavery* (New York, 1980), pp 478-479.

[237] C. Vann Woodward, *The strange career of Jim Crow* (New York, 1955), p. 21.

Life in the South

Life in the South was challenging for northern white teachers. Not only were they required to adapt to a new southern culture, climate, and decidedly hostile native population but the physical suffering of the freedmen was so great that it often warranted the teachers' constant attention. In addition, the teachers were often faced with primitive living and working conditions, illness and death, the possibility of military invasion, particularly during the initial stages of southern black schooling, and rising animosity towards one another, all of which will be examined throughout the following pages. Accordingly, teaching the freedpeople was not for the fainthearted. As Sarah Freeman advised, potential teachers should be 'well and strong physically, mentally and morally'. They should not be 'afraid or ashamed to labour, and not expecting the most luxurious living, and capable of making themselves comfortable and happy under all circumstances'.[238]

In 1943, Edgar W. Knight, a native historian of North Carolina, described the arrival of the northern white teachers as an 'invasion of the South', a description which undoubtedly represented the views of many local whites.[239] 'Northern teachers are most thoroughly hated', wrote Samuel Ashley in 1866. 'The most violent calumnies are published and circulated concerning them. They are pointed at and insulted as they pass along the streets'.[240] In North Carolina, members of the white community resisted the intrusion of northern white teachers in a variety of ways. Many refused to board teachers or provide land for the construction of a schoolhouse. Local business owners often refused to serve white teachers from the North and when they did, the teachers were charged exorbitant prices.[241] Margaret Thorpe found the social ostracism particularly hard to bare. ‘You can imagine how strange it seems never to speak to a white person and have absolutely no social life, not one visitor’, she wrote in 1869. ‘The Southern women will not notice us at all, and we will not allow the men to call on us, though we have received several notes requesting permission to do so; we always reply that if they will bring either their mother or their sisters with them, we will be glad to receive them’.[242] Fisk Brewer was also ostracised by the white community in Chapel Hill. As one local resident later recalled:

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[238] Sarah Freeman, 26 August 1865, The Roanoke Island Freedmen's Colony, (http://www.roanokefreedmenscolony.com/let15.pdf) (16 September 2015).

[239] Edgar W. Knight, 'The "messianic" invasion of the South after 1865' in *School and Society,* vol. 57, no. 1484 (1943), pp 645-651.

[240] Samuel S. Ashley cited in Roberta Sue Alexander, 'Hostility and hope: Black education in North Carolina during Presidential Reconstruction, 1865-1867' in *The North Carolina Historical Review,* vol. 53, no. 2 (1976), pp 113-132, quotation, p. 119.

[241] Richardson, *Christian Reconstruction,* pp 178-179; Butchart, *Schooling,* p. 97.

> One teacher, Rev. Fisk P. Brewer, soon after the war ended brought letters showing his good character and social position…His duties, as he believed, required him to receive in his home visits from colored people. He and his wife may possibly have been socially recognized by friends of Governor Holden but by no others. He had my sympathy and I met him courteously but did not think it my duty to call on him.[243]

In spite of the fact that both Thorpe and Brewer were upstanding members of northern society, local whites in North Carolina refused to afford either of them a shred of civility. As Kemp Battle of Chapel Hill later explained, ‘it must be remembered that abolitionists at the North were peculiarly hated because they were regarded as having brought on the Civil War. The teachers who first came out were regarded as creatures of these abolitionists and shared their odium’.[244]

As the Reconstruction era progressed, southern white opposition to black education intensified and many teachers were threatened or physically harmed by members of white supremacist terrorist organisations such as the Ku Klux Klan (KKK).[245] On 19 December 1866, Thomas B. Barton was dragged from his bed, taken to the woods, beaten, and robbed by six armed men. As he reported to F. A. Fiske in 1867, these men pointed a gun to his head and said, ‘you damn nigger teacher, we have got you now and will blow your damned yankee brains out'.[246] 'The niggers were bad enough before you came', his attackers continued, 'but since you have been teaching them, they know too much and are a damn sight worse'.[247] Although Barton was given five days to leave the state, he reported the incident to Samuel Ashley in Wilmington, twenty miles south of his post in Long Creek, and Barton was given a 'protection paper' which was supposedly intended to protect his schools from future attacks. Deeming the protection paper all but useless, Barton armed himself and confessed, 'I depend more on my powder and lead than I do on a bit of paper'.[248] In 1867, Barton returned to his home in the North after just one year of teaching.[249]

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[242] Morton, ‘A “Yankee teacher” in North Carolina’, p. 570.

[243] Kemp Battle cited John K. Chapman, ‘Black freedom and the University of North Carolina, 1793-1960’ (PhD thesis, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2006), p. 127.

[244] Ibid.

[245] The rise of the KKK in North Carolina is discussed more thoroughly in Chapter II.

Three years after the attack on Barton, Alonzo B. Corliss and his wife Francis were driven out of their post in Company Shops (present day Burlington) by the KKK. In the early hours of 26 November 1869, masked raiders dragged Alonzo from his home, beat him, shaved half his head, painted it black, and warned him to leave the state. Although Alonzo identified four of his attackers, none were prosecuted due to insufficient evidence. Upon leaving Company Shops, the Corliss' relocated to Halifax County, Virginia.[250] While the couple appear to have finished their southern teaching careers in 1870, AMA records show that between 1891 and 1892, both Alonzo and Francis worked as a minister and teacher respectively in Mississippi.[251] Evidently, their harrowing experience did not deter them from aiding southern blacks.

During the early days of freedom, the freedpeople's destitution was so great that education was often secondary to the distribution of aid. As Esther A. Williams confessed in

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[246] Thomas B. Barton to F. A. Fiske, 24 March 1867, Records of the Superintendent of Education, M844:10.
[247] Barton's attackers cited in Alexander, 'Hostility and hope', p. 116.
[248] Barton to Fiske, 24 March 1867, Records of the Superintendent of Education, M844:10.
[249] Butchart, The FTP.
[250] Edward J. Blume, *Reforging the white republic: Race, religion, and American nationalism, 1865-1898* (Louisiana, 2005), p. 79; Mark L. Bradley, *Bluecoats and Tar Heels: Soldiers and civilians in Reconstruction North Carolina* (Lexington, 2009), p. 212; Richardson, *Christian Reconstruction,* p. 227. Although Klansmen did not usually discriminate on the basis of gender, it appears as though fewer white women than men suffered direct attacks. Black women, on the other hand, were frequently subjected to violent abuses, often rape. This is examined more thoroughly in Chapter III. On gendered Klan violence see Butchart, *Schooling,* p. 169.
[251] *American Missionary* (January 1892), p. 57.

February 1865, ‘The need and suffering here has been so great that every thing else had to yield to that, while there was the wherewith to relieve it’.[252] Although freed blacks in North Carolina were eager and willing to embrace their newfound freedom, few possessed either real or personal property and many were completely destitute. ‘There are many who escape literally “with the skin of their teeth”’, observed Elizabeth James, ‘and need friendly eyes to look after them and friendly hands to aid’.[253] Admittedly, some southern blacks were more financially secure than others, particularly those who were qualified in a skilled trade or those who could rely on the support of kind benefactors, be they family members, former slave-owners, or a combination of both.[254] Nevertheless, upward mobility was a slow process in North Carolina and in 1866, F. A. Fiske wrote that ‘The Freedmen *are not able*, and will not be, this year, to support their own schools, or do more than provide houses and fuel for them, and in many places not even that. They are not wanting in interest or enthusiasm but in means’.[255] Unsurprisingly, such destitution greatly affected school attendance and in 1864 Sarah Freeman noted that the number of Sunday school scholars had increased by almost fifty per cent because of a recent supply of clothing.[256]

Northern teachers and missionaries were genuinely distressed to witness so much suffering and privation. ‘I see sights *often*, *often*, that make my heart ache, and which I have no power to relieve’, lamented Elizabeth James in 1865.[257] Thus, some teachers went above and beyond the call of duty in an effort to aid the freedpeople. Elizabeth James and Sarah Freeman, for instance, took a combined total of seven orphaned children into their homes, including a young boy named Jim.[258] 'Our little Jimmy already begins to hover around our kitchen fire on a cool morning', wrote Freeman, 'and as I see him I wonder if they all have an opportunity to put their little toes in a warm place. Oh! that I could shelter them all'.[259] In addition, some teachers donated their food and clothing to the impoverished freedpeople, even though both were in short supply. In 1865 Esther C. Warren pleaded with the NEFAS to send a supply of clothing to the freedpeople in New Bern. 'Do hurry them on', she wrote, 'as I have given away some of my own already and can hardly spare them'.[260]

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[252] Esther A. Williams, 17 February 1865, Roanoke Island Freedmen’s Colony, (http://www.roanokefreedmenscolony.com/let11.pdf) (16 September 2015).
[253] Elizabeth James, 19 December 1863, Roanoke Island Freedmen’s Colony, (http://www.roanokefreedmenscolony.com/let1.pdf) (16 September 2015).
[254] In her study of post-war Wilmington, Susan Eva O’Donovan found that many of the formerly enslaved black people in the lower Cape Fear region of North Carolina emerged from bondage with their family ties intact. For approximately thirty years, the networks of community and kinship that enslaved people in this region of the state had been able to develop helped black people to resist white oppression and maintain a degree of control and autonomy over their own lives. See Susan Eva O’Donovan, ‘Mapping freedom’s terrain: The political and productive landscapes of Wilmington, North Carolina’ in Baker and Kelly, *After Slavery,* pp 176-198.
[255] F. A. Fiske to Samuel Hunt, 13 October 1866, Records of the Superintendent of Education, M844, emphasis in original.
[256] Sarah Freeman, 7 November 1864, Roanoke Island Freedmen’s Colony, (http://www.roanokefreedmenscolony.com/let6.pdf) (16 September 2015).
[257] Elizabeth James, 19 December 1862, Roanoke Island Freedmen’s Colony, (http://www.roanokefreedmenscolony.com/let1.pdf) (23 November 2014).

When northern aid was not forthcoming, some teachers, like D. Edson Smith from New York, took it upon themselves to apply to the Freedmen's Bureau for aid. Although the local black pastor in Edenton, North Carolina, had already been refused aid because the funds were not available, Smith pleaded with Fiske to help the freedpeople in his community to build a schoolhouse. 'I know of no people more worthy of aid than this', he wrote in November 1866. 'They will do all they can for themselves, and a little help just at this point will do much good'.[261] The ability of white northerners to solicit aid from benevolent organisations, including the Freedmen's Bureau, is partly why they were so instrumental to the growth and development of southern black schooling. Although, as I will demonstrate in Chapter III, the former slaves actively engaged in freedpeople's education from the earliest days of black freedom, many lacked the financial resources to establish their own schools and the literacy skills to apply for aid.

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[258] Click, *A time full of trial,* p. 100.

[259] Sarah P. Freeman to C. C. Leigh, 29 September 1864, (http://roanokefreedmenscolony.com/let5.pdf) (09 October 2015); Click, *A time full of trial,* p. 100.

[260] *The Freedmen's Record,* (January 1865), p. 6. Esther C. Warren was from New Hampshire. Although her race has not been established by the FTP, it is likely that she was black because she refers to the local black community as 'her people'. *The Freedmen's Record* (February 1865), p. 29.

[261] D. Edson Smith to F. A. Fiske, 20 November 1866, Records of the Superintendent of Education, M844:10.

When aid was not available from either the Freedmen's Bureau or the northern benevolent organisations, some teachers financed their own educational efforts. Joanna Hanley, who served as principal of a black school, taught the freedpeople for a total of six years, mostly at her own expense.[262] Writing to the Freedmen's Bureau for financial assistance in 1868, Hanley wrote, 'I have already expended $2000 just in this place to establish the work on a sure foundation. I purchased a large lot for which I paid $400 down and built a very pleasant dwelling house upon'.[263] Between 1869 and 1871 Jennie Bell from New York also taught the freedpeople in Charlotte, North Carolina, at her own expense.[264] Prior to engaging in this work, Bell had been teaching poor whites near Beaufort and in August 1867 she wrote to the Freedmen's Bureau requesting aid. According to Bell, she had been 'laboring in this field 4 years gratuitously'.[265] Petitioning the Peabody Educational Fund, a philanthropic financial aid organisation, on her behalf, F. A. Fiske wrote William Alexander Graham, 'Miss Bell has been a faithful & efficient laborer in this work and has received no salary from any Benevolent Society'.[266]

In spite of the teachers' charitable endeavours, they worried that the former slaves would become dependent upon northern aid. As Paul Cimbala wrote of the Freedmen's Bureau officials, 'Slavery, they assumed, had been a destructive institution that had failed to teach black men and women habits of economy, habits that the freedpeople would certainly not learn while on relief. Indeed, in the minds of Yankee Bureau men continued black dependency was just another form of servitude, something that diminished the meaning of emancipation, and, thus, something that mocked the meaning of their own hard-won victory'.[267] Thus, northern teachers and missionary workers actively encouraged the former slaves to purchase relief items such as food and clothing as well as educational materials whenever they could.[268] Although the freedpeople, as Horace James observed, were 'not wanting in self respect, and scorn to be beggars', the vast majority were impoverished and efforts to make the freedpeople become self-sufficient only served to make their lives all the more difficult.[269]

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[262] Butchart, The FTP.

[263] Joanna P. R. Hanley to H. C. Vogell, 2 September 1868, Records of the Superintendent of Education, M844:8.

[264] Butchart, The FTP.

[265] Letter from Jennie S. Bell, 22 August 1867, register of letters received, 29 August 1867, Records of the Superintendent of Education, M844:8.

[266] F. A. Fiske to William Alexander Graham, 29 September 1867, Records of the Superintendent of Education, M844:2.

Teaching the freedpeople was hard work and the poorly-paid teachers worked long hours in primitive schoolhouses with few resources. Generally, the teachers taught both day and night school, in order to accommodate those who had to work during the day, and many taught Sunday school. Moreover, classes were large and the scholars ranged in age. Betsey Cannedy of the FFA had students ranging from age five to forty-five while Esther Warren's school was attended by a sixty-year-old woman. 'She washes and irons the first two days in the week', wrote Warren, 'comes punctually the rest of the week, and is making considerable progress'.[270] Although many teachers acknowledged that the freedpeople were learning rapidly, the large classes and diverse age groups posed many challenges for the overworked teachers. As Christopher Span observed, 'The differing needs, ages, receptivity, and educational preparedness of students, alongside limited resources, space, and support had to be a daunting task for even the most trained teacher'.[271]

In spite of the long and arduous working hours, freedmen's teaching was not well paid and teachers could often earn double in northern schools.[272] In 1865 the NEFAS reported that its male principals received sixty dollars a month while the female principals received half that amount. Similarly, male assistants were paid forty-five dollars a month while females received twenty.[273] In spite of the inequality in wages, these salaries were quite generous in comparison to those offered by the religious organisations. During the initial stages of southern black schooling, the AMA paid its female teachers between nine and ten dollars per month, although this amount increased to approximately fifteen dollars for both sexes after the war in an effort to attract more teachers.[274]

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[267] Paul A. Cimbala, *The Freedmen's Bureau: Reconstructing the American South after the Civil War* (Malabar, FL, 2005), pp 40–41.
[268] Click, *A time full of trial,* p.
[269] Horace James in *The Freedmen's Record* (September 1865), p. 142.
[270] Friends' Freedmen's Association, *Report of the executive board of the Friends' Association of Philadelphia and the vicinity for the relief of colored freedmen* (Philadelphia, 1864), p. 23; NEFAS, *Extracts from letters of teachers and superintendents,* p. 14.
[271] Span, *From cotton field to schoolhouse,* p. 65.
[272] Butchart, *Schooling,* p. 97.

Suitable buildings in which to conduct school were particularly scarce and in 1868 J. W. Burghduff wrote that classes at Trent Camp, North Carolina, were first held in 'old deserted churches, in abandoned hospitals, in old sheds, or under the shadow of a tree'.[275] Although schoolhouses were later located, Caroline Waugh, also a teacher at Trent Camp, complained, 'Our school-buildings are not what they ought to be. You can see through them in every direction and *many, many* places you can put your hands through, which in a cold, rainy day make it impossible for scholars or teacher to keep comfortable'.[276]

Adequate housing for the teachers also proved difficult to source, primarily because many white southerners refused to board teachers or lease them land or living quarters. In 1866, Colonel E. Whittlesey admitted that he often found it 'utterly impossible' to find the northern white teachers a place to live in Raleigh, despite the fact that many local white families were anxious for boarders to help offset the increasing cost of living. 'When it was frankly stated to them that these were young ladies from the north', he recalled, 'who were there for the purpose of teaching colored schools, they turned their backs upon them'.[277] As a result, many teachers were required to board in make-shift cabins or with a black family. The latter solution was often much to the teachers' displeasure given that many harboured racial prejudices and did not interact with the freedpeople outside of their charitable endeavours. While teaching in Warrenton, North Carolina, Margaret Thorpe and her teaching companion, Elizabeth Pennock, were compelled to board with a local black couple because the native whites would not provide them with living quarters. Nevertheless, in spite of her obvious racial biases, Thorpe was not overly displeased with this arrangement, most likely because her hosts were more than willing to wait upon the two teachers. Reflecting upon a visit from an Episcopalian clergyman, Thorpe wrote, 'Mr. Marshall called to-day while we were at dinner, and we were glad for him to see that we ate alone, with a man waiter, as the white people are under the impression that we live with uncle Albert and his family as one family, not with him as servants!'.[278] Evidently, Thorpe was content to live with black people providing they respected the pre-war racial hierarchy.

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[273] *The Freedmen's Record* (January 1865), p. 9.
[274] Richardson, *Christian Reconstruction,* pp 178-179; Butchart, *Schooling,* p. 97.
[275] *The American Freedman* (April 1868), p. 388.
[276] Ibid., pp 380-381.
[277] Testimony of Colonel E. Whittlesey, *Report of the Joint Committee on Reconstruction,* p. 183.

Elizabeth James found it particularly difficult to live comfortably on Roanoke Island and although she secured suitable accommodation in 1863, she was forced to give it up to Sarah and Kate Freeman in May 1864, who subsequently shared the premises with Ella Roper and Mary Ann Burnap. Elizabeth's cousin, Horace James, promised to build her a new house but in the meantime she was required to live in a small cabin which she described as a 'little filthy vermin filled shanty'. [279] It was not until July 1865 that James moved to a comfortable home in the 'freedmen's village' section of the island.[280]

During the Civil War, the possibility of military invasion posed a very real threat. After the fall of Plymouth in April 1864 teachers were forced to evacuate to Roanoke Island and in February 1864 Confederate troops threatened to invade the Carteret-Craven region of eastern North Carolina.[281] Although they were unsuccessful, many teachers began to question their decision to work in the war-torn South. As Emily Gill wrote in 1864, 'However light a matter the Northern papers may make of it, we were in great danger of being captured that first week of February, as New Bern was defended by an insufficient number of troops'.[282] Tellingly, Gill did not return to North Carolina for a second year of teaching.[283]

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[278] Morton, 'A "Yankee teacher" in North Carolina', p. 581.
[279] James cited in Click, *A time full of trial,* p. 88.
[280] Ibid.
[281] Click, *A time full of trial,* p. 128; Judkin Browning, 'Bringing light to our land', p. 6.

Many of the freedpeople's teachers in North Carolina relied on the companionship of their fellow teachers to help them through the difficult times. As Elizabeth James wrote of Mary Ann Burnap, 'She is a comfort to my heart every day'.[284] Nevertheless, personalities clashed and conflicts frequently arose between the teachers, much to the perplexity of the superintendents who often struggled to keep the peace. In 1864, for instance, Reverend William Briggs of the AMA admitted that he was particularly eager to diffuse a situation that had arisen between two female teachers. 'I would suggest that if teachers are allowed to begin this game', he wrote his colleague George Whipple, 'the Lord only knows where it will end'.[285]

Nellie F. Stearns from Bedford, Massachusetts, was also particularly aggrieved with a fellow teacher who developed a relationship with a government clerk. 'He came in the other night and had a regular romp with one of the girls', complained Stearns to her friend at home. 'They made a great noise and I have just heard there have been remarks about it by people who passed. This young lady is very lively and rather coarse and rude, and I suspect she will get us all into trouble'.[286] Worried that this particular woman would bring the entire teaching force into disrepute, Stearns concluded, 'A few thoughtless girls bring scandal on the rest of us, and I declare it makes me *provoked*. There are abominable stories about the teachers circulated and believed too even by sensible *Northern* people'.[287] In spite of this drawback, Stearns claimed that she enjoyed living and working in North Carolina. In her spare time, which she admitted was not too often, Stearns planned to go horseback riding to see the countryside, especially the cotton fields which were somewhat of a novelty. 'We have very pleasant social times and I enjoy my life here much', she concluded.[288]

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[282] Emily Gill cited in Browning, 'Bringing light to our land', p. 6.
[283] Butchart, The FTP.
[284] Elizabeth James, 7 April 1864, Roanoke Island Freedmen's Colony, (http://www.roanokefreedmenscolony.com/let2.pdf) (16 September 2015).
[285] Reverend William Briggs cited in Browning, 'Bringing light to our land', p. 8.
[286] Nellie F. Stearns to Lizzie, 5 November 1865, Nellie F. Stearns papers, David M. Rubenstein Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina, hereafter cited as Nellie F. Stearns papers.
[287] Ibid., emphasis in original.

According to Patricia Click, AMA teacher Mary Ann Burnap provoked many altercations while stationed at Roanoke Island, particularly between herself and those who worked for a secular organisation. 'I am pained every day by remarks by teachers from the other societies', complained Burnap to George Whipple, 'they can see that there is *something* that gives success to the christian, and it makes them feel *envious*'.[289] Ultimately, as Judkin Browning acknowledged, by failing to 'unite in purpose and direction for the benefit of the freedpeople', such conflict worked to stymie black educational advancement.[290]

Many of the teachers were under the constant threat of illness, primarily due to the harsh weather conditions, sickly southern climate, inadequate food supply, and primitive housing. Malaria was particularly prevalent in North Carolina during this period and both Nellie Stearns and Sarah Freeman contracted the disease while working in the South.[291] Indeed, the FTP reveals that ten northern white teachers died whilst working in the South.[292] Unsurprisingly, the difficult southern lifestyle led many teachers to withdraw from the South, resulting in a high turnover in teachers. As previously mentioned, ninety-five northern white teachers taught for just one year before returning home to the North.[293] Although Margaret Thorpe dedicated six years of her life to freedpeople's education, she ultimately left because she could not withstand the harsh southern conditions any longer. 'We are beaten, not spiritually but physically and cannot stay any longer than to the end of this month', she wrote in her diary in April 1871.[294]

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[288] Ibid.
[289] Burnap cited in Click, *A time full of trial,* p. 90, emphasis in original.
[290] Browning, 'Bringing light to our land', p. 2.
[291] Stearns to Lizzie, 5 November 1865, Nellie F. Stearns papers; Sarah Freeman, 7 July 1864, Roanoke Island Freedmen's Colony, (http://www.roanokefreedmenscolony.com/let3.pdf) (16 September 2015).
[292] Butchart, The FTP.
[293] Ibid.
[294] Morton, 'A "Yankee teacher" in North Carolina', p. 581.

Conclusion

Northern white teachers played an important role in the construction of freedpeople's education in North Carolina. Although northern white teachers constituted just thirty per cent of the entire teaching force, they were instrumental in the growth and development of southern black schools, particularly during the early stages of war when southern blacks lacked the educational capacity and financial resources to sustain their own schools. Recognising the reluctance, and indeed downright opposition, of many southern whites towards aiding the freedpeople, southern black schooling would not have been possible had it not been for the men and women who left their homes in the North to teach and minster to a recently liberated people.

Northern white teachers engaged in black education for a variety of reasons. And each of these reasons was as unique as the teachers themselves. Some went South to fulfil a religious duty while others viewed their work as a means of contributing to the Union war effort. More still were motivated by the desire to reform the former slaves, principally in an effort to protect American society. Few, however, used education to extend the boundaries of black freedom. Indeed, a desire to aid the freedpeople's social, economic, and political advancement was irrelevant to all but a minority of teachers.

Although northern white teachers did not always share the same goals or vision of black education as their sponsoring organisation, their motives for seeking work in a southern black school cannot be understood without considering how the freedmen's aid societies perceived black people and the role of education. Essentially, two fundamental objectives underscored northern involvement in freedmen's work: to inculcate the former slaves with northern ideals and values and to mould the former slaves into a subservient labour force. Shaped by a belief in black inferiority, each of these goals served the wider aims of reforming the freedpeople, protecting society, and restructuring the former Confederate states. Admittedly, few of the teachers examined in this study explicitly attempted to push the freedpeople back into the fields and onto the plantations; this was a directive that, in most cases, came from above. Instead, northern white teachers attempted to mould their students into self-sufficient labourers in order to reduce black dependency. Ultimately, however, efforts to impose the dominant society's beliefs, value system, and way of life upon the freed slaves represented a form of cultural colonialism and, consequently, worked to thwart black education and undermine the former slaves' unique cultural heritage.

CHAPTER II

Quakers, Slaveholders, and Confederate Soldiers: Southern White Teachers in North Carolina's Schools for the Freedpeople, 1861-1875

'The desire for gain or earthly esteem is not sufficient to sustain any man amid the trials of the occupation', Edward Payson Hall, Quaker teacher, 1868.

Introduction

During the summer of 1866, Mary N. Bowers began teaching the freedpeople in her Chapel Hill home. Assisted by her husband, William Green Bowers, Mary taught the former slaves for a total of four years, two of which were under the sponsorship of a Quaker aid society.[1] Writing to the Freedmen's Bureau shortly after resuming this work, Mary explained that she had 'a great interest in the improvement of the colored people'.[2] Mary's neighbours did not share these sentiments, however, and furious with her decision to teach the freedpeople, threatened to drive both Mary and William from their home. The white people 'are *very bitter* against me for teaching the colored people', she admitted to F. A. Fiske, North Carolina's Superintendent of Education, and '*no* one seems to be willing that they should be taught at all'.[3]

One year later, in the burgeoning town of Charlotte, a Presbyterian minister named Willis L. Miller established Biddle Memorial Institute, a third-level institution designed to educate black men for the teaching and preaching professions. Born to a prominent planter family, Miller was an ex-slaveholding Confederate soldier and his reasons for engaging in black education were less about racial advancement and more about social control.[4] Yet, like Bowers, he too was vilified by his white neighbours and ostracised from the community. Frequently facing death threats and intimidation, Miller conceded, 'A man from the North doing the work I did would have been killed'.[5] Indeed, the only reason Miller's life was spared was because local ministers dissuaded hostile whites from interfering in his work.[6] After teaching the former slaves for two years, Miller decided to move his family westward, reflecting in 1902 that he had 'broken down under the strain'.[7]

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[1] William Green Bowers assisted Mary for the school year 1866-1867 only. For the remaining three years, Mary taught without her husband's assistance. See Ronald E. Butchart, The Freedmen's Teacher Project (2013), used with permission, hereafter cited as the FTP.

[2] Mary Bowers to F. A. Fiske, 20 September 1866, Records of the Superintendent of Education for the State of North Carolina, Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, M844:10, hereafter cited as Records of the Superintendent of Education.

[3] Bowers to Fiske, 12 October 1866 and 20 September 1866, Records of the Superintendent of Education, emphasis in original.

Bowers and Miller were but two of the countless southern white men and women who elected to teach the former slaves in North Carolina's newly established schools for the freedpeople. This chapter interrogates the profile of these teachers. In particular, this chapter investigates what motivated southern whites to engage in black education and explores how their ideas, beliefs, and values shaped the contours of black freedom.

The teachers' biographical profile

Between 1861 and 1875, most of the teachers in North Carolina's schools for the freedpeople were from the South: 868 to be exact.[8] 613 of these teachers were black, 143 were white and the race of 112 is unknown.[9] Although 143 may initially seem like an insignificant number, a detailed analysis of the southern white teacher in North Carolina's post-emancipation black schools is virtually absent from the historical literature. Moreover, given the paucity of records which support their work, it is possible that the actual number of southern white teachers was significantly greater than can definitely be accounted for.

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[4] A more detailed analysis of Bowers' and Miller's work will be provided later in the chapter.

[5] *The Presbyterian,* 27 August 1902.

[6] Ibid.

[7] Ibid.

[8] As mentioned in the introduction to this dissertation, a total of 1,419 teachers worked in North Carolina's black schools between 1861 and 1867. Butchart, The FTP.

[9] Ibid.

Most of the southern white teachers were men. Between 1861 and 1875, 105 men taught the freedpeople compared to just thirty-eight women.[10] The low number of female teachers was most likely due to the fact that southern white women in antebellum North Carolina, particularly those of the middle and upper classes, largely abstained from engaging in paid labour. Although Drew G. Faust found that some southern white women could be found in professions such as milliners, bakers, and seamstresses, she argued that 'far fewer southern than northern white women were employed outside the domestic sphere of their own households, and fewer still of these were of the middling or upper orders'.[11] Admittedly, teaching was one of the few professions open to antebellum middle-class women. Although, as Kim Tolley recently argued, teaching may not have been perceived as an appropriate occupation for the daughter of a wealthy family, it was perfectly acceptable, and indeed profitable, for the woman who was 'neither a plantation mistress nor a southern belle'.[12] Nevertheless, in 1860 only seven per cent of the teachers in North Carolina were female and an analysis of the Freedmen's Teacher Project (FTP) indicates that none of the thirty-eight southern white female teachers engaged in paid labour prior to working in a black school.[13] Predictably, the Civil War propelled women into the public realm and in the absence of a male workforce many women were compelled to engage in activities and professions that were traditionally male dominated, such as nursing and teaching. Thus, by 1865 Faust found that 'there were as many female as male teachers in the state'.[14]

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[10] Ibid.

[11] Drew G. Faust, *Mothers of invention in the American Civil War* (Chapel Hill, 1996), p. 81.

[12] Kim Tolley, *Heading South to teach: The world of Susan Nye Hutchinson, 1815-1845* (Chapel Hill, 2015), p. 5.

[13] Faust, *Mothers of invention,* p. 82; Butchart, The FTP.

[14] Faust, *Mothers of invention,* p. 82.

Although teaching became more widely accepted as an appropriate female activity, many southern white women experienced opposition to teaching in a post-emancipation black school. As Butchart observed, southern white women were 'crossing a double boundary' by teaching the freedpeople, 'the boundary between traditional women's domestic work and paid labor, on the one hand, and the boundary limiting interracial contact, particularly contact that would promote black intellectual reach'.[15] This explains why few southern white women worked in North Carolina's black schools. Indeed, it is possible that during the Civil War period, southern white women sought work in a white, rather than black, school.

All but four of the southern white teachers were from North Carolina. These four teachers came from the nearby states of Florida, South Carolina, and Virginia. Only one teacher, Thomas D. Erwin, a native of North Carolina, did not teach in the state. Erwin spent two years teaching in an independent, unsupported black school in Anderson, South Carolina.[16]

The religion is known for fifty-seven teachers. An impressive forty-one of these men and women were members of the Religious Society of Friends, more commonly known as Quakers. Although, as Butchart found, North Carolina Quakers represented 'less than 2 percent of the state's church membership' in 1860 and 1870, they constituted more than seventy per cent of the southern white teachers whose religion is known.[17] As discussed in the introduction to this dissertation, North Carolina Quakers were profoundly antislavery. Although many owned slaves, by 1750 Quakers throughout the United States began to fundamentally denounce racial slavery.[18] In 1778 the North Carolina Yearly Meeting of Friends forbade church members from buying or selling slaves and those who refused were disowned by the church. Thereafter,

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[15] Butchart, *Schooling,* p. 56.

[16] Butchart, The FTP.

[17] Butchart, *Schooling,* p. 64; Butchart, The FTP. Butchart calculated the percentage of North Carolina Quakers based on the number of 'accommodations' (1860) and number of 'sittings' (1870) in the decennial censuses. 'No data was collected regarding church membership', he wrote. 'To estimate relative sizes of the denominations, then, a rough estimate can be made by the number of parishioners who could be accommodated, assuming that excess capacity would be roughly equal across denominations'. Butchart, *Schooling,* pp 223-224.

[18] Hiram H. Hilty, *Freedom for all: North Carolina Quakers and slavery* (Richmond, IN, 1984), p. 1.

North Carolina Quakers began freeing their slaves on a rapid basis.[19] Proslavery lawmakers were quick to respond, however, and as William T. Auman found, ‘viewing free blacks as a threat to the security of both whites and slave property, responded by passing laws that forced many of the newly freed slaves back into slavery and, further, made it difficult to manumit slaves legally in the state’.[20]

Delphina E. Mendenhall, a Quaker teacher of the freedpeople from Guilford County, had great difficulty emancipating her slaves. Prior to his death in 1860, her husband George emancipated fifty slaves. By will he emancipated thirty more. However, Mendenhall struggled to remove these slaves safely from the state. ‘In 1860 I succeeded in removing a part of these [slaves] to Ohio’, she wrote. ‘In 1861 I started with all the remainder, & was turned back by an armed mob – There was great rejoicing among the pro-slavery part of the community’.[21] By 1864, Mendenhall had ‘12 men and boys still on hand’, eight of whom were previously enslaved to her. ‘I had no power to emancipate them by will’ she explained, ‘that power being taken away by our Legislator, the next session after the death of my Husband’.[22] When the war ended in 1865 Mendenhall attempted to obtain passports for each of these men so that they could safely relocate to Ohio.[23]

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[19] William T. Auman, *Civil War in the North Carolina Quaker Belt: The Confederate campaign against peace agitators, deserters and draft dodgers* (Jefferson, 2014), p. 11.

[20] Auman, *Civil War,* p. 11.

[21] Delphina E. Mendenhall to John L. Ham, 1 February 1869, Paul W. Bean Civil War papers, University of Maine, (http://digitalcommons.library.umaine.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1053&context=paul_bean_papers) (05 October 2015).

[22] Delphina E. Mendenhall to Judith A. Crenshaw, 28 November 1864, Hobbs and Mendenhall family papers, 1787-1949, Southern Historical Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, hereafter cited as Hobbs and Mendenhall papers.

[23] Ibid.

Figure 1: Delphina E. Mendenhall (Image courtesy of the Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College, Greensboro, North Carolina)

North Carolina Quakers were also deeply committed to black education. Indeed, John Hope Franklin found that Quakers were teaching slaves in North Carolina as early as 1771.[24] In 1821, Levi Coffin and his cousin Vestal established a Sabbath school near their home in New Garden, Guilford County, to teach slaves to read. This was done with the permission of the slaves' masters who, according to Coffin, were more lenient than others. In spite of their students' progress, however, local slaveholders forced Levi and Vestal to shut their school down after just a few months. Threatening to report the school for violating North Carolina's anti-literacy slave law, these men visited the masters who allowed their slaves to attend school and demanded that they be removed at once. 'They said it made their slaves discontented and uneasy', Coffin recalled, 'and created a desire for the privileges that others had'.[25] Although Coffin was forced to shut his school down, he remained committed to antislavery activism and during his lifetime he helped thousands of enslaved people escape to the North. Such efforts ultimately earned him the nickname 'President of the Underground Railroad'. 'I had the honor of wearing that title for thirty years', he wrote, 'and it was not until the great celebration of the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution, by the colored people at Cincinnati, that I resigned the office, and laid aside the name conferred on me by Southern slave-hunters'.[26]

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[24] John Hope Franklin, *The free Negro in North Carolina, 1790-1860* (reprint, New York, 1971), p. 167.

Most of the Quaker teachers in North Carolina taught under the auspices of the Friends' Freedmen's Association (FFA), an organisation established in Philadelphia in 1863. Others were sponsored by individual Quaker churches located throughout the country. In 1869, for instance, the North Carolina Yearly Meeting of Friends established a freedmen's aid organisation under the direction of Dr Tomlinson.[27] Although the FFA can be classified as a religious freedmen's aid society, it was unlike the religious societies discussed in Chapter I because it did not attempt to convert the freedpeople to Quakerism.[28] In addition, the FFA was willing to sponsor teachers from other denominations. Eliza A. Bahel, a Methodist from Pennsylvania, taught the freedpeople in Washington, D.C., and Salisbury, North Carolina, over a period of five years, all of which were under the sponsorship of the FFA.[29]

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[25] Levi Coffin, *Reminisces of Levin Coffin, the reputed president of the Underground Railroad* (2nd ed., Cincinnati, 1880), p. 71. A more detailed analysis of antebellum slave education is provided in Chapter III.
[26] Coffin, *Reminisces,* p. 190.
[27] Damon D. Hickey, 'Pioneers of the new South: The Baltimore Association and North Carolina Friends in Reconstruction' in *Quaker History,* vol. 74, no. 1 (1985), pp 1-17, see specifically p. 7.
[28] Report of James W. Hood in Samuel S. Ashley, *Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of North Carolina for the year 1869* (Raleigh, 1869), p. 21, available at Documenting the American South, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, (http://docsouth.unc.edu/nc/report1869/report1869.html) (08 November 2015).
[29] Butchart, The FTP.

The Baltimore Association was another Quaker organisation that was active in North Carolina. Although this organisation did not sponsor any of the southern white teachers examined in this chapter, it employed a total of six men and women, both black and white, from the North.[30] Interestingly, the Baltimore Association was one of the few organisations that focused its efforts upon the establishment of white, rather than black, schools.[31] Although organisations such as the AMA did not prohibit white children from attending their schools, few whites were willing to be educated alongside blacks. Reflecting upon his failed attempt to establish a school for both whites and blacks in Raleigh, northern-born educator Fisk Parsons Brewer observed that whites were willing to go without schooling 'rather than bear up against the ridicule that meets them for going to a freedman's school'.[32] Brewer's subsequent attempt to establish a college preparatory school for poor white men also failed 'when [the students] found out that I was so much engaged with the "niggers"'.[33]

Of course some white parents were so eager for education that they were willing to send their children to a black school. In 1863, AMA teacher Susan Hosmer reported that some poor whites in New Bern were seeking the organisation's assistance. 'Being earnestly requested by a mother, a white child was permitted to become a member of our school', she wrote in September of that year. 'Since then several others have come in without permission and as we come to work for all, they have not been turned away'.[34] Incidents such as this often inspired freedpeople's teachers to seek funding for the establishment of white schools. Indeed, Willis Miller often petitioned the Freedmen's Bureau for aid for this very purpose, usually with limited success.[35] As Judkin Browning wrote, ‘Efforts to create similar schools for whites were feeble and usually of brief duration because Northern agents determined that the native white hostility to black education would prohibit any full welcoming of those same whites to the privileges of education’.[36] Ultimately, the white community’s efforts to establish schools for themselves challenge the frequently repeated claim that poor whites were indifferent to education. As James D. Anderson explained:

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[30] Ibid.
[31] Hickey, 'Pioneers of the New South', p. 3, p. 6.
[32] Brewer cited in John K. Chapman, 'Black freedom and the University of North Carolina, 1793-1960' (PhD thesis, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2006), p. 124.
[33] Brewer cited in Roberta S. Alexander, *North Carolina faces the freedmen: Race relations during Presidential Reconstruction, 1865-1867* (Durham, 1865), p. 157. For more information on the white schools established in North Carolina, see New England Freedmen's Aid Society, *Second annual report of the New England Freedmen's Aid Society* (Boston, 1864), p. 34.
[34] Hosmer cited in Judkin Browning, *Shifting loyalties: The Union Occupation of eastern North Carolina* (Chapel Hill, 2011), pp 109-110.

> Poor whites were not so much indifferent as they were bound to the planters’ regime. Before the war poor children were unable to afford private schooling and only rarely had the opportunity to attend charity institutions. In the immediate postwar years the region’s poor whites, in general, were still too closely tied to the planters interests and ideology to pursue a different conception of education and society.[37]

Although Quakers opposed racial slavery and supported black education, few were completely devoid of racial prejudice. In particular, many Quakers were reluctant to admit black members into their churches. As Linda B. Selleck found, by the mid-nineteenth century, ‘no Quaker group was wholeheartedly ready to either intentionally invite African Americans into church membership or encourage the setting up of monthly meetings’.[38] However, Selleck argued that this reluctance stemmed from a complex mixture of social, legal, and cultural factors. Aside from the ‘restrictive laws’ and ‘virulent racism’ in both the North and the South, Selleck found that Quakers were wary about black people’s emotional style of religious worship. In particular, many worried that black congregants would break into singing during times of silence. ‘Such biases’, Selleck continued, ‘proved Friends insensitive to the needs of people whose stories and songs were part of their oral history’.[39]

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[35] See, for example, F. A. Fisk to Willis L. Miller, 13 February 1868, Records of the Superintendent of Education, M844:2.

[36] Judkin Browning, ‘“Bringing light to our land…when she was dark as night”: Northerners, freedpeople, and education during military occupation in North Carolina, 1862-1865’ in *Nineteenth Century American History,* vol. 9, no. 1 (2008), pp 1-17, quotation p. 6.

[37] James D. Anderson, *The education of blacks in the South, 1860-1935* (Chapel Hill, 1988), p. 26.

[38] Linda B. Selleck, *Gentle Invaders: Quaker women educators and racial issues during the Civil War and Reconstruction* (Indiana, 1995), p. 168.

[39] Ibid., p. 171.

The remaining sixteen teachers whose religion is known were of the Presbyterian or Protestant Episcopal faith. When the Civil War broke out in 1861, both of these churches divided into northern and southern factions.[40] Thus, it is likely that the southern white Presbyterian and Episcopalian teachers belonged to the southern, rather than northern, churches. Six of the teachers were ministers prior to working in a black school so it is possible that they engaged in freedpeople's education for religious reasons. Indeed, in 1865 F. A. Fiske reported that two churches in North Carolina had recently 'urged upon their constituency the duty of laboring for the religious instruction of the colored people'.[41] Although Fiske did not identify either of these religious organisations, it is possible that he was referring to the Presbyterian and Protestant Episcopal churches because the southern factions of both of these churches actively advocated white participation in black education. On 29 August 1866, for instance, *The North Carolina Presbyterian* called for more southern whites to educate the freedpeople. While the reporter acknowledged that many white southerners were opposed to black schooling and openly hostile towards those who engaged in the work, he argued that black schools could be used to maintain social control. Moreover, with or without their assistance, the freedpeople were determined to gain access to education. 'Our unwillingness to see the negro educated...will not prevent that consummation', he argued. 'Our refusal to do the work, will not insure his continuance in ignorance, even if that was desirable'.[42]

Most of the Presbyterian and Episcopalian teachers were sponsored by their churches' respective freedmen's aid societies, the Presbyterian Committee on Missions to Freedmen (PCMF) or the Protestant Episcopal Freedmen's Commission (PEFC).[43] As discussed in

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[40] Walter H. Conser and Robert J. Cain, *Presbyterians in North Carolina: Race, politics and religious identity in historical perspective* (Knoxville, 2010), p. 113; Gardiner H. Shattuck, *Episcopalians and race: Civil War to Civil Rights* (Lexington, 2000), p. 9.

[41] State superintendent's monthly school reports, December 1865, Records of the Superintendent of Education, M844:13.

[42] *The North Carolina Presbyterian,* 29 August 1866.

[43] Butchart, The FTP.

Chapter I, both of these organisations were established in the North at the onset of the Civil War. Although the southern factions of these churches claimed to support black education, they did not establish freedmen's aid societies explicitly for that purpose. This caused some issues when southern church members attempted to engage in freedpeople's education. In 1867, for example, two white Presbyterian ministers were forced to leave their presbytery, the Presbytery of Concord, for accepting commissions with the PCMF.[44]

The sponsoring organisation has not been identified for eighty-nine, just over sixty per cent, of the southern white teaching force.[45] This suggests that these particular teachers were working in independent schools that were principally supported by a combination of private tuition fees and aid from the Freedmen's Bureau. Indeed, the records of the Freedmen's Bureau support this claim. In January 1868, F. A. Fiske reported that more than two-thirds of the schools in North Carolina were 'sustained without aid from Northern Societies and need some assistance from the bureau in the form of rent or otherwise'.[46]

Twenty-three southern white teachers fought in the Confederate Army.[47] According to Butchart, it is likely that 'poverty and the mounting hardships arising from post-war southern agricultural disasters' drove such men 'into classrooms to which they had little commitment'.[48] Indeed, most of the Confederate teachers taught for one year. None taught for more than three.[49] Seventeen teachers were former slaveholders or from a slaveholding family. Typically, these men and women spent just over one and a half years teaching the former slaves. Only one teacher, Edward Payson Hall, spent any considerable length of time in a black school. Tellingly, Hall converted to Quakerism during the Civil War and he spent five years teaching the freedpeople under the auspices of the FFA.[50] In his analysis of such teachers, Butchart concluded that the ex-slaveholding teachers ‘were not drawn from the ranks of the South’s elite slave owners’.[51] One exception was the aforementioned Willis Miller. Although Miller owned fewer than ten slaves in 1860 and, therefore, cannot be considered a planter (someone who typically owned twenty slaves or more), he came from a privileged planter family. ‘He was the son of a most worthy ancestry’, wrote his teaching companion in 1870, ‘his parents were in prosperous circumstances and he was reared amid the refining influences of the best Southern families’.[52]

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[44] Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, *Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America* (Philadelphia, 1866), p. 443.

[45] Butchart, The FTP.

[46] F. A. Fiske to General N. A. Miles, 1 January 1868, Records of the Superintendent of Education, M844:2.

[47] Butchart, The FTP.

[48] Ronald E. Butchart, 'Troops to teachers, 19th century style: Civil War veterans as teachers of the freed people' at the *American Educational Research Association* (San Francisco, 2013), pp 1-23.

[49] Butchart, The FTP.

White North Carolinians began teaching the freedpeople in 1864. John T. Phillips and John C. Hiatt, both Quakers, were the pioneer teachers in the state. The number of southern white teachers rose slowly over the next two years and peaked during the school year 1867-1868. Thereafter, the number of southern white teachers gradually declined so that by 1875 they numbered five.[53]

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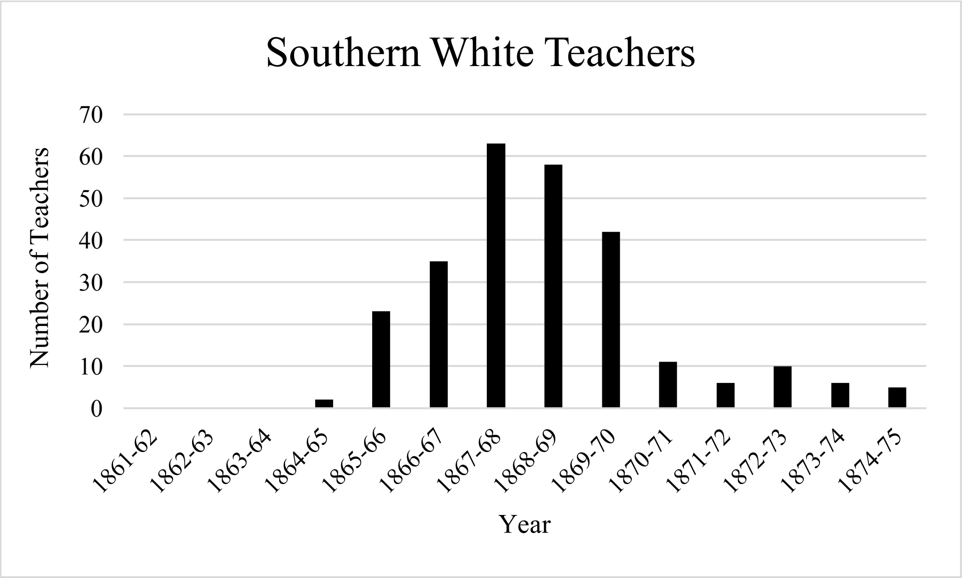
[50] Butchart, The FTP; Butchart, *Schooling*, p. 64.

[51] Butchart, *Schooling,* p. 61.

[52] 1860 U.S. federal census, slave schedules, Davidson County, North Carolina, (www.ancestry,com) (17 November 2015); Samuel Alexander cited in Inez M. Parker, *The Biddle-Johnson C. Smith University story* (Charlotte, 1975), p. 5.

[53] Butchart, The FTP.

Table 6: Participation rates of southern white teachers, 1861-1875



Source: The Freedmen's Teacher Project

The participation rates of southern white teachers provide some initial clues to their motivations. Firstly, when the Civil War ended in 1865, poverty was widespread throughout North Carolina and many people were focused upon rebuilding their lives. This may explain why few southern whites taught prior to 1867. As Roberta Alexander wrote, 'Whites were too busy with other problems, such as economic recovery'.[54] Indeed, Francis King of the Baltimore Association admitted that he struggled to find teachers among the Quaker community during the early stages of Reconstruction because people were 'so very poor since the war' and 'had not the means to organize'.[55] Increased poverty in the aftermath of the Civil War also suggests that financial necessity compelled many southern whites to seek work in a black school. Although the prior occupation is known for just thirty-six of the male teachers, fifteen were farmers before the war.[56] Given that much of North Carolina's farming resources were left devastated after the Civil War, it is likely that many of these teachers engaged in black schooling for financial reasons.

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[54] Roberta S. Alexander, 'Hostility and hope: Black education in North Carolina during Presidential Reconstruction, 1865-1867' in *The North Carolina Historical Review*, vol. 53, no. 2 (1979), pp 113-132.

[55] Francis King cited in Hickey, 'Pioneers of the New South', p. 6.

[56] Butchart, The FTP.

Secondly, that most southern white teachers did not begin working in a southern black school until 1867 suggests that these teachers were less committed to freedpeople's education than their black or northern white counterparts, some of whom began teaching the freedpeople as early as 1862. Indeed, an analysis of the teachers' tenure is also indicative of a lack of commitment to black education. On average, southern white teachers spent just over one and a half years in a black school. For comparison, northern white teachers typically spent three and a half years in the South while black teachers spent almost three years teaching the freedpeople. Over half of the southern white teachers spent just one year teaching the freedpeople, seventy-nine to be exact. Only two teachers, Judith Mendenhall and William C. Welborn, taught for nine years. Indeed, Welborn taught beyond 1875 although corresponding data is not available for those years. Tellingly, both Mendenhall and Welborn were Quakers.[57]

It is also worth considering that some southern whites may have been reluctant to teach the freedpeople during the initial stages of southern black schooling because, prior to the Emancipation Proclamation in 1863, North Carolina's enslaved population was not legally free and slave education remained illegal. In 1862, for instance, Edward W. Stanley, the military governor of eastern North Carolina, ordered the closing of two black schools in New Bern. Both of these schools were established by Union Army chaplain and Superintendent of the Poor Vincent Colyer and endorsed by Union general John G. Foster. In an address to the freedpeople, Colyer stated:

> These schools are now to be closed, not by the officer of the army, under whose sanction they have been commenced, but by the necessity laid upon me by Governor Stanley, who has informed me that it is a criminal offence, under the laws of North Carolina, to teach

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[57] Ibid.

> the blacks to read, which laws he has come from Washington with instructions to enforce.[58]

The northern press was outraged when they learned of Stanley's actions. As *Harper's Weekly* reported shortly after the schools closed, 'Mr. Stanley is sent by the United States as Military Governor and he begins by closing the schools for poor blacks, and by allowing people who are willing to go through the farce of an oath to kidnap any body whom they chose to call their slaves'.[59] The second part of this statement refers to an incident in which Stanley returned an escaped slave to his former master.[60]

Although the FTP provides some initial clues to the teachers' motivations, an analysis of traditional archival sources elucidates the reasons why some southern whites taught the freedpeople. However, in order to fully understand why some white North Carolinians chose to engage in black education while others vehemently opposed it, it is first necessary to examine North Carolina's socioeconomic climate during the Reconstruction period.

Reconstruction North Carolina

When the Civil War ended in 1865, North Carolina lay in ruins. Not only had emancipation completely transformed the region's social, political, and economic landscape but the widespread destruction left in the wake of both the Union and Confederate armies meant that the vast majority of southern whites emerged from the war in poverty. Although few major battles occurred in North Carolina during the Civil War period, the Union Army waged many aggressive campaigns in the state. Brigadier General Ambrose E. Burnside's expedition during the spring and summer of 1862 was particularly successful in capturing many strategic locations along North Carolina's coastal plains, including Roanoke Island, New Bern, Fort Macon, and Beaufort.[61] When news of the fall of Roanoke Island reached nearby Elizabeth City in February 1862, panic stricken residents attempted to burn the town to the ground in an effort to subvert the growing expansion of the Union Army into North Carolina's interior.[62] As Richard Creecy, a local resident, later reflected, 'Roanoke Island was attacked and captured early in February, and the people of Elizabeth City were first to hear the sad news…Many thought it best to set fire to our houses and retreat by the light, as the Russians had successfully done at Moscow when invaded by Napoleon. Colonel Starke approved it. Others did it when the time came'.[63] Although the fire only succeeded in burning a very small section of the town, Elizabeth City rapidly deteriorated as the Civil War progressed. As one *New York Times* correspondent wrote in 1864:

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[58] Vincent Colyer, *Report of the services rendered by the freed people to the United States Army, in North Carolina, in the spring of 1862, after the battle of Newbern* (New York, 1864), available at Rootsweb, (http://www.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~ncusct/freemen.htm) (30 October 2015).

[59] *Harper's Weekly,* 21 June 1862.

[60] William C. Harris, *With charity for all: Lincoln and the restoration of the Union* (Kentucky, 1997), p. 66. According to Steven E. Nash, Stanley, a native of North Carolina, was unhappy with the prospect of emancipation and wanted to help restore North Carolina 'to the Union as it existed in 1860'. Steven E. Nash, 'North Carolina' in Richard Zuczek, *Encyclopaedia of the Reconstruction era: M-Z and primary documents, volume 2* (London, 2006), p. 447.

> As we rode into Elizabeth City, a little after sunrise, I was surprised to see now its appearance had been changed by the war. Three years ago it was a busy and beautiful little city, noted for the number of its stores and manufactories, the extent and variety of its trade, for its enterprise and the rapid increase of it's population. Now most of the dwellings were deserted, the stores all closed, the streets overgrown with grass, its elegant edifices reduced to heaps of ruins by vandal Georgian troops, the doors of the bank standing wide open, and a sepulchral silence brooded over the place.[64]

In December 1863, Brigadier General Edward A. Wild launched a three-week raid on the Northeastern region of North Carolina. According to Barton A. Myers, Wild's raid grew progressively 'more aggressive, and far more destructive' in an attempt to crush guerrilla warfare in the region.[65] During this three-week period, homes were burned, farms and infrastructure were destroyed, and livestock was confiscated. On one occasion, Wild sent

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[61] Judkin Browning, 'Visions of freedom and civilization opening before them: African Americans search for autonomy during military occupation in North Carolina' in Paul D. Escott (ed.), *North Carolinians in the era of the Civil War and Reconstruction* (Chapel Hill, 2008), pp 69-100, see p. 71 specifically.

[62] Alex Christopher Meekins, *Elizabeth City, North Carolina and the Civil War: A history of battle and occupation* (Charleston, 2007), p. 29.

[63] Richard Benbury Creecy, *Grandfather's tales of North Carolina history* (Raleigh, 1901), p. 222.

[64] *The New York Times,* 9 January 1864.

[65] Barton A. Myers, 'A More rigorous style of warfare: Wild's raid, guerrilla violence, and negotiated neutrality in northeastern North Carolina' in Escott, *North Carolinians,* pp 37-68, quotation p. 39.

Colonel Draper to Knott's Island along the eastern seaboard to burn as many guerrilla houses as he could find. 'As we left the village,' wrote a northern journalist accompanying Wild's expedition, 'smoke was seen rising from several points on Knotts island, showing that Col. Draper was carrying out the order of the General, "to burn pretty freely"'.[66]

General William T. Sherman's march through Georgia and the Carolinas en route to Virginia during the winter of 1864-1865 was, as Daniel Brown described, 'equally ruinous'.[67] After employing a scorched earth policy in Georgia and South Carolina, white North Carolinians fearfully awaited Sherman's advance. 'What the fate of our pleasant towns and villages and of our isolated farmhouses would be, we could easily read by the light of the blazing roof-trees that lit up the path of the advancing army', reflected Cornelia Phillips Spenser of Chapel Hill in 1866.[68] White North Carolinians were right to be anxious. Approximately three months into the campaign, John G. Barrett found that forty miles of countryside from Savannah, Georgia, to Goldsboro, North Carolina, 'had been laid to waste'.[69]

The use of foraging by both armies was often as destructive as Union raids and ultimately left North Carolina both physically and economically devastated. Prior to commencing his 'March to the Sea', Sherman issued Special Field Order No. 120 which advised his army to 'forage liberally'.[70] Soldiers were instructed to gather corn, meat, vegetables, horses, mules, and wagons as well as 'whatever is needed by the command'. They were also given permission to destroy mills, houses, and cotton gins. If guerrillas or hostile civilians attempted to obstruct the march, Sherman permitted the army commander to 'order and enforce a devastation more or less relentless, according to the measure of such hostility'.[71] Although Sherman warned that the destruction of property was not permitted in areas 'where the army is unmolested', few men adhered to this rule. As John Barrett wrote, 'The majority of officers and men in Sherman's army neither engaged in indiscriminate looting nor condemned the actions of those who did'.[72] Jane Constance Hinton, Willis Miller's sister, could certainly attest to this and on 15 April 1865, six days after Confederate General Robert E. Lee surrendered at the Appomattox Court House in Virginia, Hinton's plantation home was ransacked and raided by 'bummers', or foragers, of Sherman's army.[73]

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[66] *The New York Times,* 9 January 1864.

[67] Daniel Brown, 'The Freedmen's Bureau in Reconstruction North Carolina' (PhD thesis, Queen's University Belfast, 2012), p. 3.

[68] Cornelia Phillips Spenser, *The last ninety days of the war in North Carolina* (New York, 1866), p. 31, available at Documenting the American South, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, (http://docsouth.unc.edu/true/spencer/spencer.html) (12 November 2015).

[69] John G. Barrett, 'Sherman and total war in the Carolinas' in *The North Carolina Historical Review,* vol. 37, no. 3 (1960), pp 367-381.

[70] William Tecumseh Sherman, *Memoirs of General William T. Sherman, volume II* (2nd ed., New York, 1904), p. 175.

In addition to the physical destruction, Sherman's total war campaign had a devastating effect upon the Confederate Army. 'Sherman's march through Georgia and South Carolina has disheartened the troops from those states & the mighty desertions from our skeleton Regiments are frightful', confessed one Confederate soldier two months prior to the collapse of the Confederacy. 'I am telling you a simple truth, it is far from my wish, but it is nevertheless true. Some report to Grant & some go home'.[74] Sherman's march through North Carolina struck an equally hard blow to North Carolina's Confederate troops. Indeed, desertion had been pervasive among North Carolina's regiments from as early as 1863, largely due to the strains of war on the home front.[75] As Robert E. Lee complained in 1863, the 'desertion of the North Carolina troops from this army is becoming so serious an evil that, unless it can be promptly arrested, I fear the troops from that State will be greatly reduced'.[76]

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[71] Sherman, *Memoirs,* p. 175.

[72] Barrett, 'Sherman and total war in the Carolinas', p. 370.

[73] Jane Constance Miller Hinton, 'The reminiscences of the key basket of a southern matron', 1890, 1895, and undated, Laurens Hinton papers, 1825-1896, Southern Historical Collection, The Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, hereafter cited as Laurens Hinton papers.

[74] Letter to Matilda Abernethy, 25 February 1865, William G. Dickson papers, 1767-1920, Southern Historical Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, hereafter cited as William G. Dickson papers.

[75] According to David Brown, desertion and the ambivalence of many North Carolinians towards the Civil War was not necessarily a reflection of diminishing support for the Confederacy. Instead, Brown argues that this apparent disloyalty to the Confederate cause was a result of strenuous wartime conditions, particularly the way in which these conditions impacted upon the soldiers' families at home, as well as unfair conscription laws and tax policies. See, David Brown, 'North Carolinian ambivalence: Rethinking loyalty and disaffection in the Civil War Piedmont' in Escott, *North Carolinians,* pp 7-36.

As the Civil War progressed, Union troops extended into North Carolina and in late March 1865, General George Stoneman also led raids in the western region of the state. Thus, as Walter Conser and Robert Cain observed, it was not until the final stages of the Civil War that 'the full fury of war became a reality' for many North Carolinians.[77] Finally, on 26 April 1865, seventeen days after Lee surrendered at Appomattox, the Confederate Army under General Joseph E. Johnston surrendered to Sherman at Bennett Place in Durham, North Carolina, thus signalling the end of Sherman's 'Carolinas Campaign'.[78]

The Civil War shattered the southern economy. Although North Carolina never retained a plantation system quite like neighbouring South Carolina or Virginia, much of its economic system was nonetheless heavily reliant upon slave labour; by 1860 slaves made up one-third of North Carolina's population, the vast majority of whom were located in the eastern region of the state.[79] In addition, the banking system had all but collapsed. Just before the outbreak of war, the Confederate dollar, commonly known as the 'greyback', went into circulation. As the war waged on, the number of banknotes increased, inflation occurred, Confederate currency lost its value and by 1865 the greyback was virtually worthless. Reflecting on the difficulties she faced during the post-Civil War period, Delphina Mendenhall wrote, 'I did not suffer any losses by either army – But by the destruction of the Banks, and State Stock, this means my Husband left for my support in old age, is gone, and person's indebted to my Husband's estate, were made insolvent by the war'.[80]

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[76] Robert E. Lee cited in Auman, *Civil War,* p. 69. According to Steven E. Nash, about 24,000 North Carolinians deserted the Confederate Army. However, although desertion was rife among North Carolina's troops, the state contributed more than 120,000 soldiers to the Confederate war effort, 'which exceeded the number of soldiers from any other southern state'. Nash, 'North Carolina', p. 446.

[77] Conser and Cain, *Presbyterians in North Carolina,* p. 131.

[78] Barrett, 'Sherman and total war in the Carolinas', p. 379.

[79] Franklin, *The free Negro,* p. 9.

[80] Delphina Mendenhall to John Ham, 1 February 1869, (http://digitalcommons.library.umaine.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1053&context=paul_bean_papers) (05 October 2015). As will be discussed later in this chapter, the war also destroyed North Carolina's pre-war system of public education.

Economic recovery was a slow process in North Carolina and all areas of the state were affected. Eight months after the Civil War ended, Samuel Ashley admitted that there was 'much suffering' in the South-eastern town of Fayetteville. 'Indeed there is suffering everywhere in the county', he concluded.[81] In 1866, a Scottish-born Presbyterian minister echoed Ashley's observations, reporting that 'a great deal' of property had been destroyed in North Carolina and that the property holders were now more or less impoverished.[82] One year later, Joel Ashworth, a native of the state, confided in a Quaker missionary that 'Times are rather hard in Randolph at this time money and provisions both scarce'.[83] By 1869 matters had not much improved and a black teacher from Pennsylvania wrote, 'there is scarcely any money in the country'.[84]

Although Union victory succeeded in abolishing slavery, black labour was still needed in the fields and on the plantations. Thus, many southern whites attempted to re-enslave the former slaves or, at the very least, re-establish a system of labour that closely resembled slavery.[85] Commenting on the white population near his headquarters in Raleigh, Colonel E. Whittlesey, the Freedmen's Bureau Assistant Commissioner for North Carolina, said, 'I think they would re-establish slavery just as it was before, if there was no fear of any evil consequences from the government or from the people of other states. If not that, they would enact laws which would make the blacks virtually slaves. I have no doubt of that'.[86] Whittlesey was proven correct. In January 1866, North Carolina's first post-war legislature enacted 'the notorious Black Codes', a series of laws which, in the words of Eric Foner, 'denied African Americans political rights and equality before the law, and imposed on them mandatory yearlong contracts, coercive apprenticeship regulations, and criminal penalties for breach of contract'.[87] When Radical Republicans in Congress gained control of Reconstruction policy later that month, the Civil Rights Act was passed which essentially invalidated these codes. However, when federal troops were withdrawn from the South in 1877, southern legislatures enacted a series of new, racially discriminatory state laws which served to oppress black people and maintain white supremacy.[88]

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[81] Samuel S. Ashley to Samuel Hunt, 20 December 1865, American Missionary Association archives, Amistad Research Centre at Tulane University, New Orleans, Louisiana, accessed at New York Public Library, hereafter cited as AMAA.

[82] Testimony of James Sinclair in U.S. Congress, *Report of the Joint Committee on Reconstruction, at the first session thirty-ninth Congress* (Washington, D.C., 1866), p. 174.

[83] Joel Ashworth to Nathan Hill, 15 April 1867, Nathan Hill papers.

[84] Diary of Robert G. Fitzgerald, 28 September 1869, Fitzgerald Family papers, 1864-1954, Southern Historical Collection, The Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, hereafter cited as Diary of Robert Fitzgerald.

[85] Brian Kelly, 'Black laborers, the Republican Party, and the crisis of Reconstruction in Lowcountry South Carolina' in *International Institute of Social History*, vol. 51, no. 3 (2006), pp 375-414, see specifically pp 382-383.

[86] Testimony of Colonel E. Whittlesey, *Report of the Joint Committee on Reconstruction,* p. 182. In April 1866, a federal investigation was conducted into the Freedmen's Bureau in North Carolina and Virginia. Headed by Joseph S. Fullerton and James B. Steedman, the subsequent Steedman-Fullerton report that was delivered to Congress in May 1866 cost Whittlesey his job. In this report, Whittlesey was charged with exploiting his position for personal gain. For more information, see Brown, 'The Freedmen's Bureau', pp 105-106.

In December 1865, North Carolina ratified the Thirteenth Amendment to the constitution and slavery was officially abolished. Yet, many white southerners still struggled to accept that the former slaves were now free men and women. Some, as John Haley wrote, 'thought that blacks would be reenslaved and would probably never be free'.[89] Indeed, in 1866 Lieutenant George O. Sanderson, a Union veteran and Freedmen's Bureau official, observed that many white North Carolinians refused 'to recognise the condition of the former slaves as freedmen'. Some, Sanderson noted, threatened to 'make it worse' for the freedpeople once military troops were withdrawn from the state, 'that is, to make their freedom of no avail of them'.[90] Despite military occupation, some white southerners actually succeeded in holding their slaves in a condition of servitude even after the Civil War had ended. In Gates County, a local man named David Parker offered his former slaves board and clothing if they continued to work for him. Fearful of the repercussions if they refused, the former slaves reluctantly agreed. When Horace James, the Superintendent of Negro Affairs, learned of the situation he went to investigate. 'There was no complaint of the food, nor much of the clothing', he reported, 'but they were in constant terror of the whip'. One man was kept in chains during the night and the rest were too afraid to run away. 'Some were beaten or whipped almost every day', James concluded.[91] Tellingly, Gates County was located 'on the northern border of the State, far away from any influence of troops, and where the military power of the government had been little felt'.[92] Thus, as James observed, this incident reflected, to some degree, the difficulties that blacks in 'similar localities' faced in the aftermath of emancipation.[93]

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[87] Eric Foner, 'The Civil War and the story of American Freedom' in *Art Institute of Chicago Museum Studies*, vol. 27, no. 1 (2001), pp 8-26 + 100-101, quotation p. 19.

[88] See, for example, C. Vann Woodward, *The strange career of Jim Crow* (New York, 1955).

[89] John Haley, *Charles N. Hunter and race relations in North Carolina* (London, 1987), p. 5.

[90] Testimony of Lieutenant George O. Sanderson, *Report of the Joint Committee on Reconstruction,* p. 175.

According to James, some of the freedpeople who continued to work for their former masters complained that they 'were treated with more cruelty than when they were slaves'.[94] Two months after Confederate defeat, in rural Wilson County, two freedwomen testified against their former master for beating them. Determined to ensure that 'no d-d nigger should be free under him', William Barnes tied one of these women outstretched between two trees and cut her hair off. Three dogs were then set upon her before she was given two hundred lashes with a paddle, 'a strap made purposely for whipping negroes'.[95] Although violent acts of aggression such as this had been pervasive during times of slavery, the freedwomen's ability, and indeed willingness, to testify against their former owners reflects not only the power struggle that ensued between master and former slave in the aftermath of emancipation, but the sheer determination of North Carolina's freed population to shape the contours of their newfound freedom.

Reluctance to perceive the former slaves as free men and women was coupled with an unwillingness to view black people as intelligent and autonomous individuals. Rooted in the prevailing assumptions about racial inferiority, the freedpeople were regarded as lazy, ignorant, and submissive, on the one hand, or violent, aggressive, and predisposed to criminality on the other.[96] As *The North Carolinian* reported in March 1868, the freedpeople 'are idle, thriftless and improvident, and we can see no hope for an improvement in their condition as a class'.[97] In addition, many white North Carolinians steadfastly believed that 'a free negro cannot be made to work', a belief which, in their eyes, justified the enforcement of restrictive labour contracts.[98] Deep-rooted notions of black inferiority made it doubly difficult for the former slaves to assert their new rights and, as I will demonstrate in the next section of this chapter, many freedpeople struggled to gain control of their own institutions, including their schools.

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[91] Report of Horace James, included in testimony of Colonel E. Whittlesey, *Report of the Joint Committee on Reconstruction,* p. 188.
[92] Ibid, p. 187.
[93] Ibid.
[94] Ibid., p. 187.
[95] 'Two North Carolina freedwomen testify against their former owner', After slavery: Race, labor and politics in the post-emancipation Carolinas, Lowcountry Digital History Initiative, (http://ldhi.library.cofc.edu/exhibits/show/after_slavery_educator/unit_one_documents/document_six) (16 November 2015), hereafter cited as After slavery.

Based upon an analysis of North Carolina's socioeconomic post-war climate, it appears as though three factors motivated southern whites to engage in black schooling: financial necessity, social control, and racial paternalism. Like all teachers, however, white southerners were complex individuals and multiple factors shaped their decisions to teach the freedpeople. The next section of this chapter provides a more nuanced analysis of the reasons why some southern whites engaged in freedpeople's education.

Motivation

The southern white teachers who engaged in freedpeople's education did not necessarily do so because they were committed to black educational advancement. As suggested in the previous section, mounting poverty and financial hardships drove many white North Carolinians into black classrooms. Sophia Groner was one such teacher. In 1868, Groner began teaching formerly enslaved children near her home in Dallas, Gaston County.[99] Married to an ex-Confederate grocer of limited means, Sophia began teaching the freedpeople in order to support her family.[100] Although she only taught for two years, the Freedmen's Bureau was pleased with her work. As one agent wrote, 'The freedmen of the County appear well pleased with her efforts, and desire that she be encouraged as far as the Bureau can assist her. She is the only Southern woman of proper respect & character I have met, who would take a school, and from all I can learn she does very well for a School of young children such as she has'.[101]

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[96] Anthony L. Brown, 'Counter-memory and race: An examination of African American scholars' challenges to early twentieth century K-12 historical discourses' in *The Journal of Negro Education,* vol. 79, no. 1 (2010), pp 54-65.

[97] *The North Carolinian,* 7 March 1868.

[98] 'Poor whites of North Carolina', *Boston Daily Advertiser* reprinted in *The Freedmen's Record* (November 1865), pp 186-187.

As discussed earlier, it is likely that many of the teachers who were farmers before the war taught the freedpeople for financial reasons. Noah Hancock, a non-slaveholding farmer from Asheboro, best illustrates this point.[102] When the Civil War broke out in 1861, Hancock was worth a total of three hundred and seventy-five dollars.[103] At age thirty, he enlisted into the Confederate Army as a private in Company F of North Carolina's 46th Infantry Regiment.[104] After teaching the freedpeople for one year in 1867, Hancock returned to work on the farm. By 1870, he was still struggling to make ends meet and was worth just one hundred and seventy dollars.[105]

Francis Flake doubtlessly taught for financial reasons also. Three years after the war's end, Flake began teaching the freedpeople in his hometown of Lanesboro, Anson County.[106] Prior to enlisting in the Confederate Army, Flake owned four slaves and his net worth was approximately $2,600. However, emancipation and the fall of the Confederacy rendered Flake virtually worthless and by 1870 he 'owned no land and could report no net worth'.[107] After teaching the freedpeople for just one year, Flake resumed farming on rented land.[108]

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[99] Butchart, The FTP.

[100] In 1860, Sophia's husband Austin was worth a total of three hundred dollars. By 1870 he could only report half that amount. Ronald E. Butchart, Wealth database (2013), used by permission.

[101] William Birnie to H. C. Vogell, 30 November 1868, Records of the Superintendent of Education, M844:10.

[102] Butchart, The FTP.

[103] Butchart, Wealth database.

[104] *U.S., Civil War Soldier Records and Profiles, 1861-1865,* (ancestry.com) (17 October 2015).

[105] Butchart, The FTP; Butchart, Wealth database.

[106] Butchart, The FTP.

Mary A. Chambers from Montgomery County had also been a slaveholder. She taught the freedpeople for one year in an independent, unsupported school. As she explained to H. C. Vogell, F. A. Fiske's successor as Superintendent of Education, in 1869, 'I have always been in good circumstances & being now reduced to do something to help make A Support & so many colored children near by I thought probably it would be best to try & get a colored school if I could get a compensation for it'. In a letter to Vogell one month later, she added, 'we have always had a plenty but the War has ruined us'.[109] For Chambers and others like her, teaching the freedpeople presented itself as nothing more than a viable source of income.

Upper-class white southerners were often more tolerant of black education than their working-class counterparts. In her study of post-Civil War North Carolina, Roberta S. Alexander found that some southern whites, primarily those from the wealthier class, supported black schools or 'even engaged in teaching the freedmen'.[110] Indeed, in 1866, F. A. Fiske observed that the 'better and more intelligent class' of white North Carolinians was becoming more receptive to freedpeople's education.[111] Rather than seeking to extend the parameters of black freedom, however, such white southerners often supported black schools as a means of maintaining social control. At the beginning of the school year in 1866, for instance, *The Fayetteville News* advocated the use of education on the grounds that it would teach the former slaves their proper place in southern society:

> It has been objected by many that the requirement of the mere rudiments of knowledge – the ability to read and write – would cause the blacks to become dissatisfied, meddlesome in political affairs, and ambitious in civil and political rights and privileges.

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[107] Butchart, *Schooling,* p. 62.

[108] Ibid.

[109] M. A. Chambers to E. C. [H. C.] Vogell, 26 July 1869, Records of the Superintendent of Education, M844:11; Mary A. Chambers to H. C. Vogell, 27 August 1869, Records of the Superintendent of Education, M844:11.

[110] Alexander, *North Carolina faces the freedmen,* p. 153.

[111] Alexander, *North Carolina faces the freedmen,* p. 153; F. A. Fiske to Ms Stevenson, 15 September 1866, Records of the Superintendent of Education, M844:1.

> Their ambition and desire for elevation and equality is a natural consequence of their suddenly obtained liberty, but so far from its being increased…we believe that education would be a powerful agent for its control and regulation within proper bounds…The farther the negroes advanced in education, the more fully would they understand and appreciate the difference of caste and social position existing between themselves and the whites, and the more firmly would they become impressed with the necessity of labouring earnestly.[112]

If white southerners wanted to successfully use education as a means of preserving the antebellum social order, the right sort of teacher had to be employed. Thus, many white North Carolinians objected to schools that were being taught by well-educated teachers, be they black or white. In 1866, for instance, thirty-nine white citizens and the mayor of Franklinton signed a petition to remove James Crawford, a black man from Pennsylvania, from his teaching position in the locality.[113] According to the white residents of Franklinton, Crawford regularly held noisy religious meetings that were ‘demoralizing in their effects upon the Freedmen’.[114] In addition, local whites charged that these meetings made the former slaves unfit for the ‘fruitful discharge of their duties as laborers’ and resulted ‘in an increase of vice among them’.[115] Crawford was also accused of being ‘under the influence’ as well as the leader of a ‘certain clique of colored persons’.[116] When Fiske investigated these claims, he found that the religious meetings were no different to those being held by white people and that they never lasted later than ten o’clock in the evening. As he reported to Jacob F. Chur, the Freedmen’s Bureau Assistant Commissioner in North Carolina, ‘Mr. Crawford repeatedly and faithfully cautioned and warned the attendants to retire with quietness, promptness and good order’. Thus, Fiske deemed it unjust to dismiss Crawford. Nevertheless, he cautioned the freedpeople to ‘refrain from extravagance and boisterousness in the evening meetings, and for the present at least to hold those meetings less frequently’.[117] Although Fiske attempted to aid the freedpeople in their transition from slavery to freedom, he also attempted to appease the southern white population. Thus, rather than condemning whites for their attempts to subvert black education and the role of the black teacher, he advised blacks to avoid aggravating whites.

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[112] *The Fayetteville News,* 11 September 1866.
[113] Butchart, The FTP.
[114] F. A. Fiske to Jacob F. Chur, 22 October 1866, Records of the Superintendent of Education, M844:1.
[115] Ibid.
[116] Ibid.
[117] Ibid.

Although white southerners often viewed black schools as mechanisms of social control, it is worth considering that northern common schools were also viewed in much the same way.[118] As discussed in Chapter I, the northern common school movement was designed to educate white children from various religions, backgrounds, and social classes in the fundamental principles of a 'native Protestant ideology' which 'centred on republicanism, Protestantism, and capitalism'.[119] Rooted in the fear that growing urbanisation and rapid immigration were destroying the moral fabric of American society, such schools were particularly focused upon moulding nineteenth-century white children into self-sufficient, law-abiding and disciplined workers.[120]

Education was not the only means through which some southern whites attempted to maintain control over the former slaves. In his study of post-war Mississippi, for example, Christopher Span found that many planters hired 'Chinese, German, Danish, Irish, Swedish, and Swiss' immigrant workers 'to contest the marketplace aspirations of freedpeople and force them to work under conditions reminiscent of the old regime'.[121] This plan proved wildly unsuccessful, however, because immigrant workers refused to labour under an economic system that was as degrading as slavery.[122] In addition, many southern whites withheld credit from the former slaves. The enfranchisement of black men exacerbated this issue, particularly because many supported the more radical policies of the Republican Party. As Robert

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[118] Ronald E. Butchart, *Northern schools, southern blacks, and Reconstruction: Freedmen's education, 1862-1875* (Westport, 1980), p. 65.
[119] Carl Kaestle, *Pillars of the republic: Common schools and American society, 1780-1860* (New York, 1983), pp 62-63, p. 76.
[120] Anderson, *The education of blacks,* p. 20.
[121] Span, *From cotton field to schoolhouse,* p. 90.
[122] Ibid.

Fitzgerald, a northern black teacher, reported in 1868, 'Yesterday an old man neatly dressed came to ask charity or to borrow until his crop came off – he says that the destitution in the country is very great – that it would not be so much so but the rebels will not let the colored people have anything unless they pay cash for it because they voted the republican ticket'.[123]

Some planters in North Carolina tolerated freedpeople's education because the provision of black schools helped to retain a stable labour force. As Samuel Ashley reported to Fiske in 1866, most planters established schools on their plantations 'as a matter of self defence', 'i.e. the Freedmen insist on coming to the City because by so doing their children can attend schools. Therefore plantation schools are a necessity if the Farmers would retain their hands'.[124] John W. Alvord, the Freedmen's Bureau General Superintendent of Education, confirmed Ashley's claim and found that the provision of schooling was often incorporated into the freedpeople's labour contracts.[125]

Few planters actually taught the freedpeople themselves. Instead, most applied to a northern aid society to send a teacher to their plantation. Finding a teacher who was willing to work on a plantation was not always an easy task, however, particularly because the northern aid societies were generally unwilling to send teachers to the rural and remote areas of the state. During the summer of 1866, for instance, W. H. Worden asked Fiske to send a teacher to his plantation in Rowan County. Wordon, 'a northern gentleman who has either purchased or leased the plantation', offered to board the teacher and pay all expenses except for the teacher's salary.[126] Nevertheless, Fiske found it extremely difficult to find a teacher for the school. This was partly because the school was located 150 miles west of Raleigh and northern aid societies preferred sending teachers to the most populated areas of the state. However, a lack of funding may have also contributed to the problem. As Fiske informed Worden, ‘it is more difficult to obtain teachers [now] than last year’.[127]

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[123] Diary of Robert Fitzgerald, 19 May 1868.

[124] Samuel S. Ashley to F. A. Fiske, 5 May 1866, Records of the Superintendent of Education, M844:10.

[125] John W. Alvord, *First semi-annual report on schools for freedmen, January 1, 1866* (Washington, 1868), p. 13.

[126] F. A. Fiske to A. Thurston, 2 November 1866, Records of the Superintendent of Education, M844:1.

In an attempt to find a teacher for Wordon’s plantation, Fiske first applied to a northern freedmen’s aid society.[128] When this proved unsuccessful, he contacted Miss A. Thurston, a minister’s daughter from Fall River, Massachusetts, who was eager to engage in freedpeople’s education. This attempt also proved unsuccessful. Although Fiske reported that Thurston was ‘ready and very anxious’ to go South, she was unable to secure employment with any of the aid societies that she applied to, largely due to lack of funding.[129] Finally, Fiske contacted Eunice S. Leland, the wife of a northern teacher in Raleigh, who was ‘anxious to return to N.C. and enter again into the same service’.[130] Although the FTP confirms that Leland was working in a black school between 1866 and 1867, the location of her school has been identified as Raleigh so it is not clear if Fiske was successful in securing a teacher for the plantation in Rowan County.[131] Although Fiske was usually hesitant about sending white women to teach in the plantation schools, he admitted that Wordon and his wife ‘seem to be very pleasant people’.[132] Indeed, the fact that they were from the North may have helped to subside his fears about sending women to remote areas of the state.

Of course, some southern whites engaged in black education because they wanted to contribute to the education and elevation of the black race. As Christopher Span wrote, ‘In a number of instances, some whites assented to the idea of schools for freedpeople without consideration of controlling their educational affairs. From their perspective, schooling represented an excellent opportunity for newly freed blacks to improve their conditions’.[133]

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[127] F. A. Fiske to W. H. Wordon, 12 October 1866, Records of the Superintendent of Education, M844:1.
[128] Fiske to Wordon, 2 November 1866, Records of the Superintendent of Education, M844:1.
[129] Fiske to Wordon, 28 November 1866 and 14 November 1866, Records of the Superintendent of Education, M844:1.
[130] Fiske to Wordon, 28 November 1866, Records of the Superintendent of Education, M844:1.
[131] Butchart, The FTP.
[132] F. A. Fiske to A. Thurston, 2 November 1866, Records of the Superintendent of Education, M844:1.
[133] Christopher M. Span, *From cotton field to schoolhouse: African American education in Mississippi, 1862-1875* (Chapel Hill, 2009). p. 103.

The number of southern whites who belonged to this category of teachers was high in North Carolina, principally because the state was home to a relatively large Quaker population. As James W. Hood, North Carolina's Assistant Superintendent of Public Instruction, remarked in 1869:

> In educating the Freedmen, the Friends are doing a work of praiseworthy benevolence. Without expectation of fee or reward; without attempting to teach the peculiar tenets of their faith; without any apparent desire to advance the interest of their own denomination, they are laboring to dispel the mist of ignorance which has so long hung over the colored people of the South. The Bible is introduced into all of their schools, but is read without comment.[134]

Edward Payson Hall, a Quaker teacher from Mount Vernon, North Carolina, was genuinely committed to facilitating black educational advancement.[135] Upon petitioning the Freedmen's Bureau for one hundred and fifty dollars to build a black school, Hall wrote, 'my desire to serve [the freedpeople] is great – knowing the field for usefulness there would be wider than any other now unoccupied'.[136] To assist the freedpeople even further, Hall gratuitously pledged them one acre of land as well as logs from his woods. The freedmen, he promised F. A. Fiske, would provide the labour. They will 'cut and hew the logs', he wrote, 'and put up said building and will do all they can in labor – they are so poor they could not raise but a very little money'.[137] Although Hall's petition was successful, he and his wife were forced to flee their home in 1870 due to rising hostility and opposition to their work.[138]

Five members of the extended Mendenhall family, a prominent Quaker family from Gilford County, laboured in North Carolina's schools for the freedpeople. Together they taught for a combined total of seventeen years.[139] Judith Jemima Mendenhall was particularly committed to black education and she spent nine years teaching the freedpeople near her home in Jamestown, even during the vacation period.[140] Like many other Quakers, the Mendenhall's had a long history of racial activism and Judith's father Richard once led the North Carolina Manumission Society.[141] Speaking of Judith and her family, A. H. Jones wrote, 'She and her family have been for years the friends of the colored people running much risk both before and since the war on their account'.[142]

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[134] Hood, *Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction,* p. 21, (http://docsouth.unc.edu/nc/report1869/report1869.html) (08 November 2015).
[135] Butchart, The FTP.
[136] Edward Payson Hall to F. A. Fiske, 7 August 1867, Records of the Superintendent of Education, M844:7.
[137] Ibid.
[138] Butchart, *Schooling*, p. 64.
[139] Butchart, The FTP.

Levi Coffin, the aforementioned 'President of the Underground Railroad', was also active in freedpeople's education. When the Civil War broke out in 1861, Coffin was living in Cincinnati, Ohio. During the war, federal forces sent some of the self-emancipated slaves to Cairo, Illinois, in order to alleviate the burden that was being placed upon the Union camps in the South. In 1862, Coffin visited these former slaves and immediately helped them to establish a school. On his return to Cincinnati, Coffin helped to establish the Western Freedmen's Aid Commission (WFAC). Acting as the association's general agent, Coffin was tasked with the job of sponsoring teachers to go South. He also promoted the work of the WFAC around Indiana and Ohio in the hope of soliciting aid and donations. 'I was successful in making collections wherever I went', he wrote, 'and this enabled us to extend our labors; to send more teachers, and more relief to the sufferers'.[143] On a couple of occasions Coffin travelled to the former Confederate states in order to survey the southern missionary field.[144]

In 1864, Coffin travelled to England, Scotland, Ireland, and France to solicit aid for the former slaves. He was particularly focused upon assisting the freedpeople who were situated west of the Allegheny Mountains since of lot of the freedmen's aid societies were focusing their efforts upon the eastern towns and cities. Tellingly, only one of the 1,419 teachers examined in this study was employed by the WFAC.[145] Coffin's European expedition, which lasted over twelve months, was immensely successful. During this time, 'Over a hundred thousand dollars in money, clothing, and other articles' had been forwarded to the WFAC's headquarters with the prospect that more would follow.[146] In addition, freedmen's aid societies had been established in London, Dublin, Belfast, and Glasgow, as well as a number of other 'principal towns'. These aid societies would continue sending aid and donations to the freedpeople once Coffin returned to the United States.[147]

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[140] Ibid; Judith Mendenhall to F. A. Fiske, 19 June 1867, Records of the Superintendent of Education, M844:7.
[141] Auman, *Civil War,* p. 22; U.S., *Quaker Meeting Records, 1681-1935*, (www.ancestry.com) (3 March 2015).
[142] A. H. Jones to H. C. Vogell, 5 December 1868, Records of the Superintendent of Education, M844:10.
[143] Coffin, *Reminisces*, p. 646.
[144] Ibid., p. 630.
[145] Butchart, The FTP.

Nathan H. Hill, a Quaker from High Point, North Carolina, taught the freedpeople between 1865 and 1867 under the sponsorship of the FFA.[148] Although Hill rarely reflected upon his work as a teacher, his family regularly expressed their support for the work he was doing. Indeed, Hill's brother, Aaron Orlando, also taught the freedpeople for one year in a private school that was partly supported by the Freedmen's Bureau.[149] During the summer of 1867, Hill's sister Asenath commended her brother's efforts in educating 'these degraded people'.[150] Like Hill, Asenath had opposed secession from the outset and was fundamentally opposed to racial slavery. As she wrote of the freedpeople, 'No wonder they offer praise & thanksgiving night and day to Almighty God that flesh and blood of human beings can no longer be bought & sold in this long boasted land of liberty – if these rebs could only have been willing to acknowledge the inequity of slavery & set them free without the expenditure of so much blood what a blessing it would have been to our dispatched country'.[151]

Mary Bowers, mentioned earlier in the chapter, also expressed an interest in educating and elevating the former slaves. However, based upon her interactions with the local black community, it appears as though she was also driven by a sense of racial paternalism. In particular, Bowers did not value the freedpeople's right to take charge of their own educational institutions. This became evident during the spring of 1866 when the FFA threatened to close Bowers' school down because it was in poor condition and could not accommodate many students. After much debate, Bowers successfully persuaded the association to keep the school open because local freedpeople were in the process of constructing a new schoolhouse. However, this schoolhouse was not being constructed as quickly as Bowers would have liked. Thus, taking matters into her own hands, Bowers asked the Freedmen's Bureau for permission to let the schoolhouse in its current, unfinished condition to the lowest bidder. She also asked the Bureau for financial aid to hire someone to complete the building. As she wrote in March 1866, 'I am going to see if I can get it in my hands I *know* I can have it completed and keep up our school I do hate to see it go down after all the trouble and sacrifices I have made for it'.[152]

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[146] Coffin, *Reminisces,* p. 704.
[147] Ibid., p. 689. Irish and British Quakers also funded many of the educational efforts undertaken by the Baltimore Association for white children in the South, and North Carolina in particular. Although this dissertation does not examine the role of these church members in great detail, it is an avenue for future research. See Dickey, 'Pioneers of the New South', pp 3-6.
[148] Butchart, The FTP.
[149] Freedmen's Bureau monthly rent receipt, Nathan Hill papers; Butchart, The FTP.
[150] Asenath H. Reese to Nathan Hill, 23 June 1867, Nathan Hill papers.
[151] Ibid.

The freedpeople in Chapel Hill were not pleased when they heard about Bowers' plans. As Jordan Swain, a local black man, explained, 'Suppose the white people had some business on hand and some old *nigger wence* was to come in and try to take it out of their hands, she would be drummed out of town and it ought to be so [*sic*]'. According to Bowers, Swain argued that 'it was for *them* to say whether those logs should lay there and rot or even be made a home of'.[153] Bowers was perplexed by Swain's reaction because she sincerely believed that she was acting in the freedpeople's best interests. Ultimately, however, Bowers completely disregarded the freedpeople's right to take charge of their school and her failure to consult them regarding her plans suggests that she was blinded by a sense of her own cultural superiority, which was doubtlessly influenced by deep-seated notions of black inferiority.

Not surprisingly, a lack of funds prevented the freedpeople in Chapel Hill from constructing the schoolhouse in a timely manner. Thus, after Bowers attempted to take charge of the school, Jordan Swain wrote to Fiske requesting aid. 'The collard friends will not or cand not pay the expenses – to finish the hous – so i have undertaken to finish the hous with the help of God i am Determen to finish it', he wrote in November 1866. 'Dear sir with a little help from our northen friends I cand git a long – i must have a little help from some whers [*sic*]'.[154] Contrary to what Bowers argued during the spring of 1866, Swain was not indifferent to black education. He was simply frustrated that a white person attempted to take control of a project that the black community was working on. As he explained in his letter to Fiske, Swain was still more than willing for Bowers to teach the freedpeople in the new schoolhouse once it was constructed.

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[152] Mary Bowers to F. A. Fiske, 21 March 1866, Records of the Superintendent of Education, M844:10, emphasis in original.

[153] Bowers to Fiske, 4 April 1866, Records of the Superintendent of Education, M844:10.

Bowers was not the only teacher whose desire to aid the former slaves was driven by a sense of racial paternalism. Alerting readers to the importance of black education in 1866, the *Fayetteville News* wrote of the freedpeople, 'Our feelings towards them are of a kind and even affectionate character; our impulses prompt us not to injure but to help them'.[155] This motivation was ultimately rooted in the prevailing assumptions about black inferiority. In particular, many southern whites viewed the former slaves as an ignorant, childlike, and submissive race who lacked the ability to live as autonomous free men and women, much less the knowledge and skills to control their own schools. James Sinclair's reasons for supporting black education were arguably shaped by paternalistic notions of black inferiority and he steadfastly believed that any northern man whom the freedpeople trusted could manipulate and control them.[156] Although Sinclair, a Presbyterian minister, did not directly teach the former slaves, he established a black Sabbath school and unsuccessfully applied for a northern teacher to conduct a day school in his home. Sinclair did not support black suffrage, however, most likely because he did not believe that black men were capable of exercising intelligent use of the franchise.[157]

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[154] Jordan Swain to F. A. Fiske, 29 November 1866, Records of the Superintendent of Education, M844:10.

[155] *The Fayetteville News,* 11 September 1866.

[156] Sinclair, *Report of the Joint Committee on Reconstruction,* p. 174.

Born in Scotland, Sinclair was an ex-slaveholding Confederate soldier. However, in his testimony to the Joint Committee on Reconstruction, a congressional committee set up in 1865 to inquire into the condition of the former Confederate states, Sinclair claimed that he did not engage in the war willingly. Married to a slaveholding woman of prominent social standing, Sinclair inadvertently blackened his wife's good name on the eve of the Civil War by advising his congregants to ignore the talk of secession that was currently underway in neighbouring South Carolina. 'That sermon made a great noise in the church', confessed Sinclair, 'and I lost my church in consequence of what was called my abolition sermon'. Thus, Sinclair entered the war to protect his wife's reputation as well as his life. After the Civil War, Sinclair severed his ties with the Confederacy and served as an agent for the Freedmen's Bureau.[158]

Some southern whites taught for religious reasons. However, unlike the northern white teachers who often defined their work in terms of a religious duty, most of the southern white teachers who aspired to such motives were driven by ideals that were more pragmatic than spiritual. Take, for example, Reverends Willis Miller and Samuel C. Alexander. In 1867, both of these Presbyterian ministers co-founded the Henry J. Biddle Memorial Institute in Charlotte, North Carolina. Now known as Johnson C. Smith University, Biddle Institute was established to educate black men to become teachers and preachers.[159] Although Samuel Alexander was born in Pennsylvania, he had been living and working in North Carolina before the Civil War broke out. Thus, he is included the FTP as a southern white teacher. As Butchart explained, any teacher living in the South for five years or longer, especially those who married a southerner (which Alexander did), 'are presumed to have imbibed enough southern culture to generally identify with southern values and southern racial attitudes'.[160] Interestingly, the FTP indicates that Alexander may have been involved in the pre-war abolitionist movement.[161] Therefore, his reasons for engaging in black education are likely to have been closer to those of some of the northern white teachers. Miller, on the other hand, was a native of North Carolina. He was also a former slaveholder and ex-Confederate soldier.[162]

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[157] Ibid.
[158] Ibid.
[159] *The Presbyterian,* 27 August 1902.
[160] Butchart, *Schooling,* p. 212.

So why would a southern white slaveholder who had fought to preserve the institution of slavery establish a black school? Miller essentially established Biddle Institute to sustain the Presbyterian Church in the South. When the Civil War ended in 1865, the former slaves asserted their freedom by demanding access to the two institutions that were fundamentally denied to them during slavery: the church and the school. In North Carolina, black congregations descended from the galleries of the churches they attended during slavery and sought to be ministered to by members of their own race.[163] This was particularly problematic for the Presbyterian denomination because there were no black ministers in the Southern Presbyterian Church. Consequently, many southern black Presbyterians left their former place of worship for the leadership of black preachers, some of whom were uneducated and inexperienced Presbyterians but many of whom were members of other denominations.[164] Speaking of the disgruntled white ministers in his locality, James Sinclair remarked, ‘not one of the negroes who formally attended their churches will go to them now’.[165] Thus, Biddle Institute worked to furnish black preachers for the black community. These preachers would not only work to keep black Presbyterians within the church’s fold but they also served to attract new black members. In 1867, forty-three students were enrolled in Biddle Institute, twenty-two of whom were candidates for the ministry. At weekends and during the summer vacation, these trainee ministers taught in local black schools, held prayer meetings, and distributed Bibles amongst the black community. 'The success of the plan has been truly remarkable', wrote the editors of Biddle's first annual catalogue in 1868. 'The congregations served by these catechists are strongly attached to them, and much evidence of the usefulness of their humble labors has come before the faculty, who, in the character of evangelists, superintend the field'.[166]

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[161] Butchart, The FTP.
[162] Ibid.
[163] Henry L. McCrorey, *A brief history of Johnson C. Smith University* (Charlotte, 1935), p. 2.
[164] Conser and Cain, *Presbyterians in North Carolina,* p. 136.
[165] Sinclair, *Report of the Joint Committee on Reconstruction*, p. 174.

In addition to Biddle Institute, Miller also helped to establish black elementary schools throughout North Carolina. By 1868 he had seven black schools, including Biddle, under his care.[167] Although, as a commissioner for the PCMF, Miller's primary goal was to establish black churches throughout the Carolinas, he knew that the provision of education would not only win back the black Presbyterians who had left the church at the time of their emancipation but also attract other southern blacks into the denomination. A similar approach was adopted by the Episcopalians who also experienced a mass exodus from their churches after the fall of the Confederacy. As Gardiner H. Shattuck found, in 1865 the PEFC 'introduced a program of practical as well as religious instruction by which they hoped to entice African Americans back into Episcopal parishes'.[168]

Although Biddle's primary function was to educate black teachers and preachers, it was designed to furnish a particular type of teacher and preacher. Indeed, Biddle Institute did not indiscriminately admit just anyone to the school. In order to be considered for a place, black men first had to bring 'satisfactory testimonials of moral character'.[169] They also had to serve a probationary period of one month, at their own expense, before being formally enrolled into the school.[170] Such a stringent enrolment policy suggests that Miller regarded Biddle Institute as a means of training black men to become the leadership class of the next generation of southern blacks. As he wrote F. A. Fiske in 1868, 'The Lord has a great work to be done among the freedmen and colored ministers must do it. It will have to be done principally by men who will *support themselves* while they preach'.[171] Implicit in this goal was a fundamental belief in black inferiority. As Miller explained to an ex-slaveholding neighbour, 'If the negros are taught that they have no souls they will steal from you, and if angry will burn your barns. Let them have churches, think they have souls, make Christians of them, they will not steal from you and when you hire one of them he will do you honest work'.[172] Tellingly, this last statement reveals that Miller's vision of black freedom was at odds with that of the black community. In his view, the former slaves were going to continue occupying a social place below that of whites while working for whites.

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[166] Biddle Memorial Institute, *First annual catalogue and circular of the Biddle Memorial Institute, Charlotte, N.C. 1867-68* (Pittsburgh, 1868), p. 6. This tradition continued well beyond the Reconstruction era. While studying at Fisk University, for instance, W. E. B Du Bois and others like him taught in rural black schools during the summer vacation. See Anderson, *The education of blacks in the South,* p. 282.

[167] Willis L. Miller to F. A. Fiske, 23 March 1868 and 18 April 1868, Records of the Superintendent of Education, M844:7.

[168] Shattuck, *Episcopalians and race*, p. 10.

[169] Biddle Institute, *First annual catalogue,* p. 5.

[170] Ibid., p. 8.

Charles Phillips, a Presbyterian minister and professor of mathematics at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, also engaged in freedpeople's education to spread religion among the former slaves. Described by one scholar as a man who was deeply committed to the ministry, in 1867 Phillips established and taught in a black Sunday school alongside his wife Laura.[173] He also assisted local blacks to establish their own schools. Petitioning the Freedmen's Bureau for seventy dollars in 1867, Phillips wrote, 'The Freedmen who have asked me to get them some help (for they are very poor) are very respectable persons of that class of society. I would like to help them become still more respectable'.[174]

An analysis of Phillips' personal correspondence reveals that his educational efforts did not stem from a desire to move the freedpeople towards equality with whites. On the contrary, Phillips was opposed to racial equality. Although he was often sympathetic to the freedpeople's destitution, he was unhappy with many of the measures undertaken during Congressional

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[171] W. L. Miller to F. A. Fiske, 9 June 1868, Records of the Superintendent of Education, M844:7, emphasis in original.

[172] *The Presbyterian,* 27 August 2015.

[173] Katherine F. Martin, 'Phillips, Charles' in William S. Powell (ed.), *Dictionary of North Carolina biography, volume 5, P-S* (London, 1994), pp 89-90.

[174] Charles Phillips to F. A. Fiske, 20 August 1867, Records of the Superintendent of Education, M844:7.

Reconstruction, not least because the necessitated reorganisation of the University of North Carolina resulted in the loss of his position.[175] Phillips was particularly aggrieved with the ratification of North Carolina's new state constitution in April 1868, principally because the University of North Carolina now held 'an inseparable connection with the Free Public School System of the State' and no provision was made for segregated schooling.[176] Thus, at least theoretically, blacks could be admitted to the university. Writing less than one month after the constitution was adopted, Phillips appeared frustrated when he wrote, 'There is no more facility for negroes getting into the Univ. now than there ever has been here & at every college in N.C. that is – facility afforded by new wording of charter or bye laws – In none there is any distinction between white and blacks. But I am not cool enough to comment on what seems to us to be a great disaster – the results of the late election'.[177] Phillips need not have worried. In 1873 North Carolina's Democratically-controlled legislature passed an amendment which removed the 'inseparable connection' between the university and public schools.[178]

Due to the paucity of records which support their work, the motives of some teachers remain ambiguous, at best. In August 1867, for instance, William R. Ashworth, an ex-Confederate Republican from Randolph County, asked Nathan Hill for a teaching position in his school.[179] Although Ashworth did not explain why he wanted to work in a black school, his father, Joel Ashworth, provides some clues to his motivation. In particular, Joel Ashworth admitted to Hill that he had revised his previous thoughts on race. 'I never had much prejudice against the negro and what I had I have laid aside', he wrote. 'I visited several of their schools last winter and I heard several of them speak in the Convention and my opinion is that there is but little if any difference in the talents of the two races and I am willing to give them all an even start in the race. I am for "Liberty, Union, and political equality".[180] According to Mark Elliott, Joel Ashworth was 'a new Republican voter' who became a true believer in 'the principal of racial equality'.[181]

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[175] Martin, 'Phillips, Charles', pp 89-90.

[176] *Journal of the Constitutional Convention of the state of North Carolina at its session 1868* (Raleigh, 1868), p. 339, available at Documenting the American South, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, (http://docsouth.unc.edu/nc/conv1868/conv1868.html) (09 November 2015).

[177] Letter from Charles Phillips, 4 May 1868, Charles Phillips papers, 1807-1868, Southern Historical Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

[178] John V. Orth and Paul Martin Newby, *The North Carolina state constitution* (Oxford, 2013), p. 24; The amendments of 1873 to North Carolina's constitution of 1868, North Carolina Legislative Library, (http://www.ncleg.net/library/Documents/Amdts_1873.pdf) (09 November 2015). The public school system will be discussed more thoroughly later in the chapter.

[179] William R. Ashworth to Nathan Hill, 13 August 1867, Nathan Hill papers; Soldier's application for pension, W. R. Ashworth, State Archives of North Carolina, Digital Collection, (http://digital.ncdcr.gov/cdm/compoundobject/collection/p16062coll21/id/798/rec/8) (10 November 2015)

It is also possible that William Ashworth sought work in a black school for financial reasons because he admitted that economic recovery was slow in his home town of Asheboro.[182] Ashworth simply may have been looking for work and did not mind if he taught in a white or black school. In August 1867, for instance, H. C. Talley also asked Nathan Hill for a teaching position and he explicitly stated that he did not mind working in a white or black school. 'Having attended, school pretty closely the two last summers and having had a considerable start before', he wrote, 'I now consider my ability sufficient to conduct a common school'.[183] Although Ashworth is not included in the FTP, he taught near his home in Asheboro until his death in 1928. However, as discussed in the introduction to this dissertation, neither census records nor city directories identify the race of the school in which he taught.[184]

The white response to black education

Black education generated mixed, often class-based, responses in North Carolina. Not surprisingly, the vast majority of southern whites opposed black schools. Some, however, supported efforts to educate the former slaves. As discussed in the previous section, many of those who tolerated black education were members of the wealthier planter class. Interestingly, numerous first-hand reports indicate that white North Carolinians were often indifferent towards freedpeople's schooling. In an attempt to extend the reach of southern black schooling, Colonel Whittlesey often asked the white men who came into his office to establish black schools on their farms. 'In some instances they say they have no objection to a school if a teacher can be found', Whittlesey remarked, 'and if such arrangement can be made as not to interrupt the work of the farm'.[185]

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[180] Joel Ashworth to Nathan Hill, 15 April 1867, Nathan Hill papers.

[181] Mark Elliott, *Color-blind justice: Albion Tourgée and the quest for racial equality, from the Civil War to Plessy V. Ferguson* (Oxford, 2006), p. 116.

[182] Joel Ashworth to Nathan Hill, 15 April 1867, Nathan Hill papers.

[183] H. C. Talley to Nathan Hill, August 1867, Nathan Hill papers.

[184] *Randolph County Business Directory* (Raleigh, 1894), p. 89, Internet Archive, (https://archive.org/stream/randolphcountybu00bran#page/n11/mode/2up) (10 November 2015); *North Carolina death certificates, 1909-1976,* (www.ancestry.com) (10 November 2015).

Ambivalence towards black education may be explained by the fact that most of North Carolina's antebellum white population consisted of non-slaveholding yeomen farmers; in 1860, less than a third of the state's white population owned slaves.[186] Although their non-slaveholding status is not indicative of an opposition to slavery, it is likely that in the aftermath of the Civil War, the vast majority of these men and women were focused upon rebuilding their lives rather than upon re-establishing the antebellum southern social order. Indeed, Whittlesey described these indifferent whites as farmers so it is likely that he was specifically referring to this particular group of people rather than to the wealthier planter class who often perceived black education as a means of perpetuating pre-war racial inequalities. Indifference to black education is further reflected in the records of the Freedmen's Bureau and most of the nineteen agents who submitted questionnaires during the first quarter of 1867 reported that local whites were indifferent to black education.[187]

As the Reconstruction era progressed, poor white farmers grew more supportive of black education, in theory at least. Not only did the establishment of black schools legitimise their claims to education but it also helped to eliminate class distinction. In an attempt to garner support for public education, an anonymous writer for *The Weekly Standard* charged, 'From time immemorial all the colleges and places of learning have been in the hands of purse-proud aristocrats' and unless the white working men of North Carolina supported public schooling, they would remained enchained 'in the dungeons of ignorance'.[188] Although it is doubtful that the writer of this article was a working man himself, supporters of black education in particular and public education more generally, often asked the newspaper to send them 'more copies of the Address to the White Working Men of North Carolina. It has effected much good'.[189] Evidently, poor white farmers were willing to subordinate racial prejudice to issues of class in an attempt to gain access to the privileges of education.

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[185] Whittlesey, *Report of the Joint Committee on Reconstruction,* p. 183.

[186] Paul D. Escott and Jeffery J. Crow, 'The social order and violent disorder: An analysis of North Carolina in the Revolution and Civil War' in *The Journal of Southern History,* vol. 52, no. 3 (1986), pp 373-402, see specifically pp 378-379; Barton A. Myers, *Rebels against the Confederacy: North Carolina Unionists* (New York, 2014), p. 27.

[187] Michael Goldhaber, 'Mission unfulfilled: Freedpeople's education in North Carolina, 1865-1870' in *The Journal of Negro History,* vol. 77, no. 4 (1992), pp 199-210, quotation p. 201.

Notwithstanding the degree of ambiguity and occasional support for black schools, most of North Carolina's white population opposed black schools. Thus, like their northern counterparts, southern white teachers often experienced opposition to their work. At the most basic level, and regardless of their reasons for engaging in black education, southern white teachers often faced social ostracism. Although Willis Miller's family was 'brought up in luxury', they were 'now poor and not respected only by the colored people'.[190] Margaret S. Clark, a white woman from Gaston County, shared a similar experience. Writing to the Freedmen's Bureau in 1868, Clark reported that she had been driven out of her school on two separate occasions by hostile whites and ostracised from the community.[191] 'You a wished to know how meny white people was keeping [school] for them', she wrote F. A. Fiske, 'they haint ben nery white person that lived in the South that kept school for them but my self and they rest of the white people disclaimed me very much for keeping for them [*sic*]'.[192]

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[188] 'Address to the white working men of North Carolina' in *The Weekly Standard,* 1 April 1868, cited in Eric Thomas Duncan, '"Make the letters big and plain": A history of black education in North Carolina' (M.A. thesis, North Carolina State University, 2011), p. 68.

[189] *The Weekly North Carolina Standard,* 15 April 1868.

[190] A. C. Blandin to E. P. Smith, 29 March, 1869, AMAA.

[191] Margaret S. Clark to F. A. Fiske, 30 May 1868, Records of the Superintendent of Education, M844:7.

Although white opposition to black education intensified in the lead up to elections, localised violence played a key role in supressing black education from the earliest days of freedom. In February 1866, for instance, F. A. Fiske reported that a school in Nixonton was closed after just six weeks due to 'the threatening state of public feeling'.[193] Around the same time, a Union man had been shot and according to Fiske, schoolteacher Alfred W. Morris, a native of Elizabeth City, 'became apprehensive for his safety'.[194] Tellingly, Morris did not resume teaching the following year.[195]

Incendiarism was a common reaction to southern black schooling and made all the more possible by the primitive nature of some school buildings.[196] Early in 1866, Colonel Whittlesey reported that an angry mob of whites burned down a building that was being fitted for a schoolhouse in Elizabeth City.[197] Later that year, Fiske also reported that a school in Smithfield 'was destroyed by fire'.[198] By April 1867, matters had not much improved and Fiske reported that schoolhouses had been burnt down in Greene and Chatham Counties.[199] Yet, he concluded, old prejudices against black schooling 'are decidedly on the wane'.[200] 'In a few localities', he continued, 'there has been such a complete transformation that former opposers are now willing to give countenance and aid to the work'.[201]

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[192] Ibid. The teachers' handwriting, grammar and spelling often provide clues to their backgrounds or social classes. Clark's poor handwriting, grammar and spelling suggest that she did not have much formal school training and was possibly a member of the lower class.

[193] State superintendent's monthly school report, February 1866, Records of the Superintendent of Education, M844:13.

[194] Ibid.

[195] Butchart, The FTP.

[196] Interestingly, Brian Kelly also found that blacks used incendiarism to fight against white paramilitary violence. See Brian Kelly, 'Labor and place: The contours of freedpeoples' mobilization in Reconstruction South Carolina' in *The Journal of Peasant Studies,* vol. 35, no. 4 (2008), pp 653-687, see specifically p. 679. The use of fire was most likely due to the fact that blacks had limited access to weapons during the post-war period. Therefore, arson could be considered a distinctly 'southern' weapon.

[197] Whittlesey, *Report of the Joint Committee on Reconstruction,* p. 183.

[198] State superintendent's monthly school report, April 1866, Records of the Superintendent of Education, M844:13.

[199] F. A. Fiske to Jacob Chur, 11 April 1867, Records of the Superintendent of Education, M844:2.

[200] Ibid.

[201] Ibid.

Fiske's moderate response to these instances of white hostility was not unusual. As Michael Goldhaber found, 'Time after time, Fiske's most emphatic professions of optimism were expressed in the wake of tragedies'.[202] According to Goldhaber, Fiske's 'startling indifference to white opposition' was grounded in the belief that the southern white community, particularly upper-class southerners, would take control of freedpeople's education.[203] Horace James shared Fiske's vision and in 1865 he reported that he was attempting to prepare southern whites to take control of black education. 'The time is near where negros must look to them for justice or nowhere', he wrote.[204] Ultimately, both Fiske and James recognised that the Freedmen's Bureau was a temporary agency and, reflecting the racial paternalism that often characterised the Bureau's efforts, both agents envisioned southern whites taking control of black education once the Bureau ceased operations.

Exactly one year after Fiske concluded that old prejudices were dissipating he noticed a sudden change in attitude. In his school report for April 1868, Fiske wrote that white hostility had increased 'since the election'.[205] Fiske was specifically referring to the ratification of North Carolina's new state constitution which had occurred earlier that month. Many white North Carolinians were unhappy with the new constitution, particularly because it authorised the establishment of a public school system for all children, regardless of race, between the ages of six and twenty-one. Increased opposition to black schooling is well-reflected in the school statistics for the months of May, June, and July 1868. From August 1865 to April 1868 the number of schools, teachers, and students steadily increased. However, by May 1868, the number of schools had dropped by thirty-two, the number of teachers had decreased by thirty, and there were 1,476 fewer students being taught in schools across the state.[206] For the next two months, the number of schools, teachers and students continued to decrease. Finally, in August 1868, the figures started to rise again and in his monthly report for September, Fisk observed that there was 'a slight change for the better'.[207]

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[202] Goldhaber, 'Mission unfulfilled', p. 200.

[203] Ibid.

[204] Horace James to F. A. Fiske, 29 September 1865, Records of the Superintendent of Education, M844:10.

[205] State superintendent's monthly school report, April 1868, Records of the Superintendent of Education, M844:13.

[206] State Superintendent's monthly school report, March, April and May 1868, Records of the Superintendent of

This particular period of Reconstruction coincides with the rise of white supremacist terrorist organisations such as the Ku Klux Klan (KKK), the Red Shirts, and the White League. Established in Pulaski, Tennessee, in 1865 by six former Confederate soldiers, the KKK was the most notorious of these organisations and its primary function, as Bruce E. Stewart observed, 'was the suppression of blacks and those who supported them'.[208] Many white southerners genuinely believed that the KKK was a necessary evil. As the *Caswell Messenger* reflected in 1969, the KKK 'was born and led by men of outstanding character and leadership who resorted to Klan methods to save their homes from the ravages of the Northern carpetbaggers…Conditions had grown so bad that no white person was safe in his home at night, so the Ku Klux Klan was organised'.[209]

The KKK made its first appearance in North Carolina in the lead up to the 1868 election on the new state constitution.[210] Bent upon restoring southern Democrats to power, Klansmen launched an aggressive campaign to overthrow the Republican Party by terrorising both white and black supporters and supressing the black vote. Above all, the KKK was committed to preserving the pre-war racial hierarchy and some of the atrocities that it committed included beatings, whippings, arson, torture, and murder.[211] Women and children also fell victim to Klan

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Education, M844:13

[207] Ibid, September 1868.

[208] Bruce E. Stewart, '"When darkness reigns then is the hour to strike": Moonshining, federal liquor taxation, and Klan violence in western North Carolina, 1868-1872' in *The North Carolina Historical Review,* vol. lxxx, no 4 (2003), pp 453-474, quotation p. 453.

[209] Newspaper clipping of *The Caswell Messenger,* 23 November 1969, The Caswell County Historical Collection.

[210] Stewart, 'When darkness reigns', p. 454.

[211] For an overview of Klan violence in North Carolina, see 'Albion W. Tourgée Reports on KKK violence in North Carolina', After slavery, (http://ldhi.library.cofc.edu/exhibits/show/after_slavery_educator/unit_nine_documents/document_8) (17 October 2015).

violence. In 1871, W. C. Brackin's house in Yancey County was ransacked by the KKK for an undisclosed reason. After dragging Brackin from his home and repeatedly beating him over the head with a pistol, Klansmen re-entered his house, threw his baby across the room and raped his wife.[212] One year earlier, the Republican *Daily Standard* reported that a young black boy from Orange County was hanged because 'he had made some improper and foolish remark about the white ladies'. 'His body hung ten days until the vultures partly consumed it', the writer continued, 'and no one during that time dared to take him down'.[213] Countless other atrocities were committed across the state during the turbulent Reconstruction period and persisted well into the twentieth century.[214]

According to John L. Bell, North Carolinian Klansmen centred their efforts 'in the Piedmont counties where the suppression of a few Republican votes would enable Conservatives to win a majority in the legislature'.[215] Klan activity was indeed most active in the white-majority central northern region of North Carolina, especially Alamance, Caswell, and Orange Counties.[216] However, as Brian Kelly noted, a lack of hostility in a particular place did not necessarily mean that whites were more supportive of black freedom.[217] Essentially, two factors influenced the level of white hostility in a region: the proportion of whites to blacks and the ability of blacks to mobilise and organise. As he wrote in his study of Reconstruction South Carolina, 'the greater cohesion that lowcountry blacks had managed to develop combined with deep-rooted traditions of collectivism to shield them against white paramilitary violence, and would continue to do so throughout Reconstruction'.[218]

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[212] Stewart, 'When darkness reigns', p. 458.

[213] *The Daily Standard,* 28 September 1870.

[214] In 1871, the federal government organised a committee to investigate Klan violence in the former Confederate states. Known as the KKK trials, this committee took testimony from witnesses on Klan activity and the reports were published in thirteen volumes in 1872. For instances of KKK violence in North Carolina, see *Testimony taken by the Joint Select Committee to inquire into the condition of affairs in the late insurrectionary states, North Carolina,* (Washington, 1872).

[215] John L. Bell, 'Samuel S. Ashley, carpetbagger and educator' in *The North Carolina Historical Review,* vol. 71, no. 4 (1995), pp 456-483, quotation p. 479.

[216] Stewart, 'When darkness reigns', p. 453. Although Klan activity was most active in the central northern region of North Carolina, it was not absent from the western counties that were predominantly white and Republican. Indeed, Stewart argues that in this area, much of the Klan violence was directed towards local, as well as racial, issues. In western North Carolina, such local issues specifically included federal liquor taxation. See Stewart, 'When darkness reigns', p. 454, p. 458.

[217] Kelly, 'Labor and place', p. 667.

The KKK directed much of their aggression towards freedpeople's schools and teachers, principally because black schools served as an affront to white supremacy and notions of black inferiority. In his testimony to the Southern Claims Commission, for instance, William Bowers reported that the Klan had threatened to pay him a visit because of his role in freedpeople's education. 'My wife was teaching the colored population and I heard it spoken in the neighborhood several times that it was on that account they [the KKK] were going to visit me'.[219] Contrary to what traditional historians once argued, hostility to black schooling was not solely directed towards the work and presence of northern white teachers.[220]

Due to the threat of Klan violence, many southern whites were reluctant to engage in or otherwise support black education. Although some whites in Charlotte, North Carolina, approved of the work that Willis Miller was doing at Biddle Institute, they were reluctant to show their support for fear of reprisal. As Miller recalled in 1902, 'Rev. Eph. Harding of Concord...told me that I was doing right, that it was a grand work, but I was fifty years ahead of my generation...Several ministers in private told me the same thing, but said that the people were so exasperated by the war and carpet-bag rule that they could not openly endorse my course'.[221]

White Republicans also fell victim to Klan violence. In 1870, Republican State Senator and Union League member John W. Stephens was killed by the KKK near his home in Yanceyville, Caswell County. Described by one newspaper reporter as 'a typical scalawag politician', Stephens was accused of supplying local blacks with matches to burn down the town's hotel as well as a series of other buildings.[222] Although no evidence was ever produced to demonstrate the veracity of this accusation, Stephens was tried in absentia by the KKK, convicted, and sentenced to death. On 21 May 1870, the ex-Confederate senator was lured to the storage room of the Yanceyville courthouse by ex-sheriff Frank A. Wiley and killed by the Klan.[223] No-one was ever convicted of the murder and details of his death remained a mystery until the death of John G. Lea in 1935. In 1919, Lea, the Klan's former leader, made an affidavit to the North Carolina Historical Commission outlining the details of Stephens' death. Released upon his death, this affidavit described Stephens' murder:

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[218] Ibid., p. 668.

[219] Testimony of William G. Bowers, Orange City, N.C., report #7, office #507, denied claim, papers of the Southern Claims Commission, (www.ancestry.com) (06 December 2015).

[220] See, for example, Henry L. Swint, *The northern teacher in the South, 1862-1870* (Tennessee, 1941), p. 136; Edgar W. Knight, 'The "messianic" invasion of the South after 1865' in *School and Society,* vol. 57, no. 1484 (1943), pp 645-651; William Preston Vaughan, *Schools for all: Blacks and public education in the South* (Lexington, 1974), p. 25.

[221] *The Presbyterian,* 27 August 1902.

> Immediately I rushed into the room with eight or 10 men, found him sitting flat on the floor. He arose and approached me and we went and sat down where the wood had been taken away, in an opening in the wood on the wood-pile, and he asked me not to let them kill him. Captain Mitchell rushed at him with a rope, drew it around his neck, put his feet against his chest and by that time about a half dozen men rushed up: Tom Oliver, Pink Morgan, Dr. Richmond and Joe Fowler. Stevens was then stabbed in the breast and also in the neck by Tom Oliver, and the knife was thrown at his feet and the rope left around his neck. We all came out, closed the door and locked it on the outside and took the key and threw it into County Line creek.[224]

Stephens was hanged on a hook in the Yanceyville courthouse and found the following morning.

From the time of his death in 1870 to Lea's revelations in 1935, southern newspapers remained wholly unsympathetic to Stephens' murder. 'Some called it murder', wrote W. C. Burton in 1870. 'Others, doubtless the majority, considered it an execution and an improvement in society'.[225] In 1935 one newspaper reporter justified the KKK's actions, claiming that Stephens' death 'broke the menace to white supremacy'.[226] 'One thing of widespread importance revealed by the affidavit is the fact that Stevens was not the victim of spontaneous assassination. He had been tried by a Klansmen's jury of 12 for burning a hotel at Yanceyville, a row of brick buildings and the tobacco crops of at least two worthy Caswell County men'.[227] The reporter neglected to reveal that Stephens was not present at the trial nor was there any substantial evidence to support the Klan's claims.

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[222] Newspaper clipping from the *Greensboro Daily News,* 6 April 1941 in The Caswell County Historical Collection, 1791-2000s, Southern Historical Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, hereafter cited as The Caswell County Historical Collection.

[223] Newspaper clipping of the *Greensboro Daily News,* undated 1960, The Caswell County Historical Collection.

[224] Newspaper clipping, 2 October 1935, The Caswell County Historical Collection.

[225] Newspaper clipping of the *Daily News,* May 1870, The Caswell County Historical Collection.

[226] Newspaper clipping, 2 October 1935, The Caswell County Historical Collection.

The murder of Stephens and the lynching of Wyatt Outlaw, a black Republican leader, three months previously in neighbouring Alamance County precipitated what became known as the 'Kirk-Holden war'.[228] Headed by Union Army veteran George W. Kirk under the direction of North Carolina's governor, William Woods Holden, military forces were sent to both Caswell and Alamance counties to supress Klan activity. Although over 100 arrests were made, Holden's decision to deploy military forces proved widely unpopular. As Carole Watterson Troxler wrote, 'Kirk's militia were effective militarily, but their composition (former Union raiders from outside the area, perhaps one-third of them from Tennessee) contributed to their image as outside enemies and to the depiction of their arrests of alleged Ku Klux as an unwarranted renewal of the Civil War'.[229] Exploiting this resentment, Democrats successfully gained control of North Carolina's legislature in 1870 and charges of impeachment were quickly brought against Holden, ultimately resulting in his dismissal as governor in March the following year. Lamenting the Democrats' restoration to power, Samuel Ashley wrote of the newly appointed General Assembly, 'among them are the leading *Ku-Klux* spirits of the State. The King or Emperor of the "Invisible Empire" is Clerk of the Senate. The chief of the Ku Klux Klan that decreed the death of a State Senator, the man who issued the order for that murder, is the *leader* of the House of Representatives'.[230] Thereafter, North Carolinian

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[227] Ibid.

[228] For more information on Wyatt Outlaw's murder, see Carole Watterson Troxler, '"To look more closely at the man": Wyatt Outlaw, a nexus of national, local and personal history' in *The North Carolina Historical Review,* vol. 77, no. 4 (2000), pp 403-433.

[229] Ibid., p. 403.

[230] Samuel Ashley cited in Bell, 'Samuel S. Ashley', p. 480.

Klansmen were able to use extra-legal measures as well as the power of the legislature to subvert black schooling.

Public education

In 1868, North Carolina established a system of free public schooling for all children, regardless of race, between the ages of six and twenty-one. However, public education was not new to North Carolina. Although white southerners were generally opposed to tax-supported systems of education, North Carolina had maintained a viable public school system since the mid-1840s.[231] Indeed, Eric Thomas Duncan found that Judge Archibald D. Murphy, known to his contemporaries as the 'Father of Common Schools', attempted to establish a system of free public schooling in North Carolina from as early as 1816.[232] Although the public school system did not come to fruition in Murphy's lifetime, in 1825 the General Assembly established the Literary Fund to support public schools. By 1850 there were 2,657 public schools in North Carolina with 2,730 teachers, 104,905 white students and, somewhat surprisingly, 217 free black students.[233]

The exigencies of the Civil War resulted in the collapse of North Carolina's public school system and funds were diverted from the Literary Fund to finance military expenditure and investment in Confederate bonds.[234] However, during the Civil War and Reconstruction period, North Carolina's black population demanded access to education. As early as 1862, the former slaves built schoolhouses, bought textbooks, and hired teachers. Later, in 1866, the Freedmen's Convention of North Carolina called for the establishment of schools 'from which none shall be excluded for color or poverty'.[235] Such efforts ultimately inspired the establishment of public school systems, not only in North Carolina but throughout the American South.[236] As W. E. B. Du Bois wrote in 1935, 'public education for all at public expense, was, in the South, a negro idea'.[237]

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[231] James L. Leloudis, *Schooling the new South: Pedagogy, self, and society in North Carolina, 1880-1920* (Chapel Hill, 1996), pp 2-3. See also, Harry Watson, 'The man with the dirty black beard: Race, class, and schools in the antebellum South' in *Journal of the Early Republic,* vol. 32, no. 1 (2012), pp 2-26.

[232] Eric Thomas Duncan, '"Make the letters big and plain": A history of black education in North Carolina' (M.A. thesis, North Carolina State University, 2011), p. 33.

[233] United States Census Bureau, *Seventh census of the United States, 1850* (Washington, 1853), p. 313, p. 316, available at Internet Archive, (https://archive.org/stream/cu31924096440890#page/n3/mode/2up) (18 November 2015). Education for free blacks during the antebellum era is discussed more thoroughly in Chapter III.

[234] Milton Ready, *The Tar Heel State: A history of North Carolina* (Columbia, 2005), p. 167.

After emancipation, North Carolina's post-war legislature was reluctant to reinstate a system of public schooling. Although the General Assembly claimed that there was no money in the Literary Fund to support public schools, Roberta Alexander argued that the legislature's reluctance stemmed from a fear of racial integration.[238] As Charles Phillis wrote in 1866, 'Our common school fund has been swept away…and our legislators fear to lay a tax for the support of the schools – lest agitation disturb us and claim that as negroes pay this tax they must also go to school'.[239] Thus, in March 1866 North Carolina abolished the entire public school system by abolishing the office of Superintendent of Common Schools, knowing that one could not survive without the other.[240] Lamenting this decision, the *Raleigh Sentinel* wrote, 'We regard the bill passed, as almost a total abandonment of the Common School System in the State – a result more ruinous than any thing which could have befallen us'.[241] Spurred by growing concerns that black children were being educated in private missionary schools while white children were going without an education, North Carolina's General Assembly made plans to reinstate a public school system for white children only in November 1866. Although the legislature did not envision implementing a public school system for black children, the black community was not taxed to support these schools.[242]

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[235] Freedmen's Convention of North Carolina, *Minutes of the Freedmen's Convention held in the city of Raleigh on the 2nd, 3rd, 4th and 5th of October, 1866* (Raleigh, 1866), p. 12, Documenting the American South, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, (http://docsouth.unc.edu/nc/freedmen/freedmen.html) (08 October 2015).

[236] See, for example, Christopher Span's analysis of the growth of public education in Mississippi. Span, *From cotton field to schoolhouse,* pp 117-152.

[237] W. E. B. Du Bois, *Black Reconstruction in America: An essay toward a history of the part which black folk played in the attempt to reconstruct democracy in America, 1860-1880* (New York, 1935), p. 638, available at Internet Archive, (https://archive.org/details/blackreconstruc00dubo) (11 October 2015).

[238] Alexander, 'Hostility and hope', p. 121.

[239] Phillips cited in Alexander, 'Hostility and hope', p. 158.

[240] Duncan, 'Make the letters big and plain', p. 43.

[241] *Raleigh Sentinel,* 12 March 1866.

Efforts to establish a system of free public schooling for both black and white children began in 1868 at North Carolina's constitutional convention.[243] On 14 January 1868, delegates gathered in the state's capital of Raleigh to draft the new constitution and a committee on education, comprising eleven Republicans, two Democrats, and headed by Samuel Ashley, was quickly organised. Two months later, Ashely presented the committee's report to the convention, authorising the General Assembly to establish 'a general and uniform system of Public Schools, whrein tuition shall be free of charge to all the children of the State between the ages of six and twenty-one years [*sic*]'.[244] The report also mandated that schools should be in operation for four months of the year, supported by 'taxation or otherwise' and made available to 'every child of sufficient mental and physical ability'.[245] This report, with minor amendments, later became Article IX of North Carolina's constitution.

Unsurprisingly, many white North Carolinians opposed the new constitution's article on education, principally because no provision was made for segregated schools. Although the two Democratic delegates appointed to the committee suggested amendments to provide for separate schools, neither of these amendments was adopted.[246] Plato Durham, for instance, 'a leading Conservative from Cleveland County (and later Klan chieftain)', suggested including an additional section into the article that would provide for separate schools. [247] In response, Samuel Ashley proposed the following amendment: 'It being understood that this section is not offered in sincerity, or because there is any necesity for it, and that it is proposed for the sole purpose of breeding prejudice and bring-about a political re-enslavement of the colored race [*sic*]'.[248] Ashley's amendment was adopted but Durham's proposed section, as amended, was rejected. Later, when John Graham also suggested amending a section to provide for separate schools and colleges, Albion W. Tourgée's substitute amendment stated that separated schools could be provided so long as 'there shall be as ample, sufficient and complete facilities afforded for the one class as for others'. Foreshadowing Tougée's defence of Homer A. Plessy in the renowned *Plessy v. Ferguson* Supreme Court case, both the amendment and substitute were rejected.[249] Ultimately, the delegates' refusal to provide for segregated schools led to the charge that Republicans in North Carolina were 'committed to the dogma of the social equality of the races'.[250] Reporting on the event in March 1868, the *Raleigh Sentinel* wrote:

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[242] Alexander, 'Hostility and Hope', p. 122. After the Civil War, the virtually property-less former slaves were levied with a combination of poll and occupation taxes.

[243] A more detailed analysis of the constitutional convention is provided in Chapter III.

[244] *Journal of the Constitutional Convention,* p. 338, (http://docsouth.unc.edu/nc/conv1868/conv1868.html) (09 November 2015).

[245] Ibid., pp 339-341.

[246] Ibid. pp 342-343.

[247] Vaughan, *Schools for all,* p. 62.

> We are tired and disgusted with detailing the dirty doings of the Scalawag Convention. The decent people of the state will not be surprised to see, by the report of proceedings on yesterday, that the negrophilists, Yankee and native, on two distinctest issues, voted down propositions to insert, in the Article on Education, a prohibition of the mingling of white and negro children in Schools and white and negro youth in Colleges...So that the negro worshipping hybrids in the Convention have then voted, virtually and emphatically, *to force the attendance of white children in schools with the negroes.*[251]

Although few delegates wanted mixed schools, Ashely and Tourgée both feared that the constitutional provision of separate schools would work to undermine black education. Moreover, Republicans argued that it was not necessary to insert the terms 'white' or 'black' into the constitution because 'black people did not want to go to white schools, nor did the white people wish it'.[252] James Hood for instance, supported the creation of separate black schools on the premise that these schools would be taught by black teachers only.[253] Finally, Republicans pointed out that the legislature would ultimately decide on the issue of integration.

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[248] *Journal of the Constitutional Convention,* p. 342, (http://docsouth.unc.edu/nc/conv1868/conv1868.html) (09 November 2015).

[249] Ibid., p. 343.

[250] *The Daily North Carolinian,* 7 March 1868.

[251] *The Raleigh Sentinel,* 7 March 1868, emphasis in original.

[252] *The Daily Standard,* 7 March 1868.

[253] Adam Fairclough, *A class of their own: Black teachers in the segregated South* (London, 2007), pp 61-62; Sarah Caroline Thuesen, *Greater than equal: African American struggles for schools and citizenship in North Carolina, 1919-1965* (Chapel Hill, 2013), p. 6.

As the ex-Confederate Republican, William B. Rodman, argued, section two of the article on education 'left the matter of separate schools open to the Legislature'. 'Thus', Rodman concluded, 'the highest officers of the state, elected by white majorities would have control of this matter'.[254] Towards the final days of the convention, a resolution was adopted that declared, 'the interests and happiness of the two races would be best promoted by the establishment of separate schools'.[255] Although this resolution did not form part of the constitution, the fear of integrated schools subsided and in April 1868 the constitution was ratified by a vote of 93,086 to 74,014.[256] Samuel Ashley was appointed Superintendent of Public Instruction while James Hood, a black man from Pennsylvania, served as the Assistant Superintendent. One year later, in April 1869, North Carolina's Republican-controlled legislature passed the school law which provided for a segregated, tax-supported school term of four months for all children between the ages of six and twenty-one.[257] Thus, as Superintendent of Public Instruction, Ashley was required to sustain and develop not one school system but two.

North Carolina's public school system went into operation in 1869. At this time, the state was home to a total of 330,581 school aged children, 223,815 of whom were white and 106,766 of whom were black.[258] Establishing a system of schooling for both races was no small undertaking. Schoolhouses had to be built while others had to be repaired, teachers had to be trained and hired, and resources had to be purchased. In 1869, for instance, out of a total of 1,906 schoolhouses, the condition of 178 was characterised as 'good' while 685 were reported as 'bad'.[259] In order to finance such expenditures, a public school fund was created. This fund was principally supported by state revenue, namely state and county capitation taxes.[260] In addition, the legislature appropriated one hundred thousand dollars 'out of any moneys in the Treasury not appropriated otherwise'.[261] This funding was distributed according to a school census. If a township was unable to provide for a four-month term, the county commissioners were permitted to levy local taxes.[262]

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[254] Ibid.

[255] *Journal of the Constitutional Convention,* p. 342, (http://docsouth.unc.edu/nc/conv1868/conv1868.html) (09 November 2015).

[256] Daniel J. Whitener, 'The Republican Party and public education in North Carolina, 1867-1900' in *The North Carolina Historical Review,* vol. 37, no. 3 (1960), pp 382-396. In 1875, an amendment to North Carolina's constitution was made which declared, 'And the children of the white race and the children of the colored race shall be taught in separate public schools; but there shall be no discrimination made in favor of, or to the prejudice of, either race'. See Thuesen, *Greater than equal,* pp 5-6.

[257] *School laws of North Carolina, as ratified April 12th, A. D. 1869,* (Raleigh, 1869), p. 57, available at Internet Archive, (https://archive.org/stream/schoollawsofnortnort#page/n5/mode/2up/search/four) (18 November 2015).

[258] Ashley, *Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction,* p. 2, (http://docsouth.unc.edu/nc/report1869/report1869.html) (19 November 2015).

Due to limited funding, the Freedmen's Bureau, northern aid societies, and local black communities continued to support, either fully or in part, the vast majority of black schools in North Carolina. As James Hood reported in 1869, out of a total of 152 black schools, over half were funded by members of the black community while the remaining were supported by a northern aid society.[263] Indeed, according to Howard Rabinowitz, Raleigh's public school system did not officially begin until 1877. Between 1869 and 1877, most of the black schools in the state's capital were principally supported by the Freedmen's Bureau or a northern benevolent organisation.[264]

In spite of the limitations placed upon the public school system, school attendance rose from 49,000 in 1869 to 65,301 in 1870. School expenditures also increased from approximately $43,000 to over $170,000 during the same period.[265] Nevertheless, North Carolina's system of free and equal public schooling was short-lived. In 1870, southern Democrats regained control of the legislature and immediately set about dismantling the public school system. Although, as Rabinowitz pointed out, state constitutions forced southern Democrats to retain public schools, they slashed educational funding, cut Ashley's salary, and abolished the position of Assistant Superintendent.[266] According to John Bell, the hardest blow to the public school system was the introduction of a law 'that required the school taxes to be spent in the county in which they were collected'. As Bell concluded, 'This restriction destroyed the hope of an equal, statewide standard of education for black and white students in all counties'.[267] Finally, persistent opposition to tax-supported schools meant that in 1871, the State Supreme Court decision of *Lane v. Stanley* ruled that the system of levying local taxes when capitation taxes did not cover school costs was unconstitutional without a favourable vote of the people.[268]

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[259] Ibid., p. 2.
[260] *School laws of North Carolina,* p. 27, Internet Archive, (https://archive.org/stream/schoollawsofnortnort#page/n5/mode/2up/search/four) (18 November 2015).
[261] Ibid.
[262] Ibid., p. 18.
[263] Hood, *Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction,* p. 25, (http://docsouth.unc.edu/nc/report1869/report1869.html) (19 November 2015).
[264] Howard N. Rabinowitz, 'Half a loaf: The shift from white to black teachers in Negro schools of the Urban South, 1865-1890' in Howard Rabinowitz, *Race, ethnicity, and urbanization: Selected essays* (London, 1994), pp 90-116, see specifically p. 98.
[265] Bell, 'Samuel S. Ashley', pp 480-481.

In November 1871, Ashley resigned from his position as superintendent. According to Daniel J. Whitener, his successor, Alexander McIver, 'had three attributes that Ashely did not: He was a native, he did not believe in mixed schools, and he was uninterested in Negro education'.[269] Two other 'native' superintendents served until the end of Reconstruction in 1877. Neither, however, exhibited much interest in facilitating the growth and development of the public school system.[270]

When local public school officials were unable to use the power of the legislature to stymie the development of black schools, they attempted to subvert black education in subtler ways. In January 1870, for instance, Robert G. Fitzgerald, a northern black teacher, attempted to incorporate his private school at Woodside Farm into the public school system. In order to become an official employee of the state, Fitzgerald needed to qualify as a public school teacher. However, he encountered numerous roadblocks in his attempts to do so. Upon visiting Samuel Hughes, the examiner of teachers for Orange County, Fitzgerald was told that there was not enough funding to support all the children in the region. Instead, Hughes advised

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[266] Rabinowitz, 'Half a loaf', p. 100; Butchart, *Schooling,* p. 154.
[267] Bell, 'Samuel S. Ashley', p. 481.
[268] Whitener, 'The Republican Party and public education', p. 389.
[269] Ibid.
[270] Ibid.

Fitzgerald to apply to a northern freedmen's aid society for financial assistance. Writing in his diary later that evening, Fitzgerald wrote, 'I told him that I did not want to impose on charity. I would have done so but for the school appropriation made by the Legislature of the state; that I was willing to take my share of that fund though small, rather than apply to a charitable fund, and that he would confer a favor on me if he would assist me in getting my share of the teachers' fund as small as it was'.[271] Fitzgerald did not succeed in gaining the support of Hughes until August of that year, and that was only because Fitzgerald intercepted him on the road near Hillsboro and demanded his assistance.[272] Evidently, as Fitzgerald correctly concluded, Hughes was 'somewhat biased by prejudice – and he will not put himself to any inconvenience to further the cause of education among the colored people'.[273] Later in 1870, when Fitzgerald's school was officially incorporated into the public school system, he was reprimanded for moving his school to a more accessible location, in spite of the fact that the schoolhouse previously allocated to him had neither desks nor chairs and that many children were unable to attend due to a creek that was obstructing their passage.[274]

When military troops were withdrawn from the South in 1877, all private and federally funded schools were transferred to the state. During this period, North Carolina's Democratic-controlled legislature unsuccessfully attempted to replace black teachers with whites from the South. This was partly done in an effort to gain greater control over the black community but also in an attempt to provide white southerners with jobs. Determined to maintain control over their own schools, black people vehemently challenged this move. In the end, school boards recognised that black teachers would be cheaper to employ so they decided to maintain the black teaching force.[275] The efforts of the black community to mobilise against white encroachment on black education ultimately helped to create a professional class of black teachers.[276]

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[271] Diary of Robert Fitzgerald, 25 January 1870.

[272] Pauli Murray, *Proud shoes: The story of an American family* (London, 1956), p. 224.

[273] Diary of Robert Fitzgerald, 25 January 1870.

[274] Ibid., 17 September 1870.

[275] Rabinowitz, 'Half a loaf', p. 106.

In the decades that followed Reconstruction, southern legislatures accelerated their attacks on black schooling. Although, as Rabinowitz found, funding cuts were relatively equal across white and black schools during the early years of Redemption, 'an ever widening gap in the distribution of funds for the two races came to replace the relatively equal treatment accorded by the Radicals'.[277] The unequal distribution of funds ultimately meant that black schoolhouses were small and in poor condition, facilities were primitive, and resources were inadequate. Due to a lack of space, many black students were unable to gain access to education as schools were already full to capacity. In addition, if a new black school had to be built, 'sites were carefully chosen so as to hinder the dispersal of Negros'.[278]

The legacy of unequal, segregated schooling persisted until the renowned *Brown v. Board of Education* Supreme Court case in 1954 which decreed that segregated schools were unconstitutional. However, in spite of the gains black people made during the Civil Rights era, many public schools, particularly those in predominantly black neighbourhoods, continued to remain underfunded, under-staffed, and under-resourced. This was principally due to the perseverance of institutionalised racism within the civil, social, and justice systems. Morevover, in her study of black schooling Vanessa Siddle Walker argued that in spite of the inequitable school system, segregated black schools were more committed to their students' welfare and educational advancement than subsequent integrated schools.[279] Adam Fairclough reiterated Walker's claim and argued that one of the greatest blows to desegregated schools was the loss of black teachers and, as Butchart observed, 'the consequent loss of school traditions, trophies, mascots, and support systems'.[280]

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[276] Hilary Nicole Green, 'Educational reconstruction: African American education in the Urban South, 1865-1890' (PhD diss., University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, 2010), p. 3.

[277] Rabinowitz, 'Half a loaf', p. 111. Redemption' refers to the period of American history in which southern Democrats, known as Redeemers, 'redeemed' the South by ending Republican rule.

[278] Ibid., p. 112.

[279] Vanessa Siddle Walker, *Their highest potential: An African American school community in the segregated South* (Chapel Hill, 1996), p. 3.

Conclusion

During the Civil War and Reconstruction era, 1861-1875, 143 southern white men and women taught the freedpeople in North Carolina. However, few of these teachers engaged in freedpeople's education to facilitate black educational advancement. On the contrary, financial necessity, racial paternalism, and a desire to preserve the antebellum racial hierarchy drove many southern whites into black classrooms. To be sure, some southern white teachers were genuinely committed to black educational advancement. Indeed, the number of southern whites who belonged to this category of teachers was relatively high in North Carolina because the state was home to a large Quaker population. Although Quakers were not always free from racial prejudice, their reasons for engaging in black education stemmed from a desire to aid the freedpeople's transition from slavery to freedom and many dedicated their life's work to growing and sustaining a system of southern black schooling.

Whether they were white or black, northern or southern, teaching the freedpeople was an arduous undertaking. Although the teachers' motives for engaging in black education were often questionable, at best, in the racist atmosphere of Reconstruction North Carolina their work was perceived as radical and wholly unacceptable. Thus, few teachers escaped persecution; many faced social ostracism while others were threatened or physically harmed by members of white supremacist terrorist organisations such as the KKK. When military troops were withdrawn from the South in 1877, white southerners used violence and the power of the legislature to subvert black schooling, confirming numerous first-hand reports that military occupation was absolutely necessary to maintain peace and order in the war-torn

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[280] Fairclough, *A class of their own,* p. 3; Butchart, *Schooling,* p. 157.

South.

CHAPTER III

‘To Educate Themselves’: Black Teachers in North Carolina’s Schools for the Freedpeople, 1861-1875

Introduction

Most of the teachers in North Carolina’s schools for the freedpeople during the Civil War and Reconstruction era, 1861-1875, were black. The vast majority of these teachers were from the South, mostly North Carolina, and many were probably former slaves.[1] In 1862, ex-slave Martha Culling opened the first known school for the freedpeople on Roanoke Island.[2] Two years later, over three thousand black students were being educated in similar schools across the eastern region of the state.[3] However, studies of post-Civil War southern black schooling are primarily focused upon telling the story of northern white teachers, or, in a couple of instances, the work of northern blacks.[4] This chapter interrogates the profile of black teachers in North Carolina’s schools for the freedpeople between 1861 and 1875. In particular, it investigates what qualified black men and women to teach the freedpeople, the reasons why they chose to engage in education, and their experiences of post-Civil War southern society. Focusing upon the work of southern blacks who, as noted above, accounted for most of the teachers, this chapter begins by examining how formerly enslaved men and women interpreted freedom and the role of education.

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[1] Ronald E. Butchart, The Freedmen’s Teacher Project (2013), used with permission, hereafter cited as the FTP.

[2] Patricia C. Click, *A time full of trial: The Roanoke Island freedmen’s colony, 1862-1867* (Chapel Hill, 2001), p. 35.

[3] Horace James, *Annual report of the Superintendent of Negro Affairs in North Carolina, 1864* (Boston, 1865), p. 39. As discussed in Chapter I, the eastern region of North Carolina came under the control of the Union Army early in 1862. Therefore, most of the first black schools originated in this section of the state.

[4] For studies of northern black teachers, see, for example, Maxine D. Jones, ‘The American Missionary Association and the Beaufort, North Carolina school controversy, 1866-67’ in *Phylon, The Atlanta University Review of Race and Culture,* vol. 48, no. 2 (1987), pp 103-111; Maxine D. Jones, ‘They are my people: Black American Missionary Association teachers in North Carolina during the Civil War and Reconstruction’ in *The Negro Educational Review,* vol. 36, no. 2 (1985) pp 78-89; Clara Merritt De Boer, *His truth is marching on: African Americans who taught the freedmen for the American Missionary Association* (New York, 1995).

The meaning of freedom

For North Carolina's freed population, freedom meant citizenship, autonomy, and new possibilities. 'The negroes strongly aspire to the common rights of citizens', wrote Horace James, the Superintendent of Negro Affairs in North Carolina. They 'want to buy and sell and get gain, to select and favor their own church and school, and party, to defend themselves, to litigate with and implead one another, to hold written documents instead of verbal promises, and to manage their own affairs'.[5] However, as highlighted in Chapters I and II, blacks and whites did not always share the same goals or vision of black freedom.

During the early stages of Reconstruction, North Carolina's freed population grew increasingly hopeful that freedom would yield new possibilities, new opportunities, and a life that was altogether different from the one they led in slavery. This hope appeared to become a reality when, on 2 March 1867, the Radical Republican-dominated Congress passed the First Reconstruction Act. Marking the beginning of Congressional, or Radical, Reconstruction, this act divided ten of the eleven former Confederate states into five military districts and demanded the creation of new state constitutions that would ratify the Fourteenth Amendment and enfranchise all male citizens over the age of twenty-one 'of whatever race, color, or previous condition', except for those who participated in the rebellion or were guilty of committing a felony.[6] At a time when only seven northern states allowed black men to vote, these constitutions, which were to be 'framed by a convention of delegates' elected by said citizens, was shaping up to be one of the most liberal in the history of the United States.[7]

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[5] James, *Annual report,* p. 45.

[6] 'Act of March 2, 1867' reprinted in Richard Zuczec (ed.), *Reconstruction: A historical encyclopaedia of the American mosaic* (Santa Barbara, 2016), pp 390-391. Tennessee was excluded from this act because it had already ratified the Fourteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution and was readmitted to the Union.

On 27 March 1867, the Republican Party was formed in North Carolina under the leadership of former provisional governor, William Woods Holden, and it immediately made plans to register all eligible voters.[8] This registration resulted in 72,932 black votes out of a total of 179,653.[9] An election was held on 20 November 1867 to decide whether there should be a state constitutional convention and elect delegates to it. This was the first election in which black men enjoyed the right to vote. 93,006 voted in favour of the convention, 32,961 opposed it and 53,686 registered voters did not vote either way.[10] 120 delegates were elected, 107 of whom were Republican. These Republican delegates comprised eighteen northern white 'carpetbaggers', fifteen blacks, and seventy-four southern white 'scalawags'.[11] Teachers of the freedpeople were particularly well-represented at this convention and such delegates included the northern white educator Albion W. Tourgée, AMA superintendent Samuel S. Ashley, northern black teacher James Edward O'Hara, and southern black teacher James Henry Harris.

In January 1868 delegates gathered in Raleigh to draft North Carolina's new constitution. Three months later, freedmen were given the opportunity to vote for its ratification. Many black people heralded this momentous event as a new beginning for the black race, not least because the new constitution provided for the implementation of state-funded public schools for both black and white children. On 22 April 1868, Robert G. Fitzgerald, a northern black teacher in North Carolina, wrote of his experience at the polls: 'But I heard a white man say today is the Black man's day. Tomorrow will be the white man's. I thought – Poor man – those days of distinction between colors is about over in this (now) free country'.[12] This election ultimately resulted in the adoption of North Carolina's 'most liberal constitution' by a vote of 93,086 to 74,016.[13] On 20 July 1868, after ratifying the Fourteenth Amendment, North Carolina was readmitted to the Union.[14]

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[7] 'Act of March 2, 1867', p. 391; According to Chandler Davidson, 'On the eve of the Civil War, free blacks were denied suffrage everywhere but in New York and the New England states – except for Connecticut, where they were also disenfranchised'. Property restrictions for blacks only were in place in New York. See Davidson, 'The voting rights act: A brief history' in Bernard N. Grofman and Chandler Davidson (eds.), *Controversies in minority voting: The voting rights act in perspective* (Washington, D.C., 1992), p. 7

[8] Gordon B. McKinney, *Zeb Vance: North Carolina's Civil War governor and gilded age political leader* (Chapel Hill, 2004), p. 273.

[9] Pauli Murray, *Proud shoes: The story of an American family* (London, 1956), p. 195.

[10] William S. Powell, *North Carolina through four centuries* (Chapel Hill, 1989), p. 392. Many whites did not vote in this election because, due to the disenfranchisement of ex-Confederates, they felt that they were underrepresented and that the convention was undemocratic. See, Hilary Nicole Green, 'Educational Reconstruction: African American education in the urban South' (PhD thesis, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2010), pp 100-101.

[11] Powell, *North Carolina through four centuries,* p. 392.

On 3 November 1868, black men in seven former Confederate states were given another opportunity to vote in the presidential election between Ulysses S. Grant, the Republican candidate, and Horatio Seymour, the Democratic nominee. These seven states were Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Tennessee, North Carolina, and South Carolina. The remaining four Confederate states had not yet been admitted to the Union so neither whites nor blacks could vote. In North Carolina, Robert Fitzgerald was exuberant about this new opportunity and on voting day he wrote:

> The great epoch in the history of our race has at last arrived, and today the colored citizens of these southern [states] are casting their votes for the presidential candidate U.S. Grant & Schuyler Colfax. The citizens of Hillsboro are jubilant and their votes are going in like snowflakes, silently and surely. Everything is quiet and there seems to be the best feeling all around.[15]

The right to vote was central to the freedpeople's definition of freedom. As Frederick Douglass declared in 1865, 'Slavery is not abolished until the black man has the ballot'.[16] However, the enfranchisement of black men ultimately resulted in increased calls for black education. Although the loudest calls came from northern whites and, in a couple of instance, northern blacks, the freed population also recognised that political responsibility necessitated schooling.[17] As Heather A. Williams wrote, 'Freedpeople wanted to ensure that they counted as voters and as legislators who could exercise power over their own future. Illiteracy, they knew, would impede their ambition for full participation in this public, political sphere; therefore, education took on added significance'.[18]

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[12] Diary of Robert G. Fitzgerald, 22 April 1868, Fitzgerald family papers, 1864-1954, Southern Historical Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, hereafter cited as Diary of Robert Fitzgerald.

[13] John Haley, *Charles N. Hunter and race relations in North Carolina* (London, 1987), p. 19.

[14] Ibid.

[15] Diary of Robert Fitzgerald, 3 November 1868.

[16] Frederick Douglass cited in Philip S. Foner (ed.), *Frederick Douglass: Selected speeches and writings* (reprint, Chicago, 1999), p. 57.

Thus, formerly enslaved men and women rigorously campaigned for a system of black education and, on the grassroots level, freedpeople throughout North Carolina built schoolhouses, hired teachers, purchased land, and provided resources. Two years after the fall of the Confederacy, a black man from Alamance County rented a schoolhouse at the expense of four dollars per month to himself so that his black neighbours could gain access to education.[19] Elsewhere in North Carolina, F. A. Fiske, the Freedmen's Bureau Superintendent of Education, reported that 'a poor colored man…who has no family of his own, built a log school house with his own hands, and hired a teacher on his own responsibility in order that his neighbor's children, in the depth of their poverty and ignorance, might enjoy the benefits of a school'.[20]

The former slaves also organised politically to ensure greater access to education and in October 1865, 117 black men from forty-two different counties gathered at the African Methodist Episcopal Church in the state's capital of Raleigh to open the first Freedmen's Convention in the South.[21] Elected at meetings held throughout North Carolina, but particularly in the black-majority counties along the eastern region of the state, these black delegates consisted of those who were literate before the war as well as those who 'don't-know-A-from-B'.[22] At this convention, delegates outlined their hopes and visions of black freedom. Adopting a predominantly conservative stance, and praised by the press as a result, delegates called for friendly relations with whites, increased access to education, equal employment opportunities, and 'to have all the oppressive laws which make unjust discriminations on account of race or color wiped from the statutes of the state'.[23] Reporting on the event from Raleigh, *The New York Times* wrote, 'Some of the delegates, particularly Mr. J. H. Harris, of this county, exhibit intelligence of an extraordinary character, and all, with a few exceptions, have evinced a remarkably conservative and conciliatory spirit in their references to their late masters'.[24]

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[17] In her study of U.S. race relations, Allyson Hobbs found that some members of the black elite hesitated about 'offering the franchise to the black masses and worried that they were not yet ready for such responsibility'. See, Hobbs, *A chosen exile: A history of racial passing in American life* (London, 2014), pp 80-81.

[18] Heather Andrea Williams, '"Clothing themselves in intelligence": The freedpeople, schooling, and northern teachers, 1861-1871' in *The Journal of African American History,* vol. 87 (2002), pp 372-289. See also James D. Anderson, *The education of blacks in the South, 1860-1935* (Chapel Hill, 1988), p. 18.

[19] *The Raleigh Register,* 25 October 1867.

[20] Ibid.

[21] Haley, *Charles N. Hunter,* p. 9; Roberta S. Alexander, *North Carolina faces the freedmen: Race relations during Presidential Reconstruction, 1865-1867* (Durham, 1865), p. 17.

James Henry Harris was a key political figure in North Carolina during the Civil War and Reconstruction era. A prominent member of the Union League, he also taught the freedpeople in Raleigh between 1865 and 1867.[25] Appointed president of the State Equal Rights League, an organisation founded at the first freedmen's convention, Harris organised a second freedmen's convention in Raleigh on 2 October 1866.[26] The focus of this convention was on education, race relations, and politics and it succeeded in establishing the Freedmen's Educational Association of North Carolina, the aim of which was to 'aid in the establishment of schools, from which none shall be excluded on account of color or poverty and to encourage unsectarian education in this State especially among the freedmen'.[27] The convention's efforts appear to have paid off. Two months later, in December 1866, F. A. Fiske reported that of the ninety-five reported schools for the freedpeople, fifteen were ‘sustained by freedmen’ while another twenty were ‘sustained in part by freedmen’. Twenty-two school buildings were owned by the freedpeople.[28] Evidently, the freedpeople’s efforts to create a sustainable system of southern black schooling was just one of the ways in which the black community organised and mobilised in the aftermath of the Civil War.[29]

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[22] John Richard Dennett, *The South as it is: 1865-1866* (New York, 1965), p. 95. Unsurprisingly, the meetings held to elect delegates did not go unchallenged and local whites in Chapel Hill, many of whom were students at the University of North Carolina, attempted to storm the freedpeople's meeting and threatened to set fire to the building. In areas where white hostility prevented black people from politically organising, delegates were 'sent up from churches, from prayer meetings' and 'from neighbourhood conferences where a few men met together in secret'. See John K. Chapman, 'Black freedom and the University of North Carolina, 1793-1960' (PhD thesis, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2006), p. 92; Dennett, *The South,* p. 149.

[23] Dennett, *The South,* p. 154.

[24] *The New York Times,* 1 October 1865. See also Dennett, *The South,* p. 152.

[25] Butchart, The FTP; Appointment to the New England Freedmen's Aid Society, 31 August 1865, James Henry Harris (ca. 1830-1891) papers, North Carolina State Archives, Raleigh.

[26] Haley, *Charles N. Hunter,* p. 10.

[27] The Freedmen's Convention of North Carolina, *Minutes of the Freedmen's Convention held in the city of Raleigh on the 2nd, 3rd, 4th and 5th of October, 1866* (Raleigh, 1866), p. 12, available at Documenting the American South, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, (http://docsouth.unc.edu/nc/freedmen/freedmen.html) (08 October 2015).

‘A strong thirst for knowledge’

Throughout the Civil War and Reconstruction period, educators, Freedmen’s Bureau officials, school superintendents, and other members of the public often commented on the freedpeople’s profound desire to learn. ‘The people are in great poverty’, wrote Michael P. Jerkins, a black teacher from Beaufort, North Carolina, ‘still there is a strong thirst for knowledge’.[30] H. S. Beals of the AMA made a similar observation and while stationed in Beaufort he wrote, ‘All around us the Freedmen are struggling hard against poverty, some against actual starvation, yet they beg harder for a school than for food or clothing’.[31] According to John W. Alvord, the Freedmen’s Bureau General Superintendent of Education, the freedpeople’s thirst for knowledge was not exaggerated and in his first semi-annual report on schools he wrote:

> This is a wonderful state of things. We have just emerged from a terrific war; peace is not yet declared. There is scarcely the beginning of recognized society at the south; and yet here is a people long imbruted by slavery, and the most despised of any of earth, whose chains are no sooner broken than they spring to their feet and start up an exceeding great

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[28] State Superintendent’s Monthly School Reports, December 1866, Records of the Superintendent of Education for the State of North Carolina, Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, M844:13, hereafter cited as Records of the Superintendent of Education.

[29] For other examples of black mobilisation in the Reconstruction South, see, for example, Steven Hahn, *A nation under our feet: Black political struggles in the rural South from slavery to the Great Migration* (Cambridge, 2003); Brian Kelly, ‘Labor and place: The contours of freedpeople’s mobilization in Reconstruction South Carolina’ in *The Journal of Peasant Studies,* vol. 35, no. 4 (2008), pp 653-687.

[30] Michael P. Jerkins to Edward P. Smith, 29 January 1869, American Missionary Association archives, Amistad Research Centre, Tulane University, New Orleans, Louisiana, accessed at New York Public Library, hereafter cited as AMAA.

[31] H. S. Beals in the *American Missionary* (January 1867), p. 4. See also, *American Missionary* (March 1867), p. 49.

> army, clothing themselves with intelligence. What other people on earth have ever shown, while in their ignorance, such a passion for education? [32]

In her assessment of freedpeople's education, Harriet Beecher Stowe, the best-selling author of *Uncle Tom's Cabin,* reiterated Alvord's observations and acknowledged that throughout history, no other group of formerly enslaved people have demonstrated such a thirst for knowledge:

> But poor, ignorant, and simple as this emancipated mass were, they differed in one respect from the masses liberated by the French Revolution, and from all other suddenly liberated masses of which we have read in history. Their enthusiasm and impulse was not for plunder, or for revenge, or for drink, or any form of animal indulgence, but for *education*. They rushed not to the grogshop but to the schoolroom – they cried for the spelling book as for bread, and pleaded for teachers as a necessary of life.[33]

Interestingly, and as somewhat of an aside, Stowe's remark betrays some of the misconceptions that many northern whites, including antislavery activists such as herself, had about the freedpeople. As demonstrated in Chapter I, northern whites were often concerned that the freedpeople would resort to a life of drunken idleness upon emancipation and this concern drove many into black classrooms.

Although, as discussed in the previous section, the enfranchisement of black men resulted in increased calls for black schooling, three other factors motivated the former slaves to demand access to education. Firstly, many freedpeople perceived schooling as synonymous with freedom. For centuries, enslaved blacks had been denied access to education and severe punishments were often meted out to those who attempted to learn even the most basic literacy skills. 'Lawd you better not be caught wid a book in yor han'. If you did, you were sold', recollected Louisa Adams, a former slave from Richmond County, while Jane Arrington from Raleigh observed, 'If dey caught a slave wid a book you knowed it meant a whuppin'.[34] Thus, for many freedpeople, schooling symbolised freedom as well as a safeguard against re-enslavement. 'If we are *educated,* they can't make slaves of us again', declared one black student in New Bern.[35]

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[32] John W. Alvord, *First semi-annual report on schools and finances of freedmen, January 1, 1866* (Washington, D.C., 1868, reprint, New York, 1980), p. 10.

[33] Harriet Beecher Stowe, 'The education of freedmen' in *The North American Review,* vol. 128 (1879), pp 605-615, emphasis in original.

[34] Louisa Adams, 'Born in slavery: Slave narratives from the Federal Writers' Project, 1936-1938', North Carolina narratives, vol. 11, part 1, Library of Congress, (http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage?collId=mesn&fileName=111/mesn111.db&recNum=7&itemLink=D?mesnbib:2:./temp/~ammem_rBgZ::) (09 October 2015), hereafter cited as 'Born in slavery'; Jane Arrington, 'Born in slavery', (http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-

Secondly, education served many practical functions and most former slaves believed that schooling was their ticket to economic success and upward mobility, as well as civil and political equality. Unless you learn basic arithmetic, wrote Isaac W. Brinkerhoff in his textbook *Advice to Freedmen,* 'you cannot succeed in business, cannot tell whether you are buying or selling to advantage or not'.[36] Indeed, many former slaves engaged in education to learn how to read, understand, and negotiate contracts. This function of schooling became significantly more pressing as more and more freedpeople were compelled to seek work in the fields or on the plantations. Rather than working for subsistence such as food, clothing, and lodging, as many employers offered, the freedpeople demanded wages or, at the very least, a portion of the crops.[37] This necessitated the creation of labour contracts. However, many employers took advantage of the freedpeople's illiteracy to cheat them out of their wages. As a Freedmen's Bureau agent stationed at Elizabeth City reported, 'when contracts for labor were made the Freedman was almost invariable cheated out of his earnings'.[38] In order to cheat the freedpeople out of their earnings, employers made the labor contracts as confusing as possible. In 1866, for instance, Alvord reported that he saw one labour contract 'in which it was stipulated that "one-third of seven-twelfths of all corn, potatoes, and fodder, &ce. Shall go to the laborers"'.[39] Thus, as Christopher Span observed, the former slaves quickly came to realise that 'being literate was

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bin/ampage?collId=mesn&fileName=111/mesn111.db&recNum=51&itemLink=D?mesnbib:1:./temp/~ammem_Uatb::) (09 October 2015).

[35] New England Freedmen's Aid Society, *Extracts from letters of teachers and superintendents of the New England Freedmen's Aid Society, fifth series* (Boston, 1864), p. 13.

[36] Isaac W. Brinkerhoff, *Advice to freedmen* (New York, 1864; reprint, New York, 1980), p. 37.

[37] Donald Spivey, *Schooling for the new slavery: Black industrial education, 1868-1915* (Westport, 1978), p. 6.

[38] Charles Hill to Horace James, 6 September 1865, Records of the Field Offices for the State of North Carolina, Bureau of Freedmen, Refugees, and Abandoned Lands, 1865-1872, M1909:35.

[39] Alvord, *First semi-annual report,* p. 15.

a necessity'.[40] In an address to the Constitutional Convention of 1865, the Freedmen's Convention of North Carolina asked for friendly relations between whites and blacks, particularly in terms of labour. 'Our first and engrossing concern in our new relation is, how may we provide shelter and an honorable subsistence for ourselves and families. You will say, work; but without your just and considerate aid, how shall we secure adequate compensation for our labor?'.[41]

Finally, a sizable majority of the former slaves engaged in schooling to learn to read the Bible. As discussed in Chapters I and II, many former slaves had converted to Christianity during slavery and most were profoundly religious. Thus, denied the opportunity to read the word of God during times of slavery, many freedpeople were determined to learn to read the Bible.[42]

The teachers' biographical profile

Of the 1,419 teachers examined in this study, 705 were black. 613 of these teachers were from a slave state, eighty-five were from the North, and seven came from countries outside of the US, such as Barbados and the West Indies (See Table 7). 563 of the southern black teachers were from North Carolina.[43]

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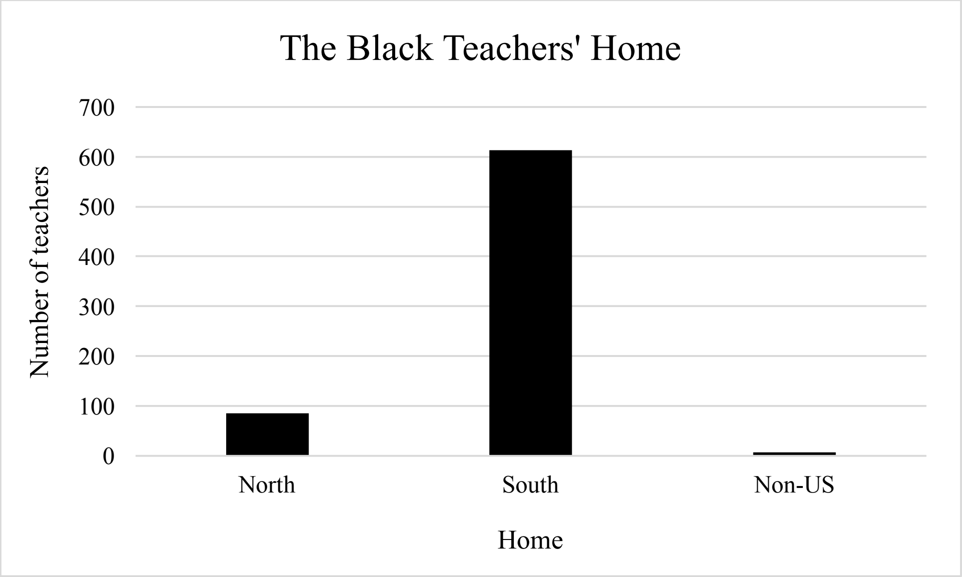
[40] Span, *From cotton field to schoolhouse,* p. 47. See also, Leon F. Litwack, *Been in the storm so long: The aftermath of slavery* (New York, 1980), p. 473.

[41] 'North Carolina Freedmen's Address (1865)' reprinted in Scot J. Hammond, Kevin R. Hardwicj and Howard L. Lubert (eds.), *Classics of American political and constitutional thought, volume 2: Reconstruction to the present* (Cambridge, 2007), p. 38.

[42] Alvord, *First semi-annual report,* p. 9.

[43] Butchart, The FTP.

Table 7: The black teachers' home



Source: The Freedmen's Teacher Project

Only 29 black teachers have been identified as former slaves.[44] That is not to say that there were not more formerly enslaved teachers in North Carolina's black schools. Rather, as discussed in the introduction to this dissertation, there is not enough evidence to demonstrate if they were free or enslaved before the war.

In North Carolina's schools for the freedpeople, southern black men taught more frequently than southern black women. Of the 613 black teachers from the South, 396 were men, 203 were women and the gender for fourteen is unknown.[45] This gender imbalance may be attributed to the fact that teaching the freedpeople was a precarious position, at best. Aid from the Freedmen's Bureau was inadequate while benevolent funding was limited and many black teachers were forced to rely on private tuition fees to sustain their schools. Recognising this, it is likely that many black women sought to obtain a more secure form of labour. Indeed, Thavolia Glymph found that in the immediate aftermath of the Civil War, many black women looked for domestic positions as opposed to field work because 'black women and their families needed immediate resources to help sustain them as crops were being made'.[46] Northern black men and women, on the other hand, taught in almost equal numbers. Of the 85 black teachers from the North, 43 were men, 41 were women and the gender for 1 is unknown.[47]

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[44] Ibid.

[45] Ibid.

Few black teachers were employed by an aid or missionary society. Most worked in independent schools that were supported by a combination of private tuition fees and aid from the Freedmen's Bureau.[48] However, when we look at the black teachers as two distinct groups, northern black and southern black, we see some striking differences in their employment habits. In fact, most of the northern black teachers were sponsored by an aid or missionary society. Of the 85 black teachers from the North, only ten taught the freedpeople without ever receiving the sponsorship of a freedmen's aid society.[49] This may have been because northern blacks were less likely to be able to support their work in the South without some sort of remuneration. Unlike the southern black teachers who already lived in the state, unsupported northern black teachers were required to pay for their transportation to and from the South as well as their lodging and expenses while in the South. As Rhode Islander Ellen Jackson Garrison declared to the AMA, 'I would have gone [to the South] upon my own responsibility but I am not able. I thought it would be safer for me to be employed by some Society. Then, I shall not be troubled about my livelihood, for it cramps ones energies to have to think about the means of living'.[50]

Like their white counterparts, northern black teachers rarely remained under the sponsorship of just one particular aid society for the duration of their careers. Some teachers, like Samuel G. Cross from Hartford, Connecticut, began working in a supported school before losing that sponsorship, most likely due to a lack of funds. Cross taught for a total of nine years, only two of which were under the sponsorship of the National Freedman's Relief Association (NFRA). The remaining seven years were spent teaching in a private black school.[51] Other teachers, such as nineteen-year-old James Edward O'Hara from New York, began teaching the freedpeople in an independent school before finding the sponsorship of an aid or missionary society. O'Hara worked for four years in an unsupported school before eventually finding employment with the Friends' Freedmen's Association (FFA).[52] In order to support his work in the South, O'Hara charged his students one dollar per month. Those who were unable to pay were taught for free. The only major difficulty O'Hara faced while working without northern aid was the want of a suitable school building. As he reported to a Freedmen's Bureau official in 1864, 'my house is at present full, and I have been obliged for the past week to refuse about fifteen scholars'.[53]

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[46] Thavolia Glymph, *Out of the house of bondage: The transformation of the plantation household* (Cambridge, 2008), p. 158.
[47] Butchart, The FTP.
[48] Butchart, The FTP.
[49] Ibid.
[50] Ellen Garrison Jackson to S. S. Jocelyn, 13 June 1863, reprinted in Dorothy Sterling (ed.), *We are your sisters: Black women in the nineteenth century* (London, 1984), p. 264.

Born to an Irish-American father and West Indian mother in New York, O'Hara led an active career in education, law, and politics. After teaching the freedpeople for a total of five years in New Bern and Goldsboro, O'Hara moved to Washington, D.C., to study law at Howard University, a private institution for black men and women. When he returned to North Carolina, O'Hara quickly became active in local politics. In 1868 he served as a delegate to the constitutional convention and between 1868 and 1869 he served in the state house of representatives. In 1883 O'Hara was the second black man to be elected to Congress from North Carolina. Throughout his active career in politics, O'Hara was dedicated to promoting black civil rights and he succeeded in briefly ending segregation on interstate steam trains.[54] After serving in Congress for four years, O'Hara returned to North Carolina to practice law with his son.[55]

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[51] Butchart, The FTP.

[52] Ibid.

[53] NEFAS, *Extracts from letters of teachers and superintendents,* p. 16.

[54] Stephen Middleton, *Black congressmen during Reconstruction: A documentary sourcebook* (Westport, 2002), p. 277.

[55] Ibid.

When a northern black teacher lost the sponsorship of an aid or missionary organisation they turned to the Freedmen's Bureau for aid. Although the Bureau had limited financial resources, as well as limited spending power, it could pay for the teachers' transportation to and from the South as well as the rent of a school building. Given that these buildings were often already owned by the Bureau, the freedpeople, or an aid society, the rent payment was substituted for wages. However, such payments rarely amounted to anything above ten dollars per month. In 1869, H. C. Vogell, F. A. Fiske's successor as Superintendent of Education, offered Robert Fitzgerald ten dollars monthly rental. 'It is discouraging', wrote Fitzgerald.[56] On other occasions, northern black teachers were required to charge a monthly tuition fee, a payment the impoverished black students often found difficult to make. As Fitzgerald reported in 1867, 'The people have done very poor in paying for the tuition of their children, only about one tenth of them paying .50 cents per month'.[57]

Numbering eighty-five, northern black teachers represented a distinct minority of the black teaching force. However, this is not indicative of their commitment, or lack thereof, to freedpeople's education. Rather, it reveals more about the employment policies of the northern aid and missionary societies which often exhibited a preference for employing white teachers over black. As Samuel Ashley once wrote, 'my opinion is that white teachers can do more for the freedmen in this city at present than colored'.[58] In 1863, Horace James offered a similar argument:

> As to *colored teachers* from the North, I do not see the way clear for them coming among us as yet. I think well educated colored preachers who are ordained ministers would do more good. We should find it difficult to assign a position to such teachers as yet, and besides I want to bring to the system all the influence efficiency and even Eclat which white teachers can give it, so as to accomplish the most in a short time.[59]

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[56] Diary of Robert Fitzgerald, 4 October 1869.
[57] Ibid., 8 July 1867.
[58] Samuel S. Ashley cited in Jones, 'They are my people', p. 87.
[59] Horace James cited in Jones, 'They are my people', pp 81-82, emphasis in original.

Evidently, James believed that white teachers could bring something to the schools that black teachers could not. Although black teachers, particularly northern black teachers, were certainly as competent as whites from the North, James was not convinced of their need or effectiveness.

According to Jones, the AMA was one of the few organisations that made a concerted effort to send more black teachers to the South.[60] Yet, the FTP indicates that, out of a total of 705 black teachers, the AMA sponsored just sixty-two and, even at that, the sponsorship rarely lasted beyond one or two years. Joseph P. Weaver, for instance, from Winston, North Carolina, taught the freedpeople for a total of nine years. Only one of these years was supported by the AMA. Indeed, the American Baptist Home Missionary Society (ABHMS) was actually more likely to support black teachers in North Carolina.[61]

Black teachers taught in virtually every region of North Carolina (see Map 2). This was partly because northern aid and missionary societies were often reluctant to send white teachers, particularly white female teachers, to the more remote and rural areas of the state. As the AMA once argued, black teachers 'can go where white ladies cannot, on the plantations, into the interior of the country, living in the negro cabins, and "roughing it" in the most primitive way'.[62] In 1867, F. A. Fiske asked Edward P. Smith of the AMA to send a black teacher to a school in Harnett County. The people 'would prefer a colored man who would preach to them Sundays', he wrote. 'If he cannot be obtained they would like a colored female teacher. If neither, a white lady will do, but I would not recommend sending the latter'.[63] Fiske did not recommend sending a white woman because the school was 'sixteen miles from Raleigh – in the country – no village there – population mostly colored'.[64] Although Freedmen's Bureau officials such as Fiske diligently worked on behalf of the freedpeople and committed themselves to growing and sustaining a system of black education, many continued to harbour racial biases.

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[60] Jones, 'They are my people, p. 81.

[61] Butchart, The FTP.

[62] The AMA cited in Butchart, *Schooling,* p. 38. See also, Williams, *Self-taught,* p. 115.

[63] F. A. Fiske to Edward P. Smith, 25 January 1867, Records of the Superintendent of Education, M844:1.

[64] Ibid. See also, Fiske to Reverend Kennedy, 22 February 1867, Records of the Superintendent of Education, M844:1.

Between 1861 and 1875, northern black teachers typically spent an impressive four and a half years working in the South. Southern black teachers spent approximately two and a half years teaching the former slaves.[65] That is not to say to say that southern black teachers were less committed to freedpeople's education. Rather, given that few of these teachers were sponsored by a freedmen's aid society, it is likely that the teachers from the South did not have the financial means to support their work. Although, as Butchart argued, northern black teachers 'typically owned little real estate and held little other tangible wealth to offset the costs of travel, board, and room', southern black teachers 'were, of course, even more impoverished'.[66]

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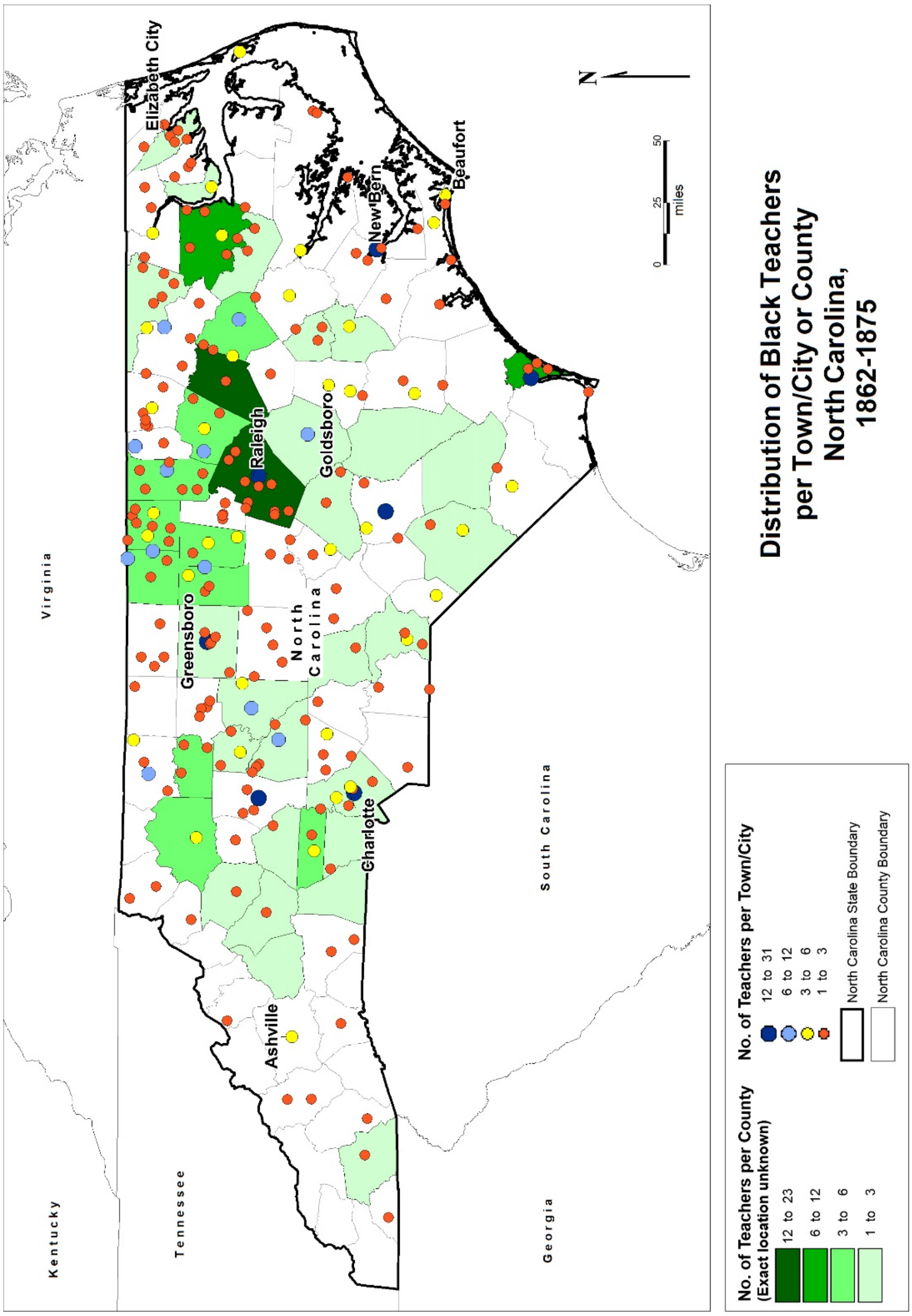
[65] Butchart, The FTP.

[66] Butchart, *Schooling,* p. 23, p. 25.


Distribution of Black Teachers per Town/City or County North Carolina, 1862-1875
Virginia
Kentucky
Tennessee
Georgia
South Carolina
North Carolina
Elizabeth City
New Bern
Beaufort
Raleigh
Goldsboro
Greensboro
Charlotte
Ashville
N
0
25
50
miles
No. of Teachers per County (Exact location unknown)
12 to 23
6 to 12
3 to 6
1 to 3
No. of Teachers per Town/City
12 to 31
6 to 12
3 to 6
1 to 3
North Carolina State Boundary
North Carolina County Boundary

Map 2: Distribution of black teachers per town/city or county, 1861-1875

Two northern black teachers spent a considerable length of time in the South. They were Robert and Cicero Harris. Born in North Carolina, the Harris family relocated to Cleveland, Ohio, during the antebellum period. In 1864, Robert Harris applied to work for the AMA for an initial period of six months.[67] However, less than a year later, Harris expressed an interest in being reappointed. ‘I am willing and anxious to continue in this good work’, he wrote, ‘and if I am sent here, or elsewhere, by the help of God I will endeavour to work faithfully for the elevation of these long despised people and for the advancement of Christ’s kingdom on earth’.[68] Robert ultimately taught the freedpeople until his death in 1879 while Cicero, who first began teaching in 1866, continued until 1888.[69]

Black teachers first started working in North Carolina’s schools for the freedpeople in 1862. During this year, two former slaves and one free black from the North began teaching the freedpeople on Roanoke Island. Thereafter, the number of black teachers continued to increase so that by 1869, their peak year of participation, 295 black teachers were working in schools throughout the state.[70]

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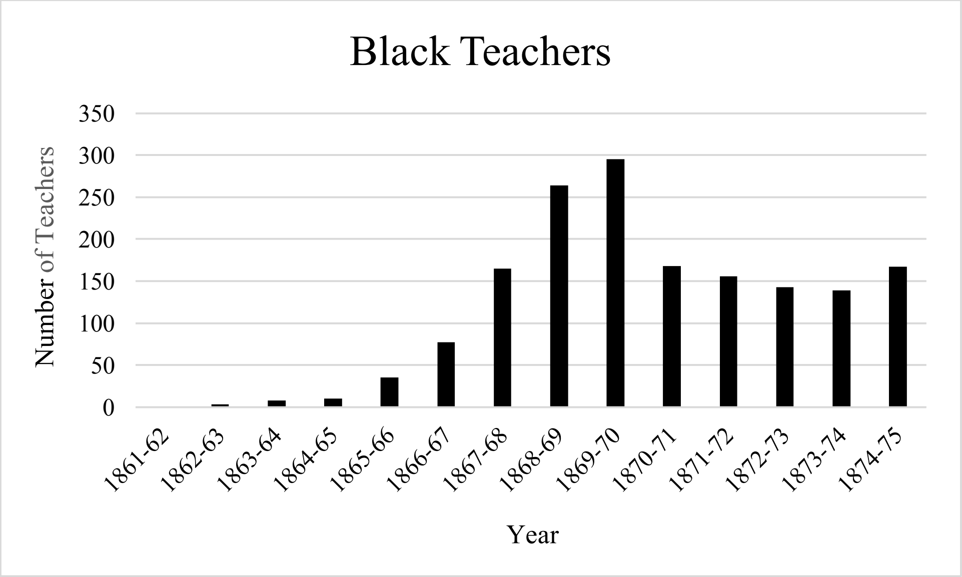
[67] Robert Harris to George Whipple, 26 August 1864, AMAA.

[68] Harris to Whipple, 28 June 1865, AMAA.

[69] Butchart, *Schooling,* p. 23; Butchart, The FTP. For more information on the Harris brothers, see Earle H. West, ‘The Harris brothers: Northern teachers in the Reconstruction South’ in *The Journal of Negro Education,* vol. 48, no. 2 (1979), pp 126-138.

[70] Butchart, The FTP.

Table 8: Participation rates of black teachers, 1861-1875



Source: The Freedmen's Teacher Project

The increasing number of black teachers ultimately resulted from the efforts of the black community who consistently demanded to be taught by members of their own race.[71] As James H. Harris declared in 1878, 'no one can enter so fully into the sympathy of the negro's condition as the negro himself'.[72] In 1869, a system of public schooling for all children, regardless of race, was established in North Carolina and freedpeople's schools were gradually absorbed into the public school system. This explains why the number of black teachers appears to decrease from 1870 – the FTP is focused upon documenting the number of teachers in the freedmen's, rather than public, schools. The growing number of black teachers in North Carolina's schools for the freedpeople ultimately raises the question, where did these teachers come from? Or, more specifically, what qualified black men and women to teach the freedpeople?

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[71] Span, *From cotton field to schoolhouse,* p. 81; Williams, *Self-taught,* p. 150; Howard Rabinowitz, 'Half a loaf: The shift from white to black teachers in the Negro schools of the Urban South' in *The Journal of Southern History,* vol. 40, no. 4 (1974), pp 565-594.

[72] Harris cited in Rabinowitz, 'Half a loaf', p. 579.

Black education during the antebellum period

The black teachers in North Carolina's schools for the freedpeople can be classified into three distinct categories: northern black, free-born southern black, and the formerly enslaved. Recognising that schooling opportunities varied amongst the black community, both north and south of the Mason-Dixon Line, the next two sections of this chapter investigate how free and enslaved blacks became qualified to teach the freedpeople. Before doing so, however, it is important to note that few qualifications were necessary to teach the freedpeople. Indeed, few qualifications, bar a common school education, were necessary to teach in antebellum northern common schools.[73] When teaching became professionalised during the latter stages of the nineteenth century, teacher training institutes, known as normal schools, were gradually established throughout the country for both blacks and whites. However, during the early stages of freedpeople's education, teaching credentials were not entirely necessary and most northern aid and missionary societies simply required that prospective teachers have a common school education. Of course, some classroom experience was advantageous. To be considered for a teaching position with the AMA, for instance, one had to possess a missionary spirit, good health, energy, culture and common sense, good personal habits and 'experience in teaching…especially as *disciplinarians*', in that order.[74] Arguably, northern black applicants were subjected to a more rigorous application procedure than their white counterparts and it is likely that a high level of education was preferred.[75] Given that most of the southern black teachers worked in independent schools, often at the behest of the local black community, little experience or training was required. In general, such teachers were simply requested to teach what they could until a more suitably qualified teacher could assume the role.

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[73] Butchart, *Schooling,* p. 26.

[74] Qualifications of the American Missionary Society, Roanoke Island Freedmen's Colony, (http://www.roanokefreedmenscolony.com/missqual.pdf) (25 February 2016).

[75] Unlike married white women, married black women with children were rarely employed by an aid or missionary society, regardless of their credentials or teaching experience. Thus, it seems likely that black applicants were held to a higher standard than white applicants, not only regarding their domestic affairs but also regarding their educational qualifications. See, Williams, *Self-taught,* p. 115; Sterling, *We are your sisters,* p. 266.

Northern black teachers

Black people in the antebellum North had limited access to education. Although a system of common, or public, schooling had been established in many of the northern states during the 1830s, blacks were often excluded from these schools.[76] In order to prevent black students from attending these schools, Hilary Moss found that some northern whites segregated their public schools while others opposed black education through protest, petition, and violence.[77] However, Moss also found that some towns and cities, many of which were in the New England region, implemented a system of black schooling. 'As of 1830', she wrote, 'towns including Providence, Rhode Island, Portsmouth, New Hampshire, Portland, Maine, and Salem, Massachusetts, sustained at least one "African" school with public monies, while Boston, New Haven, New York, and Philadelphia supported multiple primary schools for black students'.[78] Thus, it will probably come as no surprise that most of the northern black teachers examined in this study came from one of the above towns or states.[79]

Although the education is known for just forty, or almost half, of the northern black teaching force, they appear to have been a particularly well-educated group. Only one of these teachers attended common school. Many attended an advanced secondary institution, such as a normal school, academy, or commercial college. Twelve attended college, eleven graduated from college and one engaged in post-graduate studies, although he did not obtain a degree.[80] These teachers attended a diverse range of educational institutions, totaling nine different schools in all. Most of these schools were in the North. However, some, such as Shaw University in Raleigh and Hampton Institute in Virginia, were in the South. Evidently, the teachers who attended these particular schools gained access to higher education in some of the South's first Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs). Fifteen teachers attended Lincoln University in Pennsylvania. Founded as Ashmun Institute in 1854, Lincoln University was the first institution to provide bachelor's degrees in the Arts and Sciences for black men.[81] Robert Fitzgerald from Hinsonville, Pennsylvania, attended Lincoln University for a brief period before enlisting in the Union navy in 1863. After teaching in Virginia for one year between 1866 and 1867, Fitzgerald returned to Lincoln University to resume his studies. However, his desire to continue working amongst the freedpeople proved too strong and in 1868 Fitzgerald returned to the southern missionary field without completing the course.[82]

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[76] Hilary Moss, *Schooling citizens: The struggle for African American education in antebellum America* (Chicago, 2009), p. 13. See also, Butchart, *Schooling,* p. 20.
[77] Moss, *Schooling citizens,* p. 11.
[78] Ibid.
[79] Butchart, The FTP.
[80] Ibid.

Eight teachers attended Philadelphia's Institute for Colored Youth. Founded in 1837, this particular school is the oldest black institute of higher education in the United States.[83] Five teachers attended Oberlin College in Ohio. Established in 1833, Oberlin College was the first coeducational, interracial institute in the United States. According to J. Brent Morris, 'Oberlin educated more black students before the Civil War than all other American colleges *combined*'.[84] Blanche Virginia Harris, a black woman from Monroe, Michigan, was one of the five northern black Oberlin graduates who taught the freedpeople in North Carolina. Described by James Hood as one of the best teachers in the state, Harris taught the freedpeople alongside her sisters Elizabeth and Frankie Emma for a combined total of more than one hundred years.[85]

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[81] Jacqueline Fear-Segal, *White man's club: Schools, race, and the struggle of Indian acculturation* (London, 2007), p. 106.

[82] Murray, *Proud shoes,* p. 177.

[83] Alphonso W. Knight Sr., *Historically black colleges and universities: What you should know* (2014), p. 65.

[84] J. Brent Morris, *Oberlin, hotbed of abolitionism: College community, and the fight for freedom and equality in antebellum America* (Chapel Hill, 2014), p. 4, emphasis in original.

[85] Report of James W. Hood in Samuel S. Ashley, *Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of North Carolina for the year 1869* (Raleigh, 1869), p. 22, available at Documenting the American South, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, (http://docsouth.unc.edu/nc/report1869/report1869.html) (08 November 2015); Butchart, The FTP; Butchart, *Schooling,* p. 18.

Achieving an advanced secondary or third level education was highly significant for black people in the antebellum North. As Moss explained, 'Although African Americans' access to primary and religious instruction expanded in the early nineteenth century, with few exceptions, higher education remained beyond reach'.[86] This was primarily because, like their southern counterparts, many northern whites feared that well-educated black people would rise up against racial oppression through violence and insurrection.[87] They also worried that well-educated blacks would undermine whites' socioeconomic and occupational status and, consequently, the hierarchal social order.[88] Tellingly, most of the northern black teachers whose educational institute is known studied at Lincoln University. As discussed earlier, this institute was founded in 1854 and black higher education was more acceptable at this time than in previous decades, most likely due to rising antislavery sentiment in the North. Achieving this level of education is also significant because it suggests that most of the northern black teachers were members of the black middle-class – those from poorer socioeconomic backgrounds were less likely to be able to afford, or even justify, the payment of tuition fees. In 1857, for instance, students at Lincoln were required to pay $110 per session. This sum covered 'all expenses for tuition, boarding and incidentals'.[89] Theological students at Ashmun were not charged tuition. They were, however, required to pay $85 per session for 'board and incidentals'.[90] Ashmun's Board of Trustees were aware that few black people could afford to make these payments so they appealed to the churches 'to furnish both the students and the means to educate them'.[91]

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[86] Moss, *Schooling citizens,* p. 44.
[87] Ibid., pp 44-45.
[88] Ibid., p. 57.
[89] Newspaper clippings of Ashmun Institute and Lincoln University, 1853-1874, HBCU Library Alliance, (http://contentdm.auctr.edu/cdm/compoundobject/collection/lupa/id/2044) (26 February 2016).
[90] Ibid.
[91] Ibid.

Although Oberlin College initially exchanged tuition for labour, fees of $20 per annum were introduced in 1843 to offset the costs of paying the teachers' salaries.[92]

Free-born southern blacks

Like their northern counterparts, free blacks in the antebellum South had few educational opportunities. Although North Carolina did not prohibit the education of free blacks, public opinion was nonetheless opposed to their education. Thus, during the antebellum period, some free blacks attended black or interracial schools in the North. Hiram Rhodes Revels, for instance, attended the Beech Grove Quaker Seminary in Liberty, Indiana, and Darke County Seminary in Ohio before finally graduating from Knox College, Illinois, in 1857. Although Revels was born free in Fayetteville, he did not teach in his home state. Instead, Revels spent five years teaching the freedpeople in Missouri and Mississippi. After the fall of the Confederacy, Revels went on to lead an impressive career in politics and he was the first black man to serve in the United States Congress. Revels continued working in black education beyond 1875 as the first president of the historically black Alcorn University in Mississippi.[93]

The Patterson siblings from Raleigh were also prominent teachers of the freedpeople. Although, like Revels, they did not teach in North Carolina, they actively engaged in southern black schooling throughout the American South. Born in slavery, the Patterson family either bought their freedom or escaped from slavery around 1852 and relocated to Oberlin, Ohio.[94] Mary Jane Patterson, the oldest of about seven siblings, graduated from Oberlin College with a Bachelor of Arts degree in 1862.[95] Although Mary Jane is usually credited with being the first black woman to earn a bachelor's degree, Dorothy Sterling found that Grace A. Mapps, a black woman from Philadelphia, graduated from New York Central College at McGrawville in the 1850s.[96] In 1869 Mary Jane began teaching the freedpeople at the Preparatory High School for Colored Youth in Washington, D.C., and two years later she was appointed principal. John Eaton Patterson, Mary Jane's younger brother, also graduated from Oberlin College and he taught the freedpeople in Tennessee and Arkansas for three years.[97] Finally, Chanie Ann Patterson, the youngest of the three siblings, attended Oberlin Preparatory School between 1862 and 1863 and Oberlin College between 1863 and 1867.[98] In 1867 Chanie Ann began teaching the freedpeople in Virginia and she continued this work for at least another seven years.[99]

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[92] Oberlin College, *Seventy-fifth anniversary general catalogue of Oberlin College, 1833-1908, including an account of the principal events in the history of the college, with illustrations of the college building* (Oberlin, 1909), p. 39.

[93] U.S. House of Representatives, *Black Americans in Congress* (Washington, D.C., 2008), p. 54; Butchart, The FTP.

[94] Jerry Aldridge and Lois McFadyen Christensen, *Stealing from the mother: The marginalization of women in education and psychology from 1900-2010* (New York, 2013), p. 79.

[95] Sterling, *We are your sisters*, p. 203.

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[96] Ibid.

[97] Butchart, The FTP.

[98] Oberlin College, *Seventy-fifth catalogue,* p. 745.

[99] Butchart, The FTP.

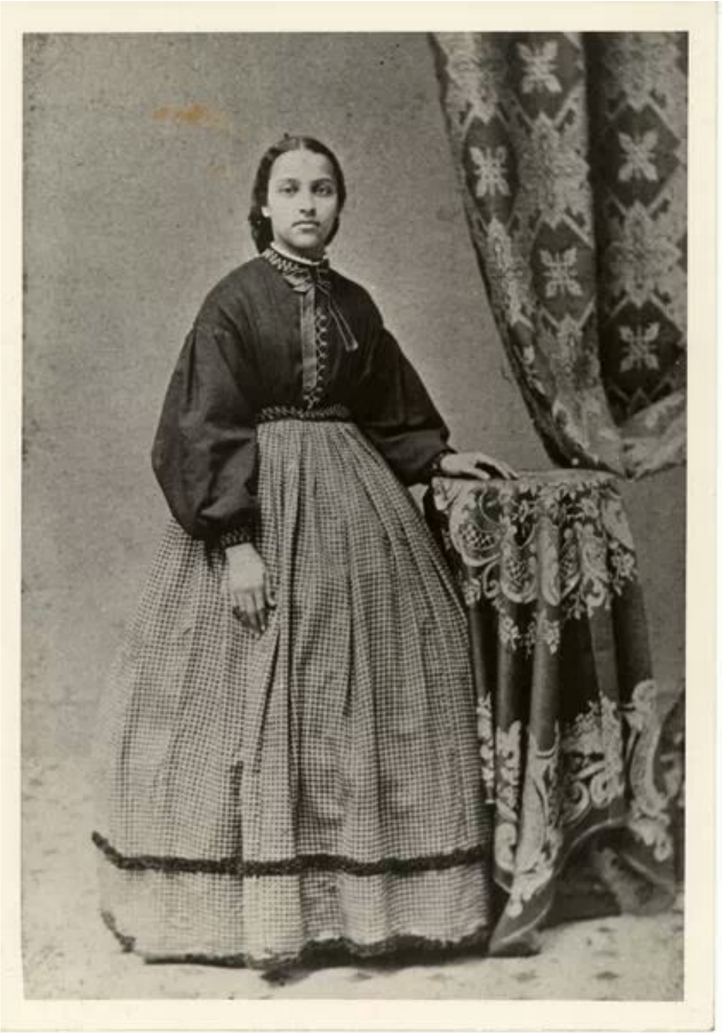

Figure 2: Mary Jane Patterson (Image courtesy of Oberlin College Archives)

Reverend Cornelius Max Manning, a free black man from Edenton, North Carolina, also attended school in the North. Beginning his education in a private school in North Carolina at the age of twelve, Manning later attended Iberia College in Ohio and Lincoln University in Pennsylvania until finally receiving a Masters and Doctorate of Divinity degree from Morris Brown College in Atlanta, Georgia.[100] Manning taught the freedpeople for four years in Hertfort, North Carolina, and in his home town of Edenton.[101]

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[100] Butchart, The FTP; Richard R. Wright, *Centennial encyclopaedia of the African Methodist Episcopal Church containing principally the biographies of the men and women, both ministers and laymen, whose labors during a hundred years, helped make the A. M. E. Church what it is* (Philadelphia, 1916), available at Documenting the American South, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, (http://docsouth.unc.edu/church/wright/wright.html) (15 October 2015).

[101] Butchart, The FTP.

Some free-born southern blacks received their education through the apprenticeship system. Although the primary goal of this system was to provide vocational training, it was also used to provide free blacks with a rudimentary degree of education. As Hilary Moss wrote, 'In addition to a trade, apprenticeship contracts frequently specified that masters were to teach black men to read, write, and cipher, while they were to instruct black women in the art of reading and the mystery of housewifery'.[102] According to John Hope Franklin, the apprenticeship system was the primary means through which many of North Carolina's free blacks received an education.[103] 'Had it not been for the apprenticeship system', he wrote, 'it is safe to say that the educational achievements of the free Negroes would have been far below the level that was attained'.[104]

During the early nineteenth century, free blacks often attended private schools in the South. John Chavis, a free black man from Virginia, operated a school for both whites and blacks in Raleigh from 1808 until 1830, at which time black education became significantly more inaccessible.[105] Indeed, in 1838 the North Carolina legislature relieved apprentice masters of the duty to teach free blacks, but not whites, to read and write.[106] This was primarily done in an effort to curb the threat of racial unrest following the 1829 publication of David Walker's *Appeal to the Colored Citizens of the World.* A free black man from Wilmington, North Carolina, Walker used this essay to attack the slave system and call for armed resistance. In particular, Walker highlighted how the prohibition of slave education was being used to perpetuate racial slavery:

> Do you suppose one man of good sense and learning would submit himself, his father, mother, wife and children, to be slaves to a wretched man like himself who, instead of compensating him for his labors, chains, hand-cuffs and beats him and family almost to

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[102] Moss, *Schooling citizens,* p. 10.
[103] John Hope Franklin, *The free Negro in North Carolina, 1790-1860* (reprint, New York, 1971), p. 18.
[104] Ibid.
[105] *Raleigh Register,* 25 August 1808.
[106] Franklin, *The free Negro,* p. 129.

> death, leaving life enough in them, however, to work for, and call him master? No! no! he would cut his devilish throat from ear to ear, and well do slave-holders know it.[107]

Nat Turner's rebellion in 1831 also succeeded in increasing white opposition to black education. Resulting in the deaths of around fifty whites in Virginia, many southern states enacted legislation which curtailed the movements and activities of the black population. Most southern states outlawed black education while others, as Heather Williams found, 'forbade slaves to associate with free blacks without permission of their owners' and 'made it unlawful for five or more male slaves to assemble outside of their plantation'.[108] In spite of the restrictions placed upon black education, the 1850 census reported that 217 free blacks were attending school in North Carolina.[109] Although this is a relatively minute number compared to the number of free blacks who were in the state at the time, 27,463 to be exact, as Franklin observed, 'If 217 free Negroes were admittedly in school in North Carolina in 1850, there were undoubtedly many others who were receiving their training privately, indeed, secretly'.[110]

Formerly enslaved teachers

The black teachers who were former slaves represent the most intriguing category of freedpeople's teachers. Indeed, some of the very first teachers in North Carolina's schools for the freedpeople were born in slavery. Generally, these teachers served for brief periods before handing over the control to northern white educators. This was primarily because most formerly enslaved teachers emerged from bondage with only a rudimentary degree of education. Thus, in 1863, Martha Culling, the former slave who opened the first known school in North Carolina, closed her school on Roanoke Island in order to assist Samuel Nickerson, a Massachusetts native. Described by Horace James as ‘a bright, smart mulatto girl’, Culling worked under the sponsorship of the NFRA as Nickerson’s assistant for two additional years.[111]

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[107] David Walker, *Walker's appeal, in four articles; together with a preamble, to the coloured citizens of the world, but in particular, and very expressly, to those of the United States of America, written in Boston, state of Massachusetts* (Boston, 1830), available at Documenting the American South, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, (http://docsouth.unc.edu/nc/walker/walker.html) (15 October 2015).

[108] Williams, *Self-taught,* p. 16.

[109] Franklin, *The free Negro,* p. 169.

[110] Ibid., p. 18, p. 169.

Robert Morrow, born a slave in Orange County, also began teaching the freedpeople in 1862. During the war, Morrow had served as Confederate general James J. Pettigrew’s body servant. Upon escaping to Union lines after the Confederate attack on New Bern, Morrow established Camp Totten Freedmen’s school and was assisted by Mary Burnap from Roxbury, Massachusetts.[112] Described by Horace James as ‘an enthusiastic and excellent teacher’, Morrow enlisted in Company B of the First North Carolina Heavy Artillery and was transferred to Roanoke Island to recruit black soldiers. Morrow taught on the island until he died suddenly in his sleep in 1864.[113]

That some of the first teachers in North Carolina’s schools for the freedpeople were former slaves is significant given that, prior to the Civil War, almost every state in the slaveholding South had outlawed the literacy instruction of slaves. This was primarily done in an effort to curb slave unrest. Following the Stono Rebellion of 1739, an uprising that resulted in the deaths of more than twenty whites, South Carolina passed the first anti-literacy law which made it a crime to teach slaves to read or write.[114] Subsequent anti-literacy laws, particularly during the 1830s, were incited by the 1829 publication of David Walker’s antislavery pamphlet, *Appeal to the Colored Citizens of the World,* as well as Nat Turner’s slave rebellion of 1831.[115] Essentially, southern lawmakers feared that educated slaves would become dissatisfied with their subjugated status and attempt to overthrow the institution of slavery. As the North Carolina anti-literacy law of 1831 read:

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[111] Horace James cited in New England Freedmen’s Aid Society, *Second annual report of the New England Freedmen’s Aid Society* (Boston, 1864), p. 71; Click, *A time full of trial,* p. 107; Butchart, The FTP.

[112] Click, *A time full of trial,* p. 85.

[113] Click, *A time full of trial,* p. 85; James, *Annual report of the Superintendent of Negro Affairs,* p. 44; Butchart, The FTP.

[114] Williams, *Self-taught*, p. 13.

[115] Ibid., pp 13-14.

> Whereas the teaching of slaves to read and write has a tendency to excite dissatisfaction in their minds and to produce insurrection and rebellion to the manifest injury of the citizens of this state…any free person who shall hereafter teach or attempt to teach any slave within this State to read or write, the use of figures excepted, Shall be liable to indictment in any court of record in the State having jurisdiction thereof.[116]

Some southern states also prohibited the education of free blacks. In 1800, South Carolina revised its anti-literacy law of 1740 to prohibit the education of both slaves and free blacks. This was because, as Heather Williams found, the original statute had proved insufficient at preventing enterprising blacks from attending or conducting clandestine schools.[117]

In spite of the anti-literacy laws, some southern black slaves, albeit a distinct minority, succeeded in acquiring a degree of literacy. Indeed, W. E. B. Du Bois found that about five per cent of slaves could read by 1860 while Eugene D. Genovese suggested that this number could have been closer to ten per cent.[118] In 1863, Henry Clapp, a Massachusetts soldier in New Bern, observed that about one in fifteen freedmen and women could read. 'We find that many learned, or began to learn, before they were freed by our army –', he wrote, 'taking their instruction mostly "on the sly" and indeed in the face of considerable danger'.[119] The number of literate freedpeople continued to grow as the Civil War and Reconstruction era progressed. By 1864 the New England Freedmen's Aid Society (NEFAS) reported that 2,231 of the 17,419 freedmen in the eastern district of North Carolina were able to read.[120]

Most of the slaves in North Carolina who succeeded in acquiring a degree of literacy did so through surreptitious means. As ex-slave Coleman Freeman astutely observed, 'If we got learning, we stole it'.[121] Some slaves learned to read and write by eavesdropping, a skill perfected by many enslaved people during the Civil War. As a Union officer in New Bern remarked, 'they keep their eyes and ears open to all that is going on around them, and in this little way often learn much that is not intended for them to know'.[122] Indeed, John Stella Martin, formerly enslaved in North Carolina, Georgia and Alabama, learned to read and write by watching his white playmates complete their homework. Although the white children refused to teach Martin because 'the law would not allow it', he was determined to master the basic literacy skills. As he reflected in 1867, 'But though the white boys would not teach me, they could not control or prevent the acquisition of a quick and retentive memory with which I was blessed, and by their bantering one another at spelling, and betting each on his proficiency over the other, I learned to spell by sound before I knew by sight a single letter in the alphabet'.[123]

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[116] North Carolina anti-literacy law reprinted in Williams, *Self-taught,* p. 206.

[117] Williams, *Self-taught,* p. 13.

[118] Eugene D. Genovese, *Roll, Jordan, roll: The world the slaves made* (New York, 1972), p. 563.

[119] Henry Clapp cited in Judkin Browning, '"Bringing light to our land...when she was dark as night": Northerners, freedpeople, and education during military occupation in North Carolina, 1862-1865' in *American Nineteenth Century History,* vol. 1, no. 1 (2008), pp 1-17.

[120] NEFAS, *Second annual report*, p. 31.

[121] Coleman Freeman, '"I was not sent to school - never": The pursuit of learning by African Americans before the Civil War, selections from 19th and 20th century narratives', National Humanities Centre, (http://nationalhumanitiescenter.org/pds/maai/identity/text8/slavefree.pdf) (11 October 2015).

In some instances, slaves were secretly taught by members of the white community; at times, by their own masters or mistresses. As a child, Hannah Crafts was taught by a poor white woman from the North.[124] Likewise, before the Civil War, Adora Rienshaw was taught 'on de sly' by a judge's wife while Mary Anngady was taught the alphabet by her mistress's daughter.[125] In a similar fashion, James Curry, a fugitive slave from North Carolina, successfully persuaded his master's son to teach him how to read. Although Curry's master forbade the lessons once they were discovered, the former slave continued to learn in secret. As he wrote in his narrative, 'As I had got the start, however, I kept on reading and studying, and from that time till I came away, I always had a book somewhere about me and if I got an opportunity, I would be reading in it'.[126]

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[122] Union officer cited in Browning 'Bringing light to our land', p. 3.

[123] John Stella Martin, '"I was not sent to school - never", (http://nationalhumanitiescenter.org/pds/maai/identity/text8/slavefree.pdf) (11 October 2015). See also, *American Missionary* (September 1867), pp 194-195.

[124] Hannah Crafts, *A Bondswoman's narrative,* edited by Henry Louis Gates, Jnr. (New York, 2002), p. 4.

[125] Reinshaw, 'Born in slavery', (http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage?collId=mesn&fileName=112/mesn112.db&recNum=217&itemLink=D?mesnbib:2:./temp/~ammem_UJ3Q::) (11 October 2015); Anngady, 'Born in slavery', (http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage?collId=mesn&fileName=111/mesn111.db&recNum=36&itemLink=D?mesnbib:1:./temp/~ammem_ctX5::) (11 October 2015).

Some slaves were taught by members of the free black community. Native North Carolinian teachers Robert Harris and Mary Day both secretly taught slaves in North Carolina during the antebellum period.[127] Most slave states were aware that some free-born blacks, enslaved people and members of the white community were teaching slaves to read and write. Indeed, North Carolina's anti-literacy law of 1831 explicitly outlined the penalties each class of people would face if caught engaging in slave education. Unsurprisingly, blacks, and slaves in particular, received harsher punishments than whites. White men and women would be fined no more than two hundred dollars and imprisoned, a free-born black person would be 'fined, imprisoned, or whipped' and a slave would be 'sentenced to receive thirty-nine lashes on his or her bare back'.[128] Evidently, the harsher punishments inflicted upon slaves served to discourage them from attempting to gain access to education.

Once a slave became somewhat proficient in either reading or writing, they passed their knowledge on to other members of the slave community. In this way, enslaved blacks used literacy as 'a symbol of resistance'.[129] As ex-slave Adora Rienshaw confessed, although she was not well-educated, she taught 'de little ones for seberal years'.[130] This tradition continued during the Civil War and Reconstruction period. Although few enslaved people emerged from slavery with anything more than a rudimentary education, 'those who could read or write provided schooling for those who could not'.[131] As one teacher in New Bern noted:

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[126] James Curry, *Narrative of James Curry: A fugitive slave,* Documenting the American South, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, (http://docsouth.unc.edu/neh/curry/curry.html) (11 October 2015).

[127] Jones, 'They are my people', p. 79, p. 82. See also, Robert Harris to George Whipple, 26 August 1864, AMAA.

[128] North Carolina anti-literacy law reprinted in William, *Self-taught,* p. 206. For a detailed examination of black education during slavery, see, Janet Duitsman Cornelius, *'When I can read my title clear': Literacy, slavery, and religion in the antebellum South* (Columbia, 1991).

[129] Williams, *Self-taught,* p. 8.

[130] Reinshaw, 'Born in slavery', (http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage?collId=mesn&fileName=112/mesn112.db&recNum=217&itemLink=D?mesnbib:2:./temp/~ammem_UJ3Q::) (11 October 2015).

> it is a fact which every one observes, that the freedman no sooner learns even the first letter of the alphabet than he is teaching them to his fellows. A little boy, the other day, in Newbern, who had partially mastered a few letters, was seen in the street pointing a group of boys to the letter T, the initial of a sign-board; and his pupils seemed to be learning from him as thoroughly…as if he had been a college professor.[132]

Freedmen's Bureau agent John W. Alvord reiterated this teacher's sentiments and in his first semi-annual report on schools, he wrote:

> Throughout the entire South efforts are being made by the colored people to '*educate themselves'*. In the absence of teachers they are determined to be self-taught, and everywhere some elementary book, or fragments of it, may be seen in the hands of negros. They communicate to each other that which they learn and with very little learning, many take to teaching.[133]

In North Carolina, Alvord frequently came across former slaves who were actively attempting to educate themselves. On one occasion he reported visiting a 'native school' in Wayne County that was supported entirely by the freedpeople: 'Two young colored men, who but a little time before commenced to learn themselves, had gathered 150 pupils, all quite orderly and hard at study. A small tuition fee was charged, and they needed books. These teachers told me that "no white man, before me, had never come near them"'.[134] A short while later, Alvord visited a similar school in Halifax County which was 'the first of *any kind* which had been opened in that county since the war'.[135] Ultimately, efforts such as these confirm Roberta Alexander's claim that 'blacks did not passively wait for northerners or the federal government to provide them with an education'.[136]

Although some slaves succeeded in acquiring a degree of literacy, most of North Carolina's enslaved population never learned to read or write. Few even attempted to gain access to schooling, simply because those who were caught were often severely punished. As Chaney Hews of Raleigh recalled, 'They whupped mother 'cause she tried to learn to read, no books wus allowed'.[137] Even the masters and mistresses who appeared to be the most lenient were opposed to slave education. Former Wake County slave Henrietta McCullers fondly remembered her mistress Miss Betsey Adams and admitted, 'She was so good dat I loved her all her life an' now dat she's daid I loves her in her grave'.[138] However, McCullers did not receive an education and Miss Betsey's slaves were not allowed to have any books.[139] Similarly, Sam T. Stewart recalled that although he was treated 'unusually well' by his Quaker master, he was never taught to read or write and that 'most slaves who got reading and writing certainly stole it'.[140] Thus, it is likely that most of the formerly enslaved teachers in North Carolina gained access to schooling in some of the first schools for the freedpeople.

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[131] Williams, 'Clothing themselves in intelligence', p. 372.
[132] American Tract Society, *Fifty-second annual report of the American Tract Society* (Boston, 1866), p. 51.
[133] Alvord, *First semi-annual report on schools,* p. 9.
[134] Ibid., p. 10.
[135] Ibid.
[136] Alexander, *North Carolina faces the freedmen,* p. 160.

The making of freedpeople's teachers in Reconstruction North Carolina

Due to the limited educational opportunities available in antebellum North Carolina for both free and enslaved blacks, it is likely that most of the southern black teachers received their education in some of the first schools for the freedpeople. Indeed, in 1863, a school in Clubfoot Creek was primarily comprised of free, rather than freed, blacks.[141] This explains why the number of black teachers, particularly southern black teachers, peaked during the mid-1860s.[142] When the Civil War ended in 1865, Charles N. Hunter, formerly enslaved in Raleigh, received his first formal education in a northern missionary school.[143] Eight years later, Hunter began teaching the freedpeople in Wake County and he continued educating southern blacks for a total of fifty years.[144] Former slave Lewis Roulhac experienced a similar trajectory. Shortly after being mustered out of the thirty-seventh regiment of the United States Colored Infantry, Roulhac attended a black school near his home in Bertie County. He later attended Shaw University in Raleigh and Hampton Institute in Virginia for brief periods before obtaining work as a teacher.[145] Roulhac began teaching in 1869 and he continued working in black education beyond 1875.[146]

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[137] Chaney Hews, 'Born in slavery', (http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage?collId=mesn&fileName=111/mesn111.db&recNum=411&itemLink=D?mesnbib:2:./temp/~ammem_gbvV::) (12 October 2015).

[138] Henrietta McCullers, 'Born in slavery', (http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage?collId=mesn&fileName=112/mesn112.db&recNum=76&itemLink=r?ammem/mesnbib:@FIELD(DOCID+@BAND(@lit(mesn/112/076072)))) (12 October 2015).

[139] Ibid.

[140] Sam T. Stewart, 'Born in slavery', (http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage?collId=mesn&fileName=112/mesn112.db&recNum=321&itemLink=D?mesnbib:2:./temp/~ammem_sp1q::) (12 October 2015).

[141] Browning, 'Bringing light to our land', p. 7.

[142] Butchart, The FTP.

As the Reconstruction era progressed, northern aid and missionary societies recognised the need for teacher training institutes in the South. Thus, many organisations began to focus their efforts upon establishing third-level institutions explicitly for this purpose. In 1867, the Presbyterian Church established Biddle Institute in Charlotte, North Carolina. As the church explained, ‘A great want of the Freedmen in the South is, to have pious, faithful and educated preachers and teachers, of their own race. To meet this want, Biddle Institute was founded, and has begun its work’.[147] At least twenty-nine of the southern black teachers in North Carolina’s schools for the freedpeople attended this school.[148] Recognising the impoverished status of most southern blacks, Biddle offered students ‘gratuitous instruction, and rooms free of rent, to all young men of color bringing satisfactory testimonials of moral character and talent’.[149]

Baptist minister Reverend M. C. Ransome from Franklinton, North Carolina, spent one year at Biddle. In 1867 Ransome began teaching the freedpeople in Oak Grove, North Carolina, and he continued teaching and preaching to the black population for approximately fifty years.[150] Similar institutions in North Carolina included Shaw University in Raleigh, Scotia Seminary in Concord, and Bennett College in Greensboro. Although these schools were chartered as third-level institutions, they were, as Howard Rabinowitz observed, ‘at first little more than high schools’.[151] This was primarily because few southern blacks could read or write at this time. During the school year 1873-1874, for instance, thirty-six students were enrolled in Biddle’s classical department. Half of these students were in the lower preparatory class which taught the most rudimentary literacy and numeracy skills.[152]

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[143] Haley, preface to *Charles N. Hunter.*

[144] Butchart, The FTP; Hunter, ‘Review of Negro life in North Carolina with my recollections’, p. 13, available at Internet Archive, (https://archive.org/stream/reviewofnegrolif00hunt#page/12/mode/2up) (12 October 2015).

[145] Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute, *Twenty-two years’ work of the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute at Hampton Virginia* (Hampton, 1893), p. 76.

[146] Butchart, The FTP.

[147] Biddle Memorial Institute, *Fifth annual catalogue and circular of the Biddle Memorial Institute, Charlotte, N.C. 1873-74* (Pittsburgh, 1874), p. 16.

[148] Butchart, The FTP.

[149] Biddle Memorial Institute, *First annual catalogue and circular of the Biddle Memorial Institute, Charlotte, N.C., 1867-68* (Pittsburgh, 1868), p. 5.

The creation of a public school system in North Carolina resulted in increased calls for teacher training institutes. As Samuel Ashley, the Superintendent of Public Instruction, argued in 1869:

> A system of Public Instruction necessitates the establishment of schools where teachers shall be trained at the public expense...Normal schools constitute so important a part of the system that no Public School organization is complete without them. There must be some arrangement, some institution that shall prepare suitable persons of both sexes not only to be teachers, but *Public School* teachers – some instruction, that shall have in view the wants of Public Free Schools.[153]

The creation of state-funded public schools also meant that aspiring teachers were required to obtain a first, second, or third grade teaching certificate.[154] A first grade certificate required the completion of a high school or normal school course while the remaining two certificates required an ‘examination in the studies prescribed for Grammar and High Schools’.[155] Due to the slow and haphazard nature of southern black schooling during the early stages of Reconstruction, it is not surprising that many black people initially failed these examinations.

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[150] Butchart, The FTP; M. W. Williams & George W. Watkins, *Who’s whom among North Carolina Negro Baptists, with a brief history of negro Baptist organizations* (1940), p. 353, available at Internet Archive, (https://archive.org/stream/whoswhoamongnort00will#page/n3/mode/2up) (15 October 2015).

[151] Rabinowitz, ‘Half a loaf’, p. 569.

[152] Biddle Institute, *Fifth annual catalogue,* p. 14.

[153] Ashley, *Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction,* p. 33, (http://docsouth.unc.edu/nc/report1869/report1869.html) (08 November 2015), emphasis in original.

[154] Ibid.

[155] Ibid.

Indeed, Charles Hunter confessed that he was chosen to teach in Shoe Hill because of his ability to pass the teaching examination. 'Many had been before the Board of County Examiners and had failed', he wrote. 'At that time there were only four licensed Negro teachers in the county'.[156]

Due to limited funding, many aid societies were unable to establish schools explicitly for the purpose of educating teachers. Thus, many schools incorporated normal classes into the regular school system. Comprised of some of the most advanced students, these classes trained black students to become teachers. On 23 March 1868, while working in Hillsboro under the sponsorship of the FFA, Robert Fitzgerald created a normal class of ten students within his school under the instruction of George Dixon of the FFA. The following day, this number had risen to fifteen 'with the instruction that we are to add to the number such as proved to be of due merit received from G. Dix.'.[157] Interestingly, some former slaves received their formal education in the North after the Civil War. Between 1867 and 1869, David C. Granderson, a former slave from Natchez, Mississippi, attended Oberlin Preparatory School in Ohio. In 1868 Ganderson began teaching the former slaves in Dudley, North Carolina, and he continued working amongst the freedpeople in both Mississippi and North Carolina until 1875.[158]

Whether they were free-born or formerly enslaved, some teachers complained about the quality of southern black teachers. In 1867, Robert Harris complained to the AMA that his southern black assistants were incompetent. 'These native teachers are not competent to manage a school', he wrote, 'or to give proper instruction to those who are beyond the alphabet. We can only use them as assistants, and they are poor at that'.[159] Ultimately, Harris wrote that he would not 'recommend either as worthy of a commission' and asked the association to send

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[156] Hunter, 'Review of Negro life in North Carolina', p. 17, (https://archive.org/stream/reviewofnegrolif00hunt#page/16/mode/2up) (13 October 2015).
[157] Diary of Robert Fitzgerald, 24 March 1868.
[158] Butchart, The FTP; Oberlin College, *Seventy-fifth catalogue,* p. 384.
[159] Robert Harris to Edward P. Smith, 9 January 1867, AMAA.

'one or two competent teachers from the North'.[160] Recognising that southern blacks had limited access to education during the antebellum period, it is not surprising that some teachers did not live up to Harris' standards. However, as Butchart argued, critics of these early black teachers 'missed the point'. 'The black community wanted knowledge', he wrote. 'Anyone who had skills that others lacked could at least share that much and move the community ahead'.[161]

Motivation

Black people were motivated to seek work in North Carolina's schools for the freedpeople for a variety of reasons. Although some of the teachers shared similar motives, the reasons they chose to engage in black education were ultimately as unique as the teachers themselves. While this may be taken for granted when we consider the work of white teachers, there has been a tendency to paint post-war black Americans as a homogenous group who shared the same goals and visions of black freedom.[162] While education was undoubtedly central to the freedpeople's definition of freedom, tensions often emerged within the black community regarding who should teach the freedpeople and who should control the schools. In 1868, for instance, a Freemen's Bureau officer noted that the freedpeople in North Carolina 'seem to be very much divided, and when they employ a teacher *themselves* each faction wishes to control the matter and it is very difficult to get a teacher to suit all'.[163]

The teachers' backgrounds and pre-war experiences were powerful forces in shaping their decisions to teach the freedpeople. Whether they were free-born or formerly enslaved, northern or southern, no two black people shared the same life experiences. And these varying experiences were instrumental in motivating the teachers to engage in black education. This section of the chapter examines the reasons why black people engaged in freedpeople's education while taking into consideration their personal experiences in order to provide the most comprehensive analysis of teacher motivation.

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[160] Ibid.

[161] Butchart, *Schooling,* p. 26.

[162] Brian Kelly, 'No way through: Race leadership and black workers at the nadir' in *Labor: Studies in the Working-Class History of the Americas,* vol. 7, no. 3 (2010), pp 79-93.

[163] Captain Samuel Walker, a Freedmen's Bureau officer, cited in Albin James Kowalewski, '"To be true to ourselves": Freedpeople, schoolbuilding, and community politics in Appalachian Tennessee, 1865-1870' (M.A. thesis, University of Tennessee, Knoxville, 2009), p. 1.

Not surprisingly, many black teachers spoke of their work amongst the freedpeople in terms of racial elevation. In his letter of application for a teaching position, twenty-four-year-old Robert Harris wrote that he wanted to assist 'in the noble work of elevating and evangelizing our oppressed and long abused race'.[164] Likewise, in a letter to North Carolina's governor, William W. Holden, Mary A. Best from Duplin County pleaded for assistance because her students could not afford to pay their tuition fees. 'I feel it is my duty to try to elevate the mindes of my color', she wrote before continuing that she hoped 'to elevate the poor colored children so they would not always be troden underfoot [*sic*]'.[165] Ex-slave Robert Martin also perceived his work as a form of racial uplift and in an application to the Freedmen's Bureau for aid, he wrote, 'without help we can't begin to be elevated and prepared for the duties that seem to await us'.[166]

Other black teachers were moved to engage in freedpeople's education by a sense of racial solidarity. As Sallie Daffin wrote in 1865:

> I presume my interest in the freedmen, and the motive that induces me to leave my home to labor for them, will not be questioned, when it is remembered that they are my people. And how much soever those of other races may sympathize with them, yet none can fully experience the strength of their needs, nor understand the means necessary to relieve them as we are who identified with them. And while we fully appreciate every effort on the part of our friends for the elevation of our race, yet it is my desire to contribute something to our cause.[167]

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[164] Robert Harris to George Whipple, 24 August 1864, AMAA.
[165] Mary A. Best to W. W. Holden, 2 February 1869, Records of the Superintendent of Education, M844:11.
[166] Robert P. Martin to F. A. Fiske, 30 September 1867, Records of the Superintendent of Education, M844:7.
[167] Sallie Daffin cited in Jones, 'They are my people', p. 79.

Sallie, or Sarah Louise, Daffin was a native of Philadelphia. She taught the freedpeople for thirteen consecutive years in four different states and, according to the FTP, Daffin continued in this work beyond 1875.[168]

Like Daffin, many black people felt that they were best suited to teach the freedpeople. As Ellen Garrison Jackson from Newport, Rhode Island, wrote in her letter of application for a teaching position, 'I have a great desire to go and labor among the Freedmen of the South. I think it is our duty as a people to spend our lives in trying to elevate our own race…And who can feel the sympathy that we can who are identified with them?'.[169] Jackson taught the freedpeople for nine years between 1864 and 1875 across three different states.[170] Sara G. Stanley expressed a similar sentiment and in 1864 she wrote the AMA, 'My reasons for asking to engage in the work of instructing the Freedpeople of the South are few and simple. I am myself a colored woman, bound to that ignorant, degraded, long enslaved race, by ties of love and consanguinity; they are socially and politically, "my people"'.[171] Although she was born free in New Bern, North Carolina, Stanley did not teach the freedpeople in her home state. Born to a prominent slave-holding family of mixed-race ancestry, Stanley studied at Oberlin College and while she was there, her family relocated to Delaware first, then to Ohio. After graduating from Oberlin in 1857, Stanley taught in a northern common school. Upon applying to the AMA for a position in the South, Stanley was sent to Virginia. She later taught the freedpeople in Missouri, Kentucky, and Alabama.[172]

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[168] Butchart, The FTP.

[169] Ellen Garrison Jackson to Rev. S. S. Jocelyn, 13 June 1863, reprinted in Sterling, *We are your sisters,* pp 261-262.

[170] Butchart, The FTP.

[171] Sara G. Stanley to George Whipple, 4 March 1864, AMAA.

[172] Weisenfeld, 'Who is sufficient for these things?', pp 501-505. Stanley's family situation was unique. Her great-grandfather, John Wright Stanley, was a white slave-owner and shipper in New Bern. His son, John Carruthers Stanley and Sara's grandfather, was born a slave to an enslaved black woman – he was later manumitted for faithful service. John Carruthers Stanley inherited a plantation and many slaves from his father. He was active in the manumission movement and by 1816 he had freed twenty slaves including his immediate family. According to Weisenfeld, he was one of the wealthiest men in New Bern by 1830. His son, Sara's father, ran a store and taught free black children. See, Weisenfeld, 'Who is sufficient for these things?', pp 503-504; Williams, *Self-taught,* p. 244.

Freedmen and women also wanted to be educated by black teachers. At the Freedmen's Convention of North Carolina in 1865, a delegate argued that it was black people's duty to educate themselves. As the delegate reportedly said, 'I come here to stick fast to my friends; the white people that done teach my little gals to read, and I'd ha' voted to bite off a snake's head before I'd ha' voted for that ar".[173] Although delegates to the constitution were appreciative of work some white teachers had done, they ultimately wanted to control their own schools. As discussed in Chapter II, this issue remerged in 1870 when southern Democrats attempted to replace black teachers with southern whites and black people throughout North Carolina were forced to defend the position of black teachers.

Some black teachers began teaching at the behest of the freedpeople or other concerned individuals. One such teacher was Charles Hunter, a former slave from Raleigh. In 1875 Hunter was asked by Reverend W. W. Morgan of the Methodist Episcopal Church to teach the freedpeople in Shoe Hill, Robeson County. According to Hunter, Morgan had been 'requested by the school committee to secure for them a teacher who could meet the requirements', which Hunter seemingly met.[174] Although Hunter did not specify what these requirements were, except to say that he was favoured for his ability to pass the teacher examinations, it is likely that his conservative stance on race relations made him appealing to the southern white patrons of the school.[175] As John Haley concluded in his biographical study of Hunter, by 1874 'Hunter was easing into the role of a passive accommodationist', a person who 'idealized native whites, adopted their values, sentiments, and attitudes and eventually professed love for those whom they at first feared and resented'.[176]

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[173] Dennett, *The South,* p. 153.

[174] Hunter, 'Review of Negro life in North Carolina', p. 17, (https://archive.org/stream/reviewofnegrolif00hunt#page/16/mode/2up) (13 October 2015).

[175] Ibid.

[176] Haley, *Charles N. Hunter,* p. 34.

In the aftermath of the Civil War, Hunter envisioned a biracial world in which blacks and whites could live side by side. He did not, however, envision a world in which blacks and whites lived as equals. On the contrary, Hunter respected the antebellum racial hierarchy and he was willing to continue respecting it after the destruction of slavery. Hunter's philosophy of race relations became apparent during the early stages of Reconstruction, at which time he actively attempted to unite the races. In 1869, for instance, Hunter organised an American Independence Day celebration for the white and black residents of Raleigh. Although blacks were later discouraged from celebrating the event because locals argued that it was a holiday for white people only, Hunter quickly became active in the Emancipation Day proceedings.[177] In 1872, as secretary of the Committee of Arrangements, Hunter invited two opposing individuals to attend the festivities: Senator Charles Summer, a leader of the antebellum abolitionist movement, and Bartholomew F. Moore, one of the drafters of North Carolina's Black Code.[178] These efforts ultimately reflect Hunter's desire to live in a biracial world. 'I am certain that in the "Coming Kingdom" there will be no race problem', he optimistically wrote. 'No "Negro domination". No "White supremacy". No race bitterness'.[179]

Hunter was not ignorant of the fact that post-war North Carolina was fraught with racial prejudice. However, he believed that these problems could be rectified by adopting a conservative approach to race relations. In particular, Hunter opposed the idea that blacks should be granted social equality. 'We want nothing of the kind', he once wrote.[180] On the contrary, Hunter actually supported a separate but equal doctrine and he praised the 'cordial and kindly relations' existing between black and white residents in Shoe Hill. 'Though in politics and in social life the line of demarcation is as distinct here as anywhere', he wrote,

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[177] Ibid., p. 23.

[178] Ibid., p. 24, p. 25.

[179] Charles N. Hunter, 'The Negro does not want social equality', writings and speeches, 1869-1930 and undated, Charles N. Hunter papers, David M. Rubenstein Rare Book & Manuscript library, Duke University, hereafter cited as Hunter papers.

[180] Haley, *Charles N. Hunter,* p. 34.

'each seems to revolve in his separate orbit, upheld and supported by the sympathetic influence of the other'.[181]

Hunter's approach to race relations was not uncommon amongst many of North Carolina's most prominent members of the black community. According to C. Vann Woodward, during Reconstruction, black people 'were not aggressive in pressing their rights' and, like Hunter, they 'constantly reiterated their disavowal of aspirations for what they called "social equality"'.[182] Hiram Revels, the free-born teacher and politician discussed earlier in this chapter, was described by one scholar as having a 'moderate political orientation' while James Harris was described by John Haley as a 'conservative black'.[183] According to Dal Lago, it is possible that some black people adopted an accomodationist stance because 'they may have thought that the African American cause had achieved already a great deal with emancipation and that even more could be achieved by avoiding a head-on confrontation with the federal government, regardless of its shortcomings'.[184] Haley reiterated this conclusion, arguing that racial accomodationists 'knew that if blacks were to remain in North Carolina in any peace, they would have to accept an inferior position in the social order and not give whites any trouble'.[185]

Hunter's conservative approach to race relations ultimately stemmed from his relationship with the Haywood family, his former masters, as well as the prominent white citizens that he associated with through them. Indeed, Hunter was very proud of the fact that he was once owned by the Haywoods:

> I belonged to one of the oldest and most distinguished families of the realm. That family was distinguished for intellectual culture, social refinement and great wealth. They owned hundreds of Negro slaves. They loved their Negro slaves and that love was

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[181] Hunter, 'Letter from North Carolina', Scrapbook, various dates, Hunter papers.
[182] C. Vann Woodward, *The strange career of Jim Crow* (reprint, Oxford, 2002), p. 28.
[183] U.S. House of Representatives, *Black Americans in Congress,* p. 54; Haley, *Charles N. Hunter,* p. 15.
[184] Enrico Dal Lago, '"States of rebellion": Civil War, rural unrest, and the agrarian question in the American South and the Italian Mezzogiorno, 1861-1865' in *Comparative Studies in Society and History,* vol. 47, no. 2 (2005), pp 403-432, quotation pp 424-425.
[185] Haley, *Charles N. Hunter,* p. 34.

> heartily reciprocated. During all the years that have come and gone since emancipation, with all their vicissitudes and alterations of fortune, that attachment has remained unbroken.[186]

In a letter to John C. Scarborough, North Carolina's Superintendent of Public Instruction, in 1877, Hunter reiterated these feelings and wrote, 'I was a slave and feel that I represent the feeling of my race when I say we bear no ill will toward our former masters'.[187]

Although Hunter may have initially been chosen to teach the freedpeople because he did not pose a threat to the southern social order, he dedicated his life's work to education, fifty years in total, so there were undoubtedly other factors that motivated him to continue working in black education.[188] Like other black educators, Hunter recognised that education could be used to elevate the black race. Writing in 1877, he declared, 'our only hope, and the only hope of our many friends for us is in our education. Without this we must ever remain dependent, helpless and poor. We must ever be subject to oppression and insult. But knowledge will devise a means of relief for us from all our present ills, and place us beyond their influence for the future'.[189]

In his study of freedpeople's education, Butchart found that when black teachers spoke of their work in terms of racial elevation, their ultimate goal was to achieve greater equality. 'At its heart', he wrote, 'the teachers' expectation of racial elevation through education implied moving their race toward equality, raising them to a higher social and economic plane, and inscribing them within boundaries previously denied to them'.[190] Although Hunter did not believe that blacks could or should become equal with whites, he ultimately perceived education as a means of attaining 'to the superior level of our more favoured white fellow-citizens'.[191]

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[186] Hunter, 'I was born a slave', writings and speeches, 1869-1930 and undated, Hunter papers.

[187] Hunter to J. C. Scarborough, 7 April 1877, Hunter papers.

[188] Hunter, 'Review of Negro life in North Carolina', p. 17, (https://archive.org/stream/reviewofnegrolif00hunt#page/16/mode/2up) (13 October 2015).

[189] Hunter to the editor, newspaper clipping, 17 March 1877, scrapbook, various dates, Hunter papers.

[190] Butchart, *Schooling,* p. 44.

Since the earliest days of freedpeople's education, white school officials were reluctant to relinquish control of their schools to black educators. However, as Reconstruction progressed and as the demand for black teachers grew, freedmen's aid and missionary societies attempted to appoint black teachers who, like Hunter, posed little threat to the southern social order. When these teachers were not readily available, school officials attempted to mould black teachers into an idealised image of the northern white teacher. As the AMA argued in 1867, 'Those who are to become teachers, from among the colored people, must be developed as rapidly as possible, must be made as nearly as be like Northern teachers and Northern thinkers'.[192] As discussed in Chapter II, the principal means of achieving this goal was through the black teacher training institutes established in the South in the aftermath of the Civil War. Biddle Institute, for example, would only educate 'the most talented and pious of the Freedmen, that they may go out and educate the people'.[193] Indeed, several AMA representatives argued that prospective black teachers should be removed from their homes in the South and placed within the civilizing influence of northern society. 'I think a few of the most promising ought always be sent to the North', wrote Reverend F. L. Cardozo, 'not so much perhaps for the purpose of gaining more knowledge of books, but that they might enjoy the numerous, elevating, moral influences of the North'.[194] Interestingly, northern society was deemed more civilising than southern society. Thus, it is no surprise that men and women like Hunter were often perceived as suitable teachers, and indeed leaders, of the black race.

There was also a religious element to freedpeople's education and some teachers perceived their work amongst the freedpeople as a form of religious duty. Two such teachers were Robert Fitzgerald and Robert Harris.[195]Although Butchart found that black teachers rarely 'fret about their race's spiritual condition', Harris and Fitzgerald were two particularly pious teachers and both were committed to their students' religious, as well as intellectual, development.[196] 'Two of my Sabbath School pupils have recently embraced religion and several more are now seeking the savior', wrote Harris in 1866. 'I am laboring for their conversion as well as their enlightenment'.[197] In 1868, Fitzgerald expressed a similar interest in the former slaves' religious instruction, reporting that he had 'visited several families and gave them tracts and papers which pleased them very much and made them desire much to attend S.S. [Sabbath School] … I hope I have done something good for my saviour'.[198] Sara Stanley also spoke of her work in terms of a religious duty and in 1867 she informed the AMA of her success in converting a particularly 'hardened and desperate' sinner.[199]

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[191] Hunter, 'The state convention of colored men – a great mistake', scrapbook, various dates, Hunter papers.
[192] *American Missionary* (March 1867), p. 59.
[193] Biddle Institute, *Fifth annual catalogue,* p. 17.
[194] *American Missionary* (March 1867), p. 58.

Interestingly, like many of the northern white teachers, Harris expressed concern for the former slaves' unique style of worship which, as described in Chapter I, was often perceived as excessively emotional and expressive. 'There is still considerable extravagance in their demonstrations', wrote Harris, 'but this is better than coldness'.[200] However, unlike the northern white teachers, Harris was decidedly less critical of the former slaves' behaviour and he chose to accept, rather than attempt to reform, their religious practices.

Some black teachers, particularly northern black teachers, expressed concern for their students' moral development. As Robert Harris declared in 1866, 'The future is brightening before me, and setting ourselves to work, we will make great strides in Education, Morality, Temperance, Religion and general progress and improvements'.[201] In particular, such teachers attempted to teach the freedpeople typical northern values such as thrift, industry, piety and temperance.[202] According to Leon Litwack, northern black teachers adopted this goal because their ideas and beliefs about slavery had been shaped by the antebellum abolitionist movement: 'Upon entering the South, then, they expected to find a people degraded and scarred – physically and psychically – by a lifetime of bondage and in desperate need of "regeneration and civilisation".[203] Thus, northern black and white teachers often shared common concerns about the education of freedpeople. However, although some black teachers, such as Sara Stanley, referred to the former slaves as an 'ignorant and degraded people', none of the black teachers believed that these qualities were unredeemable or attributable to the black race.[204] As Stanley declared in a letter to the AMA, 'I feel assured, that an inscrutable providence has appointed a destiny far greater and more glorious [for the freedpeople] than any political charlatan or statesman has yet conceived of, such a testimony as Christian men and women rejoice to contemplate – of intellectual power and spiritual greatness'.[205]

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[195] See, for example, Diary of Robert Fitzgerald, 9 September 1867; Robert Harris to George Whipple, 24 August 1864, AMAA.
[196] Butchart, *Schooling,* p. 44.
[197] Robert Harris to Samuel Hunt, 1 March 1866, AMAA.
[198] Diary of Robert Fitzgerald, 8 March 1868.
[199] *American Missionary* (March 1867), pp 55-56.
[200] Robert Harris to Samuel Hunt, 1 March 1866, AMAA.
[201] Robert Harris to H. C. Vogell, 12 November 1868, Records of the Superintendent of Education, M844:10.

Recognising that moral training formed a crucial element of the antebellum elementary curriculum, in both the North and the South, it is also highly likely that many of the educated black teachers, particularly those who were teachers before the war, perceived moral instruction as no less central to the education of freed blacks. As an advertisement for John Chavis' school for black and white children declared in 1808, 'Those who think proper to put their Children under his care, may rely upon the strictest attention being paid, not only to their Education, but to their morals which he deems an *important* part of education'.[206] Thus, unlike the northern white teachers discussed in Chapter I, it is likely that the black teachers' attempts at moral instruction were born out of a compliance with educational norms rather than racial discrimination or a belief in black inferiority.

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[202] See, for example, Diary of Robert Fitzgerald, 27 July 1867.
[203] Litwack, *Been in the storm so long,* p. 456.
[204] Sara Stanley to George Whipple, 19 January 1864, reprinted in Sterling, *We are your sisters,* p. 265.
[205] Sara G. Stanley to George Whipple, 2 March 1864, AMAA.
[206] *Raleigh Register,* 25 August 1808, emphasis in original.

Many black teachers attempted to encourage the former slaves to remain temperate. As one black teacher, himself a former slave, acknowledged, ‘My people are improving in education; but very little, if any, in temperance’.[207] Charles Hunter reiterated this sentiment and in a letter to William W. Holden, he wrote, ‘Much of the earnings of our people are swallowed up in the dramshop’.[208] Thus, during the Reconstruction era, Hunter became actively involved in the temperance movement. According to John Haley, ‘He was probably introduced to the movement by northern white educators who, in their instruction of the freedmen, never missed an opportunity to extol the virtues of sobriety and to persuade blacks to join temperance societies’.[209] In 1871, Hunter helped to organise a juvenile temperance society called the Howard Band of Hope, so named after General Oliver O. Howard, the commissioner of the Freedmen’s Bureau.[210] However, Haley suggested that Hunter’s involvement in such a movement may have stemmed from his desire for public recognition and prestige, rather than from a moral objection to alcohol. In addition, Haley found that some black men engaged in organisations like temperance societies because it was a way for them to ‘sublimate their desires for political involvement and to exercise their leadership abilities in a way that was acceptable to whites’.[211]

Some black people began teaching the former slaves incidentally, particularly as the demand for black teachers grew. As London R. Ferebee recalled, ‘Early in the spring of 1864, April, I entered the school, with Miss Roper as my teacher, where my progress was so rapid, I ascended to the head of the first class in school, and no scholar in school or on the Island could compete with me, in consequence of which I was made assistant teacher'.[212] Ferebee was a former slave from Currituck County, North Carolina.[213] In 1861 he escaped to Union lines with his father and quickly enrolled into a school that was taught by Isaac Bishop, a former slave from New Bern. When the Civil War ended, Ferebee returned to Elizabeth City with his father, enrolled in a school and was quickly asked to teach in Nixonton. After teaching in Nixonton for three years, Ferebee attended normal school in Mississippi and Virginia.[214] He taught the freedpeople for a total of six years.[215]

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[207] Hampton Institute, *Twenty-two years' work,* p. 78.
[208] Hunter to W. W. Holden, 25 March 1876, Hunter papers.
[209] Haley, *Charles N. Hunter,* p. 27.
[210] Ibid., p. 28.
[211] Ibid. This was also true for women and other ethnic groups in the North.

Other black teachers engaged in freedpeople's education because teaching offered a source of employment. Former slave Lucy Brown, for instance, revealed that she took up teaching 'to support and educate my little ones'.[216] However, Brown could not afford to continue running a school because her students were too poor to pay the tuition fees. Thus, during the spring of 1868, she pleaded with the Freedmen's Bureau for assistance in paying the rent of her school building. 'Rev. sir', she wrote F. A. Fiske, 'if you can assist the fatherless in any way please do it'.[217] Brown did not resume teaching the following year so it is unlikely that the aid she received from the Bureau, if any, was enough to support her work in a freedpeople's school.[218]

Teaching was also a respectable occupation. Alongside black ministers, teachers were held in high esteem by members of the black community and many were seen as the leaders of their race. 'The school, in the freedmen's estimation', concluded F. A. Fiske, 'stands next in important to the church and the preaching of the gospel, and the teacher next to the preacher'.[219]

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[212] London R. Ferebee, *A brief history of the slave life of Rev. L.R. Ferebee, and the battles of life, and four years of his ministerial life.* (Raleigh, 1882), available at Documenting the American South, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, (http://docsouth.unc.edu/fpn/ferebee/ferebee.html) (22 October 2015).
[213] Butchart, The FTP.
[214] Ferebee, *A brief history of the slave life of Rev. L.R. Ferebee,* (http://docsouth.unc.edu/fpn/ferebee/ferebee.html) (22 October 2015).
[215] Butchart, The FTP.
[216] Lucy Brown to F. A. Fiske, 21 March 1868, Records of the Superintendent of Education, M844:7.
[217] Ibid.
[218] Butchart, The FTP.
[219] *The Raleigh Register,* 25 October 1867.

Evidence of this can be clearly seen in Robert Fitzgerald's nomination as delegate to Virginia's constitutional convention in 1867. As his nominators explained, 'we believe you are the most reliable we can send to represent our interests in that important Body. We therefore beg that you accept this nomination'.[220] Although the black community obviously thought very highly of Fitzgerald, he was reluctant to accept the nomination, partly because he did not feel qualified for the role. As he wrote in his diary later that evening:

> A startling announcement to me, and I feel that it is almost unkind to request me to fill that very important post which will incur the utmost hatred of the whole white population and then too I am so unprepared for that post, but still how willingly would I serve were I qualified for so important a trust. I must insist on selecting some other for candidate.[221]

Nevertheless, Fitzgerald was unable to convince the freedmen that he was unqualified for the role and he served as delegate to the state's constitutional convention between July and August 1867.

Life in post-Civil War North Carolina

Life was challenging for the black teachers and students in post-Civil War North Carolina. Poverty and a lack of educational funding was, without doubt, one of the greatest challenges these people faced. As early as 1861, enslaved blacks in North Carolina fled their masters' homes for the safety of Union lines in the easternmost part of the state.[222] Some travelled hundreds of miles to escape slavery and many died or were re-enslaved along the way.[223] In 1937, eighty-one-year-old Mary Barbour recalled travelling over 300 miles to escape slavery as a young child with her family. Reflecting on the first night of her travels, Barbour admitted,

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[220] Diary of Robert Fitzgerald, 10 July 1867, emphasis in original.

[221] Ibid.

[222] Haley, *Charles N. Hunter,* p. 5.

[223] Browning, 'Bringing light to our land', p. 1; Span, *From cotton field to schoolhouse,* p. 55; James, *First annual report of the Superintendent of Negro Affairs,* p. 4.

'I reckons dat I will always 'member dat walk, wid de bushes slappin' my laigs, de win' sighin' in de trees, an' de hoot owls an' whippoorwhils hollerin' at each other frum de big trees'.[224]

Often escaping from bondage with little more than the clothes on their backs, North Carolina's freed population had amassed little, if any, material possessions and most were entirely destitute. Upon reaching Union lines, escaped slaves quickly realised that the Union army had barely the means to support themselves, let alone the growing number of impoverished, self-emancipated slaves. In North Carolina, Union camps were often overcrowded, unsanitary and rampant with disease. They lacked adequate housing, medical facilities were poor and food and clothing were in short supply. Freedmen and women were often forced to sleep in the streets or camp in the woods and many died from starvation, disease and exposure. Life in the hastily constructed freedmen's villages was often no better and in 1866, an AMA agent in Beaufort, North Carolina, painted a bleak picture of the former slaves' living conditions:

> These entirely dependent ones cry for help. They are orphan children or people with chronic sickness, or the old and infirm, enfeebled by the hardships and bearing the scars and stripes of three fourths of a century of slave toil. Winter is staring them in the face and their only shelter is poor huts pierced through and through with the bleak winds. Their beds and their garments, if such they may be called, are tattered rags. Most of them have scarcely twenty-five cents value of provisions in their houses at any one time.[225]

Due to the immense poverty, many black people struggled to attend school. Although there were 17,419 freedpeople in eastern North Carolina by 1864, the average school attendance for the months of December, January, February and March, 1863-1864, was just 2,290.[226] According to the NEFAS, this was because 'the services of the larger children are needed more or less at home'.[227] Indeed, following emancipation, the work of black children was often required to supplement the family's wage. As Christopher Span wrote, September, October and November were 'the cotton economy's most labor intensive months, when all available hands were expected to be in the fields picking cotton'.[228] Although cotton was not North Carolina's chief export, these months were nonetheless devoted to farm labour. On 12 September 1869, Robert Fitzgerald reported that he had just eight students in his Sabbath School while on 5 September 1870 he wrote that ten students attended school 'but most of these leave to pull fodder'.[229] School was also disrupted during the months of spring. As Robert Harris wrote in March 1866, 'The people are beginning to plow and plant, many of my most advanced pupils will be obliged to stop school soon and commence work on the farm'.[230]

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[224] Mary Barbour, 'Born in slavery', (http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage?collId=mesn&fileName=111/mesn111.db&recNum=83&itemLink=r?ammem/mesnbib:@field(DOCID+@lit(mesn/111/082078))) (27 October 2015).

[225] H. S. Beals in *American Missionary* (January 1867), p. 4.

[226] NEFAS, *Second annual report,* p. 33.

[227] Ibid.

Unsurprisingly, some black students did not attend school because they were unable to pay the tuition fees. However, in order to overcome this obstacle, many freedpeople opted to pay their teachers in kind, either in goods such as food and fuel or through the exchange of services such as laundry, transportation and board.[231] A lack of appropriate clothing also circumvented the freedpeople's efforts to educate themselves. In 1864 Robert Harris reported that hundreds of freedpeople were unable to attend school due to the 'lack of necessary clothing and shoes'. 'We have as yet no adequate means of supplying these demands', he conceded.[232] In Raleigh, a black student stayed 'at home three days in the week to lend his shoes to his sister, so that she also may learn'.[233] Precarious weather conditions exacerbated this issue and in 1866, Harris wrote Samuel Hunt of the AMA, 'The slight decline in attendance is solely attributable to the weather and the state of the Road, the latter being at Times almost impassable'.[234] Indeed, the inaccessibility of a school also resulted in poor attendance. In 1870 Robert Fitzgerald was assigned to teach a total of 139 students across three school districts in Orange County under the new public school system.[235] However, each district was several miles apart and during the first few weeks of September, Fitzgerald reported that none, or very few, students came to school. When Fitzgerald visited the families to find out why attendance was so poor, he discovered that a creek was obstructing the students' passage. Thus, Fitzgerald moved the school to another location. Though he was reprimanded by the white school committee for doing so without their prior approval, Fitzgerald reported that attendance had risen dramatically.[236]

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[228] Span, *From cotton field to schoolhouse,* p. 71.

[229] Diary of Robert Fitzgerald, 12 September 1869, 5 September 1870.

[230] Robert Harris to Samuel Hunt, 1 March 1866, AMAA.

[231] Span, *From cotton field to schoolhouse,* p. 41.

[232] Robert Harris to George Whipple, 29 November 1864, AMAA.

[233] Report from Misses Graves, Wallard and Blood in *The American Freedman* (January 1867), p. 153.

[234] Robert Harris to Samuel Hunt, 1 March 1866, AMAA. See also, F. A. Fiske to Yardley Warner, 8 February 1867, Records of the Superintendent of Education, M844:1.

A lack of educational funding also meant that many freedpeople did not succeed in gaining access to education, principally because the aid societies could not afford to hire an adequate supply of teachers.[237] In 1867, for instance, Roberta Alexander found that six schools were ready in Orange County 'but no teachers were available'.[238] On another occasion, Alexander found that five hundred black children were waiting to learn in Nash County but there were no schools. Similar situations existed in Harnett, Halifax and Northampton counties, despite the fact that the freedpeople were willing to contribute towards the cost of their schooling.[239]

The rural nature of North Carolina partly contributed to this problem. Settlements were widely dispersed and, as discussed earlier, northern aid and missionary societies preferred sending teachers, especially white teachers, to schools near the towns and cities. In 1869, for instance, James Hood reported that he was unable to visit many schools in the interior of the state because they were inaccessible by either rail or stage coach. It was impractical, and often impossible, he claimed, to find private transportation.[240] Due to this inaccessibility, Hood found that there was not 'a single day school' beyond the Blue Ridge Mountains in the western region of the state. 'There are Sabbath Schools at several points', he wrote, 'and the people seem anxious to have day schools, but complain that they can neither obtain books or teachers'. [241]

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[235] Pauli Murray, *Proud shoes,* p. 235.
[236] Diary of Robert Fitzgerald, 17 September 1870.
[237] Diary of Robert Fitzgerald, 27 July 1867; Alexander, 'Hostility and Hope', p. 131.
[238] Alexander, 'Hostility and Hope', p. 131.
[239] Ibid.

Inadequate funding also meant that facilities were primitive and school resources were in short supply. The want of suitable school buildings, in particular, posed major difficulties and in 1867, F. A. Fiske reported to General Oliver O. Howard that there were not enough schools in Fayetteville to meet the freedpeople's demand for education. This ultimately meant that 'not more than about fifty percent of those who should enjoy the benefits of Freedmen's schools are in actual attendance'. 'Should a new building be erected there', he continued, 'I am confident that…a large school might be gathered and permanently sustained'.[242] Thus, freedpeople's schools were often conducted in whatever spaces became available. Indeed, Charles Hunter taught his students in the Protestant Episcopal Church because, 'There was no schoolhouse'.[243]

Poverty not only affected the black students, it affected the teachers as well. As discussed earlier in the chapter, most of the black teachers, particularly the southern black teachers, worked in independent schools that were principally supported by a combination of private tuition fees and aid from the Freedmen's Bureau. This was problematic because few black students could afford to pay their tuition fees and few black teachers could afford to teach for free. On one occasion, Robert Fitzgerald abolished tuition fees in an attempt to make his school more accessible. 'I am going to make my school free and it begins tomorrow', he wrote on 30 November 1869. 'A free school for Rich and poor. Black and white high & low.

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[240] Hood, *Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction,* p. 16, (http://docsouth.unc.edu/nc/report1869/report1869.html) (08 November 2015).
[241] Ibid., p. 24.
[242] F. A. Fiske to O. O. Howard, 30 January 1867, Records of the Superintendent of Education, M844:1.
[243] Hunter, 'Review of Negro life in North Carolina', p. 17, (https://archive.org/stream/reviewofnegrolif00hunt#page/16/mode/2up) (13 October 2015).

Supported principally by myself the rental being paid by the Freedmen's Bureau'.[244] Unfortunately, Fitzgerald's plan proved to be more idealistic than realistic and he only received ten dollars per month from the Bureau. As his granddaughter, Pauli Murry, observed, Fitzgerald 'soon found out that you simply couldn't run a school and support a family of two on ten dollars a month'.[245]

When a black teacher was fortunate enough to secure employment with an aid or missionary society, they were often no better off than had they been working in a privately funded school. This was because the northern aid and missionary societies were significantly underfunded. In a letter to the AMA, for instance, Robert Harris admitted that although he did not think highly of the southern black teachers who were hired to assist him, they were inadequately paid. 'We cannot complain', he wrote, 'when we only pay them $15 per month. It is "poor teach" and "poor pay"'.[246]

Michael P. Jerkins from Beaufort, North Carolina, was also inadequately paid by the AMA which, in 1869, offered him twenty dollars per month to continue teaching during the summer period. However, this money was to be shared between himself and two assistants. As Edward Smith of the AMA wrote Jerkins, 'You can make whatever bargain you want to with your assistants, you can have the house rent free, and can retain any money you may collect from tuition'.[247] Even if the freedpeople were in a position to pay tuition, which in this case they were not, twenty dollars per month was barely enough to support one teacher let alone three. Nevertheless, Jerkins accepted the offer.

By November 1869, Jerkins had still not been paid for the work he did during the summer and he was in constant correspondence with the AMA regarding this payment.[248]

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[244] Diary of Robert Fitzgerald, 30 November 1869.
[245] Murray, *Proud shoes,* p. 223.
[246] Robert Harris to Edward P. Smith, 9 January 1867, AMAA.
[247] Edward P. Smith to Michael P. Jerkins, 23 June 1869, AMAA.
[248] Jerkins to W. E. Whiting, 7 November 1869, AMAA

Although he finally received his wages for the summer period on 10 November, he was still awaiting payment for September, October and November, something that the AMA was attempting to dispute. Fortunately, Jerkins kept a record of all the payments he had received thus far and in December 1869 he wrote in exasperation, ‘I have been paid all you owe for last year. I *ask* for *money* for *this year*’.[249] To add to the indignation of not being paid on time, as well as having to repeatedly ask for his wages, Jerkins was advised by the AMA that if he wanted schoolbooks, he should purchase them himself and then sell them to his students. Knowing how poor the freedpeople were, Jerkins responded that this was not an option. ‘I do not see how I can pay for them’, he wrote. ‘If I should get them I could not sell but a very few of them…I see a very few able to buy books. As you know my salary is very low. I cannot afford to pay for them myself’.[250] Ultimately, as Maxine Jones concluded, ‘poor salary forced [Jerkins’] resignation’ and he returned to work as a barber.[251]

Some teachers had to leave their posts because they were not being paid for their work at all. In March 1868, Robert Fitzgerald reported that ‘Miss Allen was compelled to leave on account of not being paid, she was to be paid by a committee of citizens but they proved to be poor’.[252] Based upon an analysis of the FTP, it appears as though this woman was Harriett Allen, a black woman from Pennsylvania. Upon leaving her post in Hillsboro, North Carolina, Allen did not undertake any more work amongst the freedpeople and it is likely that she returned home.[253]

Harriett Allen was unable to commit herself to the role of teacher because, in the absence of a regular wage, she did not have the means to support herself. Other teachers faced similar situations and many were compelled to cut their time short because they did not have the financial resources to sustain their work in the South. In 1868, former slave Lucy Brown from Chatham County informed F. A. Fiske that she would have to close her school because she could not afford the rent.[254] Tellingly, Brown did not resume teaching the following year.[255]

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[249] Jerkins to Edward P. Smith, 14 December 1869, AMAA, emphasis in original.
[250] Jerkins to Smith, 18 December 1869, AMAA.
[251] Jones, ‘They are my people’, p. 86.
[252] Diary of Robert Fitzgerald, 6 March 1868.
[253] Butchart, The FTP.

The black teachers who had the financial resources to sustain their work in the South were the exception rather than the rule. Robert Fitzgerald was one such teacher. In 1866, Fitzgerald began teaching the freedpeople in Amelia County, Virginia, before being sent to North Carolina. Fitzgerald taught the freedpeople for a total of nine years between 1866 and 1875. Indeed, the FTP indicates that he continued to work in education beyond 1875, although corresponding data is not available for those years.[256] However, it is unlikely that Fitzgerald would have been able to continue working amongst the freedpeople had it not been for the financial support of his family in Pennsylvania.[257]

Fitzgerald's access to financial resources meant that he led a relatively successful life in North Carolina. Indeed, John N. Ingham and Lynne B. Feldman wrote that Robert and his brother Richard 'were probably the wealthiest and most respected blacks' in their new home of Durham, North Carolina.[258] Born in Delaware in 1840, Fitzgerald's father was a manumitted slave of mixed Irish and African ancestry while his mother, Sarah Ann Burton, was a white woman of Swedish and French descent.[259] Although the Fitzgerald siblings could 'pass for white', their mother chose to raise them with pride within the black community.[260] After labouring in the southern missionary field for a total of three years, Fitzgerald successfully persuaded his family to relocate to North Carolina. His father bought Woodside Farm near Hillsboro in Orange County and Robert and Richard opened up a small brickyard near the family home. In 1870 Robert began to focus his attention on his work as a teacher while Richard set his sights on building a successful career in the brickmaking business. As Pauli Murray explained, ‘Richard had few of the idealistic notions of this brother, but he had a genius for making a dollar and a pugnacious stubbornness which overrode hardships’.[261] Richard was successful and by 1884 he was considered to be the leading brickmaker in Durham. Although Robert did not grow as wealthy as his brother, Murray observed that he was ‘equally respected by the community’.[262]

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[254] Lucy Brown to F. A. Fiske, 21 March 1868, Records of the Superintendent of Education, M844:7.
[255] Butchart, The FTP.
[256] Ibid.
[257] Fitzgerald often wrote home for a loan of money. See, for example, Diary of Robert Fitzgerald, 3 February 1868 and 19 February 1868.
[258] John N. Ingham and Lynne B. Feldman, *African American business leaders: A biographical dictionary* (London, 1994), p. 158.
[259] Murray, *Proud shoes,* p. 56.
[260] Ibid., p. 70.

Due to a lack of educational funding, black teachers were heavily overworked. Like their white counterparts, black teachers conducted both day and night schools and many taught Sabbath School. In addition, classes were often quite large. In 1867, Robert Fitzgerald reported that he had 150 students in his day school and 130 in his Sabbath school.[263] Robert Harris reported similar numbers and in a letter to the AMA he wrote, ‘The numbers are rather large for one teacher but by using the more advanced pupils as assistants – I get along pretty well’. However, he continued, ‘The room is not large enough for two teachers’.[264]

Given the size of classes, it is not surprising that black teachers often experienced unruly behaviour and many did not hesitate to use corporal punishment. On 16 July 1867 Robert Fitzgerald wrote that he ‘punished a boy severely for stubbornness’ but that he was ‘Sorry to do so’.[265] Less than a week later, Fitzgerald wrote that he sent a girl home for talking in class and on 1 September 1870 Fitzgerald whipped a girl ‘for lying and carrying tales’.[266] Speaking of his school in Shoe Hill, Charles Hunter claimed that his students were no different from those who could be found in any other classroom. ‘I would not convey the impression that these children were very much different from other children’, he wrote. ‘They were not.

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[261] Ibid., pp 226-227.
[262] Ibid., p. 267.
[263] Diary of Robert Fitzgerald, 29 June 1867.
[264] Robert Harris to Samuel Hunt, 1 January 1866, AMAA.
[265] Diary of Robert Fitzgerald, 16 June 1867.
[266] Ibid., 22 June 1867, 1 Sep 1870.

They were average boys and girls full of vigor, bursting with energy, brimming with life and artful in mischievous enterprise. I would not have it believed that there were not times when corrective measures had to be applied'.[267]

Robert Harris painted a slightly different picture of his schoolhouse in Virginia, although he equally admitted to using corporal punishment from time to time. 'I find but little difficulty in governing', he wrote. 'The pupils are generally docile and obedient. I have had no case of insubordination thus far. I have only had to inflict punishment for bad behaviour *out* of school, for tardiness, imperfect recitations, whispering &ce.' The punishments Harris generally meted out for such behaviour were 'the use of the birch, depriving them of recess' and 'compelling them to stand a long time'. Ridicule, such as calling a child 'tardy', he claimed, was one of the most effective classroom management techniques.[268]

A significant challenge that black teachers faced in post-war North Carolina was opposition to their work. As discussed in Chapter II, white opposition to black education took many forms. Some whites refused to board teachers while others refused to sell or lease land or property for the purpose of a school building. In March 1866, Robert Harris reported that he had difficulty procuring fire wood. 'The whites near us refuse to give or sell any wood for school purposes', he wrote, 'and warn us not to cut any on their land'.[269] One month later, William Elliott from Wake County reported that he was unable to build or rent a schoolhouse. There is 'not one man in This place that is Willing to Let me Build or Rent a House on Theair Land', he confessed to Fiske. 'They are so much *opposed* To Colard Mens Education that they will do all in thiar power to pull it down [*sic*]'.[270] In May, Elliott reported that he was unable to establish a school because he could not locate a schoolhouse or site on which to build one.[271]

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[267] Hunter, 'Review of Negro life in North Carolina', pp 13-14, (https://archive.org/stream/reviewofnegrolif00hunt#page/16/mode/2up) (13 October 2015).
[268] Robert Harris to Samuel Hunt, 1 January 1866, AMAA, emphasis in original.
[269] Harris to Hunt, 1 March 1866, AMAA.
[270] William Elliott to F. A. Fiske, 14 April 1866, Records of the Superintendent of Education, M844:10.
[271] Elliott to Fiske, 16 May 1866, Records of the Superintendent of Education, M844:10.

Some southern whites responded to black education through violence and schoolhouses were often targeted by arsonists. In Magnolia, Duplin County, two black men were forced to close their school after just one day because hostile whites threatened to burn it down.[272] Likewise, in 1869, William Smith's schoolhouse was burned down just eight days after he had opened it.[273] According to Butchart, 'Schools taught by black teachers may have been at greater risk for incendiarism than those taught by white teachers'.[274] In North Carolina, this appears to have been the case. Although black students served as an affront to white notions of black inferiority, black teachers posed a particular threat to the hierarchal southern social order.

The Ku Klux Klan (KKK), as disused in Chapter II, was a particularly powerful oppositional force during the Reconstruction era. Formed in Tennessee in 1865, Klan groups quickly formed in North Carolina and members actively attempted to undermine anyone or anything that was contributing towards racial elevation. Not surprisingly, schools and teachers, of both races, were frequently targeted by the KKK. Northern-born Robert Fitzgerald was often subjected to Klan threats and intimidation, partly because of his role in educating the freedpeople but also because of his active support for the Republican Party.[275] Although Fitzgerald reported that race relations were relatively amicable in Orange County during the early stages of Reconstruction, KKK activity increased during the autumn of 1869. 'The infamous Ku Klux Klan has visited our post town Hillsboro and kill'd a black man who was supposed to have burned a barn', wrote Fitzgerald in September of that year. 'They have also marched or paraded in Chapel Hill & are committing depredations on Union men all around. They are unwilling to be governed by law and should therefore be considered Out Laws and dealt with accordingly'.[276] Shortly after their arrival in Hillsboro, the KKK turned their attention to Fitzgerald and he and his new wife were forced to hide out in his family's home for a couple of nights.[277]

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[272] Alexander, 'Hostility and Hope', p. 115.

[273] Ibid.

[274] Butchart, *Schooling,* p. 165. See also, Williams, *Self-taught,* p. 125.

[275] Diary of Robert Fitzgerald, 29 September 1869.

[276] Ibid., 1 September 1869.

Black students were also subjected to racial violence, threats and intimidation. As Robert Harris reported in 1866:

> Two of my boys, while on their way home from school were beset by a party of white trash and had all their books taken from them. The boys said or did nothing to provoke the attack. It is by such despicable acts of meanness that they strive to hinder the colored children from attending school.[278]

Non-school going black people were also targeted by hostile southern whites and in 1866, Colonel E. Whittlesey reported to the Joint Committee on Reconstruction that a group of ex-Confederates in Pitt County had beaten a black man to death.[279] In many cases, violent and aggressive instances of white hostility appear to have been perpetuated by members of the poor white class. Although upper-class white southerners were no less opposed to black schooling, they chose to demonstrate this opposition in a subtler way. When southern Democrats regained control of North Carolina's legislature in 1870, politicians and lawmakers, known as Redeemers, disenfranchised black men, slashed educational funding for black schools and instigated an era of racial oppression through discriminatory Jim Crow laws that would last until the Civil Rights Movement of the 1950s and 1960s.[280]

Aside from the violence, threats and intimidation, black teachers were frequently subjected to both overt and institutionalised racism. While travelling to his post in Shoe Hill, and before the introduction of Jim Crow segregation laws, Charles Hunter was instructed to sit in the front of the stagecoach with the driver so that the only remaining passenger, a white man, would not have to share the carriage with a black person.[281] During a brief stop en route, the driver and passenger were invited into the home of a white woman and served coffee while Hunter was virtually ignored. ‘I stood on one side of the fire place and warmed myself’, Hunter recalled. ‘O, how I did want just a swallow of that coffee!’.[282] Hunter was not enraged, or even saddened, by this incident and he simply accepted it as a fact of life.

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[277] Ibid., 29 September 1869.

[278] Robert Harris to Samuel Hunt, 1 March 1866, AMAA.

[279] Testimony of Colonel E. Whittlesey, U.S. Congress, *Report of the Joint Committee on Reconstruction, at the first session thirty-ninth Congress* (Washington, D.C., 1866), p. 184.

[280] See, for example, C. Vann Woodward, *The strange career of Jim Crow* (New York, 1955).

[281] Hunter, 'Review of Negro life in North Carolina', p. 19, (https://archive.org/stream/reviewofnegrolif00hunt#page/12/mode/2up) (2 November 2015).

Robert Fitzgerald was subjected to a more overt form of racism. On a boat journey from Washington, D.C., to Richmond, Virginia, en route to his post in North Carolina, Fitzgerald noticed that he had misplaced his transportation papers. The captain of the boat did not permit Fitzgerald to search for the documents and ordered him to pitch coal in the fire room. Enraged, Fitzgerald refused so he was instructed to hand over his watch or be removed from the boat. ‘Captain, you have treated me like a dog’, Fitzgerald fumed, ‘you have ordered me from the saloon; you will not have an enquiry made for the papers which I am sure some of your passengers must have; you treat me as though I am not a man because I am colored. And now sir, you can put me ashore, I will not pay my passage twice’.[283] When the tension escalated and the threat of violence became more imminent, Fitzgerald jumped ashore. ‘I regret the whole affair’, he wrote in his diary later that evening, ‘but more sincerely that vessels are allowed to leave and return daily to the national Capital commanded by men who delight to insult and maltreat passengers merely because they are colored’.[284] The difference in Fitzgerald’s reaction compared to that of Hunter’s is undoubtedly a reflection of their personal experiences. While Hunter was born enslaved and brought up to admire the perceived superiority of whites, Fitzgerald was raised in a middle-class black family by a white mother and black father who placed no importance on race or colour.

Black teachers often faced racism from within the organisations they were working for, particularly in relation to their housing arrangements. Generally, the black teachers who worked in the countryside boarded in their own homes or with a local black family while those who worked in the towns and cities lived with other teachers in what was known as the mission house.[285] Of course, only the teachers who were employed by an aid or missionary society could avail of this service. However, black teachers working in towns or cities were occasionally required to find their own accommodation. When Blanche Harris was first sent to Mississippi, she complained that the AMA did not assist any of the black teachers to find accommodation or pay for their board. 'The distinction between the two classes of teachers [white and black] is so marked that it is the topic of conversation among the better class of colored people', she wrote.[286] Harris spent just two years working for the AMA before securing the sponsorship of the FFA and moving to Goldsboro, North Carolina.[287]

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[282] Ibid., pp 19-20.

[283] Diary of Robert Fitzgerald, 22 September 1868.

[284] Ibid.

Unsurprisingly, interracial mission houses often caused concern, not only amongst the southern white community who, by and large, feared racial equality, but also amongst the northern white teachers themselves. In 1866 a controversy arose within the AMA regarding the housing arrangements of Sallie Daffin, a black teacher from the North. Samuel Ashley, the AMA Superintendent of Schools, decided that Daffin should board with a local black family rather than in the mission house with other white teachers. According to Maxine Jones, Ashley was worried that an interracial housing situation would intensify white hostility. However, he was also aware that some white teachers were 'uncomfortable living with Blacks'.[288] In an attempt to justify his decision, Ashley wrote the AMA:

> Colored teachers are needed at the South – they *must* come South. But then, it does not seem to me to be wise to send them in company and to board in company, with white teachers. There are very few places in the North where it would be wise to do this. Such a course at the South brings your white teachers out and in such sharp contact with prejudices of the southern people that their (the teachers) situation is made almost intolerable. We are charged with endeavouring to bring about a condition of *social equality* between Blacks and whites – we are charged with teaching the Blacks that they have a right to demand from the whites social equality – now. If they can point to mission

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[285] Sterling, *We are your sisters,* p. 271.
[286] Blanche Harris to George Whipple, 23 January 1866, AMAA.
[287] Butchart, The FTP.
[288] Jones, 'They are my people', p. 86.

> families or teachers homes where there is complete social equality between colored and white, they have proved to their own satisfaction at least, their assertion. They can say that if not in theory, we do in practice, teach social equality. [289]

Ashley's response to the AMA illuminates the constraints of working in the South at this time. While blacks demanded freedom, southern whites called for their political re-enslavement and school officials such as Ashley were often required to mediate between each group in the hope of maintaining support and reducing friction.[290] Unfortunately, this mediation often undermined blacks' educational endeavours and southern blacks were offered a limited and restricted equality. In the end, Daffin refused to board outside of the mission house and she began working for the FFA in 1867.[291]

Black people in North Carolina were often treated no better by the Union Army. In 1865, two black soldiers, Richard Etheridge and William Benson, wrote a letter of complaint to General Oliver O. Howard of the Freedmen's Bureau outlining the unjust treatment inflicted upon their families by the northern white soldiers and Freedmen's Bureau officials on Roanoke Island:

> When we were enlisted in the service we were prommised that our wifes and family's should receive rations from goverment. The rations for our wifes and family's have been (and are now cut down) to one half the regular ration. Consequently three or fours days out of every ten days, thee have nothing to eat. At the same time our ration's are stolen from the ration house by Mr Streeter the Asst Supt at the Island (and others) and sold while our family's are suffering for some thing to eat [*sic*].[292]

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[289] Samuel Ashley cited in Jones, 'They are my people', p. 87, emphasis in original.

[290] For a detailed analysis of the ways in which northern missionary organisations dealt with the issue of 'social equality', see James McPherson, *The abolitionist legacy: from Reconstruction to NAACP* (Princeton, 1975), pp 178-182.

[291] Jones, 'They are my people', p. 86; Butchart, The FTP. A similar incident regarding interracial housing arrangements occurred in Virginia. See Weisenfeld, 'Who is sufficient for these things?', p. 497. Ashley's response is also interesting because it highlights the inherent racism that existed and persisted in the North throughout the Civil War period. Indeed, C. Vann Woodward argued that racial segregation originated in the North during the antebellum period before moving to the South following the collapse of Reconstruction. See, Woodward, *The strange career of Jim Crow,* p. 17.

[292] Richard Etheridge and William Benson, May or June 1865, Roanoke Island Freedmen's Colony, (http://www.roanokefreedmenscolony.com/freedmn1.pdf) (28 October 2015).

Holland Streeter, the Assistant Superintendent of Negro Affairs, was, according to Patricia Click, 'a crook who was not interested in improving the lives of the freedpeople'.[293] Indeed, on one occasion, a number of freedpeople complained that Streeter had sent some of their children to work in New Bern without the consent, or even acknowledgement, of their families.[294] Lieutenant George O. Sanderson, Streeter's predecessor, confirmed in 1866 that there was much wrongdoing on the island. Alluding to the sale of government rations, Sanderson reported to the Joint Committee on Reconstruction, 'I cannot swear positively to the fact, but I have seen the rations at Roanoke Island at the ration house, and I have seen part of them in the store, and I have seen the "U.S." on the barrel scraped off and marked over with some other name. I have seen the flour in the same way'. He concluded, 'They are all engaged in it in Roanoke Island'.[295]

In their letter to Howard, Etheridge and Benson also complained that their families were not being treated with respect by the white soldiers. 'Our familys have no protection', they wrote, 'the white soldiers break into our houses act as they please steal our chickens rob our gardens and if any one defends their-Selves against them they are taken to the gard house for it [*sic*]'.[296] Although many of the Bureau agents, military personnel and freedpeople's teachers were committed to black freedom, many more continued to perceive and treat the freedmen and women as racially inferior second-class citizens.

In spite of the difficulties that black teachers faced, they were committed to their work and worked tirelessly to educate the former slaves. Robert Fitzgerald was a particularly earnest teacher and in 1868 he received very high praise from the FFA officials who visited his school. 'Mr Jones examined the normal and preparatory classes and expressed himself much pleased with the success of the school', he wrote in November of that year, 'and says he has expanded several white schools but none is under better discipline or making more progress than the Hillsboro school'.[297] Almost a year later, Fitzgerald reported that his school was continuing to progress: '15 scholars today, they are improving very rapidly, faster than the neighbouring white school'.[298] Black students equally thrived and throughout Reconstruction, they continuously challenged the prevailing assumptions that the former slaves were intellectually inferior and socially degraded. As J. W. Burghduff, a northern white teacher, proclaimed in 1868, 'It is no longer questionable that colored people learn, and send their children to school. Such aptness to learn I never saw. I have some little boys in my school, six, eight, and nine years old, that understand notation and numeration well…Such quickness is everywhere to be seen among the pupils'.[299]

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[293] Click, *A time full of trial,* p. 127.
[294] Ibid., p. 136.
[295] Testimony of Lieutenant George O. Sanderson, *Report of the Joint Committee on Reconstruction,* p. 180.
[296] Etheridge and Benson, May or June 1865, (http://www.roanokefreedmenscolony.com/freedmn1.pdf) (28 October 2015).

Conclusion

Black teachers played a significant role in the construction of freedpeople's education. Between 1861 and 1875 most of the teachers in North Carolina's schools for the freedpeople were black. The vast majority of these teachers were from the South and many were probably former slaves. As early as 1862, black people in North Carolina demanded access to education. In spite of their limited means and resources, the former slaves built schoolhouses, hired teachers and purchased resources. These efforts did not cease with the influx of teachers from the North and the black community continued to grow and sustain a system of black schooling as the Civil War and Reconstruction era progressed. When northern interest in freedpeople's education began to wane during the early 1870s, black people did not stop pushing for increased access to schooling. Through these efforts, the black community in North Carolina helped to establish the first system of public schooling for all children, regardless of race, between the ages of six and twenty-one.

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[297] Diary of Robert Fitzgerald, 26 November 1868.
[298] Ibid., 12 November 1869.
[299] J. W. Burghduff, 'An appeal from Trent Camp' in *The American Freedman* (April 1868), p. 388.

Although this chapter often relied upon the words of certain teachers, such as Robert Fitzgerald, Robert Harris, Charles Hunter and Sara Stanley, to tell the story of black teachers in North Carolina, it is important to point out that these teachers should not be considered representative of the entire teaching group. Black teachers were not a homogenous group and, like all teachers, they had multiple reasons for engaging in the work. These reasons were often influenced by the teachers' unique history and personal experiences. What is interesting to note, however, is that in spite of the teachers' differences, and regardless of their backgrounds, personal experiences or particular upbringing, they all cited the elevation of the black race as their primary motive for engaging in the education of the freedpeople.

In spite of the teachers' efforts, the vast majority of former slaves did not succeed in gaining access to education during the Civil War and Reconstruction era. When the education division of the Freedmen Bureau finally closed its doors in 1870 only 50,000 black children in a state with 136,000 children had received an education.[300] This was primarily due to a lack of federal and benevolent funding. Freedmen's aid and missionary societies struggled to raise money in the North while the Freedmen's Bureau was heavily circumscribed with regard to what it could and could not spend. The freedpeople contributed what they could but the vast majority were living in abject poverty. Due to the inadequate funding, many black teachers were forced to work for little or no pay. Ultimately, the financial burden placed upon these teachers excluded many men and women, both white and black, from undertaking freedmen's work. This explains why few northern black teachers worked without the sponsorship of an aid or missionary society and why southern black teachers spent comparatively less time in freedpeople’s schools than their northern-born counterparts. The precarious economic conditions of the postbellum South as well as well as the effects of systematic, institutionalised racism within the southern education system also hampered blacks’ educational endeavours. Yet, in spite of these obstacles, black teachers and students continuously worked to challenge the antebellum status quo as well as the racist myth that black people were intellectually inferior and degraded by slavery.

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[300] Michael Goldhaber, 'A mission unfulfilled: Freedpeople's education in North Carolina, 1865-1870' in *The Journal of Negro History,* vol. 77, no. 4 (1992), pp 199-210.

CHAPTER IV

Representations of Race and Racism in the Textbooks used in North Carolina's Black Schools, 1861-1875

'Let me write the schoolbooks and I care not who may write the laws', Jefferson Davis, 1852

Introduction

When southern black schools were first established during the Civil War, literacy and numeracy took precedence over any other subject. Thus, during the immediate wartime and post-war periods, the textbooks that were used most frequently in North Carolina's black schools were readers, spellers, and arithmetic books. Some of these textbooks were specifically created for the freedpeople, also known as freedmen's texts or textbooks. The Boston branch of the American Tract Society (ATS), an evangelical organisation focused upon the distribution of religious material, published the vast majority of these textbooks between 1864 and 1866. Other textbooks were the same as those that were typically used in antebellum northern common schools and subsequently donated to the freedpeople through the assistance of northern freedmen's aid societies. Admittedly, limited funding meant that some schools were better resourced than others, thus many schools operated without the use of any textbooks at all. In such instances, the Bible was used as a supplementary text. Indeed, Christopher M. Span argued that the Bible was often the preferred textbook among teachers because it was widely available and usually distributed for free. 'The Bible was, therefore, the preferred text, even over spellers and readers', he wrote, 'because it allowed students to learn the rudiments of literacy and important moral lessons, without delay, from a uniform text'.[1] Moreover, Span found that due to the former slaves' profound religious spirit, many freedpeople actually preferred learning from the Bible rather than from typical northern textbooks.[2]

This chapter analyses the textbooks that were used in North Carolina's schools for the freedpeople during the Civil War and Reconstruction era, 1861-1875. In particular, this chapter analyses the representations of race and racism contained within the pages of both northern and freedmen's textbooks. Given that 'race' is a social construction used to categorise humanity and, as Helen Fox argued, 'to create a bogus hierarchy of cultural, moral, and intellectual worth that has often justified unequal treatment', this chapter specifically investigates how black and white people were portrayed in the textbooks and to what end.[3]

Recognising that textbooks often reflect 'the values and beliefs of the culture and historical period of which they are a part', this chapter uses the textbook as a historical and cultural artefact to better understand nineteenth-century American society.[4] In particular, the textbooks examined in this study offer important insights into the way in which nineteenth-century Americans, particularly white Americans, perceived black and white people and their respective places in society.[5] As J. G. Henderson and K. R. Kesson explained, 'What we teach our children embodies what we most value in society. The curriculum, in all its complexity, *is* the culture. Embedded in it are our values, our beliefs about human nature, our visions of the good life, and our hopes for the future. It represents the truths that we have identified as valued and worth passing on'.[6] The issue of race is inextricably linked with issues of class and gender and this chapter also provides some valuable insights into how notions of womanhood, manhood, and social class were constructed in nineteenth-century American society. Although the curriculum used in southern black schools is underexplored in Reconstruction scholarship, it is not unexplored. Thus, this chapter begins by giving a brief overview of the historical literature, the methodology used, and the role and function of nineteenth-century American textbooks.[7]

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[1] Christopher M. Span, *From cotton field to schoolhouse: African American education in Mississippi, 1862-1875* (Chapel Hill, 2009), p. 65.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Helen Fox, *When race breaks out: Conversations about race and racism in college classrooms* (New York, 2001), p. 20.

[4] Eugene F. Provenzo, Annis N. Shaver and Manuel Bello (eds.), introduction to *The textbook as discourse* (New York, 2011), p. 3.

[5] As I will demonstrate later in the chapter, all but one of the textbooks examined in this study were written and published by white Americans.

In their studies of post-Civil War black education, some historians make reference to the textbooks that were specifically created for the freedpeople. These studies find that freedmen's textbooks reinforced black racial stereotypes and attempted to force the freedpeople back into the fields and onto the plantations. As Ronald E. Butchart wrote, the textbooks created for the freedpeople 'encouraged southern blacks to accept their place as field hands and domestic servants in a postwar agricultural economy dominated by southern whites'.[8] James D. Anderson drew a similar conclusion and in his study of southern black schooling, he argued that freedmen's textbooks attempted to 'inculcate in the ex-slaves an acceptance of economic and racial subordination'.[9]

In *Reading, 'Riting, and Reconstruction: The Education of Freedmen in the South, 1861-1870,* Robert C. Morris provided one of the most comprehensive analyses of the textbooks used in southern black schools. Focusing his study upon the textbooks specifically created for the freedpeople, Morris argued that freedmen's texts were 'moderate and conciliatory' because they attempted to maintain social stability.[10] Although Morris did not analyse the northern common school textbooks that were used in southern black schools, he observed that the texts which highlighted the hardships of slavery or the history of black people were particularly well-received.[11] Lydia Marie Child's *The Freedmen's Book* was one such text and in her biographical study of Child, Lori Kenschaft similarly claimed that many freedpeople favoured *The Freedmen's Book* over other publications because it 'encouraged readers to reflect on their experiences and see themselves in a larger context'.[12] Nevertheless, Morris found that Child's textbook was 'almost as moderate' as other publications, namely because 'she advised freedmen to forgive their former masters and return to work on the plantation'.[13]

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[6] Henderson and Kesson cited in Christine E. Sleeter, 'Decolonizing curriculum: An essay review of *The sacred hoop: Recovering the feminine in American Indian traditions'* in *Curriculum Inquiry,* vol. 40, no. 2 (2010), pp 193-203.

[7] There have been many studies of the portrayal of black Americans and the black experience in twentieth-century textbooks, particularly social studies textbooks. See, for example, Carter G. Woodson, *The mis-education of the Negro* (Washington, D.C., 1933); James A. Banks, 'A content analysis of the Black American in textbooks' in *Social Education,* vol. 33, no. 8 (1969), pp 954-957; Jonathan Zimmerman, '*Brown*-ing the American textbook: History, psychology, and the origins of modern multiculturalism' in *History of Education Quarterly,* vol. 44, no. 1 (2004), pp 46-69; LaGarrett J. King, Christopher Davis and Anthony L. Brown, 'African American history, race and textbooks: An examination of the works of Harold O. Rugg and Carter G. Woodson' in *The Journal of Social Studies Research,* vol. 36, no. 1 (2012), pp 359-386.

[8] Ronald E. Butchart, *Schooling the freed people: Teaching, learning, and the struggle for black freedom, 1861-1876* (Chapel Hill, 2010), p. 125.

[9] James D. Anderson, *The education of blacks in the South, 1860-1930* (Chapel Hill, 1988), p. 30. See also, Heather Andrea Williams, *Self-taught: African American education in slavery and freedom* (Chapel Hill, 2005), pp 126-138.

Freedmen's textbooks have also been a source of study for some educationalists, particularly those whose interests lie in the field of multicultural education. Patricia Young is one such scholar. In 2010, Young examined *The Freedman's Torchlight,* an instructional newspaper designed for and by African Americans. Young's goal was to demonstrate that, contrary to previous historical interpretations, the black community played an active role in the construction of southern black schooling. Essentially, Young found that in contrast to the curricular materials designed by white people, *The Freedman's Torchlight* aimed to foster racial uplift by offering the former slaves 'a classical elementary curriculum' that was designed to facilitate progression and upward mobility.[14]

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[10] Robert C. Morris, *Reading, 'riting, and Reconstruction: The education of freedmen in the South, 1861-1870* (Chicago, 1981), pp 180-181, p. 206.
[11] Ibid., p. 209.
[12] Lori Kenschaft, *Lydia Marie Child: The quest for racial justice* (New York, 2002), p. 99.
[13] Morris, *Reading, 'riting and Reconstruction,* p. 206.
[14] Patricia Young, 'Roads to travel: A historical look at *The Freedman's Torchlight* – an African American contribution to 19th century information technologies' in *Journal of Black Studies,* vol. 31, no. 5 (2001), pp 671-698.

Although scholars such as Butchart, Anderson, Morris, and Young found that the textbooks specifically created for the freedpeople, excluding *The Freedman's Torchlight* and *The Freedmen's Book* (to an extent), reinforced dominant ideologies and depictions of black inferiority, there has not been any study of the potential impact these textbooks may have had upon the post-emancipation black community. This is partly because, as Anderson correctly concluded, 'we are never certain as to what messages students internalize from the materials they read', but mostly because northern common school textbooks were used far more frequently than freedmen's texts.[15] As Butchart wrote, 'An analysis of the textbooks intended for the freedpeople…indicates a good deal less about what transpired in the classroom, for the simple reason that these sorts of resources seldom reached the students themselves'. 'Rather', he continued, 'the schoolbooks found most frequently in the freed people's schools were exactly the same schoolbooks with which students across the country, but particularly in the North, were familiar'.[16] The prolific use of northern textbooks was partly due to financial constraints. As demonstrated in previous chapters, freedpeople's education was significantly underfunded and while freedmen's textbooks were usually sold to the freedpeople or a northern aid society, antebellum northern common school texts were donated gratuitously.

In her study of Georgia's post-war black schools, Jacqueline Jones similarly found that *The Freedmen's Book* was the only freedmen's textbook used in the state's black schools and, even at that, it received only 'limited use in a few advanced classes'.[17] This was not simply due to financial constraints, Jones argued, but because 'most teachers and administrators felt that the old books [northern textbooks] would do, that their lessons were suitable to the needs of the freed people'.[18] This may have indeed been the case and in May 1866, *The American*

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[15] James D. Anderson, 'Secondary school history textbooks and the treatment of black history' in D. C. Hine (ed.), *The state of Afro-American history: Past, present, and future* (Baton Rouge, 1986), pp 253-276.

[16] Butchart, *Schooling,* p. 126. See also, Anderson, *The education of blacks in the South*, p. 30.

[17] Jacqueline Jones, *Soldiers of light and love: Northern teachers and Georgia blacks, 1865-1873* (Chapel Hill, 1980), p. 126.

[18] Ibid.

Freedman, the monthly organ of the American Freedmen's Union Commission (AFUC), an aid society that sponsored teachers in the South, challenged the decision to name the textbooks 'freedmen's' books:

> But why have a *Freedman's* Primer any more than a Dutchman's Primer or an Irishman's Primer? Are not the so-called freedmen to learn the same language, spell the same words, and read the same literature as the rest of us? Then why in the name of common sense not learn out of the same primers? If we want to abolish these odious caste distinctions from our laws, why ingrain it in our educational systems by the very titles of our book.[19]

Ultimately, the ATS justified the creation of a specific set of textbooks for the freedpeople on the grounds that formerly enslaved men and women were socially and morally degraded. As Israel P. Warren, secretary of the ATS, wrote in 1866:

> …the freedman needs instruction which is not found in ordinary school-books…[They] have been kept by slavery in a degree of ignorance which is not common among the whites. Their knowledge of religious truth is exceedingly defective; often mixed with error. In the department of morals they need special instruction, as in relation to theft, falsehood, and unchastity. These are vices, too frequent, indeed, everywhere, but particularly rife among those long held in slavery.[20]

Although historians of freedpeople's education widely agree that northern common school textbooks were used more frequently than freedmen's texts, no study of post-Civil War black education has analysed the northern common school textbooks that were used in southern black schools.[21] Moreover, while freedmen's textbooks were not used in every black school, they were read by thousands of black learners, confirming Morris' claim that 'freedmen's publications saw extensive service in the classroom and in the community at large'.[22] Between 1865 and 1866, for example, 648,000 copies of *The Freedman* were distributed by the ATS throughout the South while in 1865 at least 36,000 copies of Child's *The Freedmen's Book* were being used in southern black schools.[23] Due to the former slaves' willingness to share their knowledge with other, less well-educated, members of their community, it is likely that freedmen's textbooks were read to and by thousands more students. As Williams wrote, freedmen's textbooks not only made their way into southern black classrooms, but also 'into the spaces where freedpeople gathered to listen to the readers in their communities'.[24] This is what Child explicitly intended. As the preface to her textbook read, 'I have prepared this book expressly for you with the hope that those of you who can read will read it aloud to others'.[25]

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[19] *The American Freedman* (May 1866), p?, emphasis in original.

[20] American Tract Society, *Fifty-second annual report of the American Tract Society* (Boston, 1866), p. 17.

[21] Although Ruth Miller Elson conducted an excellent analysis of nineteenth-century textbooks in 1964, her study is not based within the context of the Reconstruction South. See Ruth M. Elson, *Guardians of tradition: American schoolbooks of the nineteenth century* (Lincoln, 1964), p. 98.

[22] Morris, *Reading, 'riting and Reconstruction,* p. 190.

[23] ATS, *Fifty-second annual report,* p. 15; Morris, *Reading, 'riting and Reconstruction,* p. 207.

For this study, I conducted a textual analysis of twenty-seven primary-level textbooks. This sample included ten textbooks that were specifically created for the freedpeople and thirteen northern common school textbooks. This study also analysed four textbooks that were created by the Confederacy during the Civil War. Although there is no evidence to suggest that Confederate textbooks were used in North Carolina's black schools, an analysis of their text and content offers valuable insights into the ideas, beliefs, and values of the southern white designers and producers.

For each category of textbook, I attempted to analyse a speller, a first and a third reader, and a lower- and higher-level geography textbook. On some occasions, a first reader was not available so I analysed a second reader instead. Although most of the northern readers ranged from level one to level six, an analysis of the teachers' letters, diaries, and school reports suggested that few students progressed beyond the third reader. Because most of the northern textbooks had been revised since their first date of publication, I analysed an early and a revised edition in an effort to understand if and how the socioeconomic context influenced the content. Since these textbooks were published in the nineteenth century, the copyright had lapsed and they were in the public domain. Accordingly, a large majority of the textbooks were digitally available through sites such as Documenting the American South, Project Guttenberg, and

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[24] Williams, *Self-taught,* p. 137.

[25] Lydia Marie Child, preface to *The freedmen's book* (Boston, 1865).

Google Books, among others. All of the freedmen's textbooks examined in this study were reprinted by Robert C. Morris into a series of five volumes known as *Freedmen's Schools and Textbooks.*[26] Some were also digitally available.

In an effort to identify the specific textbooks that were used in North Carolina's black schools, this chapter analysed school reports, the teachers' letters and diaries, the records of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, otherwise known as the Freedmen's Bureau, and the archives of the aid and missionary associations for references to the textbooks used. Although these records proved to be extremely valuable, the textbooks were occasionally recorded ambiguously. Readers, for example, were often simply recorded as 'First Reader' or 'Second Reader' with no reference to the author or publisher. Arithmetic and geography textbooks were similarly recorded as either 'small' or 'large', presumably to differentiate between higher and lower levels.[27] Nevertheless, some sources explicitly named the textbooks that were used. As Betsey L. Canedy reported to the Friends' Freedmen's Association in 1863, 'One of my "first class", aged 25, can read with a good deal of readiness, and the only book he had ever seen until yesterday, is a fragment of an old dictionary; and when I put into his hands a "Third Reader" (Wilson's Series) the strong man wept for joy'.[28] Accordingly, this chapter analysed a selection of the readers, spellers, and geography textbooks that were typically used in antebellum northern common schools as well as some of the most accessible freedmen's textbooks.

This chapter used the analytical framework of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to examine the curricular materials' text and content. Developed by Norman Fairclough, this approach to the study of language investigates the connections between discourse, ideology, and power.[29] Based on Fairclough's three-dimensional model, this chapter analysed the text, the processes of text production, distribution and consumption, and the sociocultural context. Although there are multiple approaches to the study of language, including social linguistics and social semiotics, according to Thomas Huckin, the main purpose of CDA is 'to show how public discourse often serves the interests of powerful forces over those of the less privileged'.[30] Accordingly, CDA was deemed to be the most appropriate approach for this particular study.

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[26] Robert C. Morris (ed.), *Freedmen's schools and textbooks, vols. 1-6* (New York, 1980).

[27] See, for example, George Dixon to Nathan Hill, January 1867, Nathan H. Hill papers, David M. Rubenstein Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Duke University, North Carolina.

[28] Friends' Freedmen's Association, *Report of the executive board of the Friends' Association of Philadelphia and the vicinity for the relief of colored freedmen* (Philadelphia, 1864), p. 23.

Using Huckin's interpretation of CDA, the process of textual analysis occurred over two stages.[31] First, I conducted an initial reading of the textbooks in order to gain a general insight into their tone and content. As Patricia Young wrote, 'This "cold" reading allows you to survey the contents and gauge how you will approach or organize the materials'.[32] Second, I analysed the textbooks at the text-level. This involved examining the textbooks' genre, framing, foregrounding/backgrounding, omissions, and visual representations.[33]

Nineteenth-century American textbooks

'Textbooks are political tools', wrote Heather Williams, 'aimed at transmitting particular ways of looking at the world'.[34] Although this assertion can be applied to both contemporary and historical textbooks, it was particularly true of nineteenth-century American textbooks, not least because antebellum common schooling was perceived as an agent of social reform.[35]

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[29] Norman Fairclough, *Critical discourse analysis: The critical study of language* (London, 1995).

[30] Thomas Huckin, 'Critical discourse analysis and the discourse of condescension' in E. Barton and G. Stygall (eds.), *Discourse studies in composition* (Hampton, 2002), available at Writing Program, University of California Santa Barbara (http://www.writing.ucsb.edu/wrconf08/Pdf_Articles/Huckin_Article.pdf) (19 September 2015).

[31] Ibid.

[32] Young, 'Roads to travel', p. 681.

[33] Huckin, 'Critical discourse analysis and the discourse of condescension' (http://www.writing.ucsb.edu/wrconf08/Pdf_Articles/Huckin_Article.pdf) (19 September 2015).

[34] Williams, *Self-taught,* p. 130.

[35] David E. Tanner, 'The textbook as a political instrument' in *The High School Journal,* vol. 72, no. 4 (1989), pp 182-187. See also, Elson, *Guardians of tradition,* p. 1.

Described by Ashley M. Swarthout as 'characteristically didactic', the textbooks of this era attempted to influence readers and shape society by teaching literacy 'though religious, moral, and character education'.[36] Indeed, Noah Webster, author of the renowned *Blue-Backed Speller*, promoted the use of his textbook on the grounds that it would not only instruct children in 'the first rudiments of the language' but also 'some just ideas of religion, morals and domestic economy'.[37] Accordingly, nineteenth-century American textbooks were used not just as educational tools, but also as political instruments designed to facilitate social control through religious and moral improvement.[38]

In a 2012 study of contemporary textbooks, a writer for *The Economist* claimed, 'Few, if any, instruments shape national culture more powerfully than the materials used in schools'.[39] Although there is no denying that textbooks can and have been used as political instruments, that is to say, to further a particular social, cultural, or economic agenda, some scholars have argued that it is difficult to gauge whether or not they actually influence the lives of readers.[40] Indeed, in a 1993 study, Jesus Garcia asked, 'Why are so many people concerned about what is included in a textbook?':

> Perhaps we give the textbook too much credit. The literature indicates that students find textbooks less than appealing; in fact they describe them as "boring". Could it be that students simply are not interested in what is in a textbook? And when forced to learn textbook content, many students retain the information long enough to regurgitate it on a test but then quickly forget it.[41]

Nevertheless, for centuries, educators, politicians, and concerned members of the public have debated over textbook content, leading Ruth Elson to conclude that 'popular opinion still accepts without question the importance of schoolbooks in forming public opinion'.[42] Although Elson agreed that the extent to which students may or may not be influenced by textbooks needs further examination, she argued that nineteenth-century textbooks were probably more influential than contemporary curricular materials, not just because the nineteenth-century child 'read little beside his schoolbooks' but also because they were the primary instructional materials in most schools.[43] William F. Pinar reiterated Elson's sentiments and argued that nineteenth-century textbooks 'were more reflective of mainstream attitudes as well as influential in reinforcing these attitudes and beliefs' because they 'did not compete with television, movies, and other twentieth-century forms of popular culture'.[44]

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[36] Ashley M. Swarthout, 'Textbooks, teachers, and compromise: The political work of freedmen education' (M.A. thesis, The University of Texas at El Paso, 2013), p. 11.
[37] Noah Webster cited in Elson, *Guardians of tradition,* p. 1.
[38] Tanner, 'The textbook as a political instrument', p. 182.
[39] The Economist, 'Textbooks round the world', 13 October 2012 (http://www.economist.com/node/21564554) (22 August 2015).
[40] Anderson, 'Secondary school history textbooks', p. 253; Williams, *Self-taught,* p. 137.
[41] Jesus Garcia, 'The changing image of ethnic groups in textbooks' in *The Phi Delta Kappa,* vol. 75, no. 1 (1993), pp 29-35.

Given that southern black students had limited access to reading materials, before, during, and after the Civil War, and recognising that textbooks were often the only available resources in freedpeople's schools, it would be easy to argue that the textbooks used in southern black schools were powerful forces in helping to shape the former slaves' attitudes, beliefs, and values. Indeed, Saidiya Hartman argued that ATS publications successfully impressed upon the freedpeople a sense of duty to white men and that this sense of duty 'was instrumental in the production of peonage'.[45]

However, like many learners, the freedpeople were not passive consumers of the knowledge and information contained within textbooks. As Janice Radway argued, it is no longer 'certain that mass-produced culture merely imposes the alien beliefs of the ruling classes upon those who would think other thoughts and espouse other ideologies if they could'.[46] This is particularly evident in the way in which southern blacks selectively interpreted the pro-slavery messages preached to them from the pulpit during times of slavery.[47] Indeed, ex-North Carolina slave, Lunsford Lane, recalled in his autobiography that many slaves had stopped attending the church service of a particular minster because he had preached a pro-slavery sermon:

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[42] Elson, *Guardians of tradition,* p. viii.

[43] Elson, *Guardians of tradition,* p. viii. This fact is also true for many students in contemporary society, particularly those from developing countries or from lower-class backgrounds. See The Economist, 'Textbooks round the world', 13 October 2012 (http://www.economist.com/node/21564554) (17 June 2015).

[44] William F. Pinar, William M. Reynolds, Patrick Slattery and Peter M. Taubman, *Understanding curriculum: An introduction to the study of historical and contemporary curriculum discourse* (revised ed., New York, 2008), p. 777.

[45] Saidiya Hartman, *Scenes of subjection: Terror, slavery, and self-making in nineteenth century America* (New York, 1997), p. 131.

[46] Janice Radaway, 'Reading is not eating: Mass-produced literature and the theoretical, methodological, and political consequence of a metaphor' in *Book Research Quarterly,* vol. 2 (1986), pp 7-29.

> There was one very kind hearted Episcopal minster whom I often used to hear; he was very popular with the colored people. But after he had preached a sermon to us in which he argued from the Bible that it was the will of heaven from all eternity we should be slaves, and our masters be our owners, most of us left him; for like some of the faint hearted disciples in early times we said, - "This is a hard saying, who can bear it?".[48]

So while we may never fully understand how the freedpeople interpreted the racial messages contained within nineteenth-century textbooks, it is important to keep in mind that, like all students, some former slaves may have internalised what they learned while others may have forgotten, ignored, or completely rejected it.[49] 'But', as Christine E. Sleeter and Carl A. Grant wrote, 'even if students forget, ignore, or reject what they encounter in textbooks, textbook content is still important because it withholds, obscures, and renders unimportant many ideas and areas of knowledge'.[50]

Textbooks created for the freedpeople

Freedmen's textbooks can be classified into three distinct genres: English language textbooks, advice manuals, and instructional newspapers, the latter essentially being a combination of newspaper and textbook. The Boston branch of the ATS published six of the ten freedmen's textbooks that were examined in this study. Established in New York City in 1825 'to diffuse a knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ as the Redeemer of sinners…by the circulation of Religious Tracts', the ATS operated throughout the United States with the aid of local branch societies.[51] By 1830, Morris found that 2,606 local branches operated throughout the country.[52] In an effort to unite 'all Evangelical Christians' who, at this time, were divided over the issue of slavery, the ATS avoided publishing antislavery books and tracts. However, this publication policy caused a division within the society and in 1858 the Boston branch of the ATS declared its independence from the New York branch so that it could publish antislavery works. It was not until 1863 that the New York wing began to follow suit and in that year the society published two books that examined the issues of slavery and abolition.[53] In 1864, the New York branch of the ATS announced the publication of two freedmen's texts, *Advice to Freedmen* and *Friendly Counsels for Freedmen.* According to the society, both of these textbooks were written 'by those in deep sympathy with [the freedpeople], and who, with a kind and wise singleness of purpose, have laboured for their temporal and spiritual elevation, and to prepare them to receive and enjoy the blessings of that freedom wherewith Christ makes his people free'.[54]

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[47] Kim Tolley, *Heading South to teach: The world of Susan Nye Hutchison, 1815-1845* (Chapel Hill, 2015), p. 79.

[48] Lunsford Lane, *A narrative of Lunsford Lane* (Boston, 1842), p. 21, available at Documenting the American South, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, (http://docsouth.unc.edu/neh/lanelunsford/lane.html) (06 January 2016).

[49] Christine E. Sleeter and Carl A. Grant, 'Race, class, gender, and disability in current textbook' in Provenzo, Shaver and Bello, *The textbook as discourse,* p. 203.

[50] Ibid.

The English language textbooks that were examined in this study include *The Freedman's Spelling Book, The Freedman's Second Reader,* and *The Freedman's Third Reader.* Each of these books was included in the ATS's *Freedmen's Library,* a collection of fifteen publications.[55] Although the style of these textbooks mimicked those that were used in the North, many of the lessons were tailored to fit the specific needs of the freedpeople. Lessons in *The Freedman's Spelling Book,* for instance, often attempted to define the meaning of freedom while *The Freedman's Third Reader* contained biographies about black leaders such as Phyllis Wheatley, Toussaint L'Ouverture, and Frederick Douglass.[56] Moreover, while the fundamental aim of these textbooks was to teach reading, writing, and spelling, they also offered lessons in religion, morality, and the social sciences. As the ATS wrote of the *Freedmen's Library*, 'While it teaches to read and write, the series will aim to communicate also religious and moral truth, and such instruction in civil and social duties as is needed by them in the new circumstances in which they are placed'.[57]

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[51] The ATS cited in Morris, introduction to *Freedmen's schools and textbooks, volume 1.*
[52] Ibid.
[53] Ibid.
[54] The ATS cited in Morris, introduction to *Freedmen's schools and textbooks, volume 4.*
[55] Butchart, *Schooling,* p. 124.

The textbooks that offered practical advice to the black community were *Advice to Freedmen* by Isaac W. Brinckerhoff, *Friendly Counsels for Freedmen* by Jared Bell Waterbury, *John Freeman and his Family* by Helen E. Brown, and *Plain Counsels for Freedmen* by Clinton B. Fisk. These textbooks were profoundly didactic and their ultimate goal was to instruct the freedpeople in their duties and responsibilities as freedmen and women, particularly in relation to work. As the fictional character of John Freeman proclaimed in *John Freeman and his Family*, 'Now we are all free…we must work. Something is 'spected of us now. They've always said black folks couldn't take care of themselves; and now we've got to show em to the contract'.[58] This book was the only textbook of this category that was written in the style of a fictional narrative. The remaining three textbooks were divided into lessons that covered topics such as work, marriage, and religion. Although it could be argued that by offering practical advice, these books presumed that blacks were not fit or prepared for freedom, it is worth remembering that the ATS also published many books and tracts that offered practical advice to the white population, including *Counsels to a Young Man, The Temptations of Young Men, Private Devotion,* and *Do you pray in your Family?*.[59]

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[56] *The freedman's spelling book* (Boston, 1866; reprint, New York, 1980), pp 78-80, p. 85, p. 89; *The freedman's third reader* (Boston, 1866; reprint, New York, 1980), p. 75, p. 81, p. 200.
[57] The ATS cited in Morris, *Reading, 'riting and Reconstruction,* p. 198.
[58] Helen E. Brown, *John Freeman and his family* (Boston, 1862; reprint, New York, 1980), p. 7.
[59] American Tract Society, *Fifteenth annual report of the American Tract Society* (New York, 1840), p. 9.

Two freedmen's textbooks, *The Freedman* and *The Freedman's Torchlight*, were styled as instructional newspapers. A combination of newspaper and textbook, these monthly publications offered academic lessons alongside news articles. Sold at the annual rate of twenty-five and fifty cents respectively, instructional newspapers were not only cheaper to produce but, according to Morris, they also appealed to the freedpeople's 'desire to read conventional newspapers and magazines'.[60] *The Freedman's Torchlight* was the only textbook created for and by black people. Published by the African Civilisation Society (ACS) in 1866, only one copy of the textbook has been located. Nevertheless, given that this copy is the very first issue, volume one, number one, it gives the reader a clear insight into the ACS's aims and expectations of black education.

Like the ATS, the ACS was founded during the antebellum period. Unlike the ATS, it was 'an organization officered and managed entirely by colored men'.[61] Originally established to aid the repatriation of black people to Africa, the society reorganised itself into a freedmen's aid society during the Civil War and by 1866 it had twenty-two schools in operation in four southern states.[62] Unlike most of the other freedmen's aid and missionary schools, however, ACS schools were staffed and managed entirely by members of the black community. Indeed, the society operated under the assumption that blacks could best instruct their own people. As Reverend Dr Bellows wrote in the first issue of *The Freedman's Torchlight*, 'The peculiarity of our Society is its being an enterprise managed by negros for the elevation of themselves as a race. We ourselves must elevate our own race to the status of self reliance, the fundamental element of which is Education'.[63]

Lydia Marie Child's *The Freedmen's Book* does not fit neatly into either of the above categories. Published by Ticknor and Fields in 1865, and at a cost of six hundred dollars to herself, *The Freedmen's Book* featured biographies and autobiographies about black leaders, short stories, prayers, and parables.[64] A total of twenty-four writers contributed towards the production of this textbook, eleven of whom were black. Such black authors included the renowned Frederick Douglass, Harriett Jacobs, Charlotte Forten, and George Moses Horton. Essentially, Child hoped that from their inclusion and contributions, the freedpeople would 'derive fresh strength and courage from this true record of what coloured men have accomplished under great disadvantages'.[65]

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[60] Morris, introduction to *Freedmen's schools and textbooks, vol. 3*.
[61] *The Freedman's Torchlight* (December 1866), p. 1.
[62] Ibid.
[63] Ibid.

Although the primary goal of freedmen's texts was to provide the former slaves with a rudimentary education, they served three additional purposes: to inculcate the freedpeople with northern ideals and values, to mould the former slaves into a subservient labour force, and to promote and maintain white supremacy. Admittedly, the first two goals appear to represent a central paradox of freedpeople's education. On the one hand, freedmen's texts attempted to remake the former slaves along northern lines by inculcating them with northern values while on the other they worked to keep the freedpeople in subservience. However, the northern ideals and values promoted in the textbooks were not intended to facilitate upward mobility and economic progression. On the contrary, by promoting such values as industry and piety, freedmen's textbooks encouraged the former slaves to accept menial positions or return to work in the fields or on the plantations, for their former masters if necessary.

Inculcating northern values

A fundamental goal of the freedmen's textbooks was to remake the former slaves along northern lines. As discussed in Chapter I, this goal stemmed from the widespread fear that formerly enslaved men and women would form a permanent dependent class or become a destabilising force in society.[66] Thus, in order to limit the perceived threat southern blacks imposed upon American society, freedmen's textbooks attempted to inculcate southern black students with northern ideals and values by combining academic lessons with lessons in morality, sobriety, religion, and industry.

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[64] Jessica Enoch, *Refiguring rhetorical education: Women teaching African American, Native American, and Chicano/o Students, 1865-1911* (Carbondale, IL, 2008), p. 52.
[65] Child, preface to *The freedmen's book.*

Lessons in morality were widespread in the freedmen's texts. In particular, many textbooks attempted to remedy the notion that southern blacks were prone to lying and stealing. 'To take what is not ours; if we do not have leave to take it, is to steal' instructed one reading exercise in *The Freedman* while another in *The Freedman's Spelling Book* read 'Do not dare to do or hide a sordid deed'.[67] Swearing was also deemed particularly immoral and *The Freedman's Second Reader* encouraged its young readers to stop that 'wicked' habit.[68] Lessons on sin also permeated the freedmen's textbooks and in *The Freedman's Spelling Book,* three of the five sentences in lesson seventeen read, 'It is a sin to sip rum', 'God is holy; he can see if men sin', and 'If a man sin, he is bad'.[69]

Teaching the freedpeople the value of chastity and the sanctity of marriage was frequently incorporated into lessons on morality. Although slaves were unable to legally get married, many lived together as husband and wife. Some even had wedding ceremonies on the plantation. Indeed, many slave owners encouraged the union of slaves because children born of the slave mother would also be enslaved. Writing about her enslaved great-grandmother's marriage to a free-born black man, Pauli Murray observed that some masters perceived such marriages as 'good business'. They had 'no obligation to the husband, and every child by marriage would be his slave and worth several hundred dollars at birth', she wrote.[70] Due to restrictive slave codes, slave marriages were not recognised by law and families were often torn apart on the auction block.

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[66] Enoch, *Refiguring rhetorical education,* p. 41.
[67] *The Freedman* (February 1866), p. 6; *The freedman's spelling book,* p. 44.
[68] *The freedman's second reader* (Boston, 1865; reprint, New York, 1980), p. 75.
[69] *The freedman's spelling book,* p. 13.
[70] Pauli Murray, *Proud shoes: The story of an American family* (London, 1956), p. 39. See also, Katherine M. Franke, 'Becoming a citizen: Reconstruction era regulation of African American marriages' in *Yale Journal of Law & the Humanities,* vol. 1, no. 2 (1999), pp 251-309.

When northern white teachers, missionaries, and Freedmen's Bureau officials first arrived in the South, they were horrified to find some freedpeople living and raising a family together out of wedlock.[71] This was primarily because, as the Freedmen's Bureau articulated, most northern whites perceived the institution of marriage 'as the very foundation of all civil society'.[72] Thus, viewing slave marriages as not only illicit but also immoral and uncivilised, teachers, Freedmen's Bureau officials, and textbook authors urged the former slaves to get married as soon as possible. As Clinton B. Fisk, a pre-war abolitionist, Union Army veteran, and Freedmen's Bureau officer, wrote in *Plain Counsels for Freedmen*:

> When you were slaves you "took up" with each other and were not taught what a bad thing it was to break God's law of marriage. But now you can only be sorry for the past and begin life anew, and on a pure foundation. You who have been and are now living together as husband and wife and have had children born to you, should be married according to law, as soon as possible.[73]

Surprisingly, Fisk intimated that the freedpeople were somehow responsible for this apparent wrongdoing instead of blaming the southern lawmakers who refused to legalise slave marriages or allow enslaved people to make contracts, of any sort.[74]

After emancipation, the former slaves were not just permitted the right to marry legally, they were obliged to. In August 1865, for instance, the Freedmen's Bureau issued General Order No. 8 which outlined the rules of marriage. As one of the rules stated, 'No parties having agreed to enter the marriage relation will be allowed to live together as husband and wife until their marriage has been legally solemnized'.[75] In a similar vein, North Carolina's General

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[71] Laura F. Edwards, *Gendered strife and confusion: The political culture of Reconstruction* (Chicago, 1997), p. 31.

[72] Stuart M. Taylor, 'Marriage rules' in United States Congress, *Executive documents of the House of Representatives during the first session of the thirty-ninth Congress, 1865-1866* (Washington, 1866), p. 111.

[73] Clinton B. Fisk, *Plain counsels to freedmen in sixteen brief lectures* (Boston, 1866; reprint, New York, 1980), p. 31.

[74] After the Dred Scot decision of 1857, the law denying enslaved people the right to make contracts extended to the free states and territories.

[75] Taylor, 'Marriage rules', p. 109.

Assembly gave formerly enslaved cohabitating couples less than six months to register their marriages with the county clerk. Failure to do so, Katherine M. Franke found, 'constituted a distinct and separately prosecutable criminal offense'.[76]

The requirement to marry was problematic for some freedpeople, primarily because enslaved blacks had developed their own definitions of marriage and adult relationships during slavery. As Franke found, some slaves formed monogamous relationships and lived together as husband and wife while others 'took up', 'sweethearted', or 'lived together in non-marital relationships'.[77] According to Franke, 'taking up' and 'sweethearting' were 'open-ended and non-exclusive' types of relationships for the older and younger generations respectively.[78] Moreover, it was not uncommon for slave women to bear children with more than one partner and this was widely accepted within the slave community.[79] Although many freedpeople embraced the opportunity to legalise their marriages or adult relationships, others did not immediately abandon the practices they had formed in slavery.[80] Thus, the publishers' attempts to impose their beliefs and values about marriage upon the freedpeople represented a complete disregard for the habits and customs formed in slavery. Like the northern white teachers' efforts to reform the freedpeople's religious practices (as discussed in Chapter I), efforts to reform the former slaves' domestic relations represented a form of cultural colonialism.

From the northern white perspective, legalising slave marriages served three aims. In the first instance, many northern whites believed that lawful marriages would civilise the former slaves. Indeed, Franke argued that marriage was used to 'domesticate' the freedpeople 'before they could be admitted into society as full citizens'.[81] Laura F. Edwards reiterated this claim and argued that marriage was perceived as a precursor to citizenship. 'To keep freedpeople from threatening civil society, they had to be brought in to it', she wrote. 'To be brought into it, they had to be married'.[82] The American Freedmen's Inquiry Commission, an organisation established to investigate the status of freedpeople, actively promoted the legalisation of slave marriages. As the commission argued in 1863, marriage 'is the great lever by which [the freedpeople] are to be lifted up and prepared for a state of civilization'.[83]

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[76] Franke, 'Becoming a citizen', p. 278.
[77] Ibid., p. 262.
[78] Ibid.
[79] Ibid., p. 256.
[80] Ibid., pp 273-274.
[81] Ibid., p. 253.

Secondly, by encouraging freedwomen to remain chaste before marriage and monogamous in marriage, state-sanctioned marriages served to reform black womanhood. As Fisk wrote in *Plain Counsels for Freedmen*:

> Let it be your first aim to make yourself a true woman. Allow no man, under any pretence, to despoil you of your virtue. The brand of shame rests upon the brow of the unchaste woman. She is hated, even by those who is as bad as she is. No man can ever love her…If in your slave life you have been careless of your morals, now that you are free, live as becomes a free Christian woman. Stamp a lie upon the common remark, that all colored women are bad.[84]

Although lessons in chastity were also directed towards freedmen, freedwomen were considered to be particularly immoral, largely because many had borne children out of wedlock during times of slavery. While some of these children were the result of rape by white masters or overseers, Shirley J. Yee argued that 'rather than perceiving slave women as victims of abuse, whites blamed them for initiating sexual relations with white men and, as a result, portrayed black women as seducers'.[85] Admittedly, Fisk recognised that many white men, presumably southern white men, were 'slimy snakes in the grass' eager to despoil black women's virtue. However, freedwomen were tasked with the responsibility to resist their advances. 'You had better hang yourself by the neck until you are dead, than yield to them', he morbidly warned. Ultimately, as Pirya Kandaswamy argued, efforts to enforce marriage upon the freedpeople partly stemmed from a desire to control black women's sexuality.[86]

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[82] Edwards, *Gendered strife and confusion,* p. 37.

[83] The American Freedmen's Inquiry Commission cited in Franke, 'Becoming a citizen', p. 251.

[84] Fisk, *Plain counsels,* pp 26-27. See a similar lesson in J. B. Waterbury, *Friendly counsels for freedmen* (New York, 1864; reprint, New York, 1980), pp 14-15.

[85] Shirley J. Yee, *Black women abolitionists: A study in activism, 1828-1860* (Knoxville, 1992), pp 42-43. This is partly where the stereotypical image of the black woman as an 'oversexed Jezebel' came from. See Franke, 'Becoming a citizen', p. 259 (quotation); Deborah Gray White, *Ar'n't I a woman?: Female slaves in the plantation South* (2nd ed., New York, 1999), pp 27-61.

Finally, the enforcement of marriage laws worked to reduce the state and federal governments' responsibility to provide financial support for the former slaves.[87] Shared by both northern and southern white policymakers, this goal was rooted in the fear that southern blacks would form a permanent dependent class. As Alfred M. Waddell, an ex-Confederate soldier, told the freedpeople in Wilmington, North Carolina, 'The loose ideas which have prevailed among you on this subject [marriage] must cease. You will have to support and take care of your families…because it [is] no longer the duty of the white master to do so'.[88] Thus, marriage promotion was used to enforce specific 'gendered responsibilities' upon freedmen, namely the duty and obligation to provide for one's family.[89] As the American Freedmen's Inquiry Commission argued in 1863, marriage imposes 'upon the husband and father the legal obligation to support his family'.[90]

Freedmen's textbooks played an important role in imposing a patriarchal family culture upon the former slaves, particularly by teaching freedmen and women the duties of manhood and womanhood respectively. As Fisk wrote in *Plain Counsels for Freedmen,* 'Husbands must provide for their families…Your wives will not love you if you do not provide bread and clothes for them'.[91] J. B. Waterbury made a similar claim in *Friendly Counsels for Freedmen* and urged his male readers to purchase a home as soon as possible. 'Move your family into it', he wrote, 'and begin to live as one who is responsible to God and who is determined to show that slavery has not robbed him of all his manhood'.[92] Not only were lessons such as these completely removed from the harsh realities of emancipation, namely because they failed to recognise that many freedpeople struggled to find equitable employment, but they also served to compel freedmen to engage in paid labour, no matter how unequitable that labour may be.[93] Thus, marriage promotion was just one of the ways in which attempts were made to mould the freedpeople into a subservient labour force.

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[86] Priya Kandaswamy, 'Gendering racial formation' in Daniel Martinez HoSang, Oneka LaBennett and Laura Pulido (eds.), *Racial formation in the twenty-first century* (London, 2012), pp 23-43.

[87] Angela Onwuachi-Willig, 'The return of the ring: Welfare reform's marriage cure as the revival of post-bellum control' in *California Law Review,* vol. 93, no. 6 (2005), pp 1647-1696; Edwards, *Gendered strife and confusion,* p. 35; Franke, 'Becoming a citizen', p. 302.

[88] Alfred M. Waddell cited in Edwards, *Gendered strife and confusion,* p. 35.

[89] Kandaswamy, *Gendering racial formation,* p. 37.

[90] American Freedmen's Inquiry Commission cited in Kandaswamy, *Gendering racial formation,* p. 37.

[91] Fisk, *Plain counsels,* p. 32.

Freedmen's textbooks also attempted to teach freedwomen how to be 'true women'.[94] Given that, as Deborah Gray White observed, 'conventional wisdom [held] that a woman's place was in the home', such lessons were primarily focused upon teaching freedwomen how to manage the domestic space.[95] As J. B. Waterbury admonished:

> Make things as pleasant in and around your home. What a difference there is! Some cottages or cabins look very pretty, and some look very bad. It is easy to tell what sort of people live in a house, by the very looks of it. Dirty within and dirty without tells a bad story of the inmates. On the other hand, when we pass a log-cabin where things look tidy, we are apt to say to ourselves, "Some nice people live there".[96]

As this lesson illustrates, the condition of one's home was used to measure the freedpeople's preparedness for freedom. This message was reinforced in Fisk's *Plain Counsels for Freedmen* which used the contrasting images of two houses to promote the importance of keeping a 'comfortable', 'clean', and 'beautiful' home. After describing Dick Slack's bare and dilapidated house, Fisk wrote, 'And Dick is like his house; see him standing there, motionless as a post, half bent with his hands in his pockets. Oh Dick, stir yourself!'.[97]

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[92] Waterbury, *Friendly counsels for freedmen,* p. 20.
[93] Franke, 'Becoming a citizen', p. 303.
[94] Fisk, *Plain counsels,* p. 25.
[95] White, *Ar'n't I a woman?,* p. 15.
[96] Waterbury, *Friendly counsels for freedmen,* pp 25-26.
[97] Fisk, *Plain counsels,* p. 63.

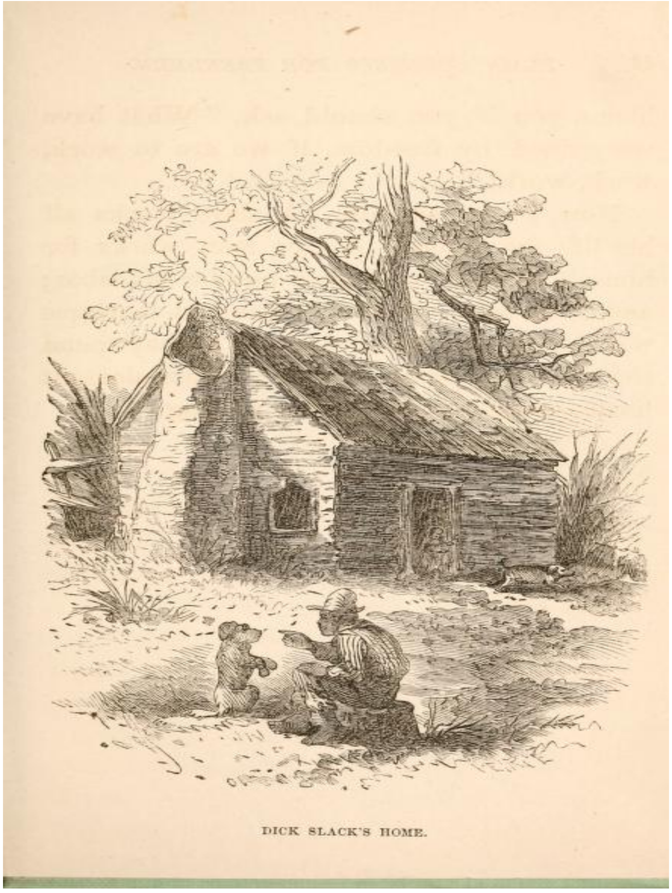
DICK SLACK'S HOME.

Figure 3: 'Dick Slack's Home' in Clinton B. Fisk, *Plain Counsels for Freedmen*, p. 43.

Attempting to inculcate formerly enslaved black women with northern ideals of domesticity was problematic for two reasons. Firstly, a combination of poverty and restrictive vagrancy laws compelled many freedwomen to engage in paid labour.[98] This, Kandaswamy argued, represented a central paradox of marriage promotion:

> On the one hand, freedwomen were seen as an essential source of labor in the southern economy…On the other hand, in a society where white women's roles as citizens had been understood primarily as maintaining the sanctity of the domestic space and raising future citizens, entrance into citizenship also meant that freedwomen were expected to adhere to norms of domesticity.[99]

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[98] Between 1865 and 1866, vagrancy laws were passed in the South. Incorporated into the southern Black Codes, these laws permitted the arrest of any unemployed black man or woman. Described by Risa Goluboff as a means of returning 'black Americans to a state as close to slavery as legally and practically possible', every southern state that passed vagrancy laws, except North Carolina, authorised the hiring-out of vagrants. See, Risa Golubouff, *Vagrant nation: Police power, constitutional change, and the making of the 1960s* (New York, 2016), p. 116.

[99] Kandaswamy, 'Gendering racial formation', p. 36.

Although, in the aftermath of emancipation, many freedwomen retreated from plantation work, it was not because, as some scholars have suggested, they perceived the work as 'unladylike'.[100] Rather, according to Thavolia Glymph, many black women ceased working in the fields because domestic work offered immediate employment. Indeed, Glymph argued that some black women may have actually preferred field labour due to the physical distance between the field and the home of the employer. 'Field labor might be more attractive from the standpoint of distance from former owners, and in the end more profitable', wrote Glymph, 'but black women and their families needed immediate resources to help sustain them as crops were being made'.[101] As the southern economy began to stabilise, many black women resumed working in the fields, confirming Eric Foner's assertion that 'the shift of the locus of black female productive labor from the fields to the home proved, in large measure, a temporary phenomenon'.[102]

Secondly, by encouraging freedwomen to conform to northern norms of domesticity, white authors assumed that black women should, and indeed wanted to, imitate the domestic ideals of nineteenth-century white women. Although Glymph acknowledged that many black women adopted the customs and habits normally reserved for white women, such as wearing fine dresses, holding tea parties, and referring to each other as 'Brother' or 'Sister', she argued that this was primarily done to dismantle 'the customs of slavery' and 'to challenge the white South's dominant cultural and ideological constructions of race and gender'. In effect, actions such as these were used as weapons to crush southern white women's sole claim to domesticity.[103] Moreover, due to the 'egalitarianism of slave quarters, in which women enjoyed relative status and influence', Brian Kelly argued that many freedwomen did not readily accept the inferior position bestowed upon them by northern teachers and government agents.[104] 'Their enduring claim to the public sphere', he wrote, 'even in the face of concerted attempts to marginalize them, suggests that at some level freedwomen understood that the northern model was inadequate, perhaps even detrimental, to the project of emancipation they kept before them'.[105]

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[100] Span, *From cotton field to schoolhouse,* p. 98.
[101] Thavolia Glymph, *Out of the house of bondage: The transformation of the plantation household* (Cambridge, 2008), p. 158.
[102] Eric Foner, *Reconstruction: America's unfinished revolution* (New York, 1988), p. 86.
[103] Ibid., p. 199.

Lessons on temperance were also a common feature of the freedmen's textbooks. Rooted in the rigorous temperance movement of the antebellum North as well as the belief that, if left uneducated, the former slaves would succumb to a life of drunken idleness, freedmen's textbooks often attempted to teach the freedpeople about the dangers of alcohol. In particular, many textbook authors warned that excessive drinking could lead to poverty or death. As one math lesson in *The Freedman* read, 'If a man drinks thirty cents' worth of liquor in a day, how long will it take him to drink up an acre of ground worth a hundred dollars?'.[106] The use of tobacco was also strongly discouraged, not least because it was perceived as a gateway to alcoholism. Smoking 'causes an unnatural expectoration, and consequent loss of the fluids of the system through the salivary glands', warned *The Freedman.* 'This produces thirst, which water does not quite satisfy. There is a letting down of the general rigor, and he who drinks at all is almost sure to become a drunkard'.[107] Although lessons on temperance were also incorporated into the northern common school curriculum, the former slaves were considered to be particularly susceptible to the vices of alcohol, 'not because they are black, or a different race from whites', the ATS was quick to make clear, 'but because they are peculiarly ignorant of what they just now peculiarly need to know'.[108]

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[104] Brian Kelly, 'Labor and place: The contours of freedpeople's mobilization in Reconstruction South Carolina' in *The Journal of Peasant Studies,* vol. 35, no. 4 (2008), pp 653-687.

[105] Ibid., p. 665.

[106] *The Freedman* (August 1868), p. 4. See also, *The freedman's second reader,* pp 52-55, pp 57-57.

[107] *The Freedman* (March 1867), p. 3.

[108] ATS, *Fifty-second annual report*, p. 17. For lessons on temperance in northern common school textbooks, see, for example, Marcius Willson, *The third reader of the school and family series* (New York, 1860), p. 61; Noah Webster, *The American spelling book: Containing the English language for the use of schools in the*

Given that the ATS was a religious publisher, it is not surprising that their textbooks were full of religious content. However, rather than teaching the tenets of a particular religion, ATS publications, *The Freedman* in particular, used religious stories to encourage the former slaves to accept the status quo. Although many southern blacks were living in abject poverty, freedmen's texts discouraged the pursuit of upward mobility. Instead, black learners were urged to endure hardships, physical suffering, and a lack of material possessions in the name of religious devotion. 'Are we willing to sacrifice all that we have of earthly good for Jesus' sake?', asked *The Freedman,* 'and can we wear with joy the crown of thorns, enduring the scorn and contempt of the world, in hope of the crown of life which he will give to his faithful followers at the last day'.[109] Evidently, as Jessica Enoch found, the blatant religious indoctrination contained within the pages of ATS publications encouraged black students to 'accept their lot, however unfair it might be, and focus their attention on heavenly reward'.[110] In this sense, freedmen's textbooks represented a strategic attempt to perpetuate the racial subordination of southern blacks.

Maintaining a stable labour force

A second goal of the freedmen's textbooks was to mould the former slaves into a subservient labour force. Although Union victory resulted in the emancipation of some four million slaves, black labour was still needed in the fields and on the plantations. As Donald Spivey wrote, 'Blacks faced a neo-slave system when the Civil War ended. Cotton still had to be picked, tobacco fields needed to be tended, and menial labour was required for the industries of the New South'.[111] Moreover, due to the racial stereotypes that permeated nineteenth-century

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United States (19th ed., Philadelphia, 1816), p. 154; Marcius Willson, *The second reader of the school and family series* (New York, 1860), pp 91-92.

[109] *The Freedman* (March 1867), p. 2.

[110] Enoch, *Refiguring rhetorical education,* p. 46.

[111] Donald Spivey, *Schooling for the new slavery: Black industrial education, 1868-1915* (Westport, 1978), ix.

American culture, particularly through the blackface minstrel shows, scientific theories of race, and sentimental literature, many northern whites feared that southern blacks would only work under duress.[112] Thus, many textbook authors took great pains to explain to the freedpeople that freedom did not mean idleness. As Clinton B. Fisk advised his readers:

> I know that it is quite natural that you should associate work with slavery, and freedom with idleness, because you have seen slaves working all their lives and free people doing little or nothing…But let me explain…A free man works for himself – that is, he gets pay for his labor; and if he saves what he earns and manages well, he can get on so well that he may spend the afternoon of his life in his own pleasant home, and never want for anything.[113]

J. B. Waterbury reiterated Fisk's sentiments in *Friendly Counsels for Freedmen.* 'Don't fall into the mistake of some, that freedom means idleness', he wrote. 'Free people have to work, and some of them have to work very hard even to get their bread'.[114] Thus, freedmen's textbooks frequently attempted to teach the value of industry. In *Plain Counsels for Freedmen,* Fisk advised his readers that work was more than just a means to an end, it was a virtue in and of itself. 'I was myself brought up to hard work from my very childhood, and I am not speaking to you upon a matter that I know nothing about', he wrote. 'No, my friends, I love work, and nothing would be a greater punishment to me than enforced idleness. I would rather work ten days than to be idle one day'.[115]

Lessons on industry were not just designed to entice the freedpeople to work, they were designed to entice the freedpeople to do a certain type of work. As one lesson in *The Freedman* illustrates:

> I wonder why Susan does not work, and earn an honest living. It is, I think, because she is lazy. I can think of no other reason; for there is surely work enough to be done, if one has a will to do it. She could wash and iron, or sew, or clean house, or go errands, or bake cakes, or hoe corn, or sell fruit. She could not do nice work; but plain, coarse work she could have in plenty.[116]

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[112] Patterson, 'The cultural reform project', pp 101-115.

[113] Fisk, *Plain counsels for freedmen,* pp 41-42.

[114] Waterbury, *Friendly counsels for freedmen*, p. 5.

[115] Fisk, *Plain counsels for freedmen,* p. 45.

[116] *The Freedman* (December 1865), p. 1.

One questions the value of education if Susan could not do ‘nice work’. As Span argued, southern blacks ‘were in school to become something more than a cotton picker or menial laborer for another’s profit’.[117] Evidently, northern whites and southern blacks did not share the same goals or vision of black freedom.

Some freedmen’s textbooks even encouraged the freedpeople to continue working for their former masters. ‘Do not think, that in order to be free, you must fall out with your old master, gather off your bundles and trudge off to a strange city’, wrote Fisk. ‘This is a great mistake. As a general rule, you can be as free and as happy in your old home, for the present, as any where else in the world’.[118] Due to mounting poverty and financial hardships, many freedpeople did return to work on the plantations.[119] However, when a freed person was fortunate enough to secure paid labour outside of the plantation, the style of work was often deeply reminiscent of slave labour. In 1865, a news article in *The Freedman* reported that many former slaves had found employment in the government. ‘To see them work under the new *regime*, one would not see any apparent change: they are the same subdued and humble race of yore’, observed the writer. ‘They are under the surveillance of a “gangman” selected from their number; the old term “overseer”, like all Southern institutions, having become or is fast growing obsolete’.[120] In the end, formerly enslaved men and women refused to continue labouring under a system that resembled slavery, thus giving rise to the sharecropping system.[121]

Textbook authors were not alone in their efforts to encourage the former slaves to resume field labour. In 1866, Lieutenant George O. Sanderson, a former Union officer, claimed that some government officials on Roanoke Island actively attempted to drive the freedpeople back onto the plantations. In his report to the Joint Committee on Reconstruction, a Congressional organisation established to investigate the condition of the former Confederate States, Sanderson reported that some Freedmen's Bureau officials purposely withheld rations from the freedpeople in an effort to compel them to seek wage labour. He stated, 'The whole object seems to be at present out there to drive them back into the employ of their masters – at any rate, to get them off from the government as fast as they can'. Although Sanderson agreed that the freedpeople should be encouraged to become self-sufficient, he did not believe in 'making them suffer'.[122]

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[117] Span, *From cotton field to schoolhouse*, p. 43.
[118] Fisk, *Plain counsels for freedmen,* p. 12.
[119] Spivey, *Schooling for the new slavery,* p. 6.
[120] *The Freedman* (December 1865), emphasis in original.
[121] Bart Landry, *Black working wives: Pioneers of the American family revolution* (London, 2000), pp 43-44.

Promoting white supremacy

The third and final goal of the freedmen's textbooks was to promote and maintain white supremacy. One of the ways in which the textbooks attempted to achieve this goal was through the strategic juxtaposition of contrasting black and white characters. In *John Freeman and his Family*, for example, the white characters of Miss Horton and Lieutenant Hall were characterised as intelligent, industrious, pious, and generous while the black characters of Prince and Clarissa Freeman were portrayed as lazy, ignorant, and degraded by slavery. Prince, who served as a coachman during times of slavery, typified the stereotypical image of the lazy black man because he preferred to spend his days 'lounging under the shade of a tree smoking his pipe' rather than working.[123] Clarissa, on the other hand, was more than willing to engage in paid labour and she earnestly conveyed this willingness to Miss Horton. However, in spite of her childlike eagerness to please the white teacher, Clarissa was unable to keep a clean and tidy home, the hallmark of nineteenth-century female domesticity.[124] Although Miss Horton happily shared her homemaking tips with Clarissa, this lesson reinforced the notion that formerly enslaved black women were degraded by slavery and unable to live up to the domestic ideals prescribed for white women.

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[122] Testimony of Lieutenant George O. Sanderson in U.S. Congress, *Report of the Joint Committee on Reconstruction, at the first session thirty-ninth Congress* (Washington, D.C., 1866), pp 180-181.
[123] Brown, *John Freeman and his family,* p. 71.
[124] Barbara Welter, 'The cult of true womanhood: 1820-1860' in *American Quarterly,* vol. 18, no. 1 (1966), pp 151-174.

Other textbooks promoted white supremacy by positioning northern white men as saviours of the black race. A lesson in *The Freedman's Spelling Book*, for instance, included a short story about a white Union soldier who had just returned from war. 'It was sad to see men die in battle', read one of the sentences, 'but it was to make us free'.[125] Similarly, in *Advice to Freedmen,* black learners were informed that their freedom came at huge cost to the white population. 'With treasure and precious blood your freedom has been purchased', wrote Brinkerhoff. 'Let these sufferings and sacrifices never be forgotten when you remember that you are not now a slave but a freedman'.[126] Although countless white men died fighting for the Union, no mention was made of the northern blacks who served in the Union Army or of the formerly enslaved black men who fled their masters' homes to contribute to the Union war effort.[127] Evidently, as Williams pointed out, ATS publications 'sought to instil African Americans with a sense of obligation and loyalty to northern white men'.[128]

Given that most of the freedmen's textbooks were written and published a mere two to three years after Abraham Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation, it is not surprising that freedmen's textbooks paid little attention to the issue of racism. Although some textbooks acknowledged that southern whites were often prejudiced towards blacks, the former slaves were invariably tasked with eliminating this prejudice. 'White people have old, strong prejudices', wrote Clinton B. Fisk, 'and you should avoid everything you can which will inflame those prejudices…If you are bent on being good and kind, and return soft answers to hard words and good for evil, you will have few troubles with white men'.[129]

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[125] *The freedman's spelling book,* p. 22.
[126] Isaac W. Brinkerhoff, *Advice to freedmen* (New York, 1864; reprint, New York, 1980), p. 7.
[127] For studies of black Union soldiers, see, for example, John David Smith (ed.), *Black soldiers in blue: African American troops in the Civil War era* (Chapel Hill, 2002); Hondon B. Hargrove, *Black Union soldiers in the Civil War* (Jefferson, NC, 1988).
[128] Williams, *Self-taught,* p. 136.

A critique of slavery was also notably absent from the freedmen's texts. On the contrary, Helen E. Brown actually presented an idyllic image of the slave system which only served to insult those who were forced to endure it. As she wrote of Prince and Hattie Freeman's enslaved experience in *John Freeman and his Family*, 'While they were on the plantation she and Prince had lived together as easy and happy a way as slaves could live. Their work was light, their master and mistress kind, and at dusk they were usually at liberty to lead the dance on the green, to sit and chat lovingly by the fireside'.[130]

Admittedly, some textbooks acknowledged the hardship of slavery. In *The Freedman's Third Reader,* for instance, the writer admitted that 'the most painful part of the history of Africa is that which belongs to the slave-trade'.[131] However, this textbook blamed Europeans, rather than Americans, for the perpetuation of slavery. As a lesson on Africa instructed its readers, 'In 1482…the Portuguese began the horrid traffic of the slave-trade, and the English followed in 1563. For at least two hundred years, this traffic was carried on to a great extent…It was by this cruel trade that slavery was introduced into various parts of America and the West Indies'.[132] *Plain Counsels for Freedmen* also made reference to the evils of slavery. Penned by a pre-war abolitionist, Fisk acknowledged that the freedpeople had suffered in slavery:

> You were slaves. You were owned, bought, and sold like cattle and horses. You could not defend your own life, could not claim your liberty, nor own any property…Indeed, your children were not yours, but were the property of your masters, and they had the power to take them from you and to sell them to whomsoever they pleased.[133]

However, in spite of this critique, Fisk encouraged his readers to remain respectful towards members of the southern white community. According to Morris, the conflicting messages contained within Fisk's textbook stemmed from his belief that racial prejudices would dissipate if the freedpeople proved that they could be industrious, temperate, and honest.[134] However, it is also possible that Fisk deliberately avoided including any content that would inflame the southern white population. As one study of contemporary textbooks found, if textbooks are to be successful 'they must appeal to a large number of people. Thus, textbooks deliberately tend to avoid controversy. If they alienate their audience, they will not be widely bought and used, and as a result they drop out of not only the economic marketplace, but also the marketplace of ideas'.[135] Indeed, Isaac W. Brinkerhoff, a Baptist minister and Freedmen's Bureau agent from New York, published two versions of *Advice to Freedmen* in an effort to appease the southern white community who were growing increasingly hostile towards northern efforts to educate southern blacks. As Morris wrote, 'The changes in the revised edition were substantial, and a careful comparison of the two editions clearly demonstrates the author's increasing concern for the feelings of Southern whites after the war, especially with regard to the subject of slavery'.[136] *The Freedman,* it would appear, was less concerned about white southerners' feelings and one arithmetic lesson asked, 'if the freedmen should kill, or take prisoners, 394 of the rebels who numbered 462, how many would be left to run away after the battle?'.[137] Nevertheless, no mention was made of racism, the slave system, or of the white North's role in the perpetuation of racial slavery.

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[129] Fisk, *Plain counsels for freedmen,* p. 14.
[130] Brown, *John Freeman and his family,* p. 65.
[131] *The freedman's third reader,* p. 227.
[132] Ibid.
[133] Fisk, *Plain counsels for freedmen,* pp 7-8.

Finally, some freedmen's textbooks attempted to maintain white supremacy by encouraging the former slaves to remain humble and deferent towards members of the white community. As Helen E. Brown advised in the fictional tale of *John Freeman and his Family,* 'if you are obedient, quiet, and patient, all will turn out well'.[138] In a similar vein, Fisk instructed his readers to refrain from retaliating against southern white prejudice. ‘Some white men will put on airs, and look down on you’, he wrote. ‘Now, instead of putting on airs, too, and saying “I am as good as you are”, it is better to say nothing, or if you do answer, to say, “I am not as good as I ought to be, as I want to be, and as I hope to be”.[139]

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[134] Morris, introduction to *Freedmen's schools and textbooks, volume 5.*
[135] Provenzo, Shaver, and Bello, introduction to *The text as discourse,* p. 1.
[136] Morris, introduction to *Freedmen's schools and textbooks, volume 4*.
[137] *The Freedman* cited in James Allen Marten, *The children's Civil War* (Chapel Hill, 1998), p. 64.
[138] Brown, *John Freeman and his family,* p. 18.

Lydia Marie Child’s *The Freedmen’s Book*

Not all of the textbooks created for the freedpeople attempted to perpetuate the racial subordination of southern blacks. As mentioned earlier in the chapter, Lydia Marie Child’s *The Freedmen’s Book* attempted to foster racial pride and uplift. Indeed, the tone and content of Child’s textbook was markedly different from those designed and produced by the ATS. Although Child equally sought to instil the freedpeople with the duties and responsibilities of freedom, her primary goal was to foster racial uplift. Child’s abolitionist background undoubtedly influenced the production of such a text. Beginning her writing career as an author of children’s literature, a ‘domestic advisor’ and editor of *The Juvenile Miscellany*, a children’s magazine, Child’s 1833 publication of *An Appeal in Favor of That Class of Americans Called Africans* propelled her into abolitionist circles.[140] While this particular text resulted in her dismissal from the Boston Athenaeum, of which she was only the second female member, as well as cancelled subscriptions to her children’s magazine, its publication, in the words of Jessica Enoch, ‘marked the beginning of Child’s career as a prominent leader in the antislavery movement’.[141]

Although *The Freedmen’s Book* attempted to foster racial uplift, it often contained conflicting messages of black freedom, particularly in relation to the freedpeople’s role as American citizens. This conflict ultimately stemmed from the fact that both black and white authors contributed towards the production of this text. Take, for example, the lesson in which Judge Henry Wilson told the freedpeople in Charleston, South Carolina, that they must prove their worthiness of freedom:

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[139] Fisk, *Plain counsels,* p. 14.
[140] Enoch, *Refiguring rhetorical education,* pp 48-49.
[141] Ibid., p. 48.

> I want every man and woman to understand that every neglect of duty, every failure to be industrious, to be economical, to support yourselves, to take care of your families, to secure the education of your children will be put in the faces of your friends as reproach…The great lesson for you in the future is to prove that we were right; to prove that you were worthy of liberty.[142]

Child was also guilty of imparting conservative messages of black freedom and in 'Advice from an Old Friend' she urged the freedpeople to prove their worth by conforming to northern social codes. 'Your manners will have a great effect in producing an impression to your advantage or disadvantage', she wrote. 'Be always respectful and polite to your associates, and to those who have been in the habit of considering you an inferior race. It is one of the best ways to prove you are not inferior'.[143] However, these messages were contradicted by Frederick Douglass who, in a lesson entitled 'A Pertinent Question', asked why the freedpeople must continue to prove their worth:

> Is it not astonishing, that while we are ploughing, planting, and reaping, using all kinds of mechanical tools, erecting houses and constructing bridges…that while we are reading, writing, and ciphering, acting as clerks, merchants and secretaries, having among us lawyers, doctors, ministers, poets, authors, editors…that we are called upon to prove that we are *men?*[144]

Thus, like many of the textbooks produced by the ATS, Child's text often placed the onus for eliminating racial prejudice upon the freedpeople rather than upon those who were complicit in perpetuating that prejudice. However, unlike the textbooks produced by the ATS, the multiple voices included in *The Freedmen's Book* offered readers alternative perspectives of black freedom, thus enabling them to critically assess their role as free men and women. As Enoch wrote, by 'creating a multivocal text', Child 'not only involves her readers in a much more complex discussion concerning their social and civic engagement but also offers them a robust inventory of new and more potent rhetorical models for political engagement and intervention'.[145]

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[142] Child, *The freedmen's book,* pp 259-260.
[143] Ibid., p. 271.
[144] Ibid., pp 93-94, emphasis in original.

According to Enoch, the conflicting messages in *The Freedmen's Book* also stemmed from the fact that, as a nineteenth-century woman, Child was expected to conform to certain 'gendered expectations'.[146] As discussed in Chapter I, these expectations often prevented female writers, particularly those who chose to write about issues of race, from speaking out about the harsh realities of slavery or calling for radical social change. However, in spite of the limitations placed upon her, Child occasionally attempted to overcome this obstacle. In her own short story, 'The Meeting in the Swamp', Child told the story of a group of slaves who had decided to escape. In the slaves' ensuing debate about what to do with their masters, Child explored the issue of miscegenation, which was taboo in white society, the use of literacy as an act of resistance and the possibility of insurrection. As one fictional character narrated, 'What right have they to sleep in soft beds, while we, who do all the work, lie on the hard floor? Why should I go in coarse rags, to clothe my master in broadcloth and fine linen, when he knows, and I know, that we are sons of the same father?'.[147] Lessons such as this often contradicted the conservative messages contained within Child's textbook and they ultimately enabled the freedpeople to question their projected place in American society.[148] This may explain why Lewis Tappan, one of the AMA's founders, refused to help Child publish *The Freedmen's Book* unless certain sections were omitted. As Enoch wrote, 'Tappan's refusal to print sections of *The Freedmen's Book* signals that the message of Child's text was inconsistent with the submissive pedagogy that the conservative-minded AMA espoused'.[149]

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[145] Enoch, *Refiguring rhetorical education,* p. 53.
[146] Ibid., p. 67.
[147] Child, *The freedmen's book,* p. 110.
[148] Enoch, *Refiguring rhetorical education,* p. 70.
[149] Ibid., p. 52.

Textbooks created for and by black people

The Freedman's Torchlight was the only curricular material designed for and by African Americans. Although this instructional newspaper equally sought to imbue the freedpeople with the duties and responsibilities of freedom, the overarching message was one of racial uplift rather than of racial subordination. This was particularly evident in the choice of vocabulary used to teach literacy. In contrast to the first issue of *The Freedman* which taught basic literacy skills through simple two- and three-letter words, the first issue of *The Freedman's Torchlight* included reading and spelling vocabulary such as 'free', 'life', 'live', 'now', 'thank', 'God', 'good', 'right', 'learn', 'land', 'made', and 'slaves'. For the more advanced readers, these words were used in sentences such as 'I am free and well', 'I will love God', 'God made all men free', 'We should learn to read and write and be good', 'We will stand up for the union, now and forever'.[150] However, due to financial difficulties, it seems as though *The Freedman's Torchlight* ceased publication after just a few issues and only one copy of the instructional newspaper has been located.[151]

Northern common school textbooks

Prior to the common school movement of the 1830s and 1840s, uniform textbooks were virtually absent from northern elementary schools. Instead, students used textbooks that were chosen by their parents, if they used textbooks at all. This caused many problems for the overworked teachers who, as Carl Kaestle observed, struggled 'to group children for instruction, or to plan lessons'.[152] Accordingly, during the antebellum period, common school reformers called for the uniformity of textbooks, not only to meet the practical needs of struggling teachers and educational reform but also to impart the ideals and values perceived as necessary to maintain social stability during a period of increasing social change.[153] Although the introduction of uniform textbooks occurred gradually, by 1860 most northern common schools, particularly those in urban areas, were using uniform textbooks.[154] However, given that northern common schools were intended to serve the white, rather than the black, population, the textbooks created for these schools were done with white children in mind.[155]

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[150] *The Freedman's Torchlight* (December 1866), p. 1.

[151] Butchart, *Schooling,* p. 126; Patricia Young, 'Roads to Travel', p. 692.

[152] Carl Kaestle, *Pillars of the republic: Common schools and American society, 1780-1860* (New York, 1983) p. 134.

When freedpeople's schools were first established in North Carolina, many aid and missionary societies responded by dispatching donations of textbooks to the schools that were under their care. Given that many of the freedpeople were unable to read, write or do simple math, most of the northern textbooks sent to North Carolina's black schools were primary-level readers, spellers, and arithmetic books. As the students progressed, additional subjects, such as Geography, were introduced into the curriculum. Indeed, Geography seems to have been particularly well-received, mostly likely because the slaves' world often ended at the boundaries of the plantation. In 1864, for instance, Massachusetts native Betsey Canedy reported to the NEFAS how overjoyed her class had been to receive a map of the United States:

> The reception of a large outline map, the gift of a friend from Boston, has been the great event of the month. I wish the kind donor could have seen the flashing eyes and upraised hands that greeted the new wonder as it was unrolled before the class in geography; and I wish that everybody who still entertains a doubt as to the teachableness of the black could have heard the questions that were asked about it. "Where is President Lincoln's State? Where are the railroads? Where is the Union army?" – "Oh, I know: I see the camps!" said one, pointing to the tent-like figures used to represent chains of mountains.[156]

The two major readers that were used in antebellum northern common schools were of the McGuffey and Wilson series.[157] First published in 1836, the McGuffey Reader was one of the most popular textbooks of the era and over one hundred and fifty million copies were sold by the early 1900s.[158] Six graded readers were included in each series. For this study, I analysed *McGuffey's First Eclectic Reader* (1836), *McGuffey's New First Eclectic Reader* (1857), *McGuffey's Third Eclectic Reader* (1836), and *McGuffey's New Third Eclectic Reader* (1857).[159] I also analysed *Willson's Third Reader* (1860) and, in the absence of a first reader, *Willson's Second Reader* (1860).[160]

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[153] Samuel J. Smith, 'McGuffey readers' in *Faculty Publications and Presentations* (2008) (http://digitalcommons.liberty.edu/educ_fac_pubs/101) (15 September 2015).
[154] Kaestle, *Pillars of the republic,* p. 135.
[155] As discussed in Chapter III, northern black children had limited access to education during the antebellum period. See Hilary Moss, *Schooling citizens: The struggle for African American education in antebellum America* (Chicago, 2009), pp 12-14.
[156] New England Freedmen's Aid Society, *Extracts from letters of teachers and superintendents of the New England Freedmen's Aid Society, fifth series* (Boston, 1864), p. 13.
[157] Butchart, *Schooling,* p. 126.

The major spelling book of the nineteenth century, in both northern and southern elementary schools, was Noah Webster's speller. First published in 1783 as *The First Part of the Grammatical Institute of the English Language,* Webster's speller endured 385 editions and three titles, including *The American Spelling Book* in 1786 and *The Elementary Spelling Book* in 1829. It's most common title, however, was the *Blue-Backed Speller* due its bright blue cover. This chapter analysed the nineteenth edition of the speller from 1816.[161]

The major geography textbooks that were used in antebellum northern common schools belonged to the Mitchell and Monteith series.[162] Three geography textbooks were included in Monteith's geography series: *First Lessons in Geography* for beginners, *Youth's Manual of Geography* for junior and intermediate classes and *An Improved System of Geography* for advanced classes.[163] James Monteith wrote the first two books of the series and Francis McNally wrote the third. This chapter analysed each of the three textbooks in the Monteith series. For the Mitchell series, this chapter analysed *An Easy Introduction to the Study of Geography* and *A System of Modern Geography*.[164] Although other textbooks were included in the Mitchell series, they were aimed at more advanced students and it is unlikely that they were used in any of the freedpeople's schools.

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[158] Quentin R. Skrabec, Jnr., *William McGuffey: Mentor to American industry* (New York, 2009), p. 7.

[159] William H. McGuffey, *The eclectic first reader for young children* (Cincinnati, 1836), available at McGuffey Readers (http://www.mcguffeyreaders.com/1836_original.htm) (18 September 2015); William H. McGuffey, *McGuffey's new first eclectic reader for little children* (Cincinnati, 1857); William H. McGuffey, *The eclectic third reader for young children* (Cincinnati, 1836), available at McGuffey Readers (http://www.mcguffeyreaders.com/1836_original.htm) (18 September 2015); William H. McGuffey, *McGuffey's new third eclectic reader for young learners* (Cincinnati, 1857), available at Internet Archive (https://archive.org/details/mcguffeysnewthir03mcgu) (18 September 2015).

[160] Willson, *The third reader*; Willson, *The second reader.*

[161] Webster, *The American spelling book.*

[162] Butchart, *Schooling,* p. 126.

[163] James Monteith, *First lessons in geography, or, introduction to "Youth's manual of geography"* (New York, 1856), available at Project Gutenberg (http://www.gutenberg.org/files/11722/11722-h/11722-h.htm) (17 September 2015); James Monteith, *Youth's manual of geography combined with history and astronomy* (3rd ed., New York, 1854); Francis McNally, *An improved system of geography: Designed for schools, academies and seminaries* (New York, 1859).

Like the freedmen's readers and spellers, all of the northern common school textbooks were divided into lessons that grew progressively more challenging. Initial lessons in *McGuffey's New First Eclectic Reader,* for instance, were focused upon teaching simple two- and three-letter words before incorporating these words into sentences. Later lessons introduced more complex, multisyllabic words and then used these words in short stories. Some geography textbooks, such as James Monteith's *First Lessons in Geography,* were structured entirely in the question and answer format. Intended for memorisation, this format was most likely used to facilitate the monitorial system in which older or better students taught younger or weaker students. Francis McNally's *An Improved System of Modern Geography* was also structured in this way, although initial lessons provided definitions for specific geographical places or features. Each geography textbook used maps, engravings, and diagrams to supplement the written material.

Religious and moral instruction in northern common school textbooks

Representations of race and racism were not particularly evident in the northern common school readers or spellers examined in this study. Reflecting the aims of common schooling, these textbooks were, however, full of religious and moral content. *Willson's Third Reader,* for example, was divided into four parts: 'Stories from the Bible', 'Moral Lessons', 'Zoology', and 'Miscellaneous'. Parts one and two of this reader were designed to provide religious and moral instruction while parts three and four were intended to foster the students' interest in reading. The religious and moral sections were not unique to this particular reader and author Marcius Willson acknowledged in the prefatory note that 'no parts have been spared to give *all* the Readers [levels 1-6] not only a moral, but a *Christian* influence'.[165]

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[164] Samuel Augustus Mitchell, *An easy introduction to the study of geography: designed for the instruction of children in schools and families* (Philadelphia, 1845); Samuel Augustus Mitchell, *A system of modern geography, comprising a description of the world, and its five great divisions, American, Europe, Asia, Africa, and Oceania with their several empires, kingdoms, states, territories, etc.* (2nd ed., Philadelphia, 1848).

Webster's *Blue-Blacked Speller* was also marked with profound religious and moral didacticism. Although initial lessons concentrated on teaching simple two- and three-letter words, reading exercises 'of easy words' were later introduced 'to teach children to read and know their duty'.[166] Such exercises ultimately served to teach young learners how to behave and they included sentences like 'Sin will lead us to pain and woe' and 'A good child will not lie, swear, nor steal'.[167] As readers progressed through Webster's speller, more complex reading exercises were introduced to teach domestic economy, namely the habits of thrift and temperance, and social relations – how to find and then treat a wife or husband.[168] Fables, fictional tales and 'a moral catechism' were also used to teach moral values such as humility, purity and honesty.[169]

Although nineteenth-century common schools were non-sectarian, they were Protestant in character and, in spite of the objections made by the Roman Catholic Church, many schools taught lessons from the Bible, hymns, and prayers.[170] Thus, although northern common school textbooks did not teach the religious doctrine of a particular church, they were nonetheless full of religious content.[171] Stories from the Old Testament were a particularly common feature of *Willson's Third Reader* which featured stories such as 'The Creation', 'The Flood', and

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[165] Wilson, preface to *The third reader,* emphasis in original.

[166] Webster, *The American spelling book,* p. 43.

[167] Ibid., pp 44-45.

[168] Ibid., p. 151, p. 81.

[169] Ibid., pp 156-167.

[170] Diane Ravitch, 'American traditions of education' in Terry M. Moe (ed.), *A primer on America's schools* (Stanford, 2001), p. 11; Ward McAfee, *Religion, race, and Reconstruction: the public school in the politics of the 1870s* (Albany, 1998), p. 60.

[171] Textbooks from the revolutionary period were decidedly more religious than the textbooks used in antebellum common schools, namely because many of these textbooks explicitly taught religious catechism. See, for example, *The New England Primer* (Boston, 1777).

‘Abraham and Lot: Destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah’.[172] Although freedmen’s texts were also full of religious content, northern common school textbooks did not use religion as a means of perpetuating the status quo. Instead, religious stories were often used to foster parental obedience. As an excerpt from a tale about King Solomon illustrates, ‘My son, *hear the instruction of thy father, and forsake not the law of thy mother.* A wise son maketh a glad father, but a foolish son is the heaviness of his mother’.[173] Other religious lessons were intended to promote moral virtues, such as temperance, thrift, honesty, and generosity, as well as a sense of duty to God. ‘God gives us all we have, and keeps us alive’, instructed William H. McGuffey in the *New First Eclectic Reader.* ‘We should love God and obey his holy will’.[174]

When possible, religious lessons were also incorporated into geography textbooks. In the preface to *An Easy Introduction to the Study of Geography,* Samuel Augustus Mitchell wrote that he endeavoured to include ‘the excellence of the Christian religion, the advantages of correct moral principles, and the superiority of enlightened institutions’ into his textbook.[175] Although the overarching aim of Mitchell’s textbook was to ‘elucidate the Geography of our own, and the other countries of the earth’, he successfully included some religious and moral lessons also.[176] In a lesson about the history of Africa, for example, Mitchell included several biblical references: ‘The Bible informs us of various circumstances which took place in Egypt, particularly of Joseph and his brethren, and of Moses, who was hidden among the bulrushes, by the side of the river Nile. It is about three thousand three hundred years since Moses lived’.[177] Most religious lessons, however, worked to promote the superiority of the Christian religion. As Mitchell wrote in *A System of Modern Geography*, ‘The Christian nations are much superior in knowledge and power to all others, and through the increase of their colonies, the influence of the press, and the exertions of the Missionaries, will no doubt, in the course of a few generations spread their religion over the greater part of the earth'.[178] Although these textbooks were designed for use in non-sectarian northern common schools, they were favourably biased towards Christianity, confirming Diane Ravitch's claim that 'common schools were nonsectrian but not necessarily nonreligious'.[179]

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[172] Wilson, *The third reader,* p. iv.

[173] Ibid., p. 60, emphasis in original. For similar lessons on parental obedience, sees, for example, McGuffey, *New first eclectic reader,* p. 29; Webster, *The American spelling book,* p. 62.

[174] McGuffey, *New first eclectic reader,* p. 56.

[175] Mitchell, *An easy introduction to the study of geography,* p. iv.

[176] Ibid., preface.

[177] Ibid., p. 144.

Like many of the textbooks specifically created for the freedpeople, northern common school readers and spellers actively promoted the value of industry. Unlike freedmen's textbooks, however, lessons on industry did not attempt to subordinate northern white schoolchildren or relegate them to a life of menial labour. On the contrary, northern common school textbooks extolled the virtue of industry on the basis that it would lead to wealth and prosperity. As Noah Webster wrote in his *Blue-Backed Speller,* 'One effect [of industry] is to procure an estate. Our Creator has kindly united our duty, our interest and happiness; for the same labour which makes us healthy, cheerful, and gives us wealth'.[180] Interestingly, and in stark contrast to the textbooks specifically created for the freedpeople, northern common school textbooks used the threat of poverty to promote industrious behaviour. 'Idleness will bring thee to poverty', wrote Webster in *The American Spelling Book,* 'but by industry and prudence thou shalt be filled with bread.'[181] Similar lessons were virtually absent from the freedmen's texts which, as previously discussed, often encouraged the former slaves to accept a life of poverty in favour of being rewarded in the afterlife.

Northern and freedmen's textbooks also promoted conflicting messages of wealth and happiness. On the one hand, the textbooks created for the freedpeople advised black students that money did not buy happiness. As one lesson in *The Freedman* read, money 'won't buy off sickness; it won't buy off sorrow, it won't buy off death'.[182] On the other hand, northern common school textbooks explicitly equated poverty with misery and prosperity with happiness. 'The idle boy is almost invariably poor and miserable', read one lesson in *Willson's Third Reader*, 'the industrious boy is happy and prosperous'.[183] Interestingly, and somewhat not surprisingly considering the pervasiveness of capitalist ideology in antebellum American society, *Willson's Second Reader* encouraged young learners to spend, rather than save, the fruits of their labour. 'What is money good for?', asked author Marcius Willson. 'It is good to buy clothes with, and to buy food with…it is foolish to get money just to keep it, to be proud of, and to tell how rich you are'.[184] Evidently, such lessons were designed to prepare northern common school students for their place in the free-labour marketplace.

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[178] Mitchell, *A system of modern geography,* p. 48.
[179] Ravitch, 'American traditions of education', p. 11.
[180] Webster, *The American spelling book,* p. 166.
[181] Ibid., p. 64.

In spite of the differences between northern and freedmen's texts, both sets of textbooks placed significant value upon education. As one lesson in *Willson's Second Reader* admonished, 'There is a time to play, and a time to study. Those who are always idle when they are boys will not grow up to be wise men'.[185] Another lesson in *Willson's Third Reader* advised readers that those who worked hard at school would become 'wise', 'useful', 'honoured', and 'respected by all'.[186] Similar lessons were included in Fisk's *Plain Counsels for Freedmen*. Although the freedpeople were not discouraged from partaking in recreational activities, they were discouraged from engaging in any activity which detracted from the time they could spend in education. As Fisk instructed his southern black readers, 'You have no time to spend in kicking up your heels. I speak of time, not of the right or wrong of dancing. You must learn to read, write, and cipher, in order to make you able to get on well in the world as a free man, and you will need all your leisure evenings to do this'.[187] This section of the book was accompanied by an illustration which depicted two black women and one black man dancing in a bar. Entitled 'Peter Puff and Betty Simple', even the character's names suggest the author's disdain for such behaviour.

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[182] *The Freedman* (February 1866), p. 2.
[183] Willson, *The third reader,* p. 68.
[184] Willison, *The second reader,* p. 126.
[185] Willson, *The second reader,* p. 24.
[186] Willson, *The third reader,* p. 69.
[187] Fisk, *Plain counsels,* p. 23.

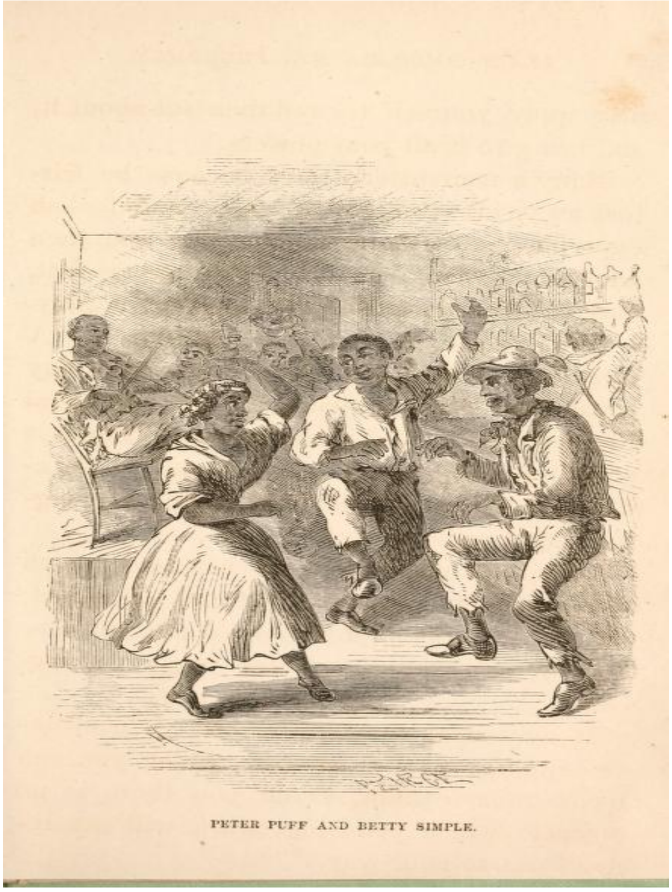
PETER PUFF AND BETTY SIMPLE.

Figure 4: 'Peter Puff and Betty Simple' in Clinton B. Fisk, *Plain Counsels for Freedmen*, p. 21

Representations of race and racism in northern common school textbooks

Representations of race and racism were extremely pervasive in northern geography textbooks, particularly in the lessons about Africa and the African people. Although the African continent was often described in favourable terms, largely due to its fertile land and plentiful natural resources, the African people were invariably described as uncivilised and uneducated. 'Africa is the least civilised of the great divisions of the earth', read one lesson in *An Easy Introduction to the Study of Geography.* 'The chief part of its inhabitants are ignorant of books and learning and destitute of true religion'.[188] In other lessons, members of the African race were described as simple and childlike. In some parts of Africa, wrote Francis McNally, 'The negroes are cheerful in their disposition, and music and dancing of a rude character are prevailing amusements'.[189] Often, Africans were portrayed as barbaric and violent. The inhabitants of Abyssinia, Mitchell instructed, 'are very rude and brutal in their manners. At their feasts they eat raw flesh, streaming with blood, cut from the animal while yet warm'.[190] An exercise in *An Improved System of Geography* echoed Mitchell's lesson, instructing northern schoolchildren that 'The inhabitants [of Africa] are numerous negro tribes, all in an extremely barbarous condition, and subject to the most degrading species of despotism'.[191]

Africans were not the only people to feel the wrath of northern prejudice; Native Americans were also heavily stereotyped by textbook authors and producers. Described by James Monteith as 'Dark-colored Savages', Native Americans were often portrayed as barbaric murderers of white colonists (see Figure 4).[192] Although Monteith admitted that not all Native Americans were savages – those in Mexico and Peru 'were partly civilised, having regular governments and kings' – the underlying implication was that the Native Americans in North America were savages, thus justifying their removal 'from the Western and Southern states' and the possession of their land 'by force'.[193] Interestingly, although Monteith portrayed the Native Americans of the colonial era as wild savages, he depicted those of the contemporary period as civilised and industrious:

Q. What are many of the Indians?

A. Good farmers and quiet people.

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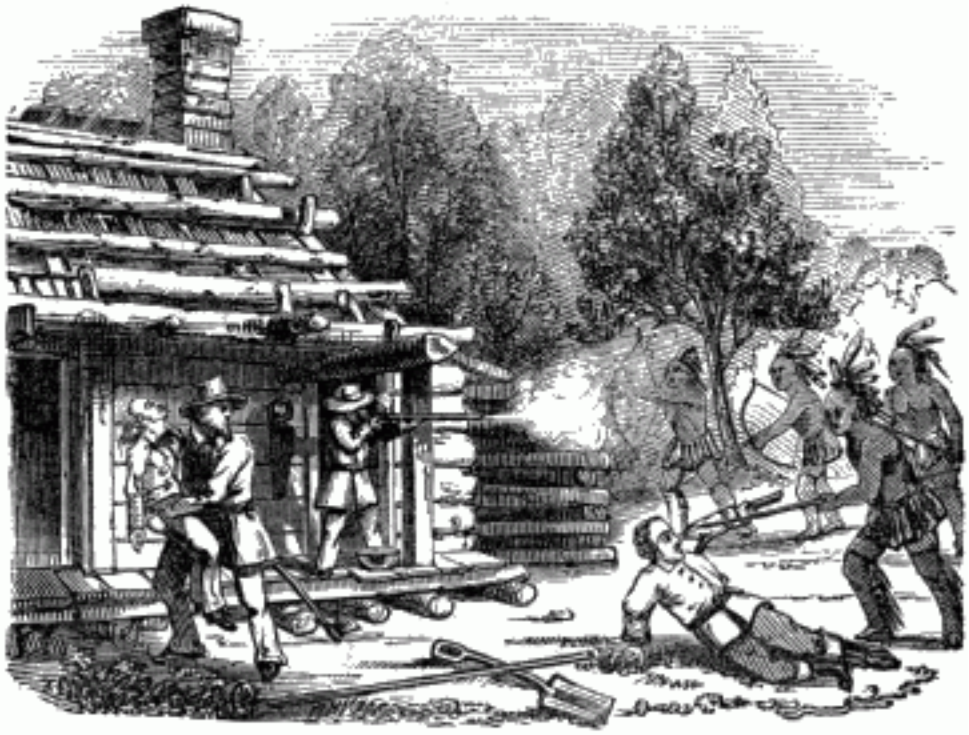
[188] Mitchell, *An easy introduction to the study of geography,* p. 144.
[189] McNally, *An improved system of geography,* p. 83.
[190] Mitchell, *An easy introduction to the study of geography,* p. 137.
[191] McNally, *An improved system of geography,* p. 83.
[192] Monteith, *First lessons in geography,* (http://www.gutenberg.org/files/11722/11722-h/11722-h.htm) (17 September 2015).
[193] Monteith, *Youth's manual of geography,* p. 29, p. 26.

Q. In what are some of them very expert?

A. In conducting travellers past dangerous places.[194]

Evidently, in Monteith's view, Native Americans had lost their savage ways, presumably due to the civilising influence of white Americans.



Settlers attacked by Indians.

Figure 5: 'Settlers attacked by Indians' in James Monteith, *First Lessons in Geography.*

Not surprisingly, northern geography textbooks portrayed the white race as inherently superior. Frequently described as civilised, industrious, and intelligent, many geography textbooks categorised mankind into a strict racial hierarchy which positioned whites at the top and blacks at the bottom. In *A System of Modern Geography,* for instance, Samuel Mitchell divided mankind into five racial categories: 'European or Caucasian, Asiatic or Mongolian,

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[194] Monteith, *First lessons in geography,* (http://www.gutenberg.org/files/11722/11722-h/11722-h.htm) (17 September 2015).

American, Malay, and African or negro'. [195] In this instance, the term 'American' was used to describe Native Americans. As Mitchell wrote:

> The European or Caucasian is the most noble of the five races. It excels all others in learning and the arts, and includes the most powerful nations of ancient and modern times. The most valuable institutions of society, and the most important and useful inventions have originated with the people of this race.[196]

The same textbook included a frontispiece illustration entitled 'Stages of Society' which demarcated mankind into four stages of civilisation: barbarous, savage, civilised and enlightened, and half-civilised. Unsurprisingly, whites were placed in the 'civilized and enlightened' category while blacks were placed in the 'barbarous' category and Native Americans were considered 'savage'.[197]

Although, as discussed earlier in the chapter, there is much debate surrounding the extent to which students may or may not be influenced by textbook content, it would be naïve to think that lessons about race or civilisation did not influence the thinking and ideology of the students who engaged with them, especially considering that, as Ruth Elson found, nineteenth-century common school students were 'generally required to memorize [racial] characteristics and the rank of each race in the accepted racial hierarchy'.[198] Indeed, in her guide for third-level instructors, Fox confessed that much of her understandings about race were shaped by college textbooks. Referring to an anthropology lesson that divided mankind into five races, much like the lesson in Mitchell's geography textbook, Fox wrote, 'I was certain that this idea was correct…because it was presented to us as scientific, and therefore unassailable'.[199]

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[195] Mitchell, *A system of modern geography,* p. 41.

[196] Ibid.

[197] Ibid., p. 2.

[198] Elson, *Guardians of tradition,* p. 66.

[199] Fox, *When race breaks out,* p. 12.

Although lessons on race and civilisation were primarily used to promote white supremacy, Ken Montgomery argued that they were also used to justify European and American imperialism:

> This compartmentalization of humanity according to notions of consanguinity…helped to justify modern imperialism, colonialism and nation-state formation, which were predicated on assumptions that those with supposedly superior blood (i.e. "superior races") had a moral imperative to impose and maintain order and control over the supposed impure and ignoble blood of others.[200]

Thus, it comes as no surprise that nineteenth-century geography textbooks portrayed America as a distinctly superior nation. In a lesson about the United States, for example, Mitchell wrote, 'The people of the United States are called *Americans,* and are nearly all employed in *agriculture, manufactures and commerce.* They are among the most intelligent, industrious, and enterprising people in the world'.[201] New Englanders, in particular, achieved very high praise and Mitchell described them as 'remarkable for their industry, good morals, and general intelligence'.[202] This blatant New England bias is unsurprising considering Mitchell, like many other textbook authors of the era, was from that region of the country.[203]

Equally favourable qualities were attributed to American and European colonies in Africa. 'Liberia is an American colony', read one lesson in *An Easy Introduction to the Study of Geography,* 'settled in the year 1821 and designed as an asylum for the free coloured population of the United States. It is a fertile country, and contains about 5000 civilized inhabitants'.[204] The English colony of Sierra Leone was also described favourably. As Mitchell wrote, Sierra Leone 'was established for the purpose of teaching the natives to read and write, and instructing them in Christian religion'.[205]

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[200] Ken Montgomery, 'Banal race-thinking: Ties of blood, Canadian history textbooks, and ethnic nationalism' in *Paedagogica Historica: International Journal of the History of Education,* vol. 41, no. 3 (2005), pp 313-336.

[201] Mitchell, *An easy introduction to the study of geography,* p. 37, emphasis in original.

[202] Ibid., p. 43.

[203] Elson, *Guardians of tradition,* p. 7.

[204] Mitchell, *An easy introduction to the study of geography,* p. 139. A similar lesson on Liberia can be found in *The freedman's third reader,* p. 227.

[205] Mitchell, *An easy introduction to the study of geography,* p. 138.

Few of the geography textbooks examined in this study made any reference to racial slavery. However, when the subject arose, the issue was often presented as a southern, rather than a national, problem. 'What do the Planters of the Southern States Own?', asked James Monteith in *First Lessons in Geography.* 'Large plantations cultivated by slaves'.[206] In *An Easy Introduction to the Study of Geography*, Samuel Mitchell also presented slavery as a distinctly southern problem by writing that the inhabitants of the South were mostly planters or slaves.[207] Although slavery had been abolished in the North since the early nineteenth century, and both of these textbooks were published in 1854, lessons such as these completely downplayed the North's role in the perpetuation of racial slavery.[208]

Both sets of textbooks also discussed, to some degree, the slave trade. However, the blame for inciting the slave trade was often placed entirely upon the African people. As one lesson in *An Easy Introduction to the Study of Geography* read, 'Africa, for more than three hundred years past, has furnished slaves to the people of various parts of the earth. Millions of these unhappy beings have been carried away from their country and friends and doomed to laborious servitude in foreign lands'.[209] In another lesson in the same textbook, readers learned that Africans were a warlike people who often sold their prisoners of war into slavery.[210] While there is truth in this, Mitchell did not make any reference to the white slave traders who operated within the United States until the slave trade was banned in 1807.

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[206] Monteith, *First lessons in geography* (http://www.gutenberg.org/files/11722/11722-h/11722-h.htm) (17 September 2015).

[207] Mitchell, *An easy introduction to the study of geography,* p. 48.

[208] Perceiving slavery as a distinctly southern problem is still an issue in many American schools today. As Sarah Kreckel argued, 'many students, and even teachers, are unaware of the role the North played in the history of American slavery or the extent of slavery in New England'. See, Sarah Kreckel, 'Teaching about slavery – not just a southern problem', The Choice Program, Brown University (http://www.choices.edu/about/documents/NSSSAfall05Kreckel.pdf) (17 September 2015).

[209] Mitchell, *An easy introduction to the study of geography,* p. 148.

[210] Ibid., p. 135.

Confederate textbooks

During the antebellum period, the South was a predominantly agrarian society while the North was becoming increasingly industrialised. For a brief period, both regions enjoyed a mutually beneficial relationship with the South providing much of the raw materials for the North's booming manufacturing industry.[211] However, the South's focus upon the production of commercial crops, such as cotton, tobacco, and corn, led it to neglect other industries and sectors, including education. This meant that the South became increasingly dependent upon the North for the provision of certain educational services and resources. As Calvin H. Wiley, North Carolina's Superintendent of Common Schools, proclaimed in 1861, the South had come to rely on the North 'for supplies of everything except the raw produce of the soil'.[212]

Prior to the Civil War, the North monopolised the textbook industry and most of the textbooks used in southern schoolrooms were produced by northern publishing firms.[213] Although the use of northern textbooks produced some minor issues in the years leading up to the Civil War, namely due to the rise of anti-slavery sentiment in the North, it was not until the Civil War actually began that southern educators increased their calls for the production of southern textbooks.[214] In 1861, for instance, a conference of teachers in North Carolina's state capital of Raleigh moved to withdraw their children from schools in the North, expand their school system and produce their own textbooks.[215] This move was echoed throughout the

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[211] Kaestle, *Pillars of the republic,* p. 63.

[212] C. H. Wiley, 'Address to the people of North Carolina' (speech given at the Conference of Teachers and Friends of Education, Raleigh, N.C., 1861), Documenting the American South, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, (http://docsouth.unc.edu/imls/confteach/confteach.html) (16 June 2015).

[213] Laura Elizabeth Kopp, 'Teaching the Confederacy: Textbooks in the Civil War South' (M.A. thesis, University of Maryland, 2009), p. 3; Keith Whitescarver, 'School books, publishers, and southern nationalists: Refashioning the curriculum in North Carolina's schools, 1850-1861' in *The North Carolina Historical Review,* vol. 79, no. 1 (2002) pp 28-49.

[214] Kopp, 'Teaching the Confederacy', p. 5. During the early 1800s, William Paley's *Principals of Moral and Political Philosophies* was used in North Carolina's schools. This textbook, which was written by an Englishman, heavily condemned slavery. Thus, in the 1830s, an edited version of the textbook was reproduced for the southern market. See Tolley, *Heading South to teach,* pp 72-73.

[215] Williams, *Self-taught,* p. 131.

Confederate States and between 1861 and 1865 the Confederacy published at least 136 textbooks.[216]

Efforts to create a set of distinctively southern textbooks gained momentum during the Civil War period because many southern whites believed that northern textbooks were contrary to the needs of the new Confederate nation and their quest for southern independence. As Williams observed, many southern whites believed that northern textbooks 'disapproved of and thus challenged the southern way of life', namely the institution of slavery.[217] Thus, during the Civil War, the Confederacy moved to publish a series of textbooks that promoted southern ideals and values, central to which was a defence of racial slavery. Addressing the Raleigh conference in 1861, Wiley argued that every independent nation should write and publish their own textbooks but especially one that is 'distinguished by a peculiar social system' such as their own. 'Conscious that we are not, in any sense, an inferior people', he argued, 'and firmly convinced that our own position on the subject of slavery is the right one, we contend that it is but strict justice to ourselves to think and write on some subjects for other nations'.[218] Evidently, as Williams suggested, Wiley not only intended to foster support for racial slavery in the minds of the Confederate young, but he also hoped to extend the South's view of slavery to regions and cultures beyond his own.[219] Wiley had actually advocated the creation of southern textbooks since the mid-nineteenth century and in 1851 he published a reader intended for use in North Carolina's schools. Entitled *The North-Carolina Reader,* 'Wiley's essential goal was to instil regional pride in North Carolina's children'.[220] However, the textbook met with limited success and, as Keith Whitescarver found, by 1856 only five thousand copies had been sold.[221]

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[216] Kopp, 'Teaching the Confederacy', p. 1.
[217] Williams, *Self-taught,* p. 131.
[218] C. H. Wiley, 'Address to the People of North Carolina', (http://docsouth.unc.edu/imls/confteach/confteach.html) (16 June 2015).
[219] Williams, *Self-taught,* p. 131.
[220] Whitescarver, 'School books, publishers, and southern nationalists', p. 39.

Two publishing firms, both of which were based in North Carolina, played a significant role in the production of Confederate texts. They were the Sterling, Campbell, and Albright publishing house in Greensboro and the Branson, Farrar, and Company firm in Raleigh. Virginia was the only other southern state to rival the number of textbooks published in North Carolina and, collectively, both states produced seventy-six per cent of Confederate textbooks.[222] As Laura E. Kopp observed, ‘The production of such a significant number of textbooks despite wartime problems in the publishing industry, the decline of the wartime Southern economy, and hardships on the homefront, indicates the importance of textbooks to those who sought to form the minds of Confederate children’.[223]

This chapter analysed four textbooks that were created by the Confederacy during the Civil War period. They were Robert Fleming’s *Revised Elementary Spelling Book,* Miranda Branson Moore’s *The First Dixie Reader,* Richard Sterling’s *Our Own Third Reader,* and John H. Rice’s *A System of Modern Geography.*[224] Although these textbooks mimicked the style and content of those produced in the North, two distinct features marked them apart. Firstly, Confederate textbooks offered a defence of racial slavery. Robert Fleming’s speller, for instance, frequently used Biblical interpretations to justify racial slavery. As he wrote in the preface to his textbook:

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[221] Ibid., p. 34.

[222] Kopp, ‘Teaching the Confederacy’, p. 20.

[223] Ibid., p. 2.

[224] Robert Fleming, *The elementary spelling book, revised and adapted to the youth of the Southern Confederacy, interspersed with Bible readings on domestic slavery* (Atlanta, 1863), available at Internet Archive (https://archive.org/details/elementaryspelli00flem) (19 September 2015); Miranda Branson Moore, *The first Dixie reader: Designed to follow the Dixie primer* (Raleigh, 1863), p. 14, available at Documenting the American South, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill (http://docsouth.unc.edu/imls/moore2/moore.html) (19 September 2015); Richard Sterling, *Our own third reader for the use of schools and families* (Greensboro, 1862), available at Documenting the American South, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill (http://docsouth.unc.edu/imls/sterling/sterling.html) (19 September 2015); John H. Rice, *A system of modern geography, compiled from various sources and adapted to the present condition of the world, expressly for the use of schools and academies in the Confederate States of America* (Atlanta, 1862), available at Boston Athenaeum Digital Collections, (http://cdm.bostonathenaeum.org/cdm/ref/collection/p16057coll14/id/75495) (19 September 2015).

> The Bible readings on the subject of Domestic slavery, which are introduced into this work in various places, are given in the exact verbiage of the sacred page. The people of these Confederate States of America will not hence-forth withhold from their school-books, the teachings of the Scriptures on this subject. They have no higher law than Holy Writ.[225]

In one lesson, Fleming interpreted the Ten Commandments as a justification for racial slavery. 'The ten commandments', he wrote, 'commonly called the Decalogue, are found in the twentieth chapter of Exodus. They recognize Slavery, and are of perpetual force'. Citing the tenth commandment, which read, 'Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's house, thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's wife, nor his maid-servant, nor his ox, nor his ass, nor anything that is thy neighbor's', Fleming asserted that 'Slaves are our neighbor's property, as much so as his house'.[226] In additional attempts to justify the slave system, Fleming made reference to high-profile historical slaveholders, such as George Washington. 'Washington was not a selfish man', he wrote. 'He was the first President of the United States. "First in war, first in council, and first in the affections of the people," and he owned slaves'.[227]

Secondly, Confederate textbooks idealised life during slavery by perpetuating the myth of the happy slave. Miranda Branson Moore, a teacher from Randolph County, North Carolina, wrote several Confederate textbooks, including *The Dixie Primer, for the Little Folks, The First Dixie Reader: Designed to Follow the Dixie Primer,* and *The Geographical Reader for Dixie Children.* A common feature of Moore's textbooks was an idealisation of the slave system. One lesson in the *First Dixie Reader,* for instance, suggested that slavery was better than freedom because masters were responsible for their slaves' well-being, particularly in old-age:

1. Here comes old aunt Ann. She is quite old. See how she leans on her stick.

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[225] Fleming, *Revised elementary spelling book,* pp 4-5 (https://archive.org/details/elementaryspelli00flem) (19 September 2015).

[226] Ibid., p. 72.

[227] Ibid., p. 45

2. When she was young she did good work, but now she can not work much. But she is not like a poor white wo-man.
3. Aunt Ann knows that her young Miss, as she calls her, will take care as long as she lives.
4. Ma-ny poor white folks would be glad to live in her house and eat what Miss Kate sends out for din-ner.[228]

The image of the 'happy slave', such as the aforementioned 'old aunt Ann', was a striking feature of Confederate textbooks and the frequent representation of such an image reveals the lengths to which some southern whites were willing to go to preserve racial slavery.[229] Although racial propaganda existed in many forms, before, during, and after the Civil War, this image, and others like it, was used to perpetuate the notion that African Americans needed to be enslaved because they lacked the capacity to live as free men and women. As the outspoken proslavery advocate George Fitzhugh once argued, 'Slavery educates, refines, and moralizes the masses by separating them from each other, and bringing them into continual intercourse with masters of superior minds, information, and morality…Slavery is necessary as an educational institution, and is worth ten times all the common schools of the North'.[230]

Proslavery advocates were particularly determined to impose southern racial ideologies upon the impressionable minds of the Confederate young and Confederate textbooks served to achieve this aim. By promoting the idea that racially inferior African Americans were happier in slavery than in freedom, it was less likely that the South's future slaveholders would be swayed by rising anti-slavery sentiments. As an editor of *The Southern Quarterly Review* wrote in 1842:

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[228] Moore, *The first Dixie reader,* p. 14, (http://docsouth.unc.edu/imls/moore2/moore.html) (19 September 2015).

[229] The image of the 'happy slave' in both primary and post-primary textbooks continued to persist until the twentieth century. As James A. Banks wrote, 'One of my most powerful memories [of elementary school] is the image of the happy and loyal slaves in my social studies textbooks'. See, James A. Banks, 'The lives and values of researchers: Implications for educating citizens in a multicultural society' in *Educational Researcher,* vol. 27, no. 7 (1998), pp 4-17.

[230] George Fitzhugh, Northern visions of race, region and reform in the press and letters of freedmen and freedmen's teachers in the Civil War era, the American Antiquarian Society, (http://www.americanantiquarian.org/Freedmen/Intros/questions.html) (05 October 2015).

> We know that the human mind, in its plastic state, is easily moulded into whatever views are most forcibly presented. When arrived at maturity, we care not how much they read and hear from those opposed to our peculiar institutions, because we feel confident that no one can be raised upon the soil of the South, without being conscious, that such institutions are essential and highly beneficial, but with children the case is very different, and we feel it a duty incumbent upon us to guard their young and tender minds against the reception of bias and prejudice.[231]

Over time, many southern whites grew convinced that black people were racially inferior and happier in slavery than in freedom. Reflecting upon the Civil War era, Laura Elizabeth Lee Battle from Clayton, North Carolina, presented a romanticised image of slavery by suggesting that her father's slave, Aunt Pallas, was much happier in slavery than in freedom. On one occasion, Aunt Pallas declined to be set free. 'Lawsa massey Mars Charlie I ain't got no notion of bein' a free niggah', declared Aunt Pallas. 'No sah I ain't, don't put dat down in black and white, cause I shore don't want no more freedom den I has already got. I thankee, Mars Charlie, just de same'.[232] Although Aunt Pallas may have spoken these words, most likely due to a fear of reprisal, slaves were not happy in slavery as evinced by the numerous acts of slave resistance. While some enslaved blacks resisted slavery through violent means, such as rebellion, others used nonviolent resistance measures, including feigning illness, breaking tools, escaping, working slowly, and acquiring literacy.[233] Moreover, as Leon Litwack pointed out, during times of slavery, many enslaved people developed survival skills including 'the uses of humility…the flattering of white egos, and the placating of white fears'.[234] 'To endure, perhaps even survive, many slaves had learned from experience to anticipate the white man's moods and whims, to know his expectations, to placate his fears, to flatter his vanity, and to feed his feelings of superiority'.[235]

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[231] Editor for *The Southern Quarterly Review* cited in Provenzo, Shaver, and Bello (eds.), introduction to *The text as discourse,* p. 4.

[232] Laura Elizabeth Lee, *Forget-me-knots of the Civil War, a romance, containing reminiscences and original letters of two Confederate soldiers* (St. Louis, 1909), p. 137, available at Documenting the American South, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, (http://docsouth.unc.edu/fpn/battle/lee.html) (05 October 2015).

[233] Anthony L. Brown, 'Counter-memory and race: An examination of African American scholars' challenges to early twentieth century K-12 historical discourses' in *The Journal of Negro Education,* vol. 79, no. 1 (2010), p. 51.

[234] Leon F. Litwack, *Been in the storm so long: The aftermath of slavery* (New York, 1980), p. xi.

Although, as mentioned earlier in the chapter, there is no evidence to suggest that Confederate textbooks were used in any of North Carolina's black schools, an analysis of their content provides valuable insights into white southerners' attitudes towards race and slavery. Moreover, it is interesting to note that Span found that some of the first textbooks used by Mississippi's freedpeople were the proslavery books and tracts once owned by Joseph Davis, brother of Jefferson Davis, the President of the former Confederate states. 'The proslavery arguments in these books', wrote Span, 'apparently did not matter much to a people eager to learn to read and write. Ironically, tracts that defended the "divine right of slavery" were the first texts studied by Mississippi freedpeople'.[236] This confirms my earlier suggestion that formerly enslaved black learners were not passive consumers of the information contained within textbooks.

Conclusion

Nineteenth-century schools, whether they were common schools in the North or freedpeople's schools in the South, were designed to facilitate social control. Nineteenth-century textbooks reflected this aim and by fusing academic lessons with lessons in religion and morality, textbooks intended to foster social stability and moral obedience. As Isaac W. Brinkerhoff wrote in *Advice to Freedmen,* 'When we say "Educate your children,"' we do not mean merely let them acquire knowledge. We mean, train them to be *useful, virtuous,* and *Christian.* Train them to be *obedient*'.[237] Indeed, Elson argued that during the nineteenth century, textbook writers were 'more concerned with the child's moral development than with the development of his mind'.[238]

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[235] Ibid., p. 19.
[236] Span, *From cotton field to schoolhouse*, p. 36.
[237] Brinkerhoff, *Advice to freedmen,* p. 38, emphasis in original.

In North Carolina's post-war black schools, freedmen and women learned from a combination of northern textbooks, freedmen's textbooks, and the Bible. Although both sets of textbooks were designed to instruct different audiences – white common school students in the North and emerging black learners in the South – this study found that both were as racist as each other. While each set of textbooks was marked by profound religious and moral didacticism, the fundamental aim of freedmen's textbooks was to extend the patriarchal system of slavery and perpetuate the racial subordination of southern blacks. To achieve this end, textbook writers encouraged the freedpeople to engage in menial labour, accept their destitute status, be respectful towards members of the white community, and forgive their former masters.

Although the textbooks used in antebellum northern common schools were not designed with the freedpeople in mind, they were nonetheless focused on preserving white supremacy. This goal was particularly relevant during the antebellum period, not only because it was the age of American imperialism and such lessons worked to justify the oppression of certain peoples, but also because it was the age of racial slavery. While slavery had been abolished in the North since the early 1800s, it was the dominant economic system in the South until 1863 and both the northern and southern economies were heavily reliant upon slave labour.

Although textbook analyses tell us little about what was actually taught or learnt in schools, they offer valuable insights into the dominant society's ideas, beliefs, and values. An analysis of the textbooks used in nineteenth-century schools, both North and South of the Mason-Dixon line, reveals that the white Americans of that period largely perceived black people as racially inferior to whites. Textbook analyses also reveal how the dominant society can manipulate curricular materials to impose their beliefs and value system upon school-going children. In this particular case, an analysis of the textbooks used in southern black schools during the Civil War and Reconstruction era demonstrates how some white northerners attempted to use both northern and freedmen's textbooks to maintain white supremacy and perpetuate the racial subordination of blacks, before and after black freedom. Ultimately, an increased awareness of how the school curriculum can be used to further the agenda of a particular race or class is vital for future curriculum planning and educational policy, not only within the context of the American South, but at a worldwide level.

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[238] Elson, *Guardians of tradition,* p. 1.

CONCLUSION

Between 1861 and 1875, 1,419 teachers taught the freedpeople in North Carolina. Contrary to previous assumptions, the vast majority of these teachers were not northern white women. In fact, numbering 371, northern white teachers, both male and female, constituted just thirty per cent of the entire teaching cohort. Admittedly, most of the northern white teachers conformed to the 'Yankee schoolmarm' image: 276 were female, the vast majority of whom were young, unmarried, well-educated women from comfortable, middle-class New England homes. However, while this description serves the northern white teaching cohort, it cannot be applied to the entire group of teachers who worked in North Carolina's schools for the freedpeople. Moreover, the northern white teachers who did not conform to this image are equally important to the study of Reconstruction-era black education and should not be excluded from the historical literature.[1]

Most of the teachers in North Carolina's schools for the freedpeople were black, 705 to be exact. Eighty-five of these teachers were from the North, 613 were from the South, and seven came from countries outside of the U.S. Clearly, then, the main protagonists in the history of freedpeople's education were the black men and women who engaged in southern black schooling to elevate their race. Although southern white teachers constituted a significant minority of the entire teaching force, totalling 143 in all, it is important to remember that a comprehensive analysis of their lives and work remained absent from the historical literature until the seminal work of Ronald E. Butchart in 2010.[2] Indeed, there is no study of southern white teachers in North Carolina's schools for the freedpeople. It is also worth considering that, due to the paucity of records which support their work, either in the form of personal letters or state archives, the actual number of southern white teachers was greater than can definitely be accounted for.

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[1] Ronald E. Butchart, The Freedmen's Teacher Project (2013), used with permission, hereafter cited as the FTP.

[2] Ronald E. Butchart, *Schooling the freed people: Teaching, learning, and the struggle for black freedom* (Chapel Hill, 2010).

Like their white counterparts, black teachers engaged in freedpeople's education for a variety of reasons. In particular, many black teachers spoke of their work in terms of racial elevation or uplift. Racial solidarity also inspired many black people to teach the former slaves. Indeed, from the earliest days of freedom, formerly enslaved men and women expressed a strong preference for black teachers. However, as discussed in the introduction to this dissertation, there has been a tendency to overstate racial solidarity by assuming that all black people shared the same goals and visions of black freedom.[3] Shaped by their unique backgrounds and pre-war experiences, each of the black teachers examined in this study had their own set of beliefs and ideas about the meaning and scope of freedpeople's education. Northern black teachers, for instance, while no less concerned about their students' educational advancement, were often influenced by the prevailing culture in the antebellum North, particularly the way in which it helped to shape their beliefs about slaves and the slave system. The rise of antislavery sentiment, particularly through the increased dissemination of antislavery literature, ultimately shaped many northerners' views of both slavery and the enslaved and regardless of whether they were white or black, northern teachers often perceived the freedpeople as socially degraded and in need of reform.[4] Thus, some northern black educators attempted to reform the former slaves by inculcating them with northern ideals and values. The difference between these teachers and their white counterparts, however, was the respect that black teachers ultimately had for the former slaves' cultural heritage. Take, for example, the teachers' efforts to reform the freedpeoples' religious practices. While white teachers from the North attempted to mould the former slaves into a more conservative and less emotional church membership, black teachers accepted the freedpeoples' unique style of worship, recognising that it was a trait acquired during slavery and perhaps even recognising that the merging of Christian and African traditions enabled enslaved people to endure a lifetime of bondage. Ultimately, the northern white teachers' efforts to impose their culture, values and way of life upon the freedpeople represented a form of cultural colonialism or, as Eric Foner termed it, 'cultural imperialism'.[5] While northern blacks were no less concerned about teaching their students the values of thrift, industry, and sobriety, they were mindful of the former slaves' cultural heritage and chose to accept, rather than reform, their unique customs and traditions.

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[3] Brian Kelly, 'No way through: Race leadership and black workers at the nadir' in *Labor: Studies in the Working-Class History of the Americas,* vol. 7, no. 3 (2010), pp 79-93.

[4] Leon F. Litwack, *Been in the storm so long: The aftermath of slavery* (New York, 1980), p. 456.

In his study of freedpeople's education, Butchart defined the black teachers' motives in terms of 'racial solidarity and racial uplift and elevation'.[6] However, from the above example alone, it is clear that black teachers cannot be viewed simply through this lens – their situation was more complex than this. While racial solidarity and black uplift were dominant motivations, they often overlapped with other motives, such as the desire to work in a respectable position or the need to procure an income. Class consciousness also played an important role in shaping the ideas and beliefs of some teachers. Charles N. Hunter, for instance, was selected by a white school board to teach the freedpeople because his conservative stance on race relations and admiration for whites, shaped by his particular upbringing, meant that he posed little threat to the racial hierarchy.

In addition to the varied motivations, conflicts often emerged within the black community regarding who should control black schools and who should teach the freedpeople. In North Carolina, these conflicts often erupted between the landless former slaves and their free black counterparts from the North. Northern black teacher Robert Harris, for instance, was bitterly disappointed with his southern black assistants and, failing to recognise that their incompetence stemmed from centuries of enslavement and a denial of formal education, asked the American Missionary Association to send him 'two competent teachers from the North'.[7] The former slaves were not shy about expressing their grievances either and some men and women were reluctant to allow northern blacks to assume control over their schools and other institutions. This was particularly evident at the first Freedmen's Convention of North Carolina in 1865 when a formerly enslaved delegate argued that a northern black man should not be permitted to lead the convention.[8] Finally, conflict often erupted within the formerly enslaved community itself and reports of abusive black overseers often emerged over the course of Reconstruction.[9] Collectively, these incidents challenge the myth of black racial solidarity in the post-war South.

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[5] Eric Foner, 'Reconstruction revisited' in *Reviews in American History,* vol. 10, no. 1 (1982), pp 82-100.

[6] Butchart, *Schooling,* p. 43.

Notwithstanding the conflicts that often emerged within the black community, northern and southern blacks were committed to growing and sustaining a system of education throughout the turbulent Civil War and Reconstruction period. In an effort to gain greater access to education, black people throughout North Carolina organised and mobilised, not only at the grassroots level but at the state-wide level also. Even before formal emancipation was granted in 1863, freedmen and women built schoolhouses, hired teachers, and purchased textbooks using whatever resources they could muster together. Some black families housed teachers while others provided food, firewood and other services in lieu of tuition fees. Many black people sacrificed food, clothing, and other basic necessities in order to pay for their schooling. Despite poor levels of literacy, former slaves even taught in the first black schools, eager to aid, in whatever way they could, the educational advancement of their race. Although northern aid and missionary societies were instrumental to the growth of southern black schooling, countless black communities established, controlled, and administered their own schools without northern involvement.

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[7] Robert Harris to Edward P. Smith, 9 January 1867, American Missionary Association Archives, Amistad Research Centre, Tulane University, New Orleans, Louisiana, accessed at New York Public Library.

[8] John Richard Dennett, *The South as it is: 1865-1866* (New York, 1965), p. 152.

[9] See, for example, Report of Horace James, included in testimony of Colonel E. Whittlesey in U.S. Congress, *Report of the Joint Committee on Reconstruction, at the first session thirty-ninth Congress* (Washington, D.C., 1866), p. 188.

At the state-wide level, black people throughout North Carolina organised politically. In October 1865 over 100 black delegates gathered in Raleigh to convene the first Freedmen's Convention of the South. One year later, a second convention was held at the same location. At these conventions, black men called for friendly relations with whites, just employment opportunities, equality before the law, and increased access to education. In 1866, southern black men established the Freedmen's Educational Association of North Carolina to promote education for all children, regardless of race or social class.[10] Similar actions were undertaken in other southern states. These efforts were the impetus for the creation of public school systems throughout the American South and North Carolina's first system of public schooling for black children was established in 1869.[11] The creation of black public schools ultimately stimulated the establishment of normal, or teacher training, institutes throughout North Carolina. Indeed, two of the South's first Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs) were established in North Carolina – Shaw University in Raleigh and Scotia Seminary in Concord. Efforts to gain greater access to schooling persevered throughout, and indeed beyond, the Reconstruction period and by challenging attempts to replace black public school teachers with whites from the South, freedmen and women also helped to create a professional class of black teachers.[12]

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[10] Freedmen's Convention of North Carolina, *Minutes of the Freedmen's Convention held in the city of Raleigh on the 2nd, 3rd, 4th and 5th of October, 1866* (Raleigh, 1866), p. 12, available at Documenting the American South, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, (http://docsouth.unc.edu/nc/freedmen/freedmen.html) (08 October 2015).

[11] Samuel S. Ashley, *Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of North Carolina, for the year 1869* (Raleigh, 1869), p. 2, available at Documenting the American South, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, (http://docsouth.unc.edu/nc/report1869/report1869.html) (19 November 2015).

[12] Howard N. Rabinowitz, 'Half a loaf: The shift from white to black teachers in Negro schools of the Urban South, 1865-1890' in Howard Rabinowitz, *Race, ethnicity, and urbanization: Selected essays* (London, 1994), p. 98; Hilary Nicole Green, 'Educational reconstruction: African American education in the Urban South, 1865-1890' (PhD diss., University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, 2010), p. 3.

Evidently, black people's efforts to create a sustainable system of southern black schooling was just one of the ways in which the black community mobilised in the aftermath of slavery.[13]

Not surprisingly, efforts to grow and sustain a system of black education did not go unchallenged in the post-war South. Although North Carolina has often been described as a racially progressive state, principally because it had a relatively small enslaved population (thirty per cent in 1860) and because it was the second last southern state to secede from the Union, black people were treated no better in North Carolina than in other southern states.[14] This is particularly evident in the North Carolina slave narratives which document the countless abuses enslaved people were forced to endure under slavery. Violent acts of aggression towards freedmen and women continued well into the Reconstruction period and numerous reports emerged of former masters continuing to hold their ex-slaves in bondage and beating, whipping, or otherwise abusing their workforce. When the Republican Party gained control of the state in 1868, white hostility intensified and, like other southern states, North Carolina became a hotbed of white supremacist terrorism. Unsurprisingly, the teachers of the freedpeople, black and white alike, as well as the students and the schools themselves, were often subjected to white paramilitary violence. This was principally because black schools served as an affront to racist assumptions of black inferiority but also because they represented a direct challenge to the southern racial hierarchy. Thus, vindictive white southerners, of which there were many, viciously attempted to undermine black education and attacks often occurred in the form of beatings, whippings, arson, and murder.

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[13] For other examples of black mobilisation in the Reconstruction South, see, for example, Steven Hahn, *A nation under our feet: Black political struggles in the rural South from slavery to the Great Migration* (Cambridge, 2003); Brian Kelly, 'Labor and place: The contours of freedpeople's mobilization in Reconstruction South Carolina' in *The Journal of Peasant Studies,* vol. 35, no. 4 (2008), pp 653-687.

[14] Roberta Sue Alexander, *North Carolina faces the freedmen: Race relations during Presidential Reconstruction* (Durham, 1985), p. xiv; John Haley, *Charles N. Hunter and race relations in North Carolina* (London, 1987), p. x.

What, then, of the southern white teachers who engaged in black education? Were these men and women committed to educating and elevating the black race? The answer is a resounding no. Southern white teachers, like all teachers, taught for a variety of reasons and black uplift or racial elevation was rarely one of them. In general, southern whites taught for financial reasons, principally because many were left impoverished after the war. For these men and women, teaching in a black school was simply a means to an end. Other white teachers taught to maintain social control while a few were inspired by religious motivation, mainly the desire to keep black congregants within the church's fold. Many planters even built black schools on their plantations, knowing that the provision of education would help to retain a stable labour force. Nevertheless, the number of teachers who were committed to black educational advancement was undoubtedly higher in North Carolina because the state was home to a relatively large Quaker population during the antebellum era. Indeed, based upon the number of southern white teachers whose religion is known, seventy per cent were Quakers.[15] As discussed throughout this dissertation, North Carolina Quakers were fundamentally opposed to slavery and deeply committed to black education. For these men and women, freedpeople's education was perceived as a means of elevating the black race and many dedicated their life's work to teaching the former slaves. Thus, while this history of freedpeople's education in North Carolina may often reflect what was happening in other southern states, the work of Quaker teachers was relatively unique to North Carolina.

A fundamental goal of freedpeople's education, for northern and southern white teachers alike, was to maintain social control. While northern white teachers, missionaries, and government officials saw schooling as a means of civilising the former slaves in order to prepare them for responsible citizenship, southern white educators perceived education as a way to preserve the antebellum hierarchal southern social order. The regulation of black labour was central to both of these goals. Thus, northern white teachers taught their students the habits of industry while southern white educators attempted to teach formerly enslaved men and women that their proper place in southern society was at the bottom of the racial hierarchy as an agricultural workforce.

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[15] Butchart, The FTP.

Nowhere were these goals more explicit than in the textbooks used in North Carolina's black schools. Shaped by a fundamental belief in black inferiority, the textbooks specifically created for the freedpeople attempted to maintain social control by inculcating the freedmen and women with northern ideals and values, particularly piety, sobriety, thrift, and industry. By teaching the freedpeople the dignity of labour, encouraging black students to accept menial positions, and advising former slaves to return to work in the fields and on the plantations, for their former masters if necessary, these textbooks were particularly focused upon moulding the freedpeople into a subservient labour force.

Although the northern common school textbooks examined in this study were intended for use by white schoolchildren, they were no less concerned about training a disciplined workforce. However, as products of a free-labour society, these particular textbooks taught white children that hard work led to upward mobility and economic progression; lessons such as this were notably absent from the freedmen's textbooks. Moreover, northern common school textbooks attempted to reinforce hegemonic notions of white superiority. As Ruth Elson argued, nineteenth-century textbooks taught children that the 'African Negro is clearly regarded as the most degraded of the races'.[16] Lessons on perceived racial characteristics ultimately served to justify the oppression of certain races and ethnicities, particularly blacks and Native Americans, racial paternalism, and the institution of slavery.

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[16] Ruth M. Elson, *Guardians of tradition: American schoolbooks of the nineteenth century* (Lincoln, 1964), p. 87.

Although textbook analyses tell us little about what was actually taught or learnt in schools, they reflect the prevailing attitudes, beliefs, and values of the time. Ultimately, an analysis of the textbooks used in North Carolina's black schools not only tell us that nineteenth-century white Americans perceived black people as inherently inferior but that they were committed to maintaining white supremacy.

Before the turn of the twentieth century, white Americans achieved this goal. Although the former slaves made many important gains in education between 1861 and 1875, particularly relating to the establishment of public school systems, the creation of a professional class of black teachers, and the development of black institutes of higher education, white educators, lawmakers, and school officials succeeded in using black schools to maintain the antebellum southern social order.

One of the ways in which they did this was through the systematic dismantling of the black public school system. Although southern legislatures were unable to abolish the system entirely, they slashed educational funding and failed to enforce compulsory school attendance laws.[17] While cuts were relatively equal across both white and black schools during the early stages of Redemption, funding disparities increasingly widened. Indeed, according to Butchart, 'unequal education did not emerge' until the 1880s.[18] Thus, during the decades that followed Reconstruction, black schools remained chronically underfunded, understaffed, and under-resourced. In addition, black teachers were so poorly paid 'that only the poorest local talent' would teach.[19] Reflecting upon one of his first teaching positions in 1886, W. E. B. Du Bois described a rural schoolhouse in Tennessee that had improved little over the course of two decades of freedom:

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[17] Adam Fairclough, *A class of their own: Black teachers in the segregated South* (London, 2007), p. 50. According to Louis R. Harlan, the average child in North Carolina spent just 21.9 days in school, in spite of the fact that North Carolina's school law provided for a four-month term. See Louis R. Harlan *Separate and unequal: Public school campaigns and racism in the southern seaboard states, 1901-1915* (Chapel Hill, 1958), p. 12.

[18] Ronald E. Butchart, 'Black hope, white power: Emancipation, Reconstruction, and the legacy of unequal schooling in the US South, 1861-1880' in *Paedagogica Historica: International Journal of the History of Education,* vol. 46, nos. 1-2 (2010), pp 33-50. According to Butchart, the 'new South men' who replaced 'the older Bourbon Democrats' in southern legislatures during the 1880s and 1890s were more focused upon dismantling the black school system. See Butchart, *Schooling*, p. 154.

> Furniture was scarce. A pale blackboard crouched in the corner. My desk was made of three boards, reinforced at critical points, and my chair, borrowed from the landlady, had to be returned every night. Seats for the children – these puzzled me much. I was haunted by a New England vision of neat little desks and chairs, but alas! The reality was rough plank benches without backs, and at times without legs.[20]

By levying a local tax to supplement the general school fund, North Carolina's city schools were better equipped, better staffed, and better maintained than their rural counterparts.[21] However, as Louis R. Harlan pointed out, southern blacks, being predominantly rural, were generally unable to access these schools.[22] Ultimately, unequal educational opportunities resulted in unequal employment prospects and blacks were forced to remain a predominantly agricultural workforce. As Du Bois wrote in 1907, 'one of the inevitable expedients for fastening serfdom on the country Negro was enforced ignorance'.[23] Thus, an unequal system of black education, particularly in the rural areas, combined with coercive labour contracts, restrictive vagrancy laws, and debt peonage to keep black workers on the plantation.

The rise of industrial education in the aftermath of Reconstruction also hampered black people's aspirations and educational goals. Although white southerners were overwhelmingly opposed to black education, many began to openly endorse a system of education that would train black students to be disciplined workers. As James D. Anderson wrote, during the late

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[19] Booker T. Washington and W. E. B. Du Bois, *The Negro in the South: His economic progress in relation to his moral and religious development* (Philadelphia, 1907), p. 103, available at Documenting the American South, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, (http://docsouth.unc.edu/church/washdubo/washington.html) (26 January 2016).

[20] W. E. B. Du Bois, *The souls of black folk: Essays and sketches* (Chicago, 1903), p. 63, available at Documenting the American South, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, (http://docsouth.unc.edu/church/duboissouls/dubois.html) (16 September 2015). See also a quote from a 'Southern negro teacher' in Harlan *Separate and unequal,* p. 4

[21] Charles L. Coon, *A statistical record of the progress of public education in North Carolina, 1870-1906* (Raleigh, 1906), p. 5.

[22] Harlan, *Separate and unequal,* p. 8.

[23] Washington and Du Bois, *The Negro in the South,* p. 102.

1870s and early 1880s, 'proponents of southern industrialization increasingly viewed mass schooling as a means to produce efficient and contented labor and as a socialization process to instil in black and white children an acceptance of the southern racial hierarchy'.[24] Epitomised by Hampton Institute in Virginia and Tuskegee Institute in Alabama, industrial schools were designed to teach black students the skills, habits, and value of industry, particularly in relation to agricultural and trade work.[25] Significantly, Hampton was established by Samuel C. Armstrong, a Union general, while Tuskegee was headed by Booker T. Washington, a former slave. Evidently, efforts to extend white supremacy and racial control were not solely confined to the southern white masses.[26] Coupled with disenfranchisement, white paramilitary violence, (particularly lynching), legal segregation, and a variety of discriminatory Jim Crow laws, the manipulation of black education was just one of the ways in which white Americans worked to keep southern blacks at the bottom of the racial hierarchy.

Although the greatest blows to southern black schooling came during the post-Reconstruction period, the seeds of destruction were evident during the early, relatively positive, years of black freedom. Southern opposition to black education, particularly in the form of white paramilitary violence, was arguably the clearest indicator that southern white men and women were not willing to recognise the freed status of those they formerly held in bondage. The textbooks that were used in North Carolina's black schools also provided a clear indication that black freedom was going to be an uphill struggle. Indeed, the textbooks that were created for use in antebellum northern common schools were often more racist than those specifically created for the former slaves, effectively illuminating the inherent racism that pervaded the North before and after the Civil War period.

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[24] James D. Anderson, *The education of blacks in the South, 1860-1935* (Chapel Hill, 1988), p. 26.
[25] For an overview of Hampton and Tuskegee Institute, see Anderson, *The education of blacks,* pp 33-79.
[26] For more information on Booker T. Washington and his vision of black education and black freedom, see Robert J. Norrell, *Up from history: The life of Booker T. Washington* (Cambridge, 2009).

In spite of the obstacles they faced, when the Civil War ended in 1865, the future looked bright for the formerly enslaved men and women of North Carolina. To be sure, the development of black schools was slow and haphazard, at best. Nevertheless, black North Carolinians embraced their newfound freedom and the hope that literacy could bring. In 1877, federal troops were withdrawn from the South, thus signalling the end of Reconstruction. Seven years previously, the Freedmen's Bureau ceased operations in North Carolina and, with some exceptions, northern white teachers and missionaries retreated from the state.[27] Yet, Reconstruction did not end in 1877.[28] Nor did the struggle for black education. Although the black community continued to fight for an equitable system of schooling, eventually resulting in, but not ceasing with, the renowned Supreme Court case, *Brown v. Board of Education,* white Americans were determined to maintain white supremacy and the deliberate undermining of black education was just one of the ways in which they aimed to achieve this goal.

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[27] In 1875, only 39 of the 371 northern white teachers were still working in the South. Butchart, The FTP.

[28] Eric Foner, 'Afterword' in Bruce E. Baker and Brian Kelly, *After slavery: Race, labor, and citizenship in the Reconstruction South* (Gainesville, 2013), pp 221-230.

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